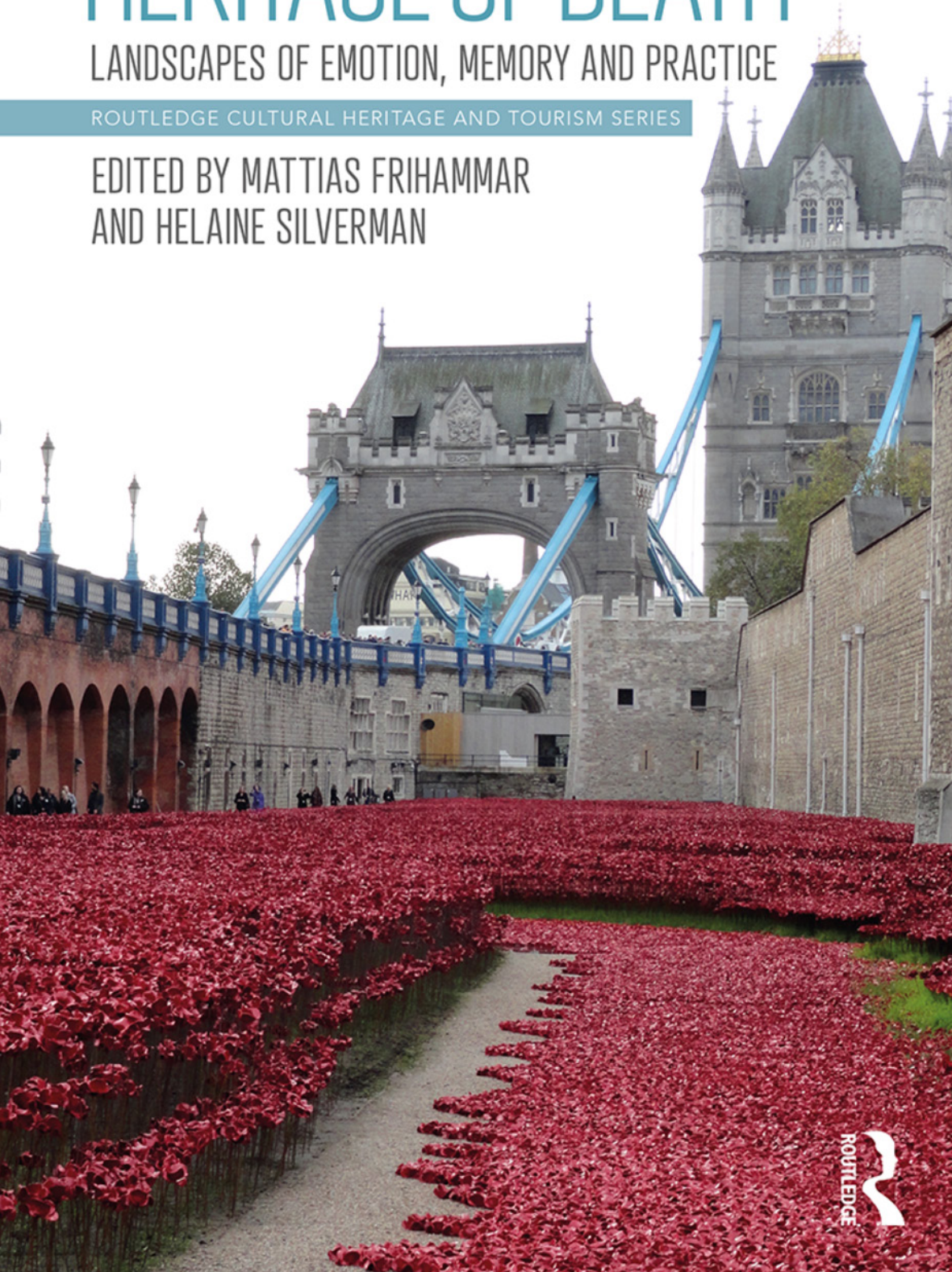
HERITAGE OF DEATH

LANDSCAPES OF EMOTION, MEMORY AND PRACTICE

ROUTLEDGE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND TOURISM SERIES

EDITED BY MATTIAS FRIHAMMAR
AND HELAINE SILVERMAN



ROUTLEDGE

Heritage of Death

Today, death is being reconceptualised around the world as heritage, replete with material markers and intangible performances. These heritages of death are personal, national and international. They are vernacular as well as official, sanctioned as well as alternative. This book brings together more than twenty international scholars to consider the heritage of death from spatial, political, religious, economic, cultural, aesthetic and emotive aspects. It showcases different attitudes and phases of death and their relationship to heritage through ethnographically informed case studies to illustrate both general patterns and local and national variations. Through analyses of material expressions and social practices of grief, mourning and remembrance, this book shows not only what death *means* in contemporary societies, but also how individuals, groups and nations *act* towards death.

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Landscapes of Emotion, Memory and Practice

Edited by Mattias Frihammar and Helaine Silverman

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2018
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-138-21751-5 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-44020-0 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Swales & Willis Ltd, Exeter, Devon, UK

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defined a region during the early nineteenth century and how a heritage narrative evolved with it over the subsequent decades. His co-edited book (with Paul J. Armstrong), *SynergiCity: Reinventing the Post-industrial City* (University of Illinois Press, 2012), won the Historic Preservation Book Award from the Center for Historic Preservation at the University of Mary Washington and was also a *Choice* Academic Title. He teaches historic preservation theory, building documentation and architectural design in the University of Illinois' graduate architecture programme.

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of them as a commodity (*The International Journal of the Image*), a study of Ghanaian Slave Castles and visitation patterns that counter common notions of dark tourism (*Annals of Tourism Research*), a study of the lingering affects of war while seeking alternative treatment programmes for veterans with PTSD (*Therapeutic Recreation Journal*) and the re-examination of the shooting death of Tamir Rice and the questions of social policy and social control in public spaces (*Leisure Sciences*). His interests and concerns are strongly centred on critiquing society for issues that are most prevalent in impacting quality of life. He whole-heartedly reflects, quite often, on a quote from Octavia Butler's Parable of Sower, 'All that you touch, you change. All you change, changes you . . .'.

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Acknowledgements

DEATH, DEATH, DEATH, DEATH and DEATH! That's how Astrid Lindgren, the Swedish creator of *Pippi Longstocking*, *Karlsson on the Roof* and *Emil of Lönneberga*, began her daily telephone conversations with her sister when they were getting old. The sisters saw death approaching: their old friends were dying one by one and therefore death was constantly on their minds. Astrid and her sister knew they had to recognise death, but they wanted to speak about life. By getting the death theme over with at the beginning of the conversation, they could do so.

When we co-organised the 'Heritage of Death' international conference, held at Stockholm University (SU) on 10–11 September 2015, we, too, had death on our minds – happily, not because death was approaching, but rather because of death's fundamental interest to anthropologists, ethnologists and other scholars in the humanities. Moreover, as our colleagues who participated in the conference demonstrated in their presentations and as a selection of them propose in this volume, attention to death is an affirmation of life – the life of those lost as well as the life of those left behind, indeed of entire societies.

We are grateful to the authors for sticking with this project and especially to our editor at Routledge, Priscilla Corbett, who was exceptionally motivating and helpful in seeing this volume into print. We thank Dallen Timothy for his interest in placing this volume in his series. Special thanks to the marvellous Joy Sather-Wagstaff who agreed to write the concluding chapter. And most especially thanks to Timothy Barnes, former Director of Strategic International Partnerships in the Illinois International office at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) and Elisabet Idermark, Senior Advisor of International Relations at the Stockholm University Research Center, who organised the formal partnership between the two universities, of which the thriving collaboration between the Collaborative for Cultural Heritage Management and Policy (CHAMP) at UIUC and the Critical Heritage Studies Network (CHSN) at SU is a highly successful product. We also thank Lena Gerholm, Head of the Department of Ethnology at SU and Inga Sanner, Head of the Department of Culture and Aesthetics at SU for their support of CHSN. Finally, our thanks to Ida Hughes Tidlund for coordinating CHSN activities.

Part I

Introduction

1 Heritage of death

Emotion, memory and practice

Mattias Frihammar and Helaine Silverman

Prologue

It is as if a gigantic scalpel has separated the tip of the cape from the mainland, leaving a brutally distinct incision that runs all the way through the otherwise idyllic promontory (Figure 1.1). The sides of the gap are sharp and the width of the waterway makes it impossible for people to reach the other side. To any visitor, it would be obvious that this deliberately made wound in the landscape will never heal.

This dramatic scenery was meant to be created on Sørbråten, close to the island of Utøya in Norway where on 22 July 2011 a disgruntled lone shooter systematically murdered 69 of the 560 youngsters attending the Workers' Youth League annual summer camp. The cut – as a memorial – was meant to let the national trauma turn into a forever unhealed scar – an incantation that something like this should never happen again.

In the example of Utøya, the artist of the memorial chose a subdued but clear tone. Placed in nature – for the event occurred in nature – the memory would not be tied to an erected monument but, quite the contrary, to an absence: a radical removal of trees, roots, soil and rock that would leave a void echoing of the tragedy. There was a conceptual similarity to Maya Lin's gash in the earth in Washington, DC, commemorating the Vietnam War's fallen soldiers. The use of absence as a manifestation of loss also recalls the two pits at the September 11 memorial at Ground Zero in New York City. Like them, the Utøya design was architecturally powerful and affective, intending to provoke a strong emotional response (also see Knudsen and Ifversen 2016).

However, even if a memorial design is given permission by authorities, receives appreciation from relatives' organizations and is lauded around the world, it may be difficult to construct the actual physical remembrance of a terrible and despicable event, for not everyone may want to continue to feel affected by it. Indeed, in the case of Utøya local neighbors protested the memorial and managed to stop the project. Their reason was both paradoxical and easily understandable: they did not want to live in proximity to a memorial that made them remember the gruesome event, in a milieu that constantly made them recall the day they had to pull dozens of dead and wounded teenagers from the sea. Yet another paradox: the attractiveness of the intended memorial became an obstacle. Being perceived as having high artistic and

Figure 1.1 "Memory Wound" by Jonas Dahlberg.
Source: Courtesy of Mr. Dahlberg.

architectural qualities, the memorial was expected to appeal to tourists. This would disturb the much appreciated tranquility of the place. The inhabitants did not want their quiet hometown to develop into a famous tourist site. In September 2016 the Norwegian government decided to look for another way to honor the Utøya dead to avoid a bruising dispute.

In thinking about memorials it is worthwhile to recall Sarah Humphreys' well-known statement:

> It is because death both emphasizes the impermanence and unrepeatability of social experience and calls forth attempts to preserve or re-create some aspects of it in permanent form that it offers a particularly stimulating focus for reflections on the paradoxical mixture of the transient and the permanent which constitutes society.
>
> (1981: 12)

Her appreciation leads us to the focus of this edited volume on the heritage of death as manifested in landscapes of emotion, memory and practice.

Introduction

The Utøya case is an example of the tensions surrounding dark events and particularly their memorialization. The ways societies remember their lost ones both mirror and constitute their values and cultural self-awareness. Throughout human history death has been ritualized and framed with reminiscent practices and material markers to remember the ones who have passed away. As is well recognized, death is the greatest of the life crises (Humphreys and King 1981) and societies

have always created ways to cope with and explain it (Bloch and Parry 1982; Hertz 1960 [1907]). Notions of death are formed by society (Durkheim 1952 [1897]) and the inevitable awareness of human mortality (Palgi and Abramovitch 1984: 385) has been a crucial dimension of social organization (Binford 1971; Morris 1992; Saxe 1970). As society has changed so, too, has its way of thinking about and dealing with death (Ariés 1974, 1980).

Contemporary Western society copes with death in its own particular and readily identifiable ways. For instance, there is a "modern strategy" of interpreting the issue of death as a medical and rational concern – death can be defeated by a healthy lifestyle and medical care – a perspective that ultimately attaches a taboo to the inevitability of death (see discussion in Palgi and Abramovitch 1984). There is also a "post-modern" reaction to this scientific approach, exemplified by the renowned social theorist Zygmunt Bauman (1992), by which mortality is constantly deconstructed and rehearsed in different practices and cultural expressions. As such, death becomes part of the individual's lifestyle (this is especially clear in David Sloane's contribution to this volume, Chapter 14). And death today is being reconceptualized as heritage – "a contemporary product shaped from history" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 20). Yet we should recognize that death has always shaped heritage. In this way its heritagization can be seen as "a human condition" rather than an exclusive expression of modernity (Harvey 2001: 320). By way of example, Lennon and Foley argue that "Tourism to battlefields, to the graves of the famous, the infamous and the merely affluent and to the locations of infamous deeds is by no means a phenomenon associated with the modern world" (2000: 4).

The many heritages of death change in shape, content and effect over time. Indeed, death – which was medicalized and marginalized during the last century – is once again part of the public discourse, including around heritage. Today these heritages form a wide range of expressions with personal, sectoral, national and international consequences as well as economic structures, domestic and international political repercussions, contests over memory and implications in new constructions of identity. Heritages of death are vernacular as well as official, sanctioned as well as alternative. And, importantly, death is one of a growing range of phenomena that has been adapted and heritagized to suit the tourism industry. Indeed, the most notorious site of death, Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp, encompasses all of the above-mentioned domains and presents them at the highest level of public recognition: the UNESCO World Heritage List – but not easily (Young 2009).

The multifaceted aspects of the heritages of death are open for controversies and tensions. Who is behind the heritagization effort (private individuals, private sector, public sector, and at what scale – local government, national government and so forth)? Who is the target group? What or who is to be remembered? If a tragedy, is it the victims, the perpetrator or the tragic incident in itself? Is there shame over what happened? Pride over the bravery of the victims or their relatives?

And what is the proper modus when physically memorializing tragedy? Shall the monument celebrate life and abjure death? What emotions are elicited among different actors by memorials? How do visitors, relatives, neighbors and authorities

experience them? Do different actors interpret the places in the same way? Who wins the contest over the memories – the monument or the visitors?

The notion of death oscillates between the material and the intangible dimensions of existence. Thus, while memories are atomically ephemeral, memories reside in place. The body/the grave/the memorial is a tangible reminder of what has been lost, a material trace that calls to be taken care of. The way individuals, families and societies deal with the heritage of death mirrors how they perceive themselves.

This book is about heritages of death and deals with such questions. One premise is that loss has a direct bearing on the concept of *memory*. Mortuary practices themselves are important in the generation of social memory (Cannon 2002; Carmichael et al. 1994; Kuijt 2001) and inform identity (Chesson 2001). Death is a symbolic and social arena offering opportunities for the representation – indeed, assertion – of self and group (Morris 1989). When death occurs in plural, as in times of war or catastrophe caused by nature or technology or by lunatics with arms, it calls for collective action and common interpretation. As Peckham argues, "Traumatic events in the past can become so deeply imprinted on a group's collective memory that they become an indelible part of its identity" (2003: 212). Certainly this is the critical narrative about the impact of the Holocaust on the Jews, the genocide perpetrated on the Armenians by the Turks and – unfortunately – so forth.

Death is an *emotional* domain: "within human society it is a near universal that death is associated with emotionality" (Palgi and Abramovitch 1984: 399), and what we see in the heritage and heritagization of death is a production of emotion. Physical venues of death, contemporary performances and their associated narratives call forth emotions: pride (the glory of the Masada suicide: Bruner and Gorfain 1983), revulsion (concentration camps: Rapson 2012), faith (pilgrimages: Di Giovine 2015), empathetic pain (African slave route sites: Richards 2005) and so forth.

Our third term in the subtitle of the volume – *practice* – is informed by de Certeau's (1984) concept of the "practice of everyday life." We refer to habitual, unmediated, vernacular cultural performances in society that surround death and the categories of death that are significant to them.

In this volume we bring together a group of disciplinarily mixed scholars to consider heritages of death in Europe, the United States and Australia. The volume derives its strength from its anchoring in richly ethnographic studies that illustrate both general patterns and local and national variations. Through analyses of material expressions and social practices of grief, mourning, memory and commemoration as well as exclusion, resignification and exploitation, the authors probe the meanings and deployment of death in contemporary societies. Here we discuss the major themes of the volume followed by the rationale of its organization in Parts.

Mortuary sceneries

"In Flanders fields the poppies blow between the crosses, row on row, that mark our place . . .". The beginning of this well-known evocative poem by John McCrae, written in 1915 about the devastation of World War I, dramatically

conveys a landscape of death. Battlefields around the world have been sanctified (Foote 2003: 8–9) as magnificent cemeteries and made available for international tourism. The most visited of these are those managed by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission of Great Britain and the United States' American Battle Monuments Commission.

But a shift in attitudes toward tragedies has occurred in recent decades and dark heritage has changed its expressions. A "new moral politics" has emerged and the twentieth century's incentives to erect triumphal monuments have faded. We now see openness to the recognition of loss and defeat, and "sites of victory are being re-inscribed as sites of defeat, so that heritage and trauma are being fundamentally realigned" (Peckham 2003: 210). Kwon (2006) refers to "grievous death" to emphasize the scale and/or trauma of conflict-caused tragedy. Their memorials seek to assuage the grievous history of death.

As David Mason (Chapter 9) shows us, such landscapes of violent death are not confined to the territory in which battle took place. The ANZAC memorials he discusses pay tribute to lives lost in a massively unsuccessful campaign far away – in Gallipoli, Turkey. The example shows how landscapes, which cognitively would appear to be profoundly territorialized, may, in fact, be mobile by virtue of the memorials associated with them elsewhere. The Australian landscape is actually scattered with war heritage alluding to Gallipoli. Writing from a conservator's perspective, Mason discusses the delicate matter of managing those culturally double-edged memorials as an act of balance between reactionary militarism and modern peace-minded ideals.

The equivocal Australian collective memory of World War I contrasts dramatically with the heritagization of Britain's victorious and slain war dead on the centenary of that war. Since 1921 a red poppy has been used as a key symbol in the remembrance of World War I, to such an extent that Remembrance Day today is referred to as "Poppy Day," even by the Royal British Legion. The everyday vernacular remembrance practices of buying and wearing a poppy activate "interpersonal, emotional experiences of collective mourning and sacrifice" in a way that "erase[s] the violence, done to and by the bodies they commemorate and celebrate" (Basham 2016: 885).

Paul Kapp and Cele Otnes (Chapter 8) approach the poppy tradition from another angle. They reveal that the 2014 "Poppies" extravaganza – for such must be the word – in London was conceived not just as a national remembrance but overtly as a commercial enterprise and tourist attraction. They present the Historic Royal Palaces' production of a temporary memorial landscape composed of consumable parts: 886,246 red ceramic poppies. Here personal and national heritage intertwined with the scripted memory of lives lost. The exhibition was massively visited.

Memorials attempt to generate a permanent mortuary scenery and seek to further a collective meaning about death (Hertz 1960 [1907]) in the face of its taunting unknown quality. They are part of the process by which landscapes of death are produced and consumed and are particularly apt materializations of societal perspectives on death. Sites are filled with both material and intangible

references to individuals, groups and social hierarchies and the past is used as a convincing resource in this process.

Remembrance and reconciliation in the context of acts of horror are difficult. Memorials can be ameliorative, to a certain degree. Given the horrible record of human and societal cruelty, there are all too many occasions for attempts at memorialization. But the absence or dearth of memorials pertaining to particularly infamous events is as significant as their presence, as Rasul Mowatt (Chapter 13) indicates in his chapter on lynching in America. Slavery was the original sin in the founding of the United States of America and its horrors toward the country's black citizens did not end with the Emancipation Proclamation and success of the North in the Civil War. Mowatt calls our attention to decades of lynchings in the U.S. and notes the amnesia of most of the country concerning this heinous crime. Although there are some 5,000 reported cases of lynching, there has been little memorialization of the victims. A lynching memorial in Duluth, Minnesota is especially notable and laudable, signifying that present-day citizens of Duluth have embraced this tragic note in the heritage of the city. It is one of only a few such memorials otherwise placed rather randomly throughout the country.

Landscapes of death

Cemeteries, of course, by definition, are landscapes of death. But they are first and foremost territories that knit together the individual and communal dimensions of death and implicate cultural, political, ideological, religious and economic decisions about the creation of physical space for them. They also implicate the social construction of space and societal conceptions about the place of death in society. It is at the cemetery that notions of person, family, kinship and nation get physically interwoven.

In Sweden a deliberately designed affective architecture and culturally resonant landscape of death has been produced for consumption by mourners and other visitors at Skogskyrkogården, Stockholm's "Woodland Cemetery." Its 1994 inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List is justified as the integration of function set in nature, expressing a Nordic landscape and belief in nature's ability to ameliorate grief. The polysemous character of this cemetery is considered in this volume by Eva Silvén (Chapter 2), who observes that the lawn art decorating many of Skogskyrkogården's grave sites in permanent and seasonal/occasional form is visually arresting and curiosity stimulating and therefore mourners as well as tourists – local visitors and others – consume this space of materialized death. An important observation in her chapter is that the practices of mourners at graves and cemeteries tend to blur the common distinction between private and public, which opens the way for both conflicts and encounters, for there are consequences of accessibility – for the bereaved, tourists or other visitors – when public mourning sites are filled with personal messages. And she reflects on the possibilities for safeguarding the private significance of artifacts displayed in a public context. Catharina Nolin (Chapter 3) is similarly concerned with visual consumption, focusing on the highly sensitive and affective children's sector

at Skogskyrkogården and other cemeteries, asking what it means to frame and design children's graves. Importantly signaled in her chapter are the types of vegetation, building materials and other settings that could be used to stage mourning, loss and childhood with dignity.

David Sloane (Chapter 14) tackles the expanding deathscape as, worldwide, public commemoration of ordinary loved ones is being manifested in vernacular physical and highly personalized embodied form – indeed, frequently impermanent and often mobile. Here the distinction between private and public is even more indistinct as common space is claimed for individual grief. These acts are not directed by the official sphere of society but, rather, are individual or spontaneous group actions.

The magnificent, national heritage commemorative landscapes built by the U.S. and British governments for their military dead abroad (see above) create their own places of death in the landscape. They stand in stark contrast to the case presented by Johanna Dahlin (Chapter 10) where individual citizens have taken over the task because national memorial work has failed. Here Russian volunteer search brigades are trying to find millions of their World War II dead soldiers in their own country. This Russian landscape of death is not heritagized. Rather, the search brigades are enabling individual families to generate their own personal heritages on the landscape.

The Victorian cemetery of England stands at the opposite end of the design spectrum from Skogskyrkogården, with the former characterized by the culturally patterned excess of its period (Cannon 1989; Rutherford 2013) and the latter by the reserve and modesty of its citizens (Constant 1994). Julie Rugg (Chapter 4) considers the problem of cemetery conservation by England's official heritage office, English Heritage (Historic England), and discovers conflicting narratives with significant impact on the fate of these spaces of death; although they are popular places of visitation, they cannot be read in a facile manner. Well visited and much loved, should this heritage be conserved to suit the tourists' embrace of gothic sensibilities, or should a less romantic approach be deployed? Her chapter provides important insight into the history of cemetery conservation as an idea. She notes that nearly fifty years after they were first regarded as a legitimate focus for conservation activity, English cemeteries still lack a specific designation category and are nested within the umbrella term of "historic parks and gardens." For many of the key actors and agencies involved in the protection and interpretation of cemeteries, meaning is more readily found for cemeteries outside their immediate location as burial spaces, for example as Victorian artifacts, "secret gardens" or sites of biographical recovery.

Representing overwhelming catastrophes

The most dramatic landscapes of death are those caused by laying waste through genocide, nuclear events and devastating terrorism. Kenneth Foote observed that "many acts of violence are not expunged from landscape but rather transformed into monuments and memorials" (2003: 3). Thus, the Holocaust's landscape of

death runs across Europe's concentration camps and also takes the form of memorials and museums, even extending into parts of the world in which the event did not happen. These, as well as many other venues of war, oppression and cruelty, have been heritagized and are active tourist sites. Such places are consistently characterized as paradigmatic "dark tourism" (e.g., Lennon and Foley 2000) and the well-visited museums and memorials are sites of remembrance, the newest being the September 11 National Memorial Museum in New York City (Blais and Rasic 2011).

The nuclear disaster at Chernobyl, Russia has generated its own form of heritage and tourism. Tim Hutchings and Katya Linden (Chapter 15) recognize highly diverse and ambiguous responses in the locally affected area in tension with a very particular form of dark tourism among international visitors. This "black tourism" (Stone 2013) carries broader political accounts, and the ruins of Chernobyl both expose and put utopian ideals of the former Soviet Union in question. The politics of the past constantly intermingle with the present when the disaster site acts as a projection surface.

The former Gulag system of the dismantled Soviet Union generated a territorially discontinuous landscape of repression, often resulting in the death of its prisoners. Remains of sites of this nature – what Logan and Reeves (2009) call "places of pain and shame" – constitute a difficult (ibid.), dissonant (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) and negative (Meskell 2002) heritage. If heritagized, their management is complicated, not least because of the contesting narratives that swirl around them, embodied by on-the-ground stakeholders. And even in the absence of official treatment, the vernacular claims to such places involve a range of stakeholders including local communities, those who were impacted by actual events of the place, national and even international publics and, often, tourists. Margaret Comer's (Chapter 12) treatment of the voiced and silenced narratives involved with commemoration and memorialization at the first Gulag camp and its associated landscape features is particularly interesting in this regard. She examines varied methods of commemoration and memorialization at such sites, with a special focus on the Solovetsky Islands – the site of the first camp in what became the Gulag system of forced labor camps – as well as on the Lubyanka prison building in Moscow and on Butovo, a mass grave outside Moscow.

Touring death

Tourism's direct and celebratory approach to death is otherwise peculiar in modern, Western society given its oft-observed reticence toward mortality. As Palgi and Abramovitch have commented, "the extent to which death in Western society has become a private affair . . . demonstrates the depth of death anxiety engendered by the contemporary cultural milieu" (1984: 385). It is remarkable, then, that death can be transformed into an attracting (if not attractive) destination. Death links the touristic display to an existential dimension of being, preventing it from being perceived as either superficial or false. But the resulting picture is complex, as modernity breaks down a "sacred/profane" worldview and the structuring

and packaging attributes of the tourist gaze simultaneously challenge the reverence, solemnity and decorum that might be expected from our inheritance of the "Victorian bourgeois cultural view" (Rojek 1993) in connection with death. The intersection of touristic amusement and respectful solemnity and celebration and mourning comes to the surface at cemeteries such as Hollywood Forever in Los Angeles (Levitt 2012), Père-Lachaise in Paris (Toussaint and Decrop 2013) and Recoleta in Buenos Aires, where tourists ("fan pilgrimage") to the graves of stars and notables intermingle with families remembering their loved ones.

These locations of death, when adjusted to consumption and put on display, generate new meanings of identity, community and power. Such heritages, as we have indicated, can generate a touristic landscape that is a culturally and semantically condensed arena well suited for social analyses of representation and the interplay between micro and macro power relations. Craig Young and Duncan Light (Chapter 7) offer a fascinating example of this in their analysis of the fierce dispute between the English cities of York and Leicester over which city would be able to reinter the recently discovered remains of King Richard III and thus tap a potentially vast tourist income. They attend to the intersection of a heritage narrative of the nation with tourism, which produced a new landscape of death for consumption. In a similar vein, Mattias Frihammar (Chapter 5) unpacks the struggle over the final resting place for the ashes of the great actress, Greta Garbo, which were seen as a resource wrested by Stockholm for the global tourist market and claimed by the city and nation as Swedish cultural heritage.

A new scalar dimension in death tourism is offered by digital technology in the social media of death. For instance, the digital creation of cyber cemeteries is creating new patterns of mourning as well as new practices of tourism – virtual tourism. "The World Wide Cemetery" (cemetery.org) describes itself in terms iterative of a "real" cemetery ("elegant, peaceful, and serene resting place"). Here, as elsewhere in cyber-deathland, one can leave "flowers" and messages at an online grave. Furthermore, the size limitations of an epitaph on a physical gravestone are now obviated by social media through which remembrances of any length and multiple images can be produced. Tim Hutchings and Katya Linden (Chapter 15) describe a new landscape of death around an older death site through online activity. They consider how the actual physical site of death is extended into cyberspace through blogs and websites with extensive verbal and graphic commentary from related and unrelated visitors. This generates an active post-touristic/re-touristic activity.

The affective side

Affect is "the potential to elicit intense embodied, physiological responses with very powerful effects" (Sather-Wagstaff 2016: 12). Knudsen and Ifversen emphasize affect as the virtual capacity of places "to be actualized depending on the bodies experiencing the places, and actual capacities of bodies to act and react" (2016: 221). Affect is the capacity to act or engage with others, "add[ing] capacities through interaction in a world which is constantly becoming" (Thrift 2004: 61). Affect

engages the sensorial body and implicates deliberate actions (affect as "a form of thinking" – Thrift 2004: 60), such as politics, that will "produce visible conduct" (Thrift 2004: 60), especially emotion. Thus, affect is "emotion as motion" (Thrift 2004: 60, following Bruno 2002; see also Picard and Robinson 2012). Therefore, the staging and framing of places and people provide "context [as] a vital element in the constitution of affect" (Thrift 2004: 60). As with heritage itself, the issue is who and what is affective and how affect is engineered.

Turkish violence against the Armenians (1915–17) created a global diaspora, as well as official efforts to memorialize the Great Catastrophe (as Armenians call it) in built form in the homeland – namely,the Tsitsernakaberd Memorial Complex and Armenian Genocide Museum in Yerevan. The significance of this site, which has garnered recent attention from anthropologists and other social scientists, is addressed by Donna Buchanan (Chapter 11), particularly in relation to centennial observances of the 1915 tragedy. Importantly, however, Buchanan also emphasizes how the Armenian disaster is recalled in intangible form – through music and dance – among Bulgaria's diasporic Armenian population. Buchanan effectively demonstrates how the diasporic Armenian community deploys music and traditional dance, often in collaboration with Bulgarian artists and always in dialogue with similar Armenian initiatives elsewhere, to commemorate the difficult past. She writes that these elegiac tributes conjoin diaspora and homeland in a transnational community of sentiment whose metaphorical terrain is at once imagined and spatially marked through sound, movement and the postsocialist construction or renovation of built environments (churches, parks, monuments) that map the Armenian presence across Bulgarian space. Also contributing is the physical landscape of *hachkar*-s (carved stelae with a cosmological iconography, erected in a religious context to facilitate communication between the secular and the divine), which are loci of vernacular practice and sites of ceremonial performances commemorating the disaster.

Affective registers work in intimate as well as larger social contexts. It has been argued that in the Western world, death has been "privatized," i.e. that it has come to disappear from public or semi-public context. Grief is not supposed to be displayed publicly and death rituals have become a concern largely only for the bereaved family (Palmer 1993). The "affective turn" lets us interrogate how death – and specifically a heritage of death – can operate as an emotional arena, in a range of contexts, tourism among the most obvious and public of these. Thus, in particular circumstances, there is a much greater willingness – at times even a zeal – to put death in the public domain, arising from the cult of celebrity, a widespread culture of remembrance and memorialization, calls for reconciliation among aggrieved parties, and the heritage industry.

Magdalena Banaszkiewicz (Chapter 6) presents Lenin's Mausoleum in Moscow as a dark heritage site that is affective and particularly prone to dissonances. Using a critical discourse analysis of TripAdvisor reviews as her primary source of data, she shows that dissonance depends to some extent on the emotional reactions of Russian and English-speaking tourists to the tomb and the official script of its celebrity occupant. But although the tourist encounter

is stimulated on the emotional level by the specific atmospherics of the site, the response among Russians, she says, is also deep-rooted in cultural memory. She therefore concludes that visitors should be taken into consideration as active stakeholders in the site: they negotiate the meaning of the place and instantiate the power of physical space in every tourist experience. As Smith has said, "Tourists . . . view destinations and events through their own personal lens, and are influenced by their social and cultural values" (2009: 189).

We also relate the affective turn to the "experience economy" (Pine and Gilmore 1999). The intent to generate emotion is simultaneously an attempt to provide experience or, better said, to enable its co-production by its consumers. Ashworth (2008) has been explicit that human trauma is being heritagized in the memorialization of violence and tragedy. We would argue that death tourism "promote[s] the more intangible and experiential aspects of the destination, such as the atmosphere, animation or sense of place" (Smith 2009: 189; see, for instance, Sather-Wagstaff 2011).

This volume

We, the editors, have chosen several particularly powerful concepts – captured in single words – to deploy heuristically as Part titles to organize the case studies constituting the chapters. However, it is obvious from the preceding discussion that there are many cross-cutting themes in the contributions to this volume and other orderings would have been possible. We hope that our choice is meaningful to the reader.

Part II: affect

"Affect" responds to the current attention to emotion and experience, applying these to cemeteries. Eva Silvén (Chapter 2) recognizes the particular sensibilities of active cemeteries as to which spaces should be public and which private and what a visitor should be permitted to see. Most affective is the pathos of children's sections and their particular maintenance, movingly considered by Catharina Nolin (Chapter 3). As she shows, not only do cemeteries reveal the relation between children and their families, they also reveal that we, as visitors, are witnessing a heritage of children's death from a period in cemetery design that was very dynamic. In contrast, the temporal separation of today's tourist from the cemeteries' occupants enables UK heritage managers to actively heritagize and romantically script the Victorian cemetery – that most classic example of mourning culture (Cannon 1989; Muller and Muller 2009; Rutherford 2013) – for tourist consumption, as Julie Rugg illustrates (Chapter 4).

Part III: celebrity

"Celebrity" presents examples of the heritagization of celebrity death in three fascinating examples: the ambiguity of Greta Garbo in her native country

(Mattias Frihammar, Chapter 5), the cult of Lenin in the former Soviet Union (Magdalena Banaszkiewicz, Chapter 6) and the discovery of the remains of Richard III, one of England's most controversial historic kings (Craig Young and Duncan Light, Chapter 7). Connecting these chapters is the tourism attracted to their respective sites of burial.

Frihammar (Chapter 5) argues that the death of Garbo provided an opportunity for Sweden to re-frame the actress as Swedish, after her long U.S. exile. Analytical attention is especially paid to the links between the cult of dead celebrities, tourism and national labeling. The tension between communicative memory, collective memory and authorized heritage production is highlighted, as well as how death functions as a group-unifying occurrence.

The struggle for Garbo's ashes played out nationally and internationally. No less a struggle occurred within England over the remains of King Richard III (1452–85), who died more than five hundred years ago and was rediscovered in 2012. As compellingly narrated by Craig Young and Duncan Light (Chapter 7), York and Leicester battled for three years over possession of the body of this reviled and, more recently, rehabilitated king. They theorize the dead body as a form of heritage which possesses agency and is characterized by multiple ontologies and enactments.

Whereas an economically profitable consumption through tourism led to a veritable inter-urban war between the two contending English cities over pride of place, Lenin's Tomb (Chapter 6) engages other dimensions of tourism. Magdalena Banaszkiewicz argues that national identity and political ideology are consumed by (especially) domestic tourists in the context of a radically changed country. In both cases – Richard III and Lenin – we see the relevance of Katherine Verdery's (1999) concept of the political lives of dead bodies, particularly Lenin in terms of the role that his body and those of other figures within the former Iron Curtain have played years after their death as socialist regimes fell across Eastern Europe.

Part IV: war

"War" is concerned with commemoration and memorialization in the context of the two world wars. Here we pair treatments of World War I (Chapter 8 by Paul Kapp and Cele Otnes; Chapter 9 by David Mason) with World War II (Chapter 10 by Johanna Dahlin), with all three cases sitting comfortably within a dark tourism framework. Kapp and Otnes interrogate a compelling 2014 art installation at the Tower of London recalling the massive loss of a generation of young British men. They identify four highly resonant cultural and historical discourses within the exhibit of hundreds of thousands of red ceramic poppies: collective commemoration, monarchic heritage, individual patriotism and artistic entrepreneurship. Together, the exhibition, its discourses and its take-away consumable product have enabled the continuation of World War I sentiment and memory. World War I was also equally commemorated in Australia on the related centenary of the British Empire's great defeat at Gallipoli. Contemporary Australia has embraced

this conflict, re-dramatizing the narratives of national identity and difference and exalting the fallen heroes of World War I. As analyzed by David Mason, Australia seems transfixed by myths of nationhood, the cult of the fallen hero and respect for ANZAC virtues of courage, service, sacrifice and solidarity. The ubiquitous ANZAC memorials and their veneration implicate two heritage communities: the professional conservator and the remembrance public.

Part V: oppression

"Oppression" considers the heritage of violence-generated death in populations at widely varying scales (from several thousand to millions), with each case presenting compelling needs and challenges for commemoration. Physical memorialization and performative remembrance of the victims of oppression (ethnic: Donna Buchanan, Chapter 11, political: Margaret Comer, Chapter 12, racial: Rasul Mowatt, Chapter 13) serve the descendant community and, ideally, the nation. Memorialization and remembrance counteract forgetting and erasure while serving as emotional catharses and, potentially, reconciliation. These sites invite visitation, thus becoming implicated in a kind of dark tourism that is local, regional and national, and that can even be international.

Part VI: unbounded

"Unbounded" moves the volume into the innovative terrain of death in the twenty-first century with attention to radically new practices of commemoration, such as the effacement of traditional cemeteries and mourning rituals through the medium of cyberspace and virtual commemoration.

David Sloane (Chapter 14) observes that mourning and commemoration are no longer confined to official and customary spheres of practice. Rather, they are increasingly part of the public realm. He presents everyday memorials (roadside shrines, ghost bikes, R.I.P. murals) as exemplars of this new, more public discussion and commemoration of death. He also observes the dawn of a new era of private commemoration as with memorial tattoos and personal expressions in the form of vinyl vehicle decals. These new forms are dramatic and prosaic as well as private and public. Timothy Hutchings and Katya Linden (Chapter 15) present a different example of unbounded death, in this case in the sense that the repercussions of the Chernobyl catastrophe are ongoing and that actual tourism is accompanied by an active practice of blogging in cyberspace, with communication between those who were witness or related to the event and others who are complete strangers.

Part VII: epilogue

Joy Sather-Wagstaff's epilogue (Chapter 16) offers a forward-looking consideration of the intersections of "death heritage," "cultural tourism" and "dark tourism."

We hope this volume will expand research attention to the exceptionally rich contexts of heritagized death. Certainly and inevitably, it is a field that will always generate new material for study.

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Part II

Affect

2 Graveside shrines

Private or public space?

Eva Silvén

Introduction

If you are a regular visitor to an ordinary Protestant Christian cemetery in Sweden, you will see how the natural changes of the year are mirrored in the small gardens on the graves. The perennials have their individual recurring variation, while the florists' assortments of potted plants create a powerful rhythm: in spring yellow daffodils, in summer red, white and pink begonias, in the autumn heather – some years ago only violet, today also white, orange and blue. Then, during winter, the fresh flowers are replaced with gray-green conifers, candles and cressets.

However, over the past decades a different order has taken shape in the newer areas of some cemeteries. Here the seasonal holidays are marked by Easter feathers, miniature maypoles, Halloween pumpkins, as well as small Santa Clauses and Christmas trees. But there is also a third category of artifacts that has become more frequent on the gravesides and that forms the focus of my study: personal memorabilia from family members, relatives and friends. Their sorrow and loss is materialized with the help of all possible kinds of objects from everyday life, but most common are toys, sports accessories, decorative figures, drinks and sweets. Even an outsider will be strongly affected by the grief and affinity that these things convey, although the more precise meaning might be concealed. Obviously, the line between what is defined as private and public has changed, an issue that death and mourning rituals often indicate particularly clearly.

Problem, focus and research context

These rituals can be seen not only in Swedish graveyards, but also in other countries, in varying modes and shapes. During the last decades a parallel kind of behavior has taken place at public monuments and memorials as well as at the actual sites of unpredicted or violent death, where people light candles and leave flowers, photos, notes and souvenirs for others to look at. In current research on these phenomena, not only interpretative issues have been debated but also the terminology – especially regarding the third category, usually named *spontaneous shrines, temporary, makeshift, ephemeral, vernacular* or *performative memorials, roadside memorials, urban streetcorner shrines*, etc. The most

questioned words have been "makeshift" and "shrine", since often there are no immediate religious connections. According to anthropologist Sylvia Grider, the objects are not haphazardly selected or arranged, although the memorials are spontaneously constructed. Instead they are "folk art assemblages" that at first may appear to be chaotic, but a closer inspection "reveals a coherent organizational principle in the arrangement of memorabilia which usually results in an aesthetically satisfying appearance" (Grider 2001).[1] I have chosen the terms *graveside shrines*, *public monuments* and *temporary memorials* to denote and distinguish the three kinds of sites.

Empirically, this study is based on my observations at Skogskyrkogården, the Woodland Cemetery in Stockholm, and elsewhere in Sweden and other countries, as well as on interviews, conversations and correspondence, on analog and digital media, and examples from scholarly studies of related phenomena in different places. The analytical focus lies on the materializing of private meaning in public spaces of death and mourning, and my research problem can be described as tripartite: first, the *materiality*; second, the *meaning* of the objects left at graveside shrines, public monuments and temporary memorials; and third, the *consequences* of these practices. How does it happen that private, everyday items are moved into the public spheres of death? What does this relocation do to the understanding of what is private and/or public regarding death? How can the personal and intimate meaning of single objects be forwarded and kept protected in the public context? What might be the consequences for the general accessibility of public mourning sites when they are filled with private messages?

This study is a part of the still growing and intense multidisciplinary field of research on death and heritage, memorials and mourning, including aspects like "difficult" and "dark" tourism, which this volume and its referred literature testify to. More specifically, I have been inspired by various studies of people's material performances at burial grounds, monuments and memorials (Allen 1995; Hass 1998; Walter 1999b; Hallam and Hockey 2001; Richardson 2001; Santino 2006b; Doss 2008; Sather-Wagstaff 2011). Theoretically, I will rely upon concepts like "materiality" and "materializing", as understood by anthropologist Daniel Miller as well as sociologist Bruno Latour and other scholars in the field of Actor–Network Theory, where they underline the socio-material agency of things and their social effects (e.g. Latour 1998; Miller 2005). Accordingly, anthropologist Joy Sather-Wagstaff, with reference to Judith Butler and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, emphasizes the general performative nature of the construction and consuming of heritage sites and memorials (Sather-Wagstaff 2011: 31, 121). Also Igor Kopytoff's (1986) influential concept of "the cultural biography of things" will be taken into account. Some of the objects in question have a strong emotional history, which is why they are left at the different sites. And as performative actors, they are not only containers but also conveyors of private meaning into the public sphere, where they change and redefine the character of the site. With this tension between private and public in focus, my contribution to this volume will be one example of how emotion, memory and practice are intertwined and together create a complex and ambiguous heritage of death.

Graveside shrines, public monuments and temporary memorials

My main starting point is the Woodland Cemetery in Stockholm, which covers over 100 hectares of land and includes around 100,000 individual graves (Figure 2.1). After more than two decades of planning and building, the cemetery was inaugurated in 1940 in Enskede, at that time a quickly growing "garden town" south of Stockholm City (Constant 1994). Today "Skogskyrkogården" is an underground stop 15 minutes from the Central Station. The establishment of the cemetery was the result of an international architectural competition, where the natural landscape was to be taken into consideration as well as new modern burial and religious practices of the twentieth century (see Nolin, Chapter 3 of this volume). The physical environment, the several chapels and other buildings were designed by prominent architects Gunnar Asplund and Sigurd Lewerentz in the spirit of contemporary functionalism. The cemetery soon gained an international reputation and in 1994 was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Tours for tourists, school groups and other visitors are organized regularly by the Stockholm City Museum, and there are maps and audio guides available at the Visitors Center and on the web.[2]

In Sweden, most graveyards are owned and administered by local authorities and the Church of Sweden, which up to this millennium was the official Protestant state church. The cemeteries are therefore considered public spaces, accessible for all, not necessarily for religious purposes. Within certain limits – e.g., regarding size, material and symbols – people are free to make their own

Figure 2.1 The open area at the main entrance to the Woodland Cemetery, May 2017. To the left, the columbarium wall, the old crematorium and some of the chapels. In the middle, the Elm Top (Almhöjden), a meditation grove. To the right, the Remembrance Garden (Minneslunden), where ashes are spread or worked into the earth.

Source: Photo: Eva Silvén.

choice of headstone, the text on it and the decorations in front of it. In some places there are certain blocks for people with particular religious or ethnic identities, but in the newest areas of the Woodland Cemetery, the graves seem to be more mixed, reflecting the normalization of the growing diversity in the Swedish population.

Thus, the Woodland Cemetery is a public area and works both as an ordinary Swedish graveyard and as an official World Heritage Site. But like many other burial grounds, it also has a vernacular quality, shaped by the private rituals that are performed on the individual graves (Figure 2.2). Living nearby for more than 25 years has made it possible for me to observe both continuity and change in these mourning practices, relative to both time and season. But my interest in these issues was not only a result of my bike tours around the cemetery, I was also inspired by research and media reports about the changing use of public

Figure 2.2 Personal and seasonal decorations on a grave at the Woodland Cemetery, March 1997. Multicolored Easter feathers, a silvery necklace, a red heart with the text "I love you", a white angel, flowers, moss and fir cones.

Source: Photo: Eva Silvén.

monuments and the creation of temporary memorials. One familiar example of the first category is the Wall – the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, designed by artist Maya Lin.[3] When this monument was planned, no one could anticipate how it would be treated by visitors. Ever since its inauguration in 1982, people have left things there, as a gift, tribute or secret message to one or more of the names on the Wall. During the same period, the National Park Service has collected these until now more than 400,000 items that are registered and preserved in the storage facilities of the National Park Service Museum Resource Center (Allen 1995; Hass 1998; Sather-Wagstaff 2011).[4]

In parallel, the new habit of constructing temporary memorials has arisen in many Western countries. Anywhere in the public environment where violent assault, murder or a severe accident have occurred, people have left candles, flowers, photos and objects to express respect, compassion and grief. Known examples are, for instance, Pont d'Alma in Paris, where Princess Diana died in a car crash in 1997, Oklahoma City after the bombing in 1995, Columbine High School in Colorado after the shootings in 1999, the areas around the World Trade Center in New York after the attacks in 2001 and the Atocha station after the train bombings in Madrid in 2004 (e.g., Walter 1999b; Santino 2006b; Sather-Wagstaff 2011). Well-known sites in Sweden are the street corner in Stockholm where Prime Minister Olof Palme was shot in 1986 and the nearby department store where Foreign Minister Anna Lindh was stabbed to death in 2003, as well as the square outside the building in Gothenburg where 63 young people were killed by arson during a disco night in 1998. Yet another site had to be added on 7 April 2017, when five people (and a dog) died due to a truck attack in a walking area of Stockholm City.

Like the observed changes at the Woodland Cemetery, these kinds of public activities turned into new ritual habits from the 1990s onwards, with the permanent monument the Wall (1982) and the temporary memorial for Olof Palme (1986) as forerunners. In this study, I use these kinds of monuments and memorials as a backdrop for my own attention to the gravesides at the cemetery. The broader context has proven to be necessary for understanding the movements and changes between what is considered private and public, the theme I will develop here.

The artifacts: materiality, meaning, agency

During the second half of the twentieth century, research about "the material" has undergone a distinctive change. First, the typological and positivist study of physical *artifacts* gave way to the more contextualized *material culture studies*. Later, the *material turn* has further changed the concept from defining a certain field to more of a way to see the material dimension in the creating of social life and societal relations. With the concepts of *materiality* and *materialization*, the boundaries were blurred between the material and the immaterial, between people and their things, between objects and performances (Damsholt, Simonsen and Mordhorst 2009). This opened up a means of seeing not only people but also objects as *actors* in social networks, where they transport interactions and keep

social relationships in place over time (Latour 1998: 269–289). Along the same line of thought, anthropologist Miles Richardson has argued that the sheer materiality of objects offered at shrines, monuments and memorials denies absence and creates presence: "The objects we leave continue to speak that we were here and made this gift, long after we have gone" (Richardson 2001: 266).

Beside this tangible physical presence, a new interest in exploring the meaning attributed to objects has appeared. Irrespective of environment, the gifts left on gravesides, public monuments and temporary memorials signify a more or less shared signification. Some of them form "a consistent basic vocabulary" (Grider 2001) and have become canonized expressions of grief in public: candles, flowers, photos, cards, stuffed animals, crucifixes and different heart-shaped decorations. Some have been prepared in advance, others bought in the nearest corner shop, while some might be any item closest at hand for visiting tourists – like a cap, signed with a name, a date and "We remember, we will never forget" (Doss 2008: 13–14). At the Wall, things connected with the military service environment – uniform details, awards, dogtags, as well as cigarettes, playing cards, liquor – also belong to that category. The same goes for all sorts of toys on children's graves at the Woodland Cemetery, and for a new kind of item: prefabricated round polished pebbles with inscriptions like "Beloved" or "Always in my heart".

Of course this conventionalized and readable material can also work as secret messages from the living to the dead. But mainly such reflections are evoked in front of other objects, which obviously carry a certain meaning – although undisclosed for outside visitors and viewers: A single high-heeled woman's shoe and five tins of canned fruit left at the Wall. A set of keys at a graveside shrine at the Woodland Cemetery. They are harmless and they are mystifying, due to the same context.[5] Evidently they are connected to a narrative and have a biography, which entitle them to act as memorabilia (cf. Kopytoff 1986).

Most studies of shrines, monuments and memorials have been carried out by anthropologists, sociologists or psychologists, with their primary interest in people's ritual behavior. The objects have in general been treated secondarily and not as distinct individuals. However, there were early exceptions; for example, two studies of the collections from the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (Allen 1995; Hass 1998). Some years later, immediately after the attacks on the World Trade Center, anthropologist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett commented on the overwhelming amount of popular reactions to Manhattan: "Can the institutional context of the museum accommodate the spontaneous memorial practices of visitors? Can the memory palace of the museum ever approximate the memory palace that the city itself has become?" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2001). These were relevant questions, since this kind of material constituted a specific challenge, also for museums already involved in contemporary collecting. More recently, librarian Ashley Maynor (2016) has presented a thorough study of the emotional, ethical, practical and professional issues connected to the collecting of condolence material from three catastrophe sites in the U.S.[6]

Usually, artifacts left at monuments and memorials are not saved; rather, they are divested in different but respectful ways (Walter 2008: 257). But if they are

collected, both their materiality and meaning will counteract the established professional standards for museums, archives and libraries. Normally, they would have been refused by those institutions. These objects are generally difficult to preserve because of the material they are made of (paper, plastic, cheap fabric, etc.), and are often in bad physical condition, after having been exposed to sun, rain and wind. And what about their meaning? Sorrow, grief, compassion, rage – yes – but more or less apparent emotions are seldom to be found among the professional criteria for acquisition, at least not in this vernacular and ephemeral form. As I see it, in creating this heritage of death, curators, archivists and librarians have taken a giant step away from their otherwise rational, systematic and scientific sampling. They have listened to people outside the museum walls, where some objects derive their value by being charged with affective stories and memories in the interface between the individual and the collective.

The purpose of artifacts left at monuments and memorials is seldom that they will be of use for research and exhibitions in the same way as other collections, which further demonstrates their distinct character and agency. Sylvia Grider explains in an interview how the items in the Texas A&M Bonfire Memorabilia Collection have been cataloged, described and packed in archival boxes. They have never been on display, and probably never will be, because they have already done their job. They stood vigil at the accident site and are the material representations of how the community responded to the catastrophe. Today they are safe in the archives, as silent sentinels, and people in the community seem to be satisfied with that.[7]

But there are occasions when artifacts with a "difficult" or "disturbing" meaning are on display, and when visitors might react differently from the ordinary tourist or museum goer. Joy Sather-Wagstaff gives one example from the Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum, where the victims of the 1995 bombing are represented by their watches, keys, damaged coffee mugs and other everyday and familiar objects. Referring to a visiting tourist, Sather-Wagstaff argues that such recognizable artifacts become "difficult, 'sticky' heritage objects due not solely to their status as carefully collected and curated artifacts of violence and tragedy but through the polysensory, affective encounters of visitors with the agency of their display". In accordance with the new respect for sensible and emotional qualities in museum collecting and material culture research, these artifacts serve "to represent a new canon of authoritative objects for contemporary museum exhibits, their affective presence expected, normative, and intentionally meant for highly individualized interpretation" (Sather-Wagstaff 2017: 24; cf. Howes 2005; Edwards, Gosden and Phillips 2006). Hence, how the museums act may play a role in the development of the materiality, meaning and agency of contemporary artifacts in the context of death and mourning.

An intimizing motion: between private and public

As far as we know, death and grief have always been connected to certain material practices and to the materialization of sentiment and affect. "Links between material culture and mourning are timeless", as American Studies scholar Erika

Doss has put it (2008: 14). When the new rituals at gravesides, monuments and memorials first took place in Sweden, a common understanding was that this was a result of an immediate influence from cemeteries and roadside shrines in Catholic-dominated countries.[8] Here, bereavement has often been articulated in more expressive ways, and more publicly. However, instead of a direct cultural appropriation, researchers have preferred to interpret the change as part of a larger process of *intimization* – an emotional shift in Western public life as a reaction against modernity's political rationalities and anxieties (e.g. Sennett 1977/2017; Bauman 2000; Hallam and Hockey 2001). According to sociologist Tony Walter, mourning was a public issue in preindustrial society, while it turned private during the twentieth century. Today it has become public again, in a way he defines as the "New Public Mourning" (Walter 2008, 2015). This concept includes all the "offline" practices that have been discussed here, but also the "online" possibilities offered by the Internet's numerous platforms: Facebook, weblogs, memorial websites, YouTube, virtual graveyards, cybershrines, etc. Grief has once again turned visible and ubiquitous.

Walter argues that one remarkable characteristic of the New Public Mourning is the possibility for anyone to grieve someone they actually don't know, either among celebrities or "ordinary" people who happen to have been victims of accidents or attacks (Walter 2008, 2015).[9] This is a sign of intimization, but it can also be viewed as a process of democratization and inclusion. Before, the authorities decided who were worthy enough to be mourned in public, and the citizens were required to take part and express their sorrow in certain ways (Walter 2015: 13). Walter also notes that after the death of Princess Diana in 1997, the ordinary television coverage was reversed. Previously media usually spoke and people listened, but now the mourners made their statements, knowing that they would be heard, seen and read (Walter 1999c).

The growing range of different platforms, both offline and online, has also expanded the possibilities to grieve in the way that suits the individual best. Some people are more attracted by physical memorials, others by virtual. Some want to express themselves materially, others verbally or visually. Some want to exchange emotions with likeminded people by commenting and sharing. Even different generations can make different choices. Similarly, folklorist Jack Santino emphasizes the political nature of the spontaneous shrines/temporary memorials, as they reflect and comment on public and social issues, for instance: "The country doesn't want to spend money on road improvement? Look at all the crosses along this stretch of the road" (Santino 2006a: 12–13).

In the beginning of these processes, almost before the digital age, anthropologists Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey identified two parallel movements: While mourning rituals were spread out from the cemeteries into cities and other public spaces, personal keepsakes found their way from homes to the gravesides. On children's graves it was as if the nursery had moved to the cemetery, where parents were trying to hold on to the child with the help of familiar and beloved objects (Figure 2.3). Comparisons were made with photographs from the nineteenth century, with dead children surrounded by rocking horses, balls

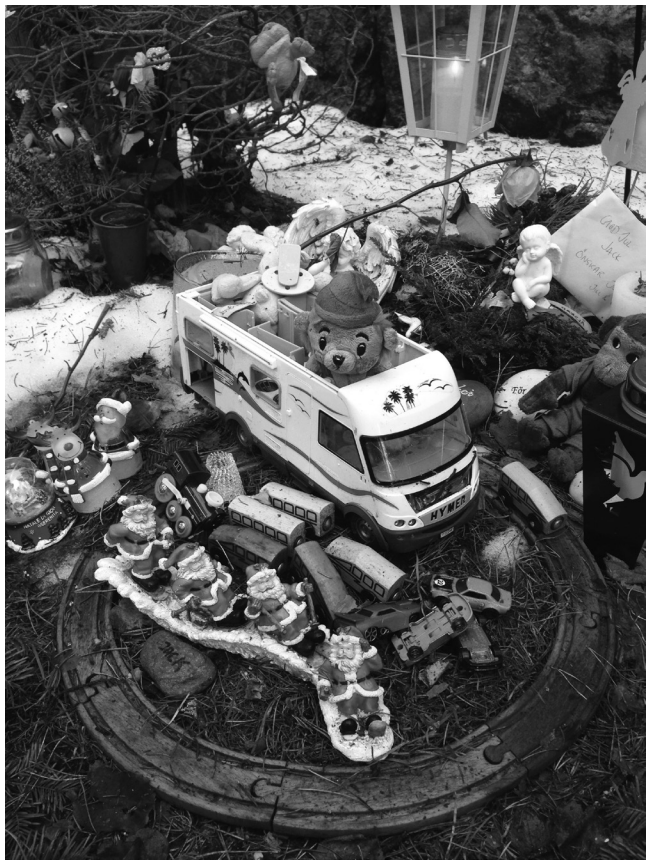

Figure 2.3 An assemblage of colorful toys at a child's graveside shrine, apparently brought there from home. Woodland Cemetery, January 2017.

Source: Photo: Eva Silvén.

and dolls. These practices were interpreted as a reluctance to let go, but also as attempts to maintain the person's identity intact (Hallam and Hockey 2001: 88, 99, passim). A comparable and historical custom is when families want to add personal items to the body in the coffin before cremation or interment, or directly into the grave, with the aim of creating an intimate and authentic bond between the living and the dead – as a gift of *presence* (cf. Richardson 2001).

Today this ambivalence has turned into an accepted continued existence. "Spontaneous shrines place deceased individuals back into the fabric of society, into the middle of areas of commerce and travel, into everyday life as it is being lived" (Santino 2006a: 13). "Death is no longer sequestrated from life" (Walter 2015: 15). "Death ends a life, not a relationship" (Refslund Christensen and Gotved 2015: 6). During the twentieth century, the mourning period was a

liminal moment, a *rite de passage* from one status to another for both the living and the dead (cf. Turner 1969/79). But it was also limited, which was considered necessary for the mental health of the bereaved – letting go and moving on. At first, the new rituals worried psychologists, who asked what would be the consequences of the continued social presence of the dead, offline as well as online. Today the bonds kept with the deceased are mostly unquestioned (Klass, Silverman and Nickman 1996; Walter 1999a, 2008; Refslund Christensen and Gotved 2015). But what about the dead? When the "real" person is deceased, his/her "virtual" counterpart can be kept alive on digital platforms forever, continually updated. "Instead of traditional perceptions of heaven, purgatory and hell, do we now have an additional space within the contemporary spiritual psyche – the ethereal space of the Internet – where the bereaved linger and continue to interact with the deceased?" (Bailey, Bell and Kennedy 2015: 85). What will then happen to the wish *Rest In Peace*?

Open access?

For a long time, there have been debates and conflicts around how burial sites should be designed and maintained. During the twentieth century in Sweden, new ways of decorating graves with Christmas trees, pearl wreaths, grave lamps and doves, as well as the design of the headstone, sparked discussions about "good tomb culture" (e.g. Rehnberg 1965). Author Ivar Lo-Johansson describes working as a stonemason in Stockholm in 1920. He was asked by widows to make doves of white marble as an addition to their late husbands' headstones. But the authorities "had got the idea to clean up the city of the dead". In particular they argued that the Woodland Cemetery "should be freed from all knick-knacks, to be shown to strangers as a cemetery built for people of the modern age" (Lo-Johansson 1979: 133).[10] However, Lo-Johansson made the doves, and in the dark of night he put them in place.

Today's guidelines are considerably more permissive and the arguments for certain restrictions are no longer about "good tomb culture" but rather the alleged difficulties and risks for the staff when cutting grass and hedges and caring for the plants. Hallam and Hockey also suggest that the authorities' wish for order and control is a way to regulate the expansion of the graves as private space. Otherwise, the amount of personal objects and secret messages would risk making the cemetery inaccessible for other grave owners as well as visitors in general (2001: 152).

Some striking illustrations of the private–public space dilemma have been reported in the British media in recent years with headlines like "Mum must remove colourful decorations from tot's grave" and "Heartless council orders grieving family to rip up shrine to late mum" (Belanger 2010; Mooney 2011; Hughes 2015; Hilley 2016). The arguments against these private expressions are threefold: First, these assemblages are too vociferous and call for so much attention that they interfere with other grave owners' experience of the site; instead of meeting with a silent place for grief, visitors are disturbed by a cacophony

of competing wind chimes (Mooney 2011). Second, these arrangements soon will turn into decayed symbols, due to time, weather and lack of care (Mooney 2011). Third, the practical reasons and risks connected to grass cutting and other maintenance (Hughes 2015). The online readers' comments on the articles are completely opposite to each other: On the one hand: "All I have left of my daughter is that grave . . ."; "Why should cemeteries be dark, dingy places that reek of death and despair". On the other hand: "If you allow anything to go, the place will look like a theme park"; "How about a large Mickey Mouse that says hiya as soon as anyone walks past?" (Hughes 2015).

Today "mourners reclaim public space" (Walter 2008: 246), but going public with your own sorrow has paradoxes. At monuments and memorials, anybody can look, read and contribute to the dialog. At the graveside, sorrow and loss are also exposed for outsiders, but in a one-way communication. Or in Santino's words: "Performative commemoratives . . . invite participation, unlike the funeral procession one happens to run across" (Santino 2006a: 11). Perhaps this could be compared with an Internet site, where you display your bereavement to the world, but the comment field is closed.

Whether the cemetery is defined as public or private space will determine our gaze. How closely can we look? Can we read the messages? Can I as a researcher register the artifacts? Can I take photographs? When and where can these images be used? I still feel a bit uncomfortable about looking too intrusively, as if I am peeping into private spaces and secrets – even if all these arrangements in some respect are meant to be seen, also by outsiders (cf. Gustavsson 2001). As a result of the contemporary materialization of death and mourning and the intimizing exchanges between what is private and public, there is a growing response to the fact that cemeteries are not just used by the mourners themselves. With reference to Martha Laugs' collection of photographs, Hallam and Hockey quote an inscription: "Visitors Welcome. Photos Allow[ed]" (2001: 210). But even if personal objects are displayed in public, in another way they are protected because you, the outsider, can't necessarily determine their biographies and meaning. Perhaps that can ease the ethical dilemma: researchers, tourists and other visitors can look as much as they want, but they still can't get access to the secret messages between the living and the dead. The objects always have a hidden back door for the private meaning, when exposed on graveside shrines, public monuments or temporary memorials.

Over the years, some graves have become more familiar to me than others. I have followed how they at first mirror shock and despair, then how the loss usually is stabilized, with just a few things and perennial plants left, except for annual holidays and anniversaries. In the beginning the temporary dominates: fresh flowers, personal souvenirs, a plain wooden cross to mark the grave. With the headstone in place, a tension appears between the temporary and the permanent, and eventually the stone becomes the final materialized statement: he/she is forever gone. In the past, due to cemetery regulations the headstones were visually more conforming and contributed to anonymizing the deceased. Today the individual character of the graveside shrines can be sustained by a personally

designed stone, perhaps even with a portrait – yet another way to construct an intimate and continued presence of the dead.

Conclusions

The last decades' new rituals of leaving personal memorabilia at graveside shrines, public monuments and temporary memorials are a part of a postmodern intimization of the public spheres of society. These performances not only indicate or mirror that shift; as practices, they have in fact contributed to bring about the change. That depends on the agency of the artifacts, as material and meaning, as well as the significance of their physical location, when personal items are moved from home to public areas for death and mourning.

A new volatile relation between the temporary and the permanent has also appeared through these practices. The cemeteries with their graves and headstones are planned for long-term use, completed with short-term and seasonal graveside decorations. Spontaneous memorials in the streets are ephemeral emotional outbursts. But the relation to time is derailed when museums, archives and libraries begin collecting memorabilia from the temporary memorials, when the graveside shrines become permanent installations and when the deceased can be present forever in the heaven of the Internet.

In the same way, the very understanding of what is private or public has been destabilized; the definitions are mixed and exchange place, in contradictory processes. Some people experience public areas, streets as well as cemeteries, as less accessible when overcrowded with expressions of private grief. But at the same time, this grief is perhaps not private anymore, when shared in public, offline as well as online. And artifacts are tricky things. They are not just what you see, due to the tension between materiality and meaning. They are like the well-known optical illusion where you can see either a duck or a rabbit. For observers, tourists or other visitors, there are different kinds of materialities displayed at gravesides, monuments and memorials; for the nearest concerned there are intangible, secret messages between the living and the dead.

Notes

1 In this respect, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington differs from other sites because the artifacts are collected daily by the National Park Service.
2 For this Internet reference and all others in the chapter, note that websites were active as of 19 March 2017. Regarding Skogskyrkogården, see http://skogskyrkogarden.stockholm.se/in-english; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Skogskyrkogården.
3 The monument presents the names of the more than 58,000 Americans who died or disappeared during the wars in Indochina and Vietnam in the 1950s, 60s and 70s.
4 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vietnam_Veterans_Memorial; www.nps.gov/orgs/1802/vive.htm; www.vvmf.org/items.
5 Cf. the project *Museum of Broken Relationships* (Vištica and Grubišić 2009; https://brokenships.com) and the Swedish collaborative museum project *Difficult Matters* (Silvén and Björklund 2006).

6 One of these was Texas A&M University where, in 1999, a traditional bonfire collapsed, killing 12 students. An enormous amount of temporary material was left as a memorial honoring the victims. Together with her students, Professor Sylvia Grider meticulously collected every item from this site for the developing Texas A&M Bonfire Memorabilia Collection. See Grider (2006); *The Story of the Stuff: The Texas A&M Bonfire Memorabilia Collection*, http://thestoryofthestuff.com; Interview with Ashley Maynor: https://americanlibrariesmagazine.org/2015/12/14/story-of-the-stuff-wake-of-tragedy; Interview with Sylvia Grider: http://scalar.usc.edu/works/sots/interview-with-sylvia-grider.
7 Interview with Sylvia Grider: http://scalar.usc.edu/works/sots/interview-with-sylvia-grider.
8 Cf. "The Diana Effect" as an "unhistorical and wrong" explanation (Walter 2008: 249–250).
9 Walter also points to the fact that not everyone wants their relatives to be remembered publicly by strangers, offline or online, and that conflicts can also arise in families about how to act (Walter 2015: 19–22).
10 My translation.

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3 Framing children's sections in cemeteries

Catharina Nolin

Introduction

"Our Doris," "Rune 1924–1926," "Inga 4 days," "Little Käthe." I read these short and precise headstone inscriptions as I take a walk through a children's section at Skogskyrkogården, the Woodland Cemetery in Stockholm, Sweden. Some headstones indicate in which years the children were buried, some how old – or how very young – they were, and others tell us how very much loved and cared for they were. But as I read these names today they are anonymous inscriptions representing anonymous children, and I wonder who they were, why they died at such a young age and why they were buried apart from their families and relatives. But more than anything else I ask myself what kind of heritage this place represents today and in the future.

Many cemeteries offer possibilities for individual graves for children and babies, and children's cemeteries or special sections with children's graves exist in many places. Some are quite old; others are brand new. This particular one, however, is unusual for several reasons: it is one of the first of its kind in Sweden and it is located in a cemetery renowned for its radical design, a design that led to the designation of the Woodland Cemetery as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1994. These facts give it a certain position as a material heritage. Although the children's section in the Woodland Cemetery is no longer in use, within this area some graves are still obviously visited by relatives or other people related to these children.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss children's cemeteries of the early twentieth century as phenomena and as material culture, as heritage today and in the future. By bringing forward some proposals and designs for children's cemeteries, I will discuss mourning, memory and loss as represented through these cemeteries. With what means was it appropriate to frame and design such elusive events as the death of children? What were the cultural connotations for setting the stage for children's graves? Which types of vegetation, building materials and other settings could be used to stage mourning, loss and childhood with dignity? What do these cemeteries say to us about the relation between children, their families and death in the early twentieth century, and what do they mean to us – the implied visitors – and as heritage of death and of children from a period that in a cemetery

design context was very dynamic? And, finally, how do we interpret and maintain these structures as heritage?

Setting the scene: Swedish cemeteries in a new context

Before going into a discussion of children's cemeteries, a short introduction to the discourse around cemeteries, as such, in early twentieth-century Sweden is necessary. This period was in many ways a golden age for cemetery design and for discussions about ceremonies and traditions surrounding burials in Sweden. Several cemeteries were redesigned, changed or enlarged according to new ideas and principles. Others were made new from the beginning, and often after competitions having Swedish as well as international participants.

Implementation of cremation was one of the overarching ideas. Another idea was to design the cemeteries in conjunction with nature and the landscape (the fundamental concept of Skogskyrkogården), preferably out of town and with the possibility for open-air funeral services. These discussions involved aesthetics as well as issues related to class. The conversations were led by a small group of architects, landscape architects and other professionals who were regularly engaged in debating, jurying, designing and partaking in cemetery competitions according to these new principles. From the beginning of the twentieth century Gunnar Asplund and Sigurd Lewerentz (who together designed the Woodland Cemetery), Lars Israel Wahlman[1] (who played an important role in developing Swedish cemeteries and landscape architecture in general at this time, writing and lecturing about new ways of designing cemeteries) and other Swedish architects and landscape architects contributed to designing special children's sections in cemeteries, mainly in new cemeteries.

Cemeteries were also discussed as material and cultural heritage to be preserved and to serve as models for new cemeteries and for individual graves. This dynamic and transformative period in Swedish cemetery design is well known to scholars. However, there has been inadequate recognition that the discourse and practice around cemeteries also included new approaches toward the burial of children. The Woodland Cemetery is important for this area of interest because it contains one of the few remaining old children's sections.

To stage mourning, loss and childhood with dignity

The first proposals for children's cemeteries date to around 1915, and already we can see some similarities and patterns between the proposals. What was the appropriate setting for such elusive events as the death of children? What types of vegetation, building materials and other settings could be used for staging mourning, loss and childhood with dignity? The projects have different originators and were planned for different Swedish regions, but they all derive from cemetery projects dating to the beginning of the twentieth century and in that respect they are materializations of the then ongoing cemetery debates. Some can only be

studied through drawings and sketches, others through visual representations and written sources. The physical examples are rare.

The competition program for the Woodland Cemetery, written in 1914, clearly and straightforwardly declared that 791 individual grave sites for children should be included, each measuring 1.5 meters by 0.8 meters. The proposals often show the children's sections as secluded corners or small rooms surrounded by hedges or shrubberies. In his proposal for the Rättvik churchyard in Dalecarlia, Wahlman gave the children's section a prominent location close to the church and the clergymen's graves, and in direct contact with the space for open-air ceremonial burials, which in those years was a novelty, and where prominent persons of the local society could have their funeral services.

The children's section in Rättvik is intimate, small and framed by hedges and shrubbery, with easy access to other parts of the cemetery. Wahlman chose a similar solution for the Grängesberg cemetery, also in Dalecarlia. According to the plans, a section of children's graves was to be situated just beside the funerary chapel. Again, the graves would be situated along one of the walks leading through the cemetery. The section is prominently located, but in a quiet corner. According to the plans, this section should have the character of a meadow and be embedded with hedges and shrubberies, thus creating an intimacy. Wahlman's general idea was a woodland cemetery designed with the existing vegetation as a basis. This combination of intimacy and central location recurs in several other cemetery projects by Wahlman. For another similar project he suggested a surrounding hedge consisting of *Rosa rugosa* in white and pink, as well as simple wooden or iron crosses instead of headstones (Nolin 2008: 184–185).

Although Wahlman's proposals can be studied through rich archival material, it is not possible to say whether he himself came up with the ideas for children's cemeteries or if the commissioners came up with these suggestions. Wahlman was, in those days, well known, highly respected and often commissioned for prestigious projects such as churches and cemeteries, manor houses and villas, and he was known to design his projects as "Gesamtkunstwerke" with houses and gardens planned as one object. It is possible that the parish leaders gave him a free hand to develop the projects, including the children's cemeteries. He also was one of the most up-to-date architects when it came to new ideas concerning cemeteries, based upon literature and study trips to Germany, for example.

Landscape architect Ester Claesson's and architect Harald Wadsjö's competition entry for the Woodland Cemetery was awarded the third prize. Wadsjö (1883–1945) was a leading expert on historical churchyards and Claesson (1884–1931) had recently returned from a decade-long study and work period with leading architects in Germany, where she most certainly had come into contact with new ideas and ceremonies surrounding funerals and cemeteries. Their concept shows a similar and illustrative proposal for the children's cemetery ("Barnkyrkogården" 1915). We see that cemeteries for children are supposed to have a special character, an enclosed room or even a small chamber with roses and birches. Small wooden crosses mark the graves; there is a bench for grieving family members and relatives to sit on and to contemplate in tranquility. The room

was constructed so that visitors went in and out through the same gate, which would eliminate people who were only passing by. The entry awarded with the second prize showed a similar solution with a children's cemetery ornamented with birches ("Kyrkogårdstäflingens …" 1915).

These entries show that there already existed in the 1910s a model for children's cemeteries. We can also see some similarities in choosing plants: pink and white climbing roses and shrub roses, birch and rowan, which in those days were considered typically Swedish national plants, and weeping willows, all of which would contribute to a bright impression. The actual weeping willow tree and representations of weeping willows (such as carvings on gravestones) have a well-known association in Western culture with mourning.

The children's section at the Woodland Cemetery

Gunnar Asplund's design for the children's section in the immediate vicinity of his own Woodland Chapel at the Woodland Cemetery from the beginning of the 1920s shows some similarities with these first proposals, such as the secluded room, although larger than in Claesson's and Wadsjö's proposal. The children's section is made in two levels and divided into four quarters with two crossing lanes and a well in the middle. It differs from the cemetery as a whole, also because it is enclosed, surrounded by walls and arranged like a sunken garden in the British landscape architecture tradition, or a *giardino segreto* in the Italian garden tradition. It is a space that you actively have to choose to enter. Although quite large, there is an intimacy over it which makes it more humane, but also worldly.

The similarities with the earlier discussed projects also include Asplund's intentions concerning trees and flowers, shrubberies and other vegetation. The sketches and drawings for the children's section (available in the Swedish Centre for Architecture and Design's Asplund Collection) indicate willows, birches and rowans, wild flowers or summer flowers, as well as box hedges, which would bring a more formal air to the place. Alternative drawings show pyramids covered with turf and pyramid-shaped fir trees. Here the original pine trees that covered the area were, after some hesitation, replaced by birches, willows and other deciduous trees to give the space a distinct structure and a brighter expression.

The earliest photographs from the late 1920s show the cemetery with simple white painted wooden crosses and some headstones, with benches for visitors. The white crosses dominate the photographs, thus evoking a sense of despair. However, the crosses do not represent buried children, but every single possible grave plot. At this time, only a few of the plots had been turned into graves. Weeping willows frame the cemetery (Figure 3.1). An indignant visitor described the space as "sanitarian aesthetics" and as a war cemetery, which immediately opened up space for a vivid public debate that engaged not only the architects but also a whole range of intellectual leaders (Hedemann-Gade 1923). Not much is known about the original appearance of the cemetery and how the individual graves were decorated, except for some of the headstones, greenery and flowers that are visible in the earliest known photographs. The Swedish art historian

Figure 3.1 The children's cemetery facing the Woodland Chapel.
Source: Photo: Henry Goodwin, 1928.

Ragnar Josephson has given some indications of what the individual graves looked like: the crosses and headstones were decorated with small toys and dolls. Although lacking in beauty, these items were – according to Josephson – more expressive than aesthetic and beautiful headstones – yes, they even added some personality to the scene (Josephson 1925[2]).

Ways of considering children in early twentieth-century Swedish society

As discussed above, a model for designing children's cemeteries was already fully developed in the 1910s. But why were children singled out and buried anonymously in separate cemeteries during this period? Why should parents choose to bury their children in a special children's section instead of in a family grave or with family members or among other people of the society? Or why should authorities, parishes, etc. decide to include children in special sections? There might have been many different private and official reasons for these decisions. Perhaps the parents did not have a family grave because of financial reasons or they were new in town without any connections. During the same period as new ideas concerning cemeteries were discussed and implemented, Swedish society went through a range of transformations with impact on people's everyday lives.

We see here the starting point of the Swedish democratic process, and political discussions about gender equality, health and rationality – a process that resulted in the Swedish Welfare State. Industrialization and urbanization changed the way people lived, worked and died. With industrialization many people moved to the larger cities to find work, for a period, or for the rest of their lives, or without knowing for how long they would stay. And when the number of inhabitants in the bigger towns grew, the need for new cemeteries also became obvious. The newly arrived inhabitants left one society, with a certain way of regarding family values and traditions, and entered into another context. Children might have come from orphanages or were sons or daughters of unmarried women. It might also have been a decision taken because the opportunity existed, and thus was open for a new tradition to follow.

No matter the reasons for building separate children's cemeteries, the authorities obviously counted on a need for these sections. This might be understandable for a rapidly growing city like Stockholm, but special children's cemeteries were also planned in small communities, such as the above-mentioned Grängesberg with 4,500 inhabitants in 1909, and Rättvik with 9,000 inhabitants in 1914. Here, the roots and the contacts with the older traditional society must have been fairly strong. There must have been other reasons for planning for and having special children's cemeteries.

A key issue here is the early twentieth century's view of the child, from an official as well as from a private point of view. As childcare became more of a public concern, caring for the representation of dead children might also have changed from a private matter for parents and relatives to a public concern. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Swedish writer and feminist Ellen Key was instrumental in bringing forward children in society with their own individualities and characters, and with different possibilities and needs, also in relation to their parents. With her manifesto *Barnets århundrade* (1900), translated into English as *The Century of the Child* (1909), Key reached an audience not only in Sweden, but also in many other countries.[3] We see here an individualization of the child that in some ways parallels the individualization of death. This was also a period with a growing concern for children's physical and intellectual developments, a time when many playgrounds and sports grounds were made, where children were instructed to play games without grownups intervening. The British-born Crown Princess Margareta of Sweden brought forward gardening as a pastime for children, and the garden as a place where they would learn to take responsibility for vegetables and flowers, for sowing, watering and harvesting in a beautiful surrounding. She also supported the idea of burials under the bosom of Nature. And beauty is certainly a notion to take into consideration when discussing children and cemeteries.

Motion and emotion in a children's heterotopia?

Of the proposals presented above, only some were executed, and of these, the children's section at the Woodland Cemetery is undoubtedly the best preserved, and will therefore form the basis for the following discussion (Figure 3.2). So how

Figure 3.2 The children's cemetery facing south. Photograph known to be from the 1920s. Source: Photo: Swedish Center for Architecture and Design.

do we understand, interpret and maintain these sections as cultural heritage today and in the future? Can the children's section help us to find ways to understand and interpret the loss of a child? You don't need to have a relationship to a dead child to become emotional when you see the children's section. The individual graves are moving and evoke many thoughts about the individual child and the family, feelings about loss of life and mourning and so forth. The stones are simple, some are identical, and most of them only have the child's first name and date of birth and death. The headstones are damaged by age and weather and the names are difficult to read. How does this anonymity of the graves rhyme with thoughts about children as individual human beings? Some graves are cared for, we see fresh flowers; others are neglected, and the cemetery administration is trying to get in contact with relatives.

According to Michel Foucault, cemeteries are typical expressions of heterotopia. He even underlined that they are "unlike ordinary cultural spaces"; they are cultural spaces to be interpreted differently (Foucault 1986: 25). If a cemetery as such is strange, what then about a secluded cemetery for children within this larger structure? Foucault also describes the cemetery as "the other city," and as such "a highly heterotopic place" since "for the individual, the cemetery begins with the strange heterochrony, the loss of life, and with this quasi-eternity in which her permanent lot is dissolution and disappearance" (Foucault 1986: 26).

So how does this analysis fit into children's cemeteries? And how do these anonymous children's graves and the loss of them almost a century ago affect us, the cemetery visitors, today? Children are not supposed to die before their parents. Already here we have a peculiar situation. Among the principles that, according to Foucault, define heterotopia is the notion that the site in general "is not freely accessible like a public place." Although freely accessible, visitors might get the feeling that these cemeteries are too private to enter, that they open up the way for too many feelings of loss and sorrow, that they are not ordinary cultural spaces.

The heritagization of the children's cemetery

The children's cemetery has long since been transformed into history and heritage, a heritage that can be discussed, understood and interpreted in many different ways. It can be regarded as a frozen place, a mode beyond time, and yet a place in a stage of transformation or change – or even transition. At the same time, alterations or variations are built into the structure – a cemetery changes all the time, over the years and during the seasons, and it keeps on changing as graves are added and removed, as trees, bushes and flowers grow, flourish and wither away. Even the people who come to visit the graves change over time, as well as their reasons for being there.

As already stated, the Woodland Cemetery is well known for its beauty and "outstanding universal value," for the use of the landscape and the pine trees.[4] As a World Heritage Site since 1994, the chapels and crematoria have been thoroughly documented, and the cemetery is well maintained. The conservation plan for the future is an important actor to take into consideration, and there are long-term plans for preserving the buildings, the pine trees and the landscape (Stockholm City Museum 1995). Drawings and photographs are digitized and easily accessible.

The children's section is a minor part of the whole area, but the design by Gunnar Asplund as well as the close relation to his Woodland Chapel certainly give it a prominent position. It is worth noting that the same effort has not been put into documenting the children's section and the literature mentions it only briefly. However, the section has recently been replanted with new willows, so it is definitely included in the overall plans for the cemetery. And still, something is obviously missing if we compare it with the earliest known photographs from the 1920s: today, most of the children's graves are gone. All of this opens up for uncertainties in understanding Gunnar Asplund's original intentions, as well as in understanding the present situation, especially as this section is not in use anymore, and there might be pressure for it to be used for new graves mainly for adults.

Descending into the realm of the dead children

As the Woodland Chapel was the first chapel to be erected in the Woodland Cemetery, it is plausible that children's funerals during the first years after the

layout of the children's section would have taken place there. After the funeral ceremony the funeral attendants would leave the chapel and descend into the children's section by passing through a gate in a wall and thereafter continue down a flight of steps. We have here the psychological dimensions of the funerary rites, as the descent underlines the gravity of the situation. The cemetery wall creates a protection against the surroundings and in a symbolic way even the ongoing life of other people that could be unbearable for mourning mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers. The design underlines the indication that the dead rest under the bosom of Nature, under the old resin-smelling pine trees. Walking the short distance from the Woodland Chapel into the sunken children's section also means leaving the shadowing spruce trees in favor of willows and other brighter vegetation.

"What can be seen designates what is no longer there." This quotation from Michel de Certeau's (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life* could be useful in analyzing the children's cemetery in a contemporary perspective: The original children's graves are gone, but we can still imagine them, as the layout, the outer frame of this place is kept in the original shape, and the graves still in situ give an indication of how it would have looked when the space was still in use. Places are, according to de Certeau, "fragmentary and inward-turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed to read, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state, symbolizations encysted in pain or pleasure of the body" (de Certeau 1984: 108). This definition fits very well into the children's cemetery: it is fragmentary as today we can only read and view it in bits and pieces. The graves accumulated over the years, although anonymous, give us clues to stories of the past. Fragmentary also because it is impossible to understand how other people have reacted to the loss of their children or how they felt when vising the cemetery. Did the design with the surrounding walls, the crossing lanes with the well in the middle and the bright vegetation help them in mourning their children?

On the other hand, we have Michel Foucault's understanding of cemeteries as heterotopic places. Foucault underlines the individualization of death and the bourgeois appropriation of the cemetery in the nineteenth century. The Woodland Cemetery is, in a way, a very good example of the individualization of death, an individualization that also embraces the children, but it even more materializes death as a collective as the grave owners had and still have limited possibilities to decide on the individual headstones and the size of each plot, although they might add flowers and other decorations according to their own tastes. The individualization of the child is expressed through the collective, a special children's place or cemetery within the cemetery.

Heritage and meaning

Heritage can be given meaning in different ways, as David Crouch (2015) points out: when individuals participate in heritage it becomes possible for them to "cope, resolve, suffer, celebrate the way things feel." He declares that,

> Heritage participates, as we participate, in cultural and geographical feeling and meaning. What a particular site "is", and how it *feels*, can become highly variable. What space "is", and how it occurs are crucially rendered unstable and shifting, with matter and relations in constant process. It may be felt to be constant, consistent and uninterrupted, but that feeling is subjective and contingent.
>
> (Crouch 2015: 186)

Will the children's cemetery be preserved and kept as a historical children's section (Figure 3.3)? Or will it vanish with the memory of the anonymous children's graves? Will we have a section with historically correct design and vegetation but no graves, or only new graves with names and dates symbolizing other people, grownups of various kinds?

Depending on how the future will arrange for the cemetery, all of these different alternatives might become instrumental for the heritage process and for the conservation issues. The children are displayed as a collective, like something different, something that separates them from other human beings. Why should we bother about some anonymous headstones representing anonymous children? Why is it important to keep some of the headstones? It is not necessarily the gravestones as

Figure 3.3 The children's cemetery today facing south, same angle as Figure 3.2.
Source: Photo: Catharina Nolin.

such that are important, but what they represent: a new way of regarding children, living as well as deceased, and a new way of staging their death.

It is easy to argue that the implied visitor originally was a mother or a father, a sister or a brother, or any other close relative. Someone who had a relation to the individual child or the child's family, and who wanted to express affection and mourning for a specific child. Today it is more likely that the visitors have many different backgrounds, origins and reasons for exploring the Woodland Cemetery and the children's graves. Some of them will find the place strange and difficult to understand and interpret without any further information, while others will become curious, emotional or affective. And others will come because it is a World Heritage Site worth exploring.

In his paper, "Landscapes of the loved ones," landscape architect Marc Treib concludes that, "Commemoration lies more with those who remember than those who are remembered" (Treib 2001: 81). Of course, it is easy to agree with Treib. And the question to be asked is: what happens when there are no people left to remember the children at these heterotopic places – when the gravestones have been turned into empty voids or when even the graves are gone?

Caring for a children's cemetery, and the individual graves and headstones, is a way of understanding and giving meaning to a period in history when many more Swedish children died at an early age than today, and for reasons that rarely occur any longer. It underlines the character of the cemetery and the individual headstones as both material and immaterial heritage. The anonymity is part of the cemetery's heritage, but the anonymity also contributes to problems with conservation issues, as this leads to situations where nobody cares for the individual graves, especially as there might be few relatives of the children left today. At the same time, the ephemeral and temporal character of a cemetery (or any landscape) is hard to preserve. The children's cemetery is a materialization of loss of life and beliefs, a loss of beloved children, sisters and brothers. Loss in a double sense: loss of the children, and loss of the children's graves. It is a representation of humane presence and thus it signals hope within this larger city of the dead. It gives meaning to this heterotopic World Heritage Site.

Notes

1 Although today it is Asplund and Lewerentz who are the most recognizable architects, Wahlman was tremendously important in Swedish architecture at the time. He was a member of the jury for the Woodland Cemetery competition, and one of several experts during Skogskyrkogården's long building period. He planned one of the first woodland cemeteries in the country, although much smaller than the Woodland Cemetery (Skogskyrkogården) that is the focus here.
2 Josephson explicitly writes that mothers had decorated the graves, but it has not been possible to verify this assertion.
3 Ellen Key's book was published in Danish and German in 1902, in Dutch in 1904, in Spanish in 1907, in French and Finnish in 1908, and in English in 1909.
4 The Woodland Cemetery and its architects, Gunnar Asplund (1885–1940) and Sigurd Lewerentz (1885–1975), have been the focus of several books. See Constant (1994), Johansson (1996) and Blundell Jones (2006).

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4 Taken "as read"

Locating death in the rhetoric of cemetery conservation in England

Julie Rugg

The emergence of critical heritage studies has problematised the meanings attached to the concept of heritage, not least in creating awareness of the presumptions that sit behind understandings and activities aimed at protecting and promoting the inheritances of the past. Heritage is increasingly regarded less as materials and fabric than as a set of processes created through interaction with both tangible and intangible evidences of the past: heritage is discourse (Smith 2006). Locating cemeteries within the framework of this discourse is not an easy task, not least because that discourse shifts over time and – within an English context and at even the simplest levels – cemeteries have proved to be difficult to define as a heritage asset. The fact that there is a problem is surprising. Cemeteries can almost be taken "as read", with their value rather too evident. Within the panoply of heritage assets available to every community, places of burial can convey more about changing attitudes towards mortality than any other type of site. Cemeteries are particularly eloquent in articulating attitudes towards the dead body and evidencing its respectful and disrespectful treatment; cemeteries contain multiple individual expressions of loss and commemoration; cemetery landscapes can often evidence the desire to find consolation for grief in nature; and cemeteries are locations for symbols articulating hopes for the afterlife. Indeed, a renewed interest in cemeteries and cemetery conservation has been posited as evidence of a re-engagement with mortality.

However, site interpretation generally masks those aspects of cemeteries that speak most closely to an understanding of mortality. Even within the rhetoric of cemetery conservation, death is often marginalised. This chapter illustrates and addresses this issue through reference to the recent history of cemetery conservation in England. This history is by no means straightforward to convey, as the notion of cemetery conservation has slipped between the shifting discourses of heritage and is still not readily defined within the key structures that frame conservation effort. Nearly fifty years after they were first regarded as a legitimate focus for conservation activity, cemeteries still lack a specific designation category, and are nested within the umbrella term of "historic parks and gardens". This chapter draws on multiple data sources to illustrate that uncertainty, including cemetery conservation guidance documents and material drawn from local "Friends of" cemetery group websites. For many of the key actors and agencies involved in the protection and interpretation of cemeteries, meaning is more readily found for

cemeteries outside their immediate location as burial spaces. In fact, it remains the case that there are inherent problems in "reading" the cemetery as a deathscape, not least of which are the willingness and capacity to undertake such a reading.

"Heritage" and "conservation"

With the advent of critical heritage discourse, it has become necessary for any discussion incorporating the notion of heritage to place a marker on the definition being used. This chapter uses the term "heritage" as comprising whatever in the past is deemed worthy of recovery, protection, and interpretation. Indeed, heritage is now more usefully defined as discourse, and understood through the interplay of language and action (Smith 2006; Emerick 2014). This chapter acknowledges the existence and operation of what Smith (2006) has termed "authorised heritage discourse" and will go on to demonstrate how that discourse framed the initial cemetery conservation effort. Thus, this chapter places cemetery conservation within a context of shifting interpretations of heritage and of the methods which have been used since the late 1970s to establish "cultural significance".

The purposes, principles, and meaning of conservation all have a long history outside the purview of this particular chapter (see, for example, Hunter 1996; Choay 2001; Schmidt 2008). Here, conservation is defined as the act of recovering, protecting, and interpreting cultural significance, with activity defined through various national and international protocols developed by statutory conservation organisations. The task of conserving cemeteries and their composite structures has been addressed through specific guidance documents, generally based on the principles enshrined in the 1979 Burra Charter (see, for example, Murray 2008). Substantial documentation considers practical aspects of cemetery conservation including reference to site recording and stone preservation (for example, Dakin 2003; Matero and Peters 2003; Bilbrey 2005). This chapter addresses cemetery conservation as an idea rather than a fixed practice, and reviews the ways in which the task of cemetery conservation has been construed in England since the 1970s.

Cemetery conservation and "authorised heritage discourse"

For Smith, AHD is defined as a set of presumptions which have tended to concentrate attention on the built heritage fabric and on professionalised expertise to define and establish value: a key activity is the recognition and rescue of heritage assets deemed to be of national importance and which are crucial in defining a national 'story'. AHD is enacted via a 'top down' process, whereby government departments and agencies deploy professional archaeologists to designate monuments, buildings and sites according to their assessed level of importance. For Smith, AHD

> focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations "must" care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their "education", and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past.
>
> (2006: 29)

The early history of cemetery conservation sits very firmly within this framework and illustrates the ways in which AHD defined the key principles and presumptions that underpinned what was deemed to be appropriate conservation activity. Following the lead of Waterton et al., in applying discourse analysis to heritage literature, attention is paid particularly to the language used by actors in this process (2006).

To understand this development, it is necessary first to appreciate that English cemetery history is distinctive in a wider European context (Rugg 2005). Across Europe, and generally during the second half of the eighteenth century, burial legislation based on scientific principles led to the establishment of new sites located away from populous areas. This activity intensified through the imposition of the Napoleonic Code, which included sanitary measures relating to interment. The regulations prompted change in the aesthetics of burial: the need to design sites for interment created opportunities to explore civic principles and strategies for consolation, including the investment of emotion and capital in family plots (Berresford 2004; Denk and Ziesemer 2005; Gruffrè et al. 2007). In England, the Church of England continued to expand its provision of burial space as new churches were established to meet the needs of an over-rapidly expanding urban population (Rugg et al. 2013). From 1820, the play of interdenominational politics led to the creation of burial spaces outside Church of England control. These sites were laid out using funds raised from the sale of shares. The joint-stock company cemetery – originally a signal of denominational independence – was quickly understood to be a profitable commercial endeavour. By the mid-nineteenth century, almost all the major cities in England had a company cemetery, and around eighty were in operation. These sites were often established though specific acts of Parliament, and generally sat outside municipal governance (Rugg 1998).

From 1852, the Burial Acts legislation permitted vestries – the parish-based unit of local government – to create burial boards that were empowered to raise money for cemetery establishment funded through the rates (Rugg 2013). The vast majority of cemeteries currently in operation in England were laid out in the second half of the nineteenth century and under the Burial Acts. The Local Government Act 1972 transferred burial board activities to defined statutory burial authorities; from 1977 those authorities were obliged to operate under regulations contained in the Local Authorities Cemeteries Order. However, none of this regulation affected private cemetery companies and many continued to operate with varying degrees of success. By the 1970s, almost all had fallen into economic decrepitude: declining incomes had not kept pace with increasing site maintenance costs. In some cases, local authorities were obliged to purchase, for symbolic but tiny sums, massively overgrown and neglected sites in order to continue interment and introduce some level of protection.

Even by the 1920s, local authorities had begun to appreciate that cemetery provision was an intrinsically uneconomic activity. A quirk in English burial law meant that grave re-use was – and is still – not permitted, and over time cemeteries required subsidy to operate (Wilson and Levy 1938). Congested and over-furnished

Victorian cemetery landscapes were regarded as intrinsically problematic by local authorities, which after the First World War considered the simpler and inherently modern Imperial War Graves Commission sites a preferable model. There was a degree of disenchantment with the Victorian cemetery: it was thought to reflect a class-bound society which offered limited consolation to poorer families who were consigned to interment in common graves and in many instances were not allowed to erect memorials. Victorian cemeteries were "glorified stone-masons' yards" where "it would seem that people would buy larger memorials than their neighbours or friends to show an air of superiority" (Skelton 1971: 41). Through the course of the twentieth century, cemetery managers addressed the task of simplifying and "tidying" the Victorian landscape, removing body mounds and kerbsets and retaining only a selection of memorials, largely to improve maintenance standards (Rugg 2006). As private company cemeteries came under local authority management, similar maintenance regimes were imposed. For example, Hull General Cemetery at Spring Bank went into voluntary liquidation in 1972. Responsibility for ongoing maintenance was taken up by Hull City Council, and a programme of clearance began almost immediately: the site was "bulldozed . . . with the removal of nearly all the stones" (Curl 1978: 16).

The desire to protect cemeteries emerged largely in response to other similar high-profile examples of neglect and destruction. Dismay was amplified through two publications. First, the architectural historian James Stevens Curl produced, in 1972, *A Victorian Celebration of Death*, which attempted to establish cemeteries as "showpieces at the time of their creation", now "in danger of being destroyed, since appreciation of their merits is non-existent or exists only in a minority of students of the period" (1972: xii). In 1989, a more extended discussion of the history and current state of cemeteries was published by the Victorian Society. *Mortal Remains*, written principally by Chris Brooks, combined a scholarly exposition of cemetery history with a critique of their current state. A section on the present state of cemeteries also described how sites "designed for posterity" "have been damaged and depleted, frequently neglected or treated with indifference, sometimes destroyed" (1989: 77).

The book included a gazetteer of over ninety cemeteries "intended to provide a cross-section of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cemeteries in order to demonstrate their range, variety and quality". This selection was "a choice, no more than that" (Brooks 1989: 119), but clearly spoke in the language of designation. Each site descriptor resembles a statement of significance, generally incorporating mention of architects and landscape designers, descriptions of chapels and other buildings, memorials that were deemed to be particularly fine, and elements of extant original planting. A typical example related to the six-acre London Road Cemetery at Wellingborough, opened in 1858:

> Its lodge has a dwarf tower topped by a pyramidal roof, mullioned windows, a tall chimney, and emphatically cusped bargeboards to the main gable . . . The identical paired chapels are early decorated in style and quite ambitious: tall with a west doorway above which is a three-light window

> with geometrical tracery; both chapels have corner steeples, placed to balance one another, with nice grotesques clinging on below the spires. The architect was E.F. Law of Northampton. The main carriage drive is bordered with flower beds and there are some fine mature trees informally planted in the rest of the cemetery.
>
> (Brooks 1989: 179)

Brooks decried the lack of a coherent process for the protection of cemeteries as a heritage asset, particularly given increased pressure on local authorities to continue clearance programmes. By the late 1980s, cemetery authorities had clear guidelines from the Audit Commission, which actively promoted the removal of unkempt and neglected memorials as permitted under the Local Authorities Cemeteries Order 1977 (Audit Commission 1988). There was no equivalent guidance or encouragement to adopt measures that could be undertaken to protect cemeteries. The listing process could extend to landscaping, chapels, entrance gates, and individual memorials and trees, but not the unique assemblage of all these elements. The thematic tropes within *Mortal Remains* framed the principles of cemetery protection for the following two decades. The strongest message was that local authorities were not trustworthy custodians of historic cemetery landscapes, and that greater emphasis needed to be placed on amending the listing process to ensure protection. There was a need for "authoritative guidance as to which cemeteries – or which parts of cemeteries, which buildings, which monuments – are of historical or aesthetic importance" and "an integrated approach to the assessment of cemeteries, that considers them in their totality as historic sites" (Brooks 1989: 117).

By the early 2000s, there had been progress in this regard. Following the passage of the National Heritage Act 1983, English Heritage compiled a Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest. In written evidence to the 2000/1 Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs Select Committee on cemeteries, English Heritage indicated that the Register included twenty-five cemeteries, and six had been graded II* as being nationally important (English Heritage 2001). None were deemed to be of international importance. In verbal response to questions from the Committee, English Heritage indicated that a programme of designation was planned for the next two years with the aim of increasing the number of cemeteries in the Register: "there may be, say, 100 on the register. It may be more depending on what we find when we survey them" (Alexander 2001: 50). Members of the public were invited to direct the attention of English Heritage to particular sites, indicating

> why they think it is historically important, or important in terms of design, for example, if there is a particular named architect or designer who has been involved with it – and we will then consider it to see whether it reaches the necessary standards to be registered.
>
> (Pearcey 2001: 50)

In 2003, English Heritage produced a revised list of cemeteries on the Register. The list included seventy-four sites, over half of which had been included in Brooks' gazetteer (Jordan 2003). Guidance was included on the specific criteria for assessment and in summary included, *inter alia*: all cemeteries laid out before the Burial Acts where the layout survives to reflect original design; sites laid out between 1852 and 1914 where significant attention was paid to landscaping and the design is of note or represented the major work of a nationally important designer; cemeteries laid out post-World War I but more than thirty years ago, where the design is of exceptional note, the site represented the work of a particular nationally important designer, the site has particular historic interest in its own right, or contains a pioneering example of any landscape feature associated with cemeteries. All these criteria reflected the principal concerns that Smith associates with AHD: attention to age, monumentality, and aesthetics.

Friends and "communal value"

As English Heritage worked towards establishing a national framework for assessing historic importance, the more immediate task of cemetery conservation fell in many cases to local community groups. In the mid-1970s, two separate organisations were established to lobby for conservation and care for the Abney Park Cemetery, located in the London Borough of Hackney and established in 1840; and Highgate Cemetery, situated in the London Borough of Camden and opened in 1839. In both instances, the cemetery company had gone into administration. The "Friends" groups comprised volunteers – principally members of the local community – who came together to halt further landscape dilapidation and formulate an appropriate long-term strategic plan. The fate of Hull Spring Bank Cemetery had created uncertainty that local authorities could be appropriate guardians. A further ten Friends groups were formed in the 1980s, aiming to protect sites including Nunhead and Kensal Green in London, Arno's Vale in Bristol, and Sheffield General Cemetery. Brooks was generally of the view that national designation was the most effective protection measure, but *Mortal Remains* was a production of the Victorian Society and this lobby group had long appreciated the value of locally based protection campaigning. Brooks recommended that following the example of Friends groups would ensure that "the cultural legacy of our great nineteenth-century cemeteries" would not be lost (1989: 105).

The involvement of community groups inadvertently echoed and complemented changes that were taking place within understandings of heritage management. Australia's *Burra Charter* of 1979 had begun to question the orthodox approaches which had tended to exclude community groups that did not have buildings and materials as central components of cultural expression. In 2001, as the Parliamentary inquiry into cemeteries was progressing, English Heritage had just reported on a review of historic environment policy which was based on the presumption of a much wider definition of "historic environment". By the end of 2001, the government had responded to the subsequent report

Power of Place, and new definitions of heritage began to emphasise "the local, the all-embracing extent of the cultural environment and the need for community involvement" (Emerick 2014: 169). There was also a call for greater clarity and transparency in the processes of designation. Based largely on the principles proposed by the *Burra Charter*, English Heritage published its *Conservation Principles* in 2008, outlining a process for assessing significance which included consideration of four values: aesthetic, evidential, historical, and communal. The establishment of overall cultural significance could be derived from summation of information under each of these headings. These values aimed to step away from narrow and "monumental" definitions of heritage. Evidential value was derived from the potential to yield information on past human activity; aesthetic value rested in the ability to draw sensory or intellectual stimulation; historical value addressed "the ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present"; and communal value "derived from the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory" (English Heritage 2008: 72).

It could be argued that the importance of "communal value" as a category has been demonstrated amply by the expansion in number of cemetery Friends groups, all of which have been self-motivated to become involved in the management, protection, and enhancement of their local cemetery and who clearly articulate for themselves the importance of their particular site. However, this importance does not necessarily chime with "authorised" assessment. In the 2007 edition of *Paradise Preserved*, English Heritage listed some 105 sites included in the Register of Parks and Gardens. In 2016, some eighty-six Friends groups were members of the National Federation of Cemetery Friends, constituting an unknown portion of the entire coterie of Friends groups, but likely to be a majority. Just thirty of the Friends groups were attached to sites listed by English Heritage. Even superficial analysis of Friends group websites and Facebook pages indicates an absence of the language of designation. Generally, Friends are moved to protect sites that are deemed "special" rather more in terms of atmosphere and amenity value than in reference to particular landscape designers and architects, fine buildings, or monuments. Many websites do not mention any of these features specifically. As Emerick indicated, "it is the local stories that give a place vitality and identity and identify and ultimately sustain heritage places" (2014: 215). It could be argued that community-led cemetery conservation has been further sanctioned through the principal grant-giving body: the Heritage Lottery Fund "Parks for People" programme allows grant applications for cemetery projects if it can be demonstrated, simply, that "the local community values the park or cemetery".

Locating death in cemetery conservation rhetoric

The rhetoric and processes attached to cemetery conservation have shifted over time, and a formalised "top-down" approach has been challenged and to some degree overridden by a "bottom-up" approach. However, within this long forty-year

history of cemetery conservation, reference to mortality is surprisingly absent. It can be presumed that to talk about cemeteries is to talk about death, since cemeteries are the primary location of dead bodies in the landscape, a locale for expression of grief, containing innumerable and more or less ephemeral acts of commemoration. However, cemeteries are very rarely valued because of the ways they speak of mortality, either at the level of authorised heritage discourse or at localised, community levels.

Returning to review the history of cemetery conservation, it is evident that death disappeared remarkably quickly as an important defining characteristic of cemeteries. Initially, both Curl and Brooks made great play of the distinctions to be drawn between contemporary attitudes to cemeteries and the way cemeteries were valued in the nineteenth century. According to Curl,

> great surprise is often expressed when an interest in cemeteries and other aspects of a Celebration of Death is declared. Such an interest is today regarded almost as a perversion: graveyards, cemeteries, and the paraphernalia of death are in the same position in the conversations of polite society as was sex some years ago.
>
> (Curl 1972: xii)

Brooks similarly states: "cemeteries and the formalised commemoration of the dead no longer have the central imaginative and spiritual importance for us that they had for the Victorians" (1989: 77). However, both writers were essentially concerned with the preservation of cemeteries as exemplars of Victorian architecture and design. Brooks was the president of the Victorian Society, which since the late 1950s had been campaigning against a generalised social antipathy towards Victorian taste, often expressed largely through the demolition and destruction of Victorian buildings (Stamp 1996: 89ff). Curl and Brooks were dismissive of later cemetery landscapes and modern memorial design which they regarded as intrinsically inferior: Brooks decried the "bourgeois'" sentiment that drove cemetery establishment, but found no praise for twentieth-century burial landscapes where class differences were not in evidence. *Mortal Remains* constituted a re-evaluation of principally Victorian funerary architecture, and established the Victorian cemetery as an imaginative category, just as the popular cultural re-appraisal of Victorian aesthetics was starting to take hold (Samuel 2012). The preoccupation with Victorian design remained and remains evident throughout the development of designation criteria. The fact that English Heritage still does not designate cemeteries specifically as cemeteries is an indicator that their importance lies rather in the fact that sites may contain buildings and monuments by notable architects, designers, or sculptors, or that the landscape may be by a "named designer". A designation on the Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest implies an interest restricted to those landscapes that were "designed": it may be difficult to make a case for the inclusion of less formally laid-out churchyards and burial grounds, despite their importance to an understanding of mortality over time.

Friends groups rarely articulate a direct interest in mortality. Two overarching themes tend to dominate. First, Friends websites often aim to express what might be regarded as cemeteries' "intangible" heritage: a legacy of sites where appeal rests, in part, in neglect. The imaginative category of the Victorian cemetery comprises ruined memorials half-hidden in overwhelming ivy, where there are pathways through unchecked undergrowth, shaded by mature trees, and where birdsong overtakes urban cacophony. Brooks noted with some dismay that at Highgate, the Friends group became "lost in a diffuse and unexamined desire to maintain what was thought of as the 'magical' atmosphere" of the site (1989: 99). Jolly has underlined the "secret garden" appeal of sites, referencing a popular children's story written by Frances Hodgson Burnett in 1911. The story's heroine, Mary Lennox, is an orphan who comes to live with the Craven family who are distant relatives living in a grand estate in Yorkshire. Mary discovers a large neglected walled garden, and her restoration of the garden echoes her emotional restoration of Mr Craven and his son, both devastated by the death of Mrs Craven. Similarly, the neglected Victorian cemetery, remaining largely hidden from view by rampant vegetation, calls for sympathetic ministration and heroic rescue (Jolly 2013). Cemetery conservation therefore becomes wrapped up in a quest to restore amenity value from a site that has been badly neglected. The task is, to a large degree, an end in itself and the fact that the site being rescued is a cemetery is not altogether central.

A second and connected dominating theme relates to what might be termed "biographical rescue": that is, researching and making known the life stories of individuals buried in the cemetery. It might be argued that, in this regard, cemetery conservation is "about" the dead, but in fact much of this activity reflects central interest in the "lived life". Biographical rescue is reflective of a wider societal interest in genealogy where "increasing involvement creates an internal logic of motivation, value and reward" (Bottero 2015: 536). Friends websites almost always include listings of individuals buried in the cemetery, accompanied by some biographical information. Guided tours are often "performances" of genealogical discovery, demonstrating the strong desire to create "flesh and blood" individuals, with stories having a "polished feel", very much in the manner of family historians (Bottero 2015: 542). Many Friends groups prioritise the transcription of headstones and the digitisation of burial registers to assist individuals seeking information for family history purposes. Within this understanding, headstones need to be protected largely for the demographic information they convey on kinship, places of birth or death, family ties, and occupation. On occasion, interpretation might draw attention to symbols on headstones that articulate loss, hope, or a search for consolation, but this kind of theme tends to be rare in "tomb trail" literature. Rather, visitors are led from one biography to another as the guide describes social history through these individuals, or defines a pantheon of local worthies of importance to economic, social, and cultural developments. There is a particular desire to "rescue" individuals who link localities to national or international events, for example through service in World War I. Indeed, there can be absolute resistance to presenting cemeteries as death-related landscapes: site

promotion literature frequently makes the claim that cemeteries are "sites for the living", and are not morbid or depressing places.

Audiences for death in the cemetery

It would be mistaken to presume that either of these approaches to cemetery conservation is "wrong". Cemetery conservation requires an audience, and it is evident that the audience for death-related interpretation is narrow. There has been an academic explosion of interest in the notion of dark tourism and dissonant heritage, which places at the forefront an appetite and need for heritage interpretation on difficult subjects which might create distress and challenge the moral certainties of visitors (Lennon and Foley 2000; Stone 2006). Some types of burial spaces do fall into this category, including the sites of mass interment following genocide or other atrocity, slave burial sites, or memorials that celebrated now discredited political individuals or regimes. In some instances Victorian cemetery interpretation might make reference to the politics of pauper burial or abnormally high infant mortality, but for the most part they do not fall into the framework of "dark tourism". In actuality, these sites may be called on to speak more broadly to what might be termed "quotidian mortality": the commonplace death which faces every individual, which blights every family, and which in time leads to a forgetting that a particular person ever existed. Ordinary cemeteries defy the ability to locate death in an "other" box of extreme events the visitor is unlikely to experience. However – and not at all surprisingly – a busy overlay of alternative narratives silences this particular reading.

It could be argued that, in fact, interest in cemeteries as landscapes of mortality is largely academic and so – arguably – rather less important than meanings that communities may find for themselves in a less mediated, "top-down", AHD-framed manner. This is where complexity and difficulties begin to arise, as community and lay interpretations begin to erode historical accuracy and may even compromise material evidential value. Conservation effort is focused on the memorials for individuals where a good "story" can be told; the massed landscape is allowed to thin. So, for example, it becomes more difficult to evidence materially the ways in which the Cremation Society mobilised images of "acres of stone" to justify the call for a modern, scientific approach to mortality. Interpretation also rarely underscores other less tangible aspects of cemetery history, including the importance of religious difference to cemetery establishment. The fact that cemeteries are often only half-consecrated is understood in some instances to be a comment on secularity and "godlessness" rather than a statement of Nonconformist religious politics in defining difference from dominant Anglican practice. This fact may seem arcane and irrelevant, and perhaps even not very interesting. Nevertheless, an increasing societal unfamiliarity with Christian religion and denominational identity is placing English Nonconformist heritage at risk. Such marginalisation prevents stories being told of the way in which society in the past accommodated religious difference in funerary practice. This is an issue that is markedly pertinent today (Ansari 2007).

Conclusion

It would seem, therefore, that in England the idea of cemetery conservation carries strong resonance, with importance articulated at the national level by the principal conservation body and also through the localised activities of Friends groups. The neglect of the Victorian cemetery was first posited as evidence of a societal unwillingness to engage with material evidence of mortality. The progress of cemetery conservation might therefore be taken as evidence of re-engagement and a society more at ease with discussing those aspects of death that might be provoked by visiting a cemetery: the material burden of grief and loss; what might befall in the afterlife; lives lived long or cut short by disease, poverty, disaster, or accident; the dead body itself decomposing underground; and the commonplace inevitability of mortality. However, in reviewing various aspects of cemetery conservation rhetoric, locating an engagement with mortality is rather more difficult than might be supposed. In actuality, cemetery conservation tends not to be about death at all.

This is not to say that death should be privileged in accounts of the cemetery. Despite the growing interest in heritage dissonance and so-called "dark tourism", the audience for death-related interpretation is likely to be small. This is particularly the case where death relates to the commonplace, everyday experience of mortality. An unmediated cemetery landscape presents acres in which the loss of an individual becomes overwhelmed by the mass of death over time, constituting a message that few heritage groups would feel comfortable in conveying. Nevertheless, death scholars benefit from the fact that cemeteries are beguiling to a very wide range of interest groups, who read cemeteries in multiple ways and create dozens of types of meaningful connection and who ultimately ensure that historic cemetery landscapes continue to be protected in the urban landscape.

Acknowledgements

This chapter benefitted substantially from conversation with Janette Ray and from comments from David Lambert on an early draft.

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Part III

Celebrity

5 “At last, Garbo is coming home”

Celebrity, death and nation

Mattias Frihammar

Introduction: death, celebrity, heritage

In 2016 the exhibition “Images of Greta” opened in Stockholm at Fotografiska, a museum of photography. To gain media attention, the museum erected a statue picturing the subject of the exhibition, film actress Greta Garbo. The sculpture was by no means exceptional – it showed a sitting Garbo made from uncolored concrete by an unnoticed artist. What was spectacular, however, and caught the attention of media, was the unusual placing of the statue. It was sited deep in a forest in the north of Sweden, at a secret spot to which no roads lead. The statue was called “Statue of Integrity” and according to its originators, the “very quiet and deserted place far away from the spotlights of fame” was a way of respecting and reflecting Greta Garbo’s unwillingness to be public.

The “Statue of Integrity” turned out to be a good way to draw attention to the exhibition as newspapers, radio and television reported about the oddly placed statue. The happening was a way to play with expectations of how to commemorate a star, alluding to the image and legacy of Greta Garbo as a beautiful, mysterious and reclusive national icon.

And today, the international movie star is a naturalized part of Swedish heritage. Her portrait decorates the one-hundred-kronor bill. She is also one of the gigantic faces of famous Swedes greeting all visitors who arrive in Arlanda Airport in Stockholm. Her tomb (Figure 5.1) is found at Skogskyrkogården, the famous “Woodland Cemetery” in Stockholm (see also Chapters 2 and 3 by Eva Silvén and Catharina Nolin, respectively, this volume). Indeed, the Garbo grave is promoted by the City of Stockholm as a tourist attraction and highlighted on Stockholm’s official tourist website, “Visit Stockholm”, with this formulation: “‘The Divine’, as Greta Garbo is known, is buried at the Woodland Cemetery in Stockholm, in Section 12a, grave 1”.

The Statue of Integrity, the Garbo face on the one-hundred-kronor bill and at Arlanda Airport and the touristic tomb may all seem reasonable actions in the native land of an international superstar such as Greta Garbo. But what in retrospect appears to be obvious is, actually, the result of both chance and certain social and cultural factors. This chapter discusses some of the events that took place between the death of Greta Garbo in 1990 in New York City and her interment at the Woodland Cemetery in Stockholm in 1999. I analyze two cases

Figure 5.1 The tombstone of Greta Garbo at Skogskyrkogården is simultaneously material evidence of her being incorporated in the Swedish national narrative and a tribute to her achievements on the screen.

Source: Photo Mattias Frihammar

in the memorialization process. First, I put the factual and material side of the matter in focus by critically examining the City of Stockholm's efforts to bring the ashes of Greta Garbo to Sweden. Second, I turn to the memory aspect and analyze two different Greta Garbo monuments, both situated at Södermalm, the district in Stockholm where Garbo was born. My argument is that the death of Garbo provided an opportunity for Sweden to re-frame Garbo as Swedish, after her long U.S. exile. Analytical attention is especially paid to the links between the cult of dead celebrities, tourism and national labeling.

The analysis revolves around death, celebrity and heritage and departs from the notion of death's significance for the collective made by Emile Durkheim. When a group (it may be a family, a clan or a nation) experiences a loss, as in the case of death, the group handles this by investing in the collective. In pre-modern societies, death was transcended by emphasizing the group's unity and continuity in religious rituals (Durkheim 1915: 339). But the model can be translated into a modern context, as the question about who has the right to a dead person is a component in the definition of a group (Svensson 2009: 202f). When someone dies, the memory will be shaped in social negotiations and in correlation with the group's present demands and conditions.

The study also has links to celebrity studies in that it concerns a very famous public figure. Within this field of study one makes a distinction between stars and

celebrities (Turner 2004: 4f). Stardom is an effect of achievement of some sort that gets collective recognition. The celebrity status has more to do with widespread publicity and is a phenomenon of late modernity and tightly connected to mass media and the explosion of different media arenas. A star is well known and admired; a celebrity is just well known. Greta Garbo was part of both categories. As an actress, she had success and was respected, but her career ended early, and she spent most of her life as a mysterious celebrity.

But more than being a celebrity study *per se*, this analysis draws on the fact that the memorialization of Garbo included a wide range of actors and institutions due to her prominence. Stars as well as celebrities tend to get a second life as heritage, and therefore it is possible to consider fame a basis for group identification. People who were fans and felt connected to other admirers when the star was alive will, when the star is dead, attach different, and sometimes opposing, values to the memory. This approach places the analysis in the field of critical heritage studies. The image of Garbo emerging after her death is interpreted as a "cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 149). Heritage is here understood as a reflexive mode of producing knowledge of what history we share and who we are – a process that links cultural memory to national identity.

National heroes, Sweden and Greta Garbo

A common feature in nation-building is the designation of national heroes, i.e. historic figures that are publicly celebrated for achievements in the name of the nation. The greatest sacrifice is to give your life for your country (Anderson 2006; Billig 1995) and a striking number of national heroes are associated with wars. Accordingly, war cemeteries are places where citizens can pay respect to such national heroes (Peckham 2003: 206). Monuments of war usually become subject to the touristic gaze and adapted to the special conditions of touristic destinations (ibid.), including discourses of both national pride and national loss.

"Sweden has not been at war in 200 years" is an oft-repeated phrase in the Swedish public domain because Sweden did not actively participate in either World War I or World War II and, accordingly, there is no established war narrative in the national chronicle (compare to David Mason, Chapter 9 of this volume). The nationalistic framework differs from many other western countries and the Swedish national identity is built around ideas of impartiality and peace efforts. The image of Sweden as a neutral and peaceful nation has been and still is reproduced (Stråth 2000). In conjunction with this, Swedish national heroes are not found in the realm of warfare, but rather in the domain of sport and culture.

A common way to become a Swedish national hero is through a trajectory, by making an international successful career and then bringing the triumph back home with you. In a pop-cultural context the best place to make it is, without doubt, the U.S. If you make it in the U.S., you will almost automatically be regarded as a Swedish legend. In that sense, Greta Garbo is a typical Swedish role model. She was born Greta Gustafsson in Stockholm, Sweden in 1905. Her family was poor.

She started her acting career in Sweden, but went to Hollywood in 1925. By 1926 she was already an international star. She was "marketed as an exotic product" by Hollywood, exciting but at the same time recognizable as white and Protestant (White 2007: 40f). Eventually Greta Garbo became one of the biggest stars on the silver screen. She was iconized as "The Divine", as beautiful and as unattainable as a goddess.

But in other respects, she is very atypical. Garbo retired from the screen at the age of 35. She moved to New York City and lived there for nearly 50 years as a recluse in her apartment on Manhattan's East Side. She never married and had no children. When she died in New York City in 1990, she had lived in the U.S. for 65 years, had been a U.S. citizen for 40 years and had actively avoided going to Sweden for 15 years.

The relationship between Greta Garbo and her native country was complicated. As a private person, Garbo avoided attention and rarely gave interviews. This made her a desirable prey for journalists and especially the paparazzi. If this was true in the U.S. context, it became even more pointed in relation to Sweden. During Garbo's quite rare visits to Sweden, media attention took enormous proportions. Garbo did not like that. "Why persecute me in this way and ask all these questions? It takes away all the charm I otherwise would have known on this trip", she complained in the major Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* in 1938. Garbo's discontent and disappointment with Sweden's and the media's way of treating her increased, and after 1975 she stopped visiting her homeland for that stated reason.

When she died in 1990, she was actually more of a U.S. Hollywood celebrity than a Swedish star. How did this Americanized star become an emblematic symbol of Sweden?

The struggle for Garbo's ashes

> She came again in September and we once again walked around and looked. And then we came to the terrace, and she said: *Here it is, good, this is the most beautiful place*! And there were no graves there. And I thought: I cannot let her go home again, and it is amazing that she came to this.

The quote above is from Börje Olsson (Chief of the Stockholm Cemetery Administration), expressing his relief and happiness when Garbo's only heir decided to let the star's ashes be buried at Skogskyrkogården nine years after her death.

Critical heritage studies directs the analytical focus in heritage research away from tangible objects toward the cultural performance of heritage. Heritage is not seen as an object, but instead as a production of certain values (Harrison 2013; Smith 2006). But even if the intangible dimension has become more acclaimed within academic research, the concept of heritage is strongly linked to materiality in the everyday notion of ordinary people. And as becomes apparent in the present example, the material dimension of heritage becomes extra vibrant when the heritage process concerns a human being.

When persons are canonized after their death, their remains often play an important role. In religious contexts, parts of the body of a dead saint are considered as relics, having the ability to heal by contact. In a secular setting, the remains of celebrities often receive great traction, in an awe-inspiring but not necessarily reverent modus. In both contexts, the desire to take possession of the physical remains can make things happen in pervasive ways. This is what happened in the case of Garbo's ashes.

The social network around Garbo was limited when she died in 1990. Garbo's niece, Gray Reisfield, was the only one representing the Garbo estate. In compliance with her own wishes, Garbo was cremated. But instead of being buried, Garbo's ashes were put in a green urn and kept at a New York mortuary. According to Miss Reisfield, Garbo hadn't expressed any wish as to where to be buried. And while her belongings were auctioned at Sotheby's in New York and her story was retold in obituaries in the international press, her ashes remained in private in the mortuary.

But while her ashes rested in peace, they generated a lot of activity in the Stockholm City Hall. When they found out that there was only one heir who had authority over the ashes and that she apparently was hesitating as to where the grave would be located, the case of the Garbo ashes got highest priority. The Finance Commissioner, Mats Hulth, who was Stockholm's leading politician at the time, contacted Sweden's Consul General in New York, Dag Sebastian Ahlander. The order to Mr. Alhander was to make contact with the niece and try to convince her to bury Garbo in Stockholm. Mr. Hulth also engaged the Chief Officer at Stockholm Cemeteries Administration, Börje Olsson. Mr. Olsson's job was to invite the Garbo estate to Stockholm, and show them around different burial sites. As was indicated above, this task would occupy Mr. Olsson and the others for almost nine years.

Stockholm's strong engagement was an effect of three intermingling circumstances that had to do with Finance Commissioner Hulth as a person and politician, but also with general changes in tourism habits in Europe at the time. At an individual level, Mr. Hulth was a fan of Garbo. He had grown up with her films and he wanted her grave to be in Stockholm for personal reasons. On a more general level he also thought that it could strengthen Stockholm's local identity to have Garbo's grave "at home": the tomb as a place to go to and feel proud to be a Stockholmer. But the main reason was that bringing the Garbo ashes to Stockholm matched very well with Stockholm's ongoing efforts to establish itself as a destination on the international tourist map. It was in the early 1990s that big cities started to compete with traditional Mediterranean beach resorts as destinations for tourists in Europe. Mr. Hulth believed that the tomb of an international movie star could be used as a resource in the labeling of Stockholm as a world-class touristic city.

To increase the chances of getting the ashes, the Finance Commissioner constructed a sampler, presenting six enticing cemeteries in Stockholm, among them Skogskyrkogården. That the ambition was achievable becomes evident in the following example. Garbo had, during her life, expressed concerns over the safety

of her remains and worried that her ashes, like Charlie Chaplin's corpse, would run the risk of being stolen by thieves. When Mr. Hulth heard this, he (in utter secrecy) reserved a spot at the burial ground of Adolf Fredrik church, very close to the tomb of the Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme (who was murdered in 1986), where the security was already good. This was to have an ace up his sleeve if the question of security were to be decisive.

In addition, more peripheral places also saw the opportunity to gain from their connection to Garbo by getting her grave. The small municipality of Högsby in the west of Sweden, where Garbo's mother was born, and the small municipality of Tranås in the south, the birthplace of her father, were among the stakeholders. But the campaigns in representative local newspapers could not beat out Stockholm in the competition.

Meanwhile, an interesting situation parallel to the lobbying of Stockholm for Garbo's ashes was playing out in the international media. According to different reports, the urn with Garbo's ashes had become a kind of Holy Ark, which everybody wanted to lay their hand on. You could read that cemeteries from all over the world – Germany, Switzerland, France, U.S., Britain and Japan – were trying to get the Garbo ashes. The headlines read: "Ashes Are Ashes, but Garbo's Gather Dust" and "Garbo's Ashes Unable to Rest".

The irony is striking in that the ashes of a person who withdrew from public life continued to attract the attention of the whole world. But it is even more ironic that this was fake news. According to Dag Sebastian Ahlander, who had first-hand contact with Miss Reisfield during the nine years it took between Garbo's death and her funeral, the international tug of war over Garbo's ashes was contrived. He contends that there never were any other actors involved in the process other than the City of Stockholm. To understand the circumstances, we need to take into account that celebrities and stars are the products of mass media. Their appearances in the press are more or less independent of the actions of the person behind the name (Philips 1999: 227). Concluding from the example above, the "life of a star" can become even more vivid when the actual person behind the mask dies.

Pop-cultural repatriation

The quest to get Garbo buried in Stockholm can be viewed as founded in a larger tourism context. Cemeteries are well-established and rather conventional tourist sites, as are locations associated with notably public figures and celebrities. When combined, as at Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris (Toussaint and Decrop 2013) or Hollywood Forever Cemetery in Los Angeles (Levitt 2010), where many prominent people have their last resting places, it brings together the seriousness of death and the enjoyment of remembrance.

The fact that Garbo was to be buried in Stockholm became headline news in Sweden as well as internationally. "After Years in Limbo, Garbo's Ashes Are Finally Laid to Rest in Stockholm" reported *The Wall Street Journal* on 17 June 1999. BBC News wrote on the same day, "Greta Garbo goes home at last". In the Swedish media bringing Garbo's ashes "back" to Sweden was described as

a national triumph. The case of the Garbo ashes can be read as a kind of pop-cultural repatriation performance in a tourism setting.

Repatriation has become an increasingly vibrant issue for museums in the western world in the post-colonial era. Increased awareness and moves in cultural power relations have raised questions concerning if, how and why cultural and religious items and human remains brought to the western museum in a colonial past should be returned to the places and people from which they were once collected. Ethnologist Lotten Gustafsson (2017) has shown how the practices of repatriation, the factual handing over of objects from a museum to the receiver, is an "intercultural genre in the making", i.e. it has begun to take a recognizable ritualized form. In these rituals, complex ambitions to balance historical injustices and recompose historically unequal relations in a post-colonial world are enacted (Gustafsson 2017). Both examples can be regarded as cultural ways to handle national identities on a global scale and, as such, a national placemaking in a globalized world. Both examples draw on the trope that a body belongs to the place where it first saw the light of day. But first and foremost, both examples show that the gravity of death adds a religious dimension to a profane framework, bringing the analysis back to Durkheim's notion of death's significant role in forming the group's self-image.

The linkage between death and nation has been noticed with other public deaths. One of the most well-known examples is the death of Diana, Princess of Wales. Princess Diana died in a car crash in 1997 in Paris, when she and her boyfriend tried to get away from the paparazzi. The public attention after her death knew no bounds and the official as well as vernacular discourse about Princess Diana changed with her death. Diana had regularly been labeled an "icon" during her life, but in a pop-cultural and secular sense. She was described as an icon of fashion, an icon of femininity and a sexy icon. After the tragic accident that caused her death, the term icon was still used, but now regained close to a religious meaning. Media scholar Rosalind Brunt writes:

> In a quite straightforward and unironic manner, tributes were offered on the lines of: "Born a Lady. Died a Saint"; "A New Angel in Heaven"; "princess of Love"; "Like Jesus". Without apology or embarrassment, routine reference was made to the heaped flowers "shrines" and the routes between them became those of "pilgrimage".
>
> (Brunt 1999: 36)

Garbo received the religiously tinged label "The Divine" during her lifetime, but more to promote her as an unearthly beauty by the film industry than to make her a saint. The circumstances were very different between the violent death of Princess Diana and Garbo, who died of natural causes. But similar to how the meaning of the label changed and attained a sacred weight when Diana was dead, the label "The Divine" shifted from a secular to a religious discourse. But it was not only the discourse that shifted toward a sacred sphere; so too did the reading of physical scenery. The human remains of Garbo became a relic in a national context by

borrowing elements from a religious way of thinking. When dead, Garbo could operate as a unifying Swedish figure, and a last ritual performance made her truly Swedish again as her remains undertook a last and definitive trip back across the Atlantic Ocean. As the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* summed it up at the time of the funeral: "At last, Garbo is coming home".

The concluding ceremony in this repatriation process was a funeral. Invited were about thirty people, with representatives from the Swedish government, Swedish film industry and the royal family. The bishop Caroline Krook was funeral officiant. The occasion can be described as a semi-public event. It was not advertised and the media was not invited, except for the Swedish state television, which broadcast the outdoor interment. So as not to disturb the ceremony, television cameras were placed at a distance. This had the paradoxical effect that the last view the audience got of Greta Garbo was rather blurry images captured from afar, not unlike the paparazzi photos she so intensely wanted to escape during her life.

Guerilla memorial versus official heritage

In that the funeral was over, a first step in the re-Swedification of Greta Garbo was done. There seemed to be an agreement that it was a good thing to get her back "home", but less agreement on how to commemorate her. As we have seen, the City of Stockholm made quite an effort to get Garbo's ashes incorporated in Swedish soil. But at the time of her death in 1990 there was no initiative for an official memorial, even though there was lobbying going on behind the scenes to get her ashes to Sweden. The supposedly non-existent interest from the authorities to pay tribute to Garbo prompted a local association in her natal district of Södermalm to act.

The association's name was Tantofolket, "The people of Tanto" (Tanto is the name of a park in Södermalm). The members were enthusiasts engaged in local history and their activities included public lectures, book publishing and acts toward politicians so that they would pay attention to conservation issues in the district. The overall aim was to strengthen the local identity of the district of Södermalm at a grassroots level.

Greta Garbo had lived her first 19 years in the district. To Tantofolket, this was reason enough for raising a memorial to her in the district. Tantofolket had acted willfully on other occasions, for example putting up their own information signs at places they regarded as important. Once, they had even built a replica of a historic pavilion in a park without the authorities' permission. This time, they started by turning to the local authorities and lobbied in a conventional way for a monument, but without success. When a positive response was not forthcoming from the officials, the association decided to a make a memorial of their own.

They wanted the "The Garbo Memorial" to be close to her first address, Blekingegetan 32, and found a small area on the edge of a park quite close by. They engaged an artist to make a bust in a naturalistic style (Figure 5.2). In 1999 everything was ready, and on 18 September they held an inauguration. The bust was unveiled and a bush of lilacs that grew at the spot was "baptized" and given the name "Garbo's lilacs".

In essence, Tantofolket was paying attention to, in their own words, a "girl from the hood". To explain the purpose of the new Garbo memorial, they produced a booklet that was distributed in connection to the inauguration. It is a quite personal image of Greta Garbo that emerges in this booklet. Garbo is referred to as "Greta", or with the nickname "Gigi", and you get the impression that she was a friend whom they had known. This quote, written by the head of the association, illustrates the rhetoric:

> You may call me Gigi! If I have had the superb pleasure to meet Greta Garbo, I think that's how she'd have formulated her initial sentence . . . Gigi said the circle of acquaintances. And I count myself among them.

The bust (Figure 5.2) is a life-size bronze and depicts Garbo in the role of Swedish Queen Christina from the 1933 film. Her hair is pulled back so that her left ear is visible, which in the brochure is explained as a way of showing that Garbo was

FOTO: ERICH STERING

Rune Sahlström har länge kämpat för sin Garbobyst. I går tvingades han plocka bort den eftersom konstverket inte anses vara tillräckligt bra.

Greta Garbo lyftes bort

Strid om bysten. Eldsjälen Rune Sahlström ger inte upp.

Figure 5.2 The story of the Garbo bust was reported in the Swedish press, here in an article from the newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*. The headline reads "Greta Garbo is moved away. Battle for the bust. The burning enthusiast Rune Sahlström does not give up".

sullen, but a good listener. The relations highlighted are tangible and local: the relation between Garbo and the members of the association, and Garbo's connection to the area. The booklet ends with a wish that the site would become "a meeting point" and "central for the future traditions of young people".

Unfortunately for the Tantofolket, it quickly turned out that the hopes for the site's future significance came to nothing. Although the bust was already erected, it didn't appeal to the official authorities responsible for the city's art program. The Artistic Board of Stockholm opined that the bust lacked artistic quality. So, despite all their hard work, Tantofolket was instructed to take down the sculpture.

But the city's more sluggish bureaucratic machinery had also been working. In 1992 the authorities of Stockholm decided to name a square after Greta Garbo. This was an official way to make the history of Garbo "visitable" (Dicks 2003) and to add meaning and significance to the site, located close to the school Garbo had attended. To further underpin its touristic interest, the City of Stockholm itself in 2005, on the one hundredth anniversary of Garbo's birth, erected a monument at Greta Garbo's Square. This sculpture was by a well-established artist, and in the same way as Tantofolket's bust, it depicted Garbo's face, but in a sober, stylized way.

Memorials can reflect two ways of remembering, conceptualized by Pierre Nora (1989) as memory versus history. Memory is a living, local, unconscious and plastic story of the past communicated by ordinary people in their everyday life. It is shaped through the dialectic between remembrance and forgetfulness and is tied to certain places, settled expressions and tangible objects. History, on the other hand, is a strong and authoritarian story of the past, and is tied to museums, collected in archives and inscribed in the environment by official monuments (Nora 1989). On the one hand, you have Tantofolket, departing from their own memories of watching Garbo on the screen, and the connection they felt to her because she came from the same place as them. Tantofolket's memorial was a naturalistic bust, easy to comprehend. It was placed close to Garbo's first home address, standing in a park next to two park benches and with her ear ready to listen to her fellow inhabitants. It is the private side of her that is celebrated. On the other hand, there is the City of Stockholm, competing with other cities in an international tourist market, where Garbo is connected to the city as a resource. The official memorial is a graphic imaging of the star's face, framed by the analog reel of film with its characteristic pattern of holes in a row. Here it is the international film star status that is emphasized, and the connection to Stockholm is mediated through the closeness of the school, an institution of the welfare state of Sweden.

In the dichotomy of Pierre Nora, heritage is rather a dimension of history than of memory. When history is established, it transforms its object, by aestheticizing it and expanding its visibility so that it becomes more one-dimensional but clearer. It has even been argued that the production of heritage sites erases memory and formulates history in a political process that establishes power over both the past and the future (Ronström 2008). Put drastically, you could say that the City of Stockholm's authoritative voice drowned out the vernacular expression of memory. The voice of Tantofolket did not stand a chance against the established

Figure 5.3 The official memorial (to the left) shows Garbo as an iconic movie star of Sweden, while the unofficial memorial (to the right) recalls Greta Garbo as a private person.

Source: Photo: Mattias Frihammar.

institutionalized mono-vocal narrative about a Swedish movie star. Applying the model of Durkheim, in the negotiation about which group had the right to the memory of Garbo, the national community won over the home-grown local identity, and the memories of her as a local resident of Södermalm were silenced, in accordance with the theory of Nora.

But theory is one thing, and the way things go is another. Despite all setbacks, Tantofolket did not give up, but instead used their creativity. The house at Blekingegatan where Greta Garbo was born had been torn down in the 1980s, and a new house was built at the same spot. Tantofolket donated the rejected bust to the owner of the house, asking them to put it on the façade, which they did (Figure 5.3). So, today the rejected bust sits as an unofficial memorial at the corner of Blekingegatan and Tjurbergsgatan, as a thorn in the side of the city's elitist (in the eyes of Tantofolket) Artistic Board.

Conclusion

There is a joke that goes, "What happens after death? Well, the one who lives will tell." The punchline is paradoxical: if you live, you will eventually die. But when you are dead, you won't be able to tell what happens. We don't know what will happen to us when we die, in any case, not in an academic or epistemological way. However, what happens with the remains of a dead person can be the subject of knowledge and, indeed, a well-suited point of departure for a cultural analysis. Throughout humanity the handling of human bodies has been ritualized, thus making people and groups bring to the surface their cultural patterns and the distribution of power.

This chapter has been a close reading of some aspects of the aftermath of the death of the film actress Greta Garbo. The analysis has exposed the Swedish national context. But, of course, the legacy of Garbo extends beyond Swedish borders. Hundreds of books have been written about her and her films. Her mysterious and fascinating persona continues to be reproduced. Importantly, part of her international fame is now embedded in the international tourism industry through the placing of her ashes in a national and internationally renowned cemetery. That cemetery is national heritage and the world's heritage (Skogskyrkogården is a UNESCO World Heritage Site), appropriately confirming Greta Garbo's status as a national and universal icon. And in that context, the public she so determinedly sought to avoid in life now avidly visits her in death at this famous tourist destination.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Mr. Mats Hulth, Mr. Dag Sebastian Ahlander and Mr. Börje Olsson for information they provided about the return of Greta Garbo's ashes to Stockholm.

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6 Dissonant heritage and dark tourism at Lenin's Mausoleum

Magdalena Banaszkiewicz

Dissonant heritage in the context of dark tourism

Traveling to places of death, pain, and disaster is one of the most important types of tourist activity (Timothy and Boyd 2006: 2). The practice has been described as "a global rush to commemorate atrocities" (Williams 2007) and has provoked significant research and the production of an extensive literature devoted to this phenomenon (see, for instance, Ashworth and Hartmann 2005; Biran and Poria 2012; Cole 2000; Dann and Seaton 2002; Foote 1997; Lennon and Foley 2000). "Dark tourism" is the term most widely applied to characterize "the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites" (Foley and Lennon 1996: 198). Since then, other similar terms such as "thanatourism" (Seaton 1996), "morbid tourism" (Blom 2000), and "tragic tourism" (Lippard 1999) have been proposed to convey the specifics of these travels and sites.

In this chapter I analyze Lenin's Tomb in Moscow as a dark site. However, labeling visitors to the Tomb as dark tourists is an oversimplification: generally speaking, they are typical cultural tourists without special interest in places of death and disaster. Therefore, I will not concentrate on the distinct features of the "darkness" (Lennon and Foley 2000; Miles 2002; Sharpley 2005) but instead will take advantage of the broader term "dissonant heritage" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). This "problematic" heritage "involves a discordance or a lack of agreement and consistency, which in turn immediately prompts the question, 'between which element does dissonance occur'" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 20).

My work on Lenin's Tomb also engages the emergence and rapid development of the "heritage industry" (Hewison 1987), which critiques presentation of the past to people in a packaged, commodified form. Lenin's Tomb is also interpreted as an example of the "heritage craze" or "heritage crusade" (Lowenthal 1998), which is, in part, the result of the European "obsession with memory" (Huyssen 1995). Indeed, Sharon Macdonald writes,

> Europe has become a memoryland . . . and city-scapes have filled up with the products of collective memory work – heritage sites, memorials, museums, plaques and art installations . . . More and more people . . . visit sites of memory; and increasing numbers are engaged in quests to save or recuperate fading or near-forgotten pasts.
>
> (2013: 1)

Yet there is an irony, for Macdonald also refers to "difficult heritage" as "heritage that the majority of the population would prefer not to have" (2006: 9). Uzzell and Ballantyne (1998) focus on the link between such heritage and people in the context of interpretation. They highlight that "heritage resonates for us because it is not only related to our past but it is an important part of our present and future." Therefore, there is a kind of heritage that "hurts." Returning to Macdonald, it may be paraphrased that we would prefer not to have heritage that hurts us. Similarly, Logan and Reeves (2009) define "difficult heritage" as "places of pain and shame."

The aforementioned authors emphasize the intellectual as well as emotional aspect of heritage. Indeed, heritage is something that inevitably triggers some reaction, which one can perceive as "struggling with the heritage," "dealing with the heritage," and "negotiating the heritage" (Macdonald 2013). In other words, not only does heritage "do work" (Smith 2006; Waterton and Watson 2015), it requires some activity, someone who confronts it and is forced to take a position.

Post-Soviet Russia offers a prime venue for research on dissonant and dark heritage, including in the context of tourism development. This is basically a domain of dissonant heritage as Eastern Europe still confronts the challenge of dealing with the difficult past of Nazi concentration camps, gulags, and so forth (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 127). Researchers who consider post-Soviet heritage have focused mostly on Central Europe rather than the Russian Federation (Balažič 2010; Macdonald 2013; Marciszewska 2006; Metro-Roland 2008; Negro 2012; Smith and Hall 2006; Whigham 2014). Others have presented more general remarks about culture, memory, and identity after the collapse of the USSR (Boym 2001; Buchowski 2012; Forrest and Johnson 2010). My research has aimed to address this gap by focusing on dissonant heritage in Russia, with Lenin's Tomb as the example.

Lenin's Tomb (Mausoleum) and the experience of a dissonant heritage site

Lenin's Tomb is one of the most popular tourist attractions in Moscow. It stands at the very heart of the city center. Here is the monumental grave of one of the most history-altering political leaders of all time. As such, thousands of tourists – Russian and international – visit the site – actually, a shrine – each year. Moscow itself is a key tourist destination.

The modern meaning of Lenin's Tomb contrasts significantly with its initial function. After Lenin's death in 1924, the party leaders decided to display his body in a temporary wooden mausoleum to allow people to pay their last respects to their leader before the burial. This was just a couple of months after the establishment of Lenin's Institute in Moscow and the appearance of the idea of Leninism in political discourse (see Yurczak 2015: 122; cf. Tumarkin 1997). There were debates among the young Communist leadership as to how to treat Lenin's body.[1] Eventually, the Central Committee reached an agreement to preserve it for as long as possible through embalming. The task was given to a professor, Vladimir Vorobiev, and a biochemist, Boris Zbarsky (whose family is still responsible for preserving Lenin's body). In the following years a special laboratory was created

to work incessantly on the preservation of Lenin's "anatomical image," while in front of the Kremlin Wall a majestic pyramid-shaped building was raised as a shelter for the temporal relics of Lenin. Since the Lenin cult was one of the most pervasive features of Soviet political practice, Lenin's Mausoleum became one of the most recognizable symbols in the USSR and a model for similar sites of political worship elsewhere.[2]

Although Lenin's Tomb is not as "dark" as other sites of Soviet repression in Russia (see discussion in Comer, Chapter 12 of this volume), it deserves special attention for two reasons. First, in terms of tourism popularity, the site is one of the "must-see" places in Moscow. Second, between the 1930s and 1980s, Lenin's Mausoleum was one the most, if not the most, respected symbols in the USSR. Unlike the other former socialist countries, which have "swept away monuments and exhibitions of the socialist periods and instead created museums that turn the spotlight onto horrors of the recent past" (Macdonald 2013: 5), Russia's (the government's) attitude toward the Soviet era is ambiguous (Adler 2012; Anisimov and Richmond 1990; Bernhard and Kubik 2014; Dubin 2011; Edkins 2003; Etkind 2013), and this generates the dissonance discussed in this chapter.

The premise of my research was to elucidate what "dissonant heritage" represents in the particular case of Lenin's Tomb. Smith (2006: 74) and Light and Young (2015: 152) state that the heritage audience is an active agent in the mediation of heritage's meaning. Similar to what Smith and Croy (2005) claim – that it is the visitors' perception of the site as dark that makes it a dark attraction – I wanted to trace how people describe their experience at Lenin's Tomb to understand the possible differences in dissonance that visitors associate with the site. I have assumed that dissonance is implied in the tourist experience, especially on its emotional level. Current academic reflections, after the phenomenological turn, focus on how tourist experience increasingly relies on "feeling" the site rather than simply gazing at it. Golańska, for example, notices that "tourists must also be seen as people who experience sites and events at an immediate bodily, enfleshed, sensuous level" (2015: 6; see also Berenholdt et al. 2004; Crouch 2016; Edensor 2001). I follow Bruner's (2005: 6–9) suggestion to divide experience and expression: "experience" relates to the actual lived experience by tourists and "expression" to the more tangible way in which this experience is articulated and communicated.

Participant observation and impressions of tourists in Red Square

The following considerations are based on ten days of field research conducted in Moscow in July 2015, during which the primary objective was to find and study from an auto-ethnographic perspective the "Communist" attractions of Moscow. As a natural consequence of this self-reflexive position, gathering data mainly took the form of field notes on personal experience and a week-long participant observation in Red Square. I attempted to "immerse" myself in the atmosphere

of the place and gain insight into experiencing dissonant heritage. I also visited the Tomb several times during that period. Throughout this observation I tried to capture the main features of tourists' behavior and their reactions both inside and outside the Tomb. I concentrated on English- and Russian-speaking tourists based on my own language fluency and because it was obviously vital to understand Russians' perspectives. Subsequently, I conducted a discourse analysis of visitors' reviews on TripAdvisor, which serves as core material for this chapter inasmuch as interviewing tourists at Lenin's Tomb was essentially impossible.

In terms of what I saw through participation observation, it is significant that the physical space of the site (Lenin's Tomb) is particularly important in the experience of it. For me, the visit to the Tomb is inevitably associated with a ceremony, a kind of rite of passage. I say this because the site is symbolically separated from Red Square by a strong metal chain, which no one can cross (it is under careful observation from the guards). Therefore, tourists are forced to wait (sometimes for a very long time) in a queue that leads to security gates. Only after detailed checking may one enter the site. Before visitors access the Tomb itself, they walk along the Kremlin Wall; they sightsee plaques with the names of historical figures who deserved burial in this site. This walk is a form of preparation for the visit to the Tomb, which can be seen as the culmination of the sightseeing. Tourists indeed enter the "other" space – it is cool, very quiet, absolutely different, and somehow "remote" from the boisterous Red Square. They are not allowed to speak or even put their hands into pockets. Nobody would dare to take photographs. Therefore looking at Lenin's body differs to a great extent from a typical tourist activity. As soon as visitors leave the Tomb, they express their relief, comment on the experience, and take their cameras out – they start to behave as "normal" tourists again. This noticeable difference between the space of the Tomb and the surroundings, the difference in behavior, forced by the rules of sightseeing, triggers ambivalent emotions, which correspond to discussions on contradictions in reference to the site.

Insofar as I could determine, Russians are more "used to" the space; they line up and go through the security gates more patiently. They treat this necessity as the very obvious part of the experience. While entering the Tomb, they take themselves more seriously and they are noticed by guards less often than are the foreigners. Some of them look really moved by the view of Lenin. Typically, they also pay much more attention to the other graves; they stop and carefully read the plaques, commenting on the people buried there. At the same time, foreigners openly express criticism toward the organizational aspects of this sightseeing. They complain loudly about waiting in the sun for so long. Most of the foreign tourists move faster along the Kremlin Wall than domestic visitors, passing by the plaques almost without any notice (of course, they may not be able to read them and the names are unfamiliar to them). While entering the Tomb, it can be seen how some of them exchange ironical smirks if they are instructed by a guard, while others seem to be rather confused. Foreigners, after going out of the Tomb, more expressively comment on the guards and the atmosphere, and some try stealthily to take a photograph. Regardless of the nationality of tourists, it is noticeable that the

space of this site has a powerful impact on visitors who, in some sense, are engaged in a kind of performance, to whose rules they are forced to adjust.

Discourse analysis of TripAdvisor

The past decade has witnessed remarkable interest in the application of social media to the hospitality and tourism domain (Ayeh et al. 2013: 437). Most travel actions are now performed through the web. Thanks to continuous access to wifi, tourists not only check destination information or make bookings in the pre-travel phase, they also use internet applications during the trip as well as after it.

Most of my data come from my analysis of TripAdvisor, which is a rich, unmediated source of information. TripAdvisor is the most widely recognized, used, and trusted travel website (TripAdvisor tops Travel Brand Awareness Index, electr. doc., 2014). The findings of Ayeh et al. (2013: 447) suggest that user-generated content has the potential to positively influence the consumers' travel planning and decision-making process as long as they perceive the source to be credible, regardless of whether the review reflects the actual truth or not.

Although it is owned and developed for marketing purposes, TripAdvisor creates a kind of "community of consumption" (Kozinets et al. 2007). Most of the reviews offer quite detailed descriptions and evocative accounts of reviewers' experiences as well as images enriching the text. The reviews on TripAdvisor reflect individual users' experiences (realizing the idea of "harnessing collective intelligence," characteristic for the Web 2.0, cf. O'Reilly 2005). But the reviews also have a traditional character since they are organized around the rating system of stars, which has been used in the travel industry since the nineteenth century. Sites such as TripAdvisor basically fulfill the same function as traditional guidebooks, providing orientation for future travelers. However, TripAdvisor offers much more up-to-date information in comparison to guidebooks, which are out of date at the very moment they are published (Dann and Parinello 2007: 15). Even more importantly, the reviews are written by the travelers themselves. This, for many users, significantly increases their faith in the accuracy of the opinions.

I analyzed 352 out of 479 reviews referring to Lenin's Mausoleum between 18 August 2007 and 18 August 2015. I eliminated the reviews in a language other than English and Russian. In total, 223 reviews were written in English, 129 in Russian.

At the first stage of the analysis I identified all statements and comments that, in my opinion, related to the emotional aspects of the experience of visiting Lenin's Tomb and the reasons for them. Subsequently, I grouped reviews into thematic categories, which I identified on the basis of frequency of appearance. These categories were: defining the general experience, atmosphere, Mausoleum as an attraction, Lenin's body, other graves, security, other people, and attitude toward history/past. Next, I tried to find similarities and differences between Russian and English-language reviews. The key research question focused on the dissonances that visitors perceive, feel, or acknowledge in relation to their experience of Lenin's Tomb.

The majority of English-language reviews are more descriptive than those left by Russians. They provide detailed characteristics of the site, include more practical hints (e.g. how to behave inside), and focus on the visitors' emotional states, which resonate with the surroundings. They particularly concentrate on the physical aspects of the place itself, whose atmosphere leads to contradictory emotions expressed by very contrasting phrases, such as: "bizarre but fascinating," "interesting but terrifying," "positively freakish, ghoulish and disturbing," "airy and bizarre." The experience itself is labeled as: "very eerie," "unique," "extraordinary," "great," "different," "unforgettable," and "strange." These quotes implicate an association with Rudolph Otto's (1958) *misterium tremendum et fascinans*, whereby people are paralyzed but at the same time fascinated by the experience of meeting god. (The sacral aspect of the tourist experience will be raised in a later part of this chapter.)

Simultaneously, such focus of the reviews on the experience itself finds a theoretical framework within a long tradition of tourist studies that highlight tourists' search for unique, extraordinary experiences (Cohen 2004; MacCannell 1976). As Bauman (2012: 490) states: "The tourist is a conscious and systematic seeker of experience, of a new and different experience."

Many reviews point out that the opportunity to enter the Mausoleum is very limited by the Russian government (just a couple of hours, three times a week), and there is a lively discussion on the possible closing of the Mausoleum and observations that it may be the last chance to see Lenin: "You never know when they will decide to shut it down and just simply bury him or his body will no longer be in a condition to display," "make it sooner rather than later as authorities are considering burying him again," "a unique opportunity," "do give this a visit while you know you still can."

It seems that two main aspects of the visit generate these intensive experiences (even though we are aware that tourists tend to embellish their narratives). The first one is the specificity of the site, which is perceived as utterly different, unreal ("in stark contrast to the rest of the Red Square," "leaves you a bit shell-shocked when you emerge into reality again," "an unusual and macabre tourist site, but worth a look," "the most eccentric site I have seen in the last six years of travel"). This reflection is based mainly on the physical impression of the darkness and coolness of the site ("the blackness of this mausoleum creates the correct atmosphere," "dark cold, descending steps, a very cold surreal environment," "very dark with a distinct smell," "eery red light"). The emotions are triggered by the sensory, embodied experience of the space, which exemplifies that tourist experience is "not only an ocular one, but truly corporeal" (Markwell 2001: 55; cf. Crouch 2016; Crouch and Desforges 2003; Robinson and Picard 2012). The contrast between the space of the Mausoleum and the rest of Moscow's center is so significant that it leads to dissonance and "mixed feelings."

The second main reason for the contradictory reactions of visitors, strictly connected with embodiment, is the manner in which security is provided. For many visitors, the militarization of the site is terrifying (e.g. "If you want to feel the strictness of the Russian army, visit the place," "Russian guards stand

to attention throughout the attraction, which makes it even more scary – they all have ak47s and you know they'd probably use them!!"). Remarks about the guards appear in most reviews; however, some tourists treat the strict security (one cannot speak inside, must not stop, must take hands out of pockets) as part of the excitement of the visit ("some angry soldiers will start yelling at you in Russian. Most exciting part of the visit for me!", "strict adherence to silence with armed guards, which all adds to the experience," "security is fascinating in its own right"). Notably, this aspect of the experience combines contradictory emotions as well: something negative (fear, stress, uncertainty) is followed by something positive (excitement, interest).

Another factor causing the dissonance that is perceived by the tourists lies in the reflection on other visitors, particularly the behavior of the domestic ones. Foreigners are surprised by the fact that some domestic visitors treat the Mausoleum with extreme respect ("many Russians remaining quiet," "Old Bolsheviks in fur hats leave red roses at the entrance to the tomb," "Many young, newly married couples come to pay honor," "a small group of (I guess) Communist party devotees marched up the square carrying photos and flowers, which they placed outside the tomb. Great experience!"). For some of the foreigners the atmosphere of respect recalls traditional religious experience ("this is one of the few places left in the world where tourists behave quietly and calmly. You won't be getting that even in the old cathedrals anymore . . .").

In comparison, many Russian-language reviews are characterized by a religious vocabulary suggesting that for many domestic visitors, going to the Mausoleum is continually a kind of secular pilgrimage, just as it used to be in the USSR:

> Although performing a religious blessing over a man, who called for destroying religion, is certainly a curiosity, the symbolism and aura of Lenin's mausoleum actually provokes such a response. By placing Lenin in a state of suspended animation, Soviet officials intentionally imitated how the bodies of saints were displayed in monasteries throughout Russia.
>
> (Froese 2008: 40)

For foreigners, such religious treatment of the Mausoleum is startling, but simultaneously provokes questions about Russian memory policy and memory work ("I'm not entirely sure what this bizarre tomb in the middle of their capital city says about the Russian psyche," "The Russian ambivalence to the site seems to echo the on-going national processing of the Soviet era," "For Russian people probably it means something. For half of Europe . . . sufferance"). Particularly, the dissonance appears when foreigners notice the local attitude toward Stalin's grave ("many people still leave flowers on the grave," "extremely controversial – Stalin. The fact that he has a grave sickens me and that he is applauded and loved by all is disgraceful," "note, with some horror, that there are people who still place flowers on the tombstone of the biggest mass murderer of the 20th century, Stalin"). This kind of dissonance arises from a different appreciation of the historical role of Lenin and Stalin in Western and Russian culture. However, this reflection is quite limited

because many visitors do not even acknowledge the burial place of Stalin (or of Dzerzhinsky, who established and developed the secret police forces).

According to some reviewers, a visit to the Mausoleum seems to be a helpful tool for understanding Russia ("the atmosphere is unbelievable. You will be amazed at how he's treated. You will understand Russia and Russians better," "[if] you visit Moscow and wish to understand just some of Russia's long and complex history then it is essential to visit this site"). I would say that the Mausoleum itself works for visitors exactly as a marker of dissonances and contradictions characteristic of the whole Russian culture.

Finally, while many foreign tourists are fascinated by the idea of body preservation or monumental architecture, some of them express concerns similar to those expressed by many Russians, who critically depict transformation of the Mausoleum into a tourist attraction (which paradoxically does not prevent them from visiting it): "Probably explains why Disneyland hasn't opened a theme park in Moscow," "'check the box' attraction," "you know you're from Moscow if you've never seen Lenin . . . it is a place that mainly attracts tourists," "hence it truly has just turned into a tourist attraction." It is interesting that the recognition of the Mausoleum lies somewhere in between a sacred (although secular) site and an average tourist site. It appears that both are regarded as a not very "proper" role for the Mausoleum, although visitors themselves do not know how to treat it. Some comments express this ambiguity more explicitly ("Not sure what I really thought about it"); in other reviews one may find it between lines ("I am not sure if I want to recommend this to anybody"). However, according to the majority of the reviews, regardless of what one may think or feel, the uniqueness of the site deserves a visit (e.g. "Whatever people say negative about having a burial place right on the main square of the city, I think not so many countries or cities can be proud of having mausoleums of their past leaders," "it is almost like going to Rome and not seeing the Pope," "this is a real must, weird, but a must").

It is thus important to analyze what Russians[3] write on TripAdvisor about their visits to Lenin's Tomb. The first noticeable difference between the experiences of foreigners and Russians is their perception of the physical space of the Tomb and its surroundings. While descriptions of the site itself take a significant place in foreigners' reviews, in Russian it is rather a rare topic. It seems that average participants of the Russian culture do not pay such attention to this issue, because it is quite obvious for them what the Tomb actually looks like. Consequently, their descriptions are less practical, since the majority of domestic visitors are aware that they will meet guards and will not be allowed to take photographs inside the Mausoleum. There is also no extended reflection on the militarization of the site as in the foreign reviews. Among the phrases used by Russians most often to describe the Tomb and its atmosphere, one may come across such expressions as: solemn, majesty, mystery.[4] As opposed to English reviews, adjectives such as creepy or gloomy seldom appear. However, it is worth noticing that the perception of the site also causes a dissonance, but the main reason is the comparison with past experiences. While foreigners are challenged to find similar places that they can compare with the Mausoleum, Russians often refer to their previous

visits to the Tomb: "I've immediately recalled the queue when I waited to enter the Mausoleum," "without soldiers at the entrance, it looks somehow different than in the 80s," "easing regulations, fast queueing."

Visiting the Tomb is, for many, either the fulfillment of childhood dreams ("From my childhood I have dreamt to visit the mausoleum," "In the USSR, each pupil dreamed of visiting this site," "All my life I wanted to visit Moscow and see Uncle Lenin") or an attempt to compare the experience with that from childhood ("I went to compare with children's experiences"). Therefore, the feeling of nostalgia is one of the most common emotions that repeats in the Russian reviews ("wave of nostalgia for the school times"). However, it is accompanied mostly by disappointment ("when I was a pioneer and I believed in a bright future, I wanted to get here. And when I came, I felt nearly nothing," and "the leader is not the same, maybe it is time to bury"). This ambivalence has been analyzed by Svetlana Boym:

> At first glance, nostalgia is longing for a place, but actually it is yearning for a different time – the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams . . . Nostalgia tantalizes us with its fundamental ambivalence; it is about the repetition of unrepeatable, materialization of immaterial.
>
> (2001: XV, XVII)

This kind of nostalgia refers generally to private experiences, individual memory, even if it signifies some common tendencies (visiting Lenin's Mausoleum was an obligatory part of every school trip to Moscow). Simultaneously, in the Russian reviews one may find another kind of nostalgia that expresses longing for something that is more collective and abstract than individual and specific. What I mean is that there is nostalgia toward the greatness of the USSR. Some reviews explicitly stress that the Tomb is treated as a symbol of the power of the former state and its impressive history ("It cannot be regarded as a special attraction, it is a symbol. Symbol of the Soviet people's triumph over death and its destructive power over the human body," "Great atmosphere, powerful symbol of the country," "The greatness of the past"). In this group of reviews there predominates the pride of the past ("pay tribute to our history and the great Lenin," "you feel some kind of pride in the history and that this history is kept and venerated by the present generation," "homage to the leader, this sad and exciting atmosphere and a sense of pride in the fact that there is respect and honor of the Soviet-Russian history").

However, the evaluation of history and Lenin's role in the past functions exactly as a ground for ambiguity ("with him it is associated with not the best period in our history," "seed of discord in our society," "as the historical case – it is strange, but as an example of the tomb on the central square of the capital – it makes an impression") or even outrage ("CORPSE! In the middle of the capital!! CORPSE!! It's not just a medieval horror!! And whose corpse! Killer !!"). While for some visitors, pride in the past is the reason to visit the Tomb and, for others, history is the argument against it, there is also a group of opinions that attempt to reconcile

both positions ("what it wouldn't have been, it is still the history of our country. I think that one must visit it just once," "after all, it is our common Soviet past").

The strong dissonance also refers to the moral evaluation of exhibiting the body in such a manner ("For me, like for many, the attitude towards the Mausoleum is ambiguous. On the one hand, it is our history, on the other – a unique scientific experiment, but on a third – whether that is a good way to lay, without resting, and be the object of sightseeing of a crowd of people who are in general indifferent?", "they embalm him as pharaoh and show him to everyone, I know it's not for money or so, but still not ethical," "it is not necessary to torture Uncle Lenin, it is necessary to rebury him," "well, how long is it possible to mock the dead body").

To sum up, it is worth noticing that a visit to Lenin's Tomb, for many Russian-language tourists, is a basis for a wider discussion on the Soviet past. Generally, the ambiguity that is expressed by the reviews lies in the question of whether the Mausoleum should actually stand at Red Square. Concisely, this uncertainty mirrors the pride of history on the one hand and the sense of responsibility for burying a human being on the other.

Conclusions

My general impression of the English-language tourists is that they are more touched by the physical space and the organizational aspects of the visit in the Tomb than by Lenin himself. In the beginning, they treat it as a standardized part of sightseeing and they are confused by the atmosphere of this experience. They go there mainly out of curiosity and to tick it off their "must-see-place" list, the more so because it is free. Concurrently, Russian tourists look more "prepared" for the visit, therefore they do not pay such attention to the security – they consider the atmosphere of the Tomb as natural for a site where people pay respect. I have the impression that for them it is more an important historical site, their heritage (regardless of their attitude toward Lenin or the USSR), rather than a common tourist attraction.

In terms of my richer source of data from TripAdvisor, English-language reviews indicate that foreign visitors feel a different type of ambiguity toward the Mausoleum than the Russians. It must be stressed that the perception of dissonance by tourists is generally determined by their cultural background (among which one can recognize different cultural memory or cultural dimensions). There is a notable difference in approach toward Lenin's Tomb (or other dark sites) between visitors from different regions or countries. It is surely also connected with personal features of a specific tourist (knowledge, cultural competence, travel experience, motivations, etc.), which, only to some extent, correspond with the general idea of cultural background. However, the aim of the above analysis was to show that such dissonance is a complex interpretation of the site and it can be perceived (felt, acknowledged) in different ways. As the reviews have shown, for many visitors (mainly foreigners) it was a physical dissonance caused by the very specific space of the Mausoleum or by the way in which sightseeing is organized (strict security). Second, the ambiguity was triggered

by the evaluation of the site, whether it is a site of memory (paying respect? worship?) or a tourist attraction (entertainment or edutainment?). Contrary to expectations, the dissonance expressed by foreign tourists in their reviews was not necessarily connected with the public debate on the historical role of Lenin or the question of whether it is ethical to display a human body, although these contradictions appeared more frequently in Russian-language reviews.

The most important conclusion that can be offered is that the dissonance of heritage depends on the reaction of people to that which the Russian state presents as heritage. Hence, visitors should be taken into consideration as active stakeholders in the site, who negotiate the meaning of this dissonant place. Moreover, my analysis draws attention to the power of physical space in every tourist experience. Relating this project to the larger concept of heritage of death, one may notice that heritage of death is particularly prone to dissonances. Lenin's Tomb shows that the debate on the role of heritage of death in the modern tourism landscape should be extended by further research on issues such as performativity of tourist encounters, embodiment, power, and space. Anthropological methods of gathering data are exceptionally applicable in the further study of the heritage of death – if only I could have applied them fully in Red Square.

Notes

1 First, Lenin himself wanted to be buried in his mother's grave in Saint Petersburg (at that time called Petrograd). Second, the experiment with embalming might have been a failure, since there were no guidelines on how to do it effectively. Last, but not least, there was a strong ideological opposition among the party leaders toward the very idea of preserving the material body of Lenin as contradictory to the materialist worldview of Communism. On the heated dispute after Lenin's death, see Yurczak (2015: 125–128).
2 There are three other mausoleums in the world displaying bodies of former political leaders: Mao Zedong (Beijing), Kim Il-Sung (Pyongyang), and Ho Chi Min (Hanoi). The mausoleum of Bulgarian Communist leader Georgi Dimitrov in Sofia was demolished in 1999 after his embalmed body had been cremated.
3 I use the term Russians, but not in the strict sense of ethnicity. What I mean is "being a part of Russian-language community" (and consequently, at least to some extent, "part of the Russian culture") and I analyze it in opposition to the broad group of foreigners.
4 All Russian quotes were translated by the author.

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7 The corpse, heritage, and tourism

The multiple ontologies of the body of King Richard III of England

Craig Young and Duncan Light

Introduction

In August 2012 the bodily remains of King Richard III of England (b.1452; d.1485) were found under a car park in the English city of Leicester. Richard III was killed during the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, but beyond historical records suggesting that his body was taken from there to somewhere near Greyfriars Church in Leicester, the exact location of his remains was unknown and not marked by any grave. The remarkable rediscovery of his body could be considered in many ways, but in this chapter we are concerned with exploring the centrality of the materiality of these human remains for a range of interlocking social processes, including national identity, historical narrative, memory, inter-urban competition in the context of global neoliberalism, and heritage tourism. Prior to the discovery of the body itself, Richard III had long been the subject of competing interpretations and claims. However, the discovery of the actual body both created new potentialities and set limits to social and political action. What was possible before his actual bodily remains were discovered was different afterwards. The chapter therefore also seeks to develop a theorizing of the dead body as possessing agency and as characterized by multiple ontologies, and not just the subject of competing claims.

The discovery and reburial of Richard III's body have attracted popular and academic interest from a wide variety of perspectives (e.g., Buckley et al. 2013; Langley and Jones 2013; Appleby et al. 2015; Ashdown-Hill 2015; Carson et al. 2015; Kennedy and Foxhall 2015; Sayer and Walter 2016; Toon and Stone 2016). However, here we wish to examine how the bodily remains themselves "work" as a nexus of a multitude of competing narratives and claims which position the dead body as central to a variety of processes including heritage, tourism, memory, inter-urban competition, and national identity (also see Young and Light 2013; and see Banaszkiewicz, Chapter 6 of this volume). Within these processes we would argue that it is necessary to also focus on the centrality of the remains of Richard III as an active agent (and not "just" a subject) and to consider the corpse in a framework emphasizing the multiple ontologies of the dead body as heritage.

A number of social science disciplines have undergone a 're-materialization' involving a renewed appreciation of the role of material objects in social relations. Appadurai famously argued that we should "follow the things themselves, for

their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories. It is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things" (1986: 3–5). While the invocation to "follow the things" has been influential in drawing attention to the importance of materiality in social life, it can be argued that it is problematic to reduce human remains to the status of "thing", as above all they are the remains of a person (see Young and Light 2016). In this chapter we therefore suggest a combination of three perspectives that can be deployed to understand the role of the corpse: distributed personhood as a part of broader assemblages, the dead body as an active agent, and the multiple ontologies of the (dead) body.

Within the discipline of Death Studies, corpses have been theorized as elements within assemblages of material culture and embodied practice which make up a "distributed personhood" of the dead (Hockey et al. 2010: 9). Textual, visual, and embodied processes of memory formation intertwine in these assemblages with the material culture of death, including the dead body itself (Hallam and Hockey 2001; Williams 2004). The dead body is thus "a node in a nexus of social relationships, objects and exchanges through which personhood and remembrance are distributed and constituted" (Williams 2004: 267). However, within these assemblages the dead body is not simply a passive subject to which meaning is attributed. Though this point is debated (see Crandall and Martin 2014), many disciplines have argued that human remains exhibit agency, in the sense that their presence and materiality can be "the anchors of fields of power/social influence that shape human action" (Crandall and Martin 2014: 432). As Young and Light (2016: 68) suggest, "The corpse can be seen as playing an active role in a range of performances, practices and rituals incorporating and informed by material culture".

To understand this active role, it is necessary to deploy an understanding of the multiple ontologies of the dead body. Kantorowicz (1957) famously drew attention to "the king's two bodies" – the physical one which dies like all human beings ("the body natural") and the spiritual one representing the king's divine right to rule ("the body politic"). Kantorowicz's detailed work explicated how these different conceptualizations of the one body were produced and sustained in specific social, cultural, and historical contexts through discourse and practice (the emergence of a Western, early-modern, monarchical "political theology"), rather than simply being different ways of viewing the body as an object. In a more contemporary context, Foltyn (2008) draws attention to the many ways that corpses take on meaning in different contexts.

To develop this point, it is productive to deploy ways of thinking about the (living) body developed in science and technology studies. Analyzing how diseased bodies are dealt with in hospitals, Mol (2002) decenters ways of thinking about the body as a unified object which is multiple because it is viewed from multiple perspectives, to understanding the ontology of an object (the body) as something produced through multiple situated practices. In Mol's (2002) view, an object is multiple because it is constantly enacted in complex social situations – a flow of relations rather than "a given thing" viewed from multiple perspectives.

Its multiplicity arises from an ongoing set of practices, materialities, and technologies (which she terms "enactments"), which may or may not be coordinated and which may be open to (political) contestation. Furthermore, arguing from the perspectives of archaeology and anthropology, Harris and Robb (2013: 676) propose that "the body is always ontologically multimodal . . . in all societies differing socio-material contexts allow different bodies to be called forth . . . These ontologies are sprawling, multifarious and often contextually applied".

In this chapter, then, we explore the discovery, treatment, and reinterment of Richard III's body and its role in heritage tourism as a series of inter-connected enactments in which the shift from the absence of the corpse to its presence is central. Sometimes the body of Richard III is a subject, given meaning and appropriated for a variety of ends, but it also demonstrates agency. While not arguing that these are the only possible enactments, we focus on five interlocking ontologies which we feel are key; i.e., Richard III's remains as archaeological and forensic enactment; the materiality of his corpse in historical narrative; his remains and national identity; his remains as a legal enactment; and finally, his body as neoliberal subject and agent of inter-urban competition.

Richard III's corpse as archaeological and forensic enactment

In 2004–5, Philippa Langley, a member of the international Richard III Society (see Richard III Society 2017a), launched a project to find the remains of the king (for a full account see Langley 2017). Historical research suggested that Richard's body remained where it was thought to have been buried, near to the site of the former Greyfriars Church in Leicester, now a local government car park. Eventually a "Looking for Richard" project was launched, culminating in an archaeological excavation of the car park: the "Dig for Richard III" (now involving the University of Leicester Archaeological Services, and Leicester City Council). Remarkably, the first trench opened yielded human remains, which were subsequently established to be the skeleton of King Richard III. After over five hundred years, Richard III had been found and the appearance of his physical remains provoked a series of enactments that placed the dead body as central to processes of historical "authenticity", reputation, legal battles over ownership, national identity, and inter-urban competition.

The excavation of Richard's body was undertaken with full compliance with the legalities and ethics required of excavating human remains in the UK. An exhumation license was obtained from the UK Ministry of Justice (significantly, it was one of the elements of this license – regarding the final resting place of Richard III's remains if he was discovered – that was central to later controversy). The story is complex, but what is important for this analysis is that at this point the body of Richard III became part of various enactments in active ways which contribute to the multiple ontologies of the dead body, starting with the legal construction of human remains.

As Richard's remains were uncovered in the trench, they became part of an archaeological enactment that treated his body appropriately as an archaeological object.

His bones became part of an enactment that incorporated the legal system, the project driving his rediscovery, and established archaeological practices and technologies. And this aspect of his body was also highly mediatized – pictures of his skeleton in the trench were reproduced internationally (see Toon and Stone 2016). Probably there are few skeletons or human remains which have received so much media coverage or which are so recognizable to the general public (see Toon and Stone 2016 on the media and the creation of cultural heritage around Richard III's skeleton). Furthermore, the bodily remains and their scientific treatment were further integrated in a wider enactment of national identity, as the skeleton was that of a king of England.

And this enactment of Richard's body did not stop there. The excavated skeleton then became an object of considerable forensic scrutiny, with a plethora of scientific and technical processes applied to it, which again became the subject of widely distributed and viewed media images (not least because of the publicity value of the find for key actors such as the University of Leicester and the city of Leicester). DNA testing was undertaken to confirm that the bones actually were the remains of King Richard III. A variety of tests were undertaken to establish "facts" about the ability of Richard to have fought in battle and the nature of his wounds, what he ate, and so on (see University of Leicester 2014), the results of which received widespread media attention and scientific reporting (Buckley et al. 2013; Appleby et al. 2015). Facial reconstruction techniques were applied to produce a representation of Richard's face to apparently show what he "really" looked like (see BBC 2013).

Whether any of these procedures produced accurate results or conclusions (and there is still some dispute over whether these remains are conclusively those of Richard III) is not the issue here. The point is that these complex and "scientific" archaeological and forensic procedures formed enactments (in Mol's [2002] term) in which the skeletal remains performed a central role in questions of "authenticity" and "truth", which in turn underpinned much wider processes which are discussed below. The existence of the physical remains is key here – none of this would have been possible without the presence of the remains themselves. Science, technology, and society become intertwined in particular constellations as the new life of Richard's remains gets underway. As Harris and Robb (2013: 676) argue, "ontologies are always bound up and inseparable from the material world, not determined by it but not independent, either".

Richard III's corpse and historical narrative

Richard III's skeleton was therefore constructed in multiple ways by enactments (Mol 2002), incorporating scientific approaches and technologies appropriate to establishing physical "facts" about human remains. However, a further enactment incorporated these practices with competing discourses about Richard and how representations of his physical appearance were intertwined with historical representations of his character and his acts. The opening sentences of the Mission Statement of the Richard III Society makes it clear that changing entrenched

representations of Richard III is a key goal of the Society and the project to rediscover his body:

> In the belief that many features of the traditional accounts of the character and career of Richard III are neither supported by sufficient evidence nor reasonably tenable, the Society aims to promote, in every possible way, research into the life and times of Richard III, and to secure a reassessment of the material relating to this period, and of the role of this monarch in English history.
>
> (Richard III Society 2017a)

Perceptions of Richard III and his character have for centuries been shaped by Shakespeare's play *Richard III* (c. 1592) (itself an important part of "British" heritage), in which he is portrayed as an evil, Machiavellian figure who unlawfully seized and then ruthlessly exercised power. Importantly, in the original play and in subsequent stage and film portrayals, this evil is represented by Richard III's supposed "deformity" as a crippled hunchback with a withered arm, or "poisonous bunch-backed toad" in Shakespeare's own words (*Richard III*, Act 1, Scene 3). What is significant here is that in this mediatization of Richard's supposed character, it was a literally *embodied* representation and performance. For the Richard III Society, which sought to challenge this characterization of Richard III in history, the discovery of his body offered a chance to provide physical evidence to overturn it. Once again, the presence of the actual remains had agency, creating possibilities but also setting limits to social action, as they were held to offer "scientific facts" with which to challenge well-established stereotypes of Richard. This idea is expressed very clearly on the Richard III Society website in a statement from the Society's Patron, the Duke of Gloucester, who is quoted as saying:

> the purpose – and indeed the strength – of the Richard III Society derives from the belief that the truth is more powerful than lies; a faith that even after all these centuries the truth is important. It is proof of our sense of civilised values that something as esoteric and as fragile as reputation is worth campaigning for.
>
> (Richard III Society 2017a)

Forensic examination of Richard's skeleton was central to this endeavor. Here attention focused on his spine to try and determine whether there was evidence of his "hunchback" status. Computed tomography (CT) scans were taken of the individual vertebrae which were "reassembled" in a virtual 3-D model (for a more detailed account see Pappas 2014). In fact, to the disappointment of many in the Society, this scientific examination revealed that his spine was curved, most likely due to adolescent idiopathic scoliosis which would have caused him physical problems in life, though the fact that he went into battle would suggest that they were not as severe as has been depicted.

Again, another enactment of Richard's body took place here, combining science and technology with competing representations of Richard's physical

appearance and how this was used to construct a particular representation of his character, one that has been sustained down the centuries in popular culture. It was the presence of the skeletal remains which was central to the enactment of attempts to establish Richard III's "real" reputation. The presence of his physical remains became the central focus of attempts to establish historical "authenticity", to distinguish between "truth" and "lies".

Richard III's corpse and national identity

Kantorowicz (1957) examined how the body of a king is both that of an individual and an ideal – the office of majesty and the continuity of monarchy, notions often further tied up with imaginings of the nation and the nation-state. As in many other contexts, the body of Richard III was a subject of discourses about the nation in the UK. The discovery and presence of his body underpinned the contested nature of the relationships between the body and claims over rights to its reburial, place, and national identity.

After the excavation and forensic testing of Richard's remains, events moved on to consideration of his reburial, which led to further enactments of his body. On the one hand, the rediscovery of Richard III's body was intertwined with relatively straightforward discourses about his role as a national figure – he was a king of England and one with a considerable (though contested) international profile. The monarchy performs a significant role in imaginings of the British nation. His burial was thus linked in political and popular discourse to a particular performance of national identity, one which was ultimately also linked to heritage and the development of tourism.

However, Richard's body became the focus of competing claims over his identity that linked in complex ways to national identity and his reburial. The initial application to the Ministry of Justice for an exhumation license contained a statement that if any remains were recovered, they should be reintered in Leicester, but the wording of the actual license was less specific (see Royal Courts of Justice 2014). However, once Richard's remains were discovered, a new organization – the Plantagenet Alliance (largely formed of distant relatives of Richard III) – emerged, arguing that for various reasons Richard should be laid to rest in the city of York. There were even further arguments that as a king he should be interred in Westminster Cathedral in London.

The discovery of Richard's physical remains, and their legal enactment, thus provoked competing claims over the legal right to his body and its reburial, which are discussed in the next section. However, a further enactment involved the construction of historical narratives and discourses about Richard, his life, his identity, and his allegiances on a sub-national scale as Leicester and York constructed different narratives around Richard to support their claim to his remains and the right to reinter him in their cities.

For example, at the time, the Plantagenet Alliance website contained a statement recognizing Richard's importance to the nation, but also seeking to position him as essentially "northern", rather than bearing any specific connections to Leicester:

> We believe that the proposed location of Leicester is wholly inappropriate for the burial of King Richard III, who had no connections with the town beyond his horrific death, bodily despoliation and appalling burial in a foreshortened grave. There are many expert historians of his life and times who agree that King Richard III may well have been intending York Minster to be his mausoleum. It is fitting and respectful and in keeping with all of our national customs regarding treatment of the dead, to bury this king in a place "appropriate to him" – that place is York.
>
> (King Richard III Campaign 2014)

The discovery of Richard's skeleton thus provoked a further enactment involving discourses around his identity as the basis for competing claims to bury him in a particular location, which in turn grew into a further legal enactment of his bodily remains.

Richard III's corpse as a legal subject

The claim of the Plantagenet Alliance that Richard III's body should be buried in York solidified into a legal challenge to Leicester's claim for reinterment. This culminated in a judicial review in the High Court of Justice. The Plantagenet Alliance could not argue that they had an outstanding claim to reinter Richard III as a point of law. Instead, they challenged the original granting of the exhumation license by the Ministry of Justice and what it said about reinterment on the basis that national consultation had not been undertaken regarding where Richard III's remains should lie (Royal Courts of Justice 2014). They argued that, since it was a matter of national importance, such consultation should have taken place.

Ultimately, the High Court ruled that there was no precedent in law for public consultation and that the original license stood, and that the Secretary of State at the Ministry of Justice in granting the license was fully aware of the views of sovereign, state, and church to support an informed decision. In the Court's judgment:

> Since Richard III's exhumation on 5th September 2012, passions have been roused and much ink has been spilt. Issues relating to his life and death and place of re-interment have been exhaustively examined and debated. The Very Reverend David Monteith, the Dean of Leicester Cathedral, has explained the considerable efforts and expenditure invested by the Cathedral in order to create a lasting burial place *"as befits an anointed King"*. We agree that it is time for Richard III to be given a dignified reburial, and finally laid to rest.
>
> (Royal Courts of Justice 2014: 38)

Thus ended a further legal enactment of Richard III's body, leaving the way open for his reburial in Leicester, a decision with considerable implications for heritage tourism.

Richard III's corpse as neoliberalized subject and agent: heritage, reburial, and inter-urban competition

The various enactments of Richard III's skeleton were central to broader processes of heritage, tourism, and inter-urban competition. Leicester could have at any time (based on the historical record) made a reasonable claim to being the final resting place of Richard III – in fact, Leicester Cathedral had previously placed a memorial stone to Richard without any controversy – but this had not been developed as a significant heritage attraction. However, the discovery of his remains and Richard's sudden presence (and establishing a legal right to reburial through the court case) then led to new developments in which the body as heritage was central. Richard III's remains were a subject which could be represented in a particular way for a global heritage tourism market, but were also an enactment in which the actual existence of his skeleton was central and which changed the whole related heritage landscape. The skeleton demonstrated agency, making some enactments possible and setting limits to others. This had considerable implications for heritage tourism development and the cities involved.

Leicester is a relatively prosperous city but until recently tourism had not been a major part of the local economy. The city was home to various small museums but, with the exception of the National Space Centre, it had no major attractions. Prior to the "Looking for Richard" project there had been little attempt to promote the city's association with Richard III since there was no obvious "site" associated with the King. However, the local tourism authorities recognized the potential of the discovery of Richard III to boost tourism in the city. For this reason, the destination marketing organization responsible for the city of Leicester and the county of Leicestershire – Leicester Shire Promotions, formed in 2003 – contributed £5,000 toward the costs of the excavations (Richard III Society 2017b).

The "Looking for Richard" project attracted international media attention, bringing Leicester welcome publicity and putting the city in the global spotlight. This interest intensified after the discovery of the skeleton in August 2012 and the story started bringing visitors to the city. For example, 6,800 people visited the excavation site when it opened to the public for six days in September 2012 (Leicester City Council 2016). Richard III represented an unexpected "attraction" which could be used to boost Leicester's visitor economy and the City Council were eager to exploit the interest in the discovery of the King's remains. The City Council and tourism authorities were well aware that interest in Richard III could be leveraged to attract tourists to the city and boost the local economy.

In one way, York and Leicester were engaged in just another example of inter-urban competition within the context of neoliberal urbanism, in which ideas about the primacy of free markets and the importance of competition as the key to economic growth and development are applied not just to businesses and individuals but also to places (such as cities) (Theodore et al. 2011; Hall 2007). In particular, cities must compete to attract investment and visitors as part of increasingly entrepreneurial (Harvey 1989) strategies to maintain economic growth and create employment. A key part of this process involves cities

actively promoting themselves as dynamic and attractive places to visit. This is a well-established facet of contemporary capitalist urbanism, but what is different here is the prominent role played by a corpse as heritage in this inter-urban competition. Richard's skeleton was a neoliberalized subject, but also an active agent – its discovery and presence created a new set of possibilities, which the city of Leicester acted upon to establish new patterns of global heritage tourism.

In this context, King Richard III represented a welcome (and unexpected) resource for the City Council. Once the identity of the Greyfriars skeleton was confirmed, Leicester suddenly found itself with a unique selling point of being the burial place of King Richard III. Moreover, this was not just any king: instead, it was a king who (thanks to Shakespeare) had a global reputation. Richard III was now linked with Leicester in a way that no other place could replicate. For the City Council, Leicester's association with Richard III represented a means to raise the international profile of the city by enhancing its place distinctiveness and potentially giving it a greater competitive edge. The discovery of Richard's remains could also be leveraged to attract visitors, thereby contributing to local economic development and providing a pretext to fund regeneration in the city center and the provision of new attractions for visitors. Thus, Richard III became the central subject within new strategies to boost Leicester's economy. While some (e.g., Ashdown-Hill 2015) have been critical of efforts to cash in on the discovery of the King's remains, such efforts were an entirely logical response in the context of neoliberal inter-urban competition.

Leicester moved swiftly to capitalize on the discovery of Richard III. In February 2013 a temporary exhibition was established in the city's Guildhall (which was open until June 2014). In the same month Leicester Shire Promotions started promoting Richard III short breaks aimed at couples, interested families, and the group market (Leicester Shire Promotions, undated). Leicester City Council later invested £4 million in a permanent exhibition about the life and death of Richard III, which opened in June 2014 and was partly situated on the car park where the King's skeleton had been discovered (Watson 2014). Leicester Cathedral, in anticipation of the King's reinterment, invested £2.5 million in the regeneration and landscaping of Cathedral Square (Shellard 2016). As part of this project a statue of the King (donated to the city in 1980 by the Richard III Society) was moved to a new (and more prominent) position outside the cathedral (BBC 2014). The cathedral also funded a new tomb for Richard in anticipation of it being a major tourist attraction. The city and cathedral also staged an elaborate reinterment ceremony on 26 March 2015, well aware that Leicester would once again be in the international spotlight.

The City Council had correctly judged that Richard III would be a major attraction for tourists. The temporary Guildhall exhibition attracted 201,653 visitors during the period it was open (Leicester City Council 2016), while the permanent exhibition received 81,627 visitors in its first year (BBC 2015). Following the reinterment, visitor numbers at Leicester Cathedral increased substantially from 29,500 in 2012 to 220,000 in 2015 (Visit Britain 2016). An analysis commissioned by the City Council reported that an extra 622,562 people

had visited Leicester as a result of the discovery of Richard III, bringing an additional spend of £54.6 million which had created an additional 1,012 jobs (Focus Consultants 2015). As the Mayor of Leicester remarked "[t]he discovery of King Richard III and his subsequent reinterment has had a greater impact on the city than we could ever have anticipated" (Leicester City Council 2015). Long after his death, Richard III was an asset of considerable value for the city of Leicester, becoming the centerpiece of a new urban branding strategy, intended to give the city a new competitive edge. Thus Richard's skeleton, and its scientific excavation and analysis, became central in yet another enactment combining representations, place-based historical narratives, and marketing and branding processes as part of global tourist circuits.

Conclusion

As objects from the past that have a significance in the present, corpses can be considered a form of heritage. Throughout history, corpses have attracted tourists, as interest in the remains of medieval saints and the burials of monarchs shows. However, in this chapter we have argued for the centrality of the dead body itself to this process. The discovery of the skeleton of Richard III shifted everything, provoking new constellations of history, identity, heritage, inter-urban competition, tourism, and the materiality of the dead body itself. The dead body as heritage is central to many processes, in this case culminating in a new heritage tourism resource and a new heritage landscape in ways that have had international impacts.

Within these processes the dead body as heritage could be seen as "merely" a subject, as something shaped and represented by competing interests. In such a view the different meanings associated with Richard III's remains are the result of the different viewpoints of different actors appropriating Richard's remains. However, though the dead body is sometimes a subject onto which meaning is projected, we have also sought to reject thinking of the dead body as inert. Conceptualizing the body as having multiple ontologies which are the result of enactments (Mol 2002) opens up a more dynamic way of understanding the dead body and, in this case, how it plays a role in heritage, tourism, and landscape. Furthermore, the dead body has agency through the part it plays in these enactments. Considering the materiality of Richard's skeleton allows a perspective in which we can – following Harris and Robb (2013) – understand how the dead body can "act back, guide actions, reveal certain possibilities and foreclose others" because:

> Ontologies are materially constituted and materials are negotiated ontologically. There is never a clear gap between a material thing and a person's ontological engagement with it . . . To understand how the material and the ontological come into being, we must give space both to the physical qualities of the world and to the manner in which the world's agencies are transformed through its engagement with people.
>
> (Harris and Robb 2013: 677)

The discovery of the skeletal remains of King Richard III, we contend, exemplifies such a view. In the complex interlocking processes we have discussed above, the body is central. However, we feel it important to end by introducing another aspect of the dead body, which can be overlooked in such theorizing – above all, this was the body of a person, something which at times was perhaps lost in all the science, media, publicity, branding, and inter-urban competition. Only in the ceremony of reinterment was this finally acknowledged – when 35,000 people turned out to witness and honor King Richard III as a human being.

Acknowledgments

An early version of this chapter was presented at Stockholm University in September 2015 at the "Heritage of Death" conference organized by Helaine Silverman (University of Illinois) and Mattias Frihammar (Stockholm University). This published chapter arises from a UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Research Seminar Series led by Professor Young on "Encountering Corpses" (ESRC grant no. ES/M002071/1).

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Part IV

War

8 The poppies exhibit

Producing and consuming commemoration of World War I in Britain

Paul Hardin Kapp and Cele C. Otnes

Introduction

Expressing the massive loss of almost an entire generation of young British citizens through the placement, display, and ownership of ceramic poppies at one of the world's most iconic landmarks represents a remarkable instance of the simultaneous commemoration and commercialization of death heritage. Indeed, the 2014 "Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red" art installation at the Tower of London, informally known as "the poppies," was the most successful event ever staged by Historic Royal Palaces (HRP), the charity responsible for preserving and promoting the heritage site. HRP commissioned the event to mark the 100th anniversary of Great Britain's entry into World War I. During the five months that saw the planting of 886,246 red ceramic poppies, approximately five million people viewed them. In this chapter, we explore the question: "Why was the exhibit so successful?" We assert that HRP was able to leverage four highly resonant cultural and historical discourses within the exhibit, which contributed to its appeal. We label these discourses: individual patriotism, collective commemoration, royal heritage, and artistic entrepreneurship. We first discuss the significance of the focal site of the poppies exhibit – the iconic Tower of London (hereafter, the Tower). Next, we explain the significance of the poppy as an icon of commemorative culture, particularly as it relates to World War I. We then describe how the exhibit progressed from its conceptualization to its conclusion, and expand upon the four discourses. Finally, we analyze the aftermath of the poppies exhibit in terms of how HRP managed its unanticipated success and successfully emplaced it into Britain's cultural repositories for commemorative display.

History of the Tower

In a city laden with numerous iconic monuments, the Tower remains one of the most eternal in London, in England, and indeed in the entire world. Deemed "Her [or His] Majesty's Royal Palace and Fortress," it has always symbolized royal power. Its history began in 1078, when William the Conqueror commissioned the fortress. Until the modern age, when contemporary structures began competing with it, its White Tower dominated the north bank of the River Thames and symbolically

conveyed protection and control of London. It has served as an infamous prison, where Anne Boleyn, Lady Jane Grey, Elizabeth I, Walter Raleigh, and Rudolf Hess (to name but a few) were incarcerated, and an unsolved-crime scene where two "boy princes" (the oldest, Edward V, had actually become king) were ostensibly murdered. Famously, it is still the depository of the British Crown Jewels. Significant with respect to the poppies exhibit, since 1509 it has been the residence of the Yeoman Warders, or "Beefeaters," who serve as the Royal bodyguards.

Designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1988, the Tower has been meticulously restored and maintained since the nineteenth century, when English architect and medieval buildings expert Anthony Salvin campaigned to "re-medievalise the fortress" (UNESCO 2017). The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Act of 1979 and 1990 list its buildings, grounds, gates, and moat. The Constable of the Tower, officially and symbolically the steward of the property and the Queen's representative, maintains the site (HRP blog).

Since its formation, HRP has managed the Tower. Parliament directs HRP to manage and sustain the six properties under its purview[1] with no funding from the government or the Crown, and to conserve, provide public access to, and offer educational experiences pertaining to British history at these locales. HRP has painstakingly restored the Tower, and the integrity of the monument itself is unquestioned. However, its central location in one of the most dynamic and modern global cities in the world means its environs continue to change dramatically, as more and more tall and audacious skyscrapers encroach upon and appear adjacent to it. This changing urban landscape near the Tower has acutely contributed to eroding the immediate historic surroundings and to threatening the Tower's authenticity. In 2011, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee even considered placing the property on the UN's "Heritage in Danger List," reflecting the threat from large-scale projects from the public or private sector, or rapidly developing urban or tourist development initiatives. Consideration of this endangered designation signifies the committee's concern over the ability of the Tower to retain its historical significance. To this day, balancing surrounding growth with the need to preserve the site remains an unresolved issue between the Tower, the City of London, and UNESCO (BBC 2011).

From fortress to tourist attraction

For several centuries, and through numerous expansions, the Tower served as the scene of numerous sieges and battles critical to the development of England. By the beginning of the Tudor period, its use as a royal residence had diminished to the extent that its primary function became to serve as an armory and place to safeguard offenders of the monarchs. Henry VIII designated it and the neighboring Tower Hill as places to conduct his infamous executions. In 1688, the Board of Ordinance assembled an exhibit to display the military power of the Stuart monarchy; "The Line of Kings," which features likenesses of monarchs, their favored horses, and a wide range of armored suits and weapons, remains one of the world's longest continuous museum exhibits. As early as 1210, the

Tower became a home for wild animals given to the monarchs. By the eighteenth century, the Royal Menagerie had become a local attraction, with a children's guidebook featuring the animals published in 1742. In 1840, a new building was erected to house the Crown Jewels.

By 1850, the Tower complex had completed its transition into a government-run tourist attraction after Queen Victoria had mandated this status in 1838. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Tower was managed by the Department of State and the British Army, through the Constable of the Tower.

In 1989, HRP was established within the Department of the Environment, and later transferred to the Department of National Heritage (created in 1992), later replaced by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. Both to divest itself from directly managing historic and cultural sites and to save money, the British government in conjunction with the Royal Household reformulated HRP as an independent charity in 1998. HRP often earns accolades for engaging in the highest-level conservation practices in the industry while promoting the highest tourist visitation possible (Insall 2008: 75). HRP reported almost four million visitors to its six properties, and an income of over £86 million, during 2015 (HRP Corporate Report 2015–16). Its dual goals of conservation and education have provided the charity with an opportunity to fulfill its mission of "helping everyone explore the story of how monarchs and people have shaped society" ("Our Cause," www.hrp.org.uk). Moreover, HRP turned the potentially significant liability of London's encroaching urban landscape into an entrepreneurial opportunity, to find new ways to fulfill its mission, to continue the Tower's story within Britain, and, more importantly, to allow visitors to become a part of history themselves.

The poppy as icon of commemorative culture

World War I was the most cataclysmic event that Britain, and indeed all of Europe, endured in the twentieth century. With a casualty toll of over 8.5 million killed, 21 million wounded, and 7.7 million missing, it derailed the political systems of many nations and decimated an entire generation of young European men. Within the British Empire, the death toll was over 950,000, with an additional 2 million wounded, meaning that only about one in three who served in the war came back intact (Prost 2014). These statistics explain the outpouring of public mourning during and after the war, and why World War I commemorations and sites remain salient across Europe.

In the UK and elsewhere, the poppy is a particularly appropriate symbol of World War I remembrance. Its iconic status stems from its prominence in the poem *In Flanders Fields*, written by Lt. Colonel John McCrae, a Canadian physician who witnessed the atrocities of the war. First published on 8 December 1915 in *Punch*, it became an immediate testament to the staggering casualty toll. Barrett (2016: 22) also observes that the poppy evokes "nature, the inevitable flow of time and the idealized countryside [as well as] sleep, narcotics, and forgetting." Of course, red poppies are a reminder of blood – and in this context, of blood shed on the battlefield, and of duty, sacrifice, and honor (Harrison 2012).

The reference in the poem to poppies growing over the graves of fallen soldiers resulted in the creation of the "remembrance poppy." Initially, poppy wreaths adorned graves and other memorials, but a single poppy pinned on a coat lapel became a visible homage to those who served in, but did not return from, the war. The tradition actually began in the U.S., but became more popular in Britain (Harrison 2012). During the war, women maintained the material management of the poppy tradition, tending the graves and memorials of the dead (Barrett 2016). After the Armistice, however, poppies acquired an important role for the many injured war veterans who returned home to an economy unprepared to accommodate their disabilities in the workplace (Nicolson 2011).

In fact, the new war-commemorative industry became one of the most responsive to the needs of veterans. In 1922, the Royal British Legion adopted the poppy as its official symbol, and commissioned the manufacture of over 1.5 million silk flowers to be sold for charity in conjunction with Remembrance Day. Embracing the movement known as "labour therapy," the original poppy factory in Richmond, England hired a veteran-only workforce, helping to satisfy their needs to feel both productive and masculine. The production process also accommodated disabilities, as the poppies could be produced using only one hand (Barrett 2016).

For many decades, poppies were fashioned from red silk, but an unfortunate event led to an abrupt transformation in the production process. In 1977, on Remembrance Sunday, the Queen led a ceremony that featured the Royal Marine Guards Band performing in the rain in white uniforms. As the poppies placed above their hearts became saturated, red dye began to spread across their uniforms, flowing "down the bodies of the performers like blood gushing from an open wound" (Barrett 2016: 42). Such a realistic depiction of the meaning behind the ceremony proved traumatic to many who attended. To avoid future debacles, poppy manufacturers switched to high-quality paper immersed in insoluble red dye. The Richmond Poppy factory still produces paper flowers and artifacts for national commemorations. However, many people in Britain wear them for weeks in the lead-up to Remembrance Day. The pervasiveness and prolonged nature of the ritual means several factories help churn out over 50 million poppies to meet the annual demand. In fact, the flowers have become so culturally rooted to the holiday that Remembrance Day is also known as "Poppy Day."

The poppies exhibit at the Tower

To mark the 100th anniversary of the start of World War I, touristic and government organizations across Europe devised a diverse assortment of commemorations to occur during 2014. HRP's unique contribution was the result of a creative pitch to the charity by the ceramic artist Paul Cummins, who had discovered another poem written by a soldier in 1914 that referenced bloody battlefields and the poppies of Flanders. Before Cummins approached the charity, HRP had already decided not to conduct centenary-commemorative events at its properties. However, Cummins pitched an intriguing, challenging proposal to oversee the creation and planting in the Tower moat of 888,246 ceramic poppies signifying the number of fallen

British recorded by the War Graves Committee. Cummins "wanted to visualize that number in a way that meant more to people. I had to find a space big enough, so I rang [HRP] and explained exactly what I wanted to do" (C. Jones 2014). In May 2014, HRP announced it would collaborate with Cummins, award-winning theatre designer Tom Piper, and several corporate sponsors to create "Blood Red Lands and Seas of Red," an exhibit named for the first line of the anonymous poem the artist had found (Figure 8.1).

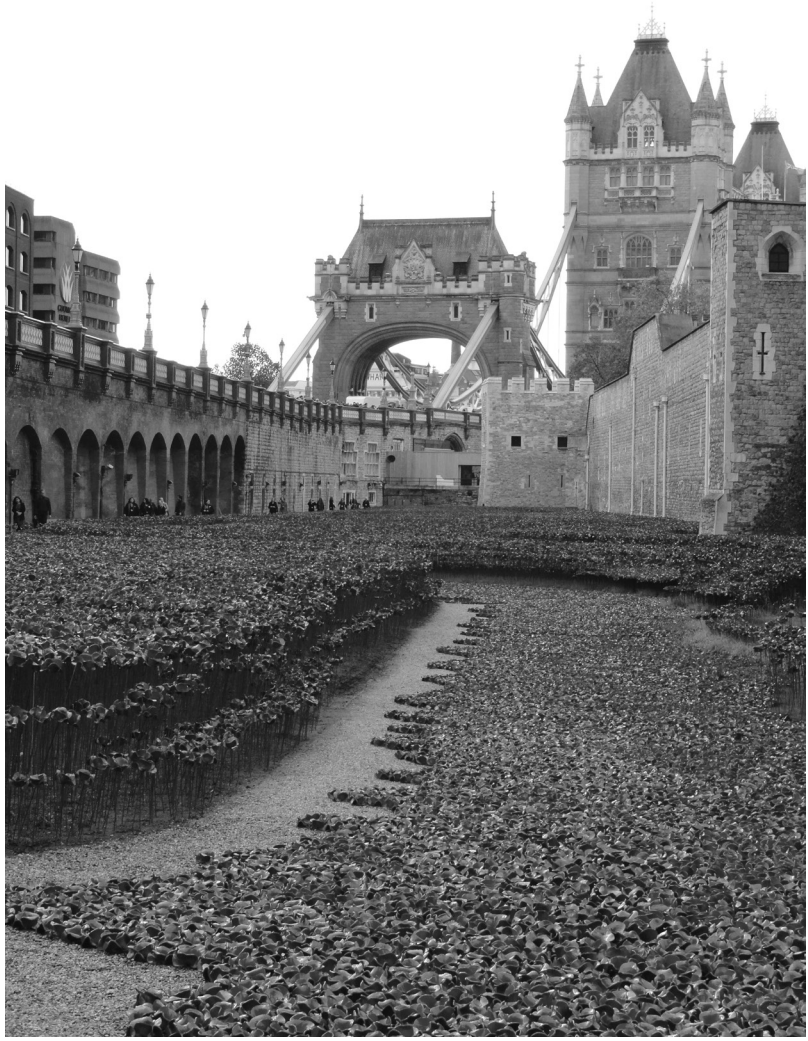

Figure 8.1 The poppies exhibit and Tower Bridge.
Source: Photo: Cele Otnes.

The original plan had been to have all the poppies installed by 5 August 2014 (100 years to the day that war was declared in Europe). However, significant production problems meant that the proposition had to be revised and this may ultimately have been one of the most significant contributors to its success. HRP's Chief Executive Michael Day reported that once it was clear the goal was unattainable, the team formed a new plan: begin planting in earnest by mid-July, create public awareness of the exhibit, and recruit volunteers to plant poppies until 11 November 2014 (Day 2016). As a result, the poppy field increased in size and visual impact over a five-month period, as more than 30,000 volunteers and notables (including members of the Royal Family, the Prime Minister, and the Mayor of London) emplaced poppies in the moat (HRP Annual Review 2014–15).

HRP also engaged in the practice of "customer co-creation" (O'Hern and Rindfleisch 2010), or active participation by consumers of the exhibit, through two strategies. First, it offered the poppies from the exhibit for sale on its website, with all proceeds (after exhibit costs were covered) distributed to military charities. Second, HRP invited the public to submit names of those who had died in the war to be included in the nightly Roll of Honor ceremony during the duration of the exhibit.

As Remembrance Day approached, it became apparent to HRP and to the City of London that the success of the poppies was surpassing all expectations. Michael Day recalled,

> The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh made an official visit to the Tower in mid-October. Photographs of them within the Poppy installation were seen by a global audience. Three days later, the October half-term holiday started, coinciding with beautiful autumn weather. The public also realized that the installation was time-limited and the crowds grew exponentially. The phenomenon became the center of news coverage, and, in turn, even more people wanted to come and see the exhibit.
>
> (Day 2017)

Although some critics claimed the aesthetic and dignified exhibit masked the horrors of war (Jones 2014), the public became so enthralled that huge crowds began to visit. Final attendance swelled to five million, and poppy sales not only covered expenses, but also raised over £9 million for six military charities (HRP Annual Review 2014). The exhibit largely drew accolades from the media, with the *Financial Times* describing it as "the most popular art installation . . . and largely the most effective expression of commemoration in British history" (Heathcote 2014).

HRP's team supported media and word-of-mouth coverage by creating engaging social-media sites, as well as a YouTube video on the exhibit (Anonymous 2014). The allure of the poppies, and the mass- and social-media accolades they garnered, meant that many people's perceptions of the exhibit shifted from something temporary to an element they came to believe should become a permanent fixture at the

Tower. We revisit the implications of this perceptual shift after we present the four discourses we believe contributed to the cultural impact of the exhibit.

Four cultural discourses

Individual patriotism: blossoms and Beefeaters

One of the most powerful discourses HRP leveraged was the emphasis on the fallen soldiers' individual patriotism and service. Two tactics most clearly emphasized this discourse. First, with respect to the poppy-production process, Cummins chose to employ only artisans whose families had experienced a direct, personal loss in the war. His creation of an assembly process that relied more on human than mechanical effort meant each poppy would be handcrafted; thus, each "symbolically represented the loss of an individual soldier" (Barrett 2016: 68). Indeed, this goal was so central to Cummins' vision that he refused to make any more poppies even as those in the moat sold out quickly (Jones 2014). The desire to commemorate individual patriots also motivated these purchases. Among many other reasons, many people purchased the flowers to remember loved ones who had made the ultimate sacrifice during many campaigns, not just World War I.

A second, even more visible element highlighting individual patriotism coexisted daily with the ever-increasing poppy field. This was the Yeoman Warders, or "Beefeaters," embedded for hundreds of years within the Tower complex itself. This specialized group has served as Royal bodyguards since 1509. Their flamboyant red and gold uniforms, emblazoned with a red crown and currently the symbols "E, II, R" (designating their service to Queen Elizabeth II), convey not only their loyal affiliation, but also more importantly the symbolic power of the Crown in the shared consciousness of British society.

In 1826, the Duke of Wellington, then Constable of the Tower, mandated that only ex-military personnel could serve as Yeoman Warders. Since the Victorian era, Warders have not only guarded the Tower, but also act as tour guides for visitors, explaining significant events and features of the various buildings. In addition, they are renowned for taking care of the famous ravens residing on the property, as well as for maintaining the Line of Kings. Today, 37 Yeomen Warders and the Chief Warder work and live at the Tower. All are veterans – specifically, former Warrant Officers, class 1 or 2, from the Royal Navy, British Army, Royal Air Force, and Royal Marines; each must have completed over 20 years of military service, and have earned the Long Service and Good Conduct Medals (Anonymous 2017). Yeomen Warders wear their modern medal ribbons on their "undress" uniform of dark blue with red trimmings, to both explain to visitors what the medals mean and chronicle the paths to their current positions.

The individual service records of the Yeomen Warders represent an aspect of intangible heritage at the Tower. As ex-military personnel who dress in uniforms of an ancient order, but also share their own military history and artifacts, they are a daily living embodiment of individual patriotism. At no time was this

Figure 8.2 Soldier and Beefeater at the poppies exhibit.
Source: Photo: Cele Otnes.

symbolism more apparent than when they were portrayed standing in the field of poppies at the Tower, or reading the names of the dead during the evening Roll of Honor (Day 2017), a living testament to the longevity of the British military, and to the sacrifices of their fallen comrades (Figure 8.2).

Collective commemoration

The death of Princess Diana in 1997 spurred tens of thousands of mourners to stand in long, winding lines to visit Kensington Palace to sign books of condolence; in addition, over two billion people worldwide watched her televised funeral (Otnes and Maclaran 2015). Although the popularity of the poppies exhibit does not compare to the ubiquity of these mourning rituals, both did fulfill the needs of citizens in Britain and beyond to engage in a cultural ritual designed

to evoke collective emotions. Cultural rituals are "aesthetic, performative, and symbolic . . . occur[ring] . . . on a grand scale [and] broadly accessible to consumers via mass and/or social media" (Otnes forthcoming). Such events provide safe havens for people to engage in public emotional display because they receive commercial support from professionally managed tourist sites, expert artisans, cherished commemoratives, and, of course, media coverage. These stalwart elements of consumer culture legitimize the expression of "marketplace sentiments" (Gopaldas 2014). Such legitimization is especially important in Britain, which is typically characterized as possessing a stoic, "stiff-upper-lip" national character (Fox 2014). For if one poppy can denote individual sacrifice and the private mourning of loved ones, sixty acres' worth of poppies in the Tower moat symbolizes the nation's collective mourning not only for lives lost, but also for the irreparable devastation to the British Empire and the nation's social structure (Cannadine 1999). The brilliance of viewing the accumulating poppies in the Tower moat is that people also gathered as a collective when they did so, experiencing the feeling of "communitas," or a rare, shared sense of connecting together as part of humanity (Turner 1995). As the poppies exhibit grew, the crowds became so extreme that the London underground system began to divert people from the two closest stations because congestion levels made them unsafe.

Furthermore, the collective nature of the exhibit took on a dimension wholly unanticipated by HRP. As the public reacted to the fact that the poppies' removal would begin immediately after Remembrance Day, what had been primarily a ritual of reflection and remembrance began to assimilate aspects of an advocacy campaign, through the collective efforts of people demanding the exhibit remain for future visitors. However, both the sensitivity of the ceramic flowers to late-fall frosts and HRP's commitment to those who had purchased them meant extending the exhibit was impossible. Nevertheless, powerful stakeholders (including London's *Evening Standard* newspaper and Boris Johnson, mayor of the city; Murphy and Zaa 2014) began to argue that keeping the poppies in place was a moral imperative, with the exhibit really belonging to the citizenry. Rallying around this "collective action frame" (Benford and Snow 2000), supporters began to unite and pursue a cohesive course of active protest; as a result, HRP found itself in the unfamiliar and shocking position of being perceived as the "villains of the piece" (Day 2016).

Royal heritage

The institution of the British monarchy, with more than a thousand years of tradition and roots in ancient Saxon, Danish, and Norman cultures, remains one of the most compelling aspects of British culture to many people within the nation, and across the globe. As several scholars observe (e.g., Balmer 2011; Otnes and Maclaran 2015), monarchies often leverage highly aesthetic spectacles to engender cultural support, through events such as royal weddings, royal births, celebrations of milestones such as the monarch's Jubilees, touristic opportunities (including tours of the Royal Family's current and former residences), and

commemorative merchandise. These range from cheap, tchotchke-like souvenirs (e.g., a solar-powered Queen that constantly performs the "royal wave") to reverential reproductions (e.g., painstaking replicas of royal china patterns issued by the monarchy's own commemorative concern, the Royal Collection Trust).

The choice to stage the exhibit at the Tower, a site deeply embedded in royal lore and one "with more stories from English history than any other" (Day 2016), meant all connotations associated with the structure would spill over into the exhibit, just as Tom Piper had designed the poppies to cascade from one of the Tower windows. In addition, the poppies benefited from direct association with royal heritage in several other ways. For example, the location also afforded an unparalleled backdrop that combined the preserved past with the protruding present, in forms ranging from the Tower Bridge (Figure 8.1) to contemporary structures (Figure 8.3) whose nicknames (such as the "Shard" and the "Gherkin") emphasized their jarring presence in the skyline.

Figure 8.3 The jarring co-existence of past and present on the London skyline.
Source: Photo: Cele Otnes.

Emplacing the poppies within such a popular royal site virtually guaranteed it a vast and enthusiastic touristic audience, as the Tower already attracted about three million visitors a year (Day 2016). Of course, the obsession of contemporary tourists with selfies, tweets, Facebook posts, texts, blogs, and other forms of viral communication meant an exhibit as visual and vivid as the poppies quickly gained global fame, as visitors shared the memories of their visit in real time. Day reported that in addition to the five million people who saw the poppies exhibit in person, one billion people viewed it online (Day 2016).

Finally, it is obvious that although it was not a themed "royal" event *per se*, the poppies exhibit benefited from its co-mingling with institutions with royal roots – such as the Yeoman Warders. For example, it also leveraged the history of monarchs playing roles in national commemorative events, as the Queen and members of her family often placed wreaths and other items at commemorative sites for Remembrance Day. In like fashion, media coverage of the Queen, Prince Philip, and other members of the Royal Family planting poppies effectively served as a royal endorsement, and added a luster that only monarchs, who are perceived as "above celebrity," can contribute (Otnes, Crosby, and Maclaran 2011).

Artistic entrepreneurship

As museum exhibits increasingly strive to embrace new techniques for attracting patrons and visitors (Dudley 2013), organizations like HRP find themselves increasingly drawn to, and reliant on, artists, choreographers, theatrical designers, creative writers, musicians, and other types of performance-related professionals to ensure that they fulfill their missions and achieve the necessary visibility and support to remain viable.

In addition, people's high expectations for aestheticized products, services, and experiences within consumer culture have contributed to a boom in the number of "artistic entrepreneurs," or craftspeople who not only understand how to create engaging, entertaining, and eye-catching experiences, but also how to apply contemporary business practices to manage these projects through completion. Consider that Cummins not only conceived the idea, but also created the look of the poppies, chose the artistic medium, and oversaw the 300 people who handcrafted the flowers at several factories dispersed across Britain.

HRP's recent experience with staging the avant-garde and controversial "Enchanted Palace" exhibit at Kensington Palace (Hartman et al. 2015) seemed to embolden the charity to accept the panoply of challenges entailed in undertaking an exhibit on the scale of the poppies. In fact, HRP had commissioned the talents of famous and even avant-garde artisans for Enchanted Palace, including fashion designers like Vivienne Westwood and William Tempest, who created a gown composed entirely of origami birds. Although Paul Cummins was not famous at the time he proposed the poppies to HRP (in fact, he had completed only one major installation with ceramic flowers prior), he certainly achieved fame and accolades through the poppies.

The aftermath: commercial and cultural impact

On 12 November 2014, the day after the poppies exhibit officially concluded, over 8,000 volunteers began to "de-install" the flowers from the Tower grounds. Coincidentally, the exhibit team carefully packaged and mailed poppies to everyone who had purchased them. Just one week later, the last poppy was officially removed. In response to the public's demand for the poppies to remain accessible, HRP preserved two sculptured pieces containing poppies that did not appear in the moat, titled "Wave" and "Weeping Window" (Figure 8.4) and announced these pieces would embark on a tour around Britain. By the end of

Figure 8.4 "The Weeping Window."
Source: Photo: Cele Otnes.

2016, 1.5 million people had viewed these sections (or some version of them, as they were often reshaped to resonate with the sites where they were displayed) in England, Wales, and Scotland. The 2017 schedule featured the first time the poppies would be displayed in Northern Ireland. In 2018, the tour will include a stop at Stoke on Trent, a major locus of the British ceramics industry and an important locale of poppy production (Sentinel 2014).

Reinforcing the powerful legacy of this exhibit was the decision to house one piece from the traveling exhibit at the Imperial War Museum in London and one piece at the Imperial War Museum in Manchester after the tour concludes (BBC 2014). In addition, London's iconic Victoria & Albert Museum, dedicated to preserving important examples of British artisanship, purchased sixteen poppies and placed them in its permanent collection (Crouch 2015).

The exhibit also wielded consequences for HRP as well. As Day observed, the organization learned its "early instincts had been correct about the power of commemoration to engage people in stories of the past," and that even with delays and disruptions, it could pull together the resources, teamwork, and skill required to pull off such a massive undertaking (Day 2016). The visionaries' hard work did not go unrewarded; both Cummins and Piper received the MBE (Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire) for services to art and World War I commemorations, and Day received the CVO (Commander of the Royal Victorian Order) in recognition for his services to cultural heritage.

Conclusion

The poppies exhibit demonstrates how an art installation, based on history, tradition, and place, can become the focal point for a cultural ritual that can satisfy the need for both individual and collective commemoration and bereavement. The poppy is, and will remain, a poignant icon of sacrifice in twentieth-century Britain, commemorating World War I. Because of the wars that have been waged throughout the twenty-first century (with no end in sight), John McCrae's 1915 poem is more relevant than ever. Although the poppy will forever be linked to the death and sacrifice of the British World War I generation, it has also been used to represent deaths in subsequent wars – from World War II to the Afghan War. Thus, the poppy has become a symbol laden with both intangible heritage and contemporary meaning.

By merging the Tower's Beefeaters institution – celebrating British military veterans through Yeoman Warders' service, a tradition dating back to the Duke of Wellington – with a twenty-first-century act of commemoration, HRP accomplished a remarkable feat: reinvigorating the thousand-year-old Tower as a dynamic heritage and current icon in modern Britain. We cannot overstate the significance of this accomplishment when we consider how heritage management of an individual site is situated in an increasingly competitive cultural tourism industry. Conservation tends to ensure that historic monuments will remain stagnant, a fact that can also result in an inactive curatorial and marketing approach. Quite simply, when visitors believe there is nothing new to see, they stop visiting a monument.

For the past several years, HRP has addressed this perception head-on through art and theatrical projects (such as the Enchanted Palace exhibit indicated above) that challenge ideas of heritage for the many stakeholders involved. The poppies exhibit at the Tower is the latest and most spectacular event HRP has staged.

So, what can scholars and practitioners of heritage management learn from the poppies? First, that a heritage site that features the "grandeur of architecture, the vast spaces of display, the pomp of narrative and the claims of influence and tradition" (Robinson and Silverman 2015: 2) can be re-interpreted and presented in a way that makes a more recent heritage vital and relevant to a contemporary audience. This enables even an ancient landmark like the Tower to serve as a backdrop for a staged event that can bring multiple generations together for a common purpose – in this case, remembrance of war dead. Second, that touristic management sites must be willing to change their agendas if entrepreneurial opportunities present themselves that can enable them to play a dramatic and impactful role in a broader cultural conversation, such as the commemoration of a common national (and global) experience. Finally, creating exhibits that appeal to visitors who now consider social-media experiences an integral part of their tourist selves is likely to extend the reach, and even the life, of managed touristic events in ways that were unimaginable prior to the twenty-first century.

Certainly, the poppies exhibit strained the resources of HRP, Cummins, and many of the hundreds of people involved in the undertaking. Nevertheless, its ability to tap into four key discourses that resonated with its visitors demonstrates that contemporary entrepreneurial vision, combined with deep-rooted institutions and icons, can help reinterpret and reinvigorate heritage-related sites, roles, and institutions for new generations.

Note

1 The properties are: Tower of London, Hampton Court Palace, Kensington Palace (State Apartments and Orangery), The Banqueting House (Whitehall), Kew Palace with Queen Charlotte's Cottage, and Hillsborough Castle (in Northern Ireland).

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9 At the shrine of the fallen

Conserving Australia's war memorial heritage

David Mason

Anyone who spent any time in Australia in 2015 will have noticed that this was a centenary year. The commemoration of the unsuccessful campaign by the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC), part of the British-led task force sent to launch a pre-emptive attack on the Ottoman Turkish forces at Gallipoli in April 1915, was a significant event for Australians of all ages. The year's major cultural initiatives, rolling over into 2016 and 2017, focused on reclaiming the "spirit of Anzac" (to use the phrase coined by the Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs for its eponymous traveling exhibition). Returning to the founding myths of nationhood, the country has striven to rekindle and celebrate a by now well-rehearsed set of national virtues and extend their appeal to new generations. Acts of cultural memory (documentary films, exhibitions, radio programs, performances, ceremonies and services etc.) share the stage with the physical mementoes of the Great War (World War I) – the war memorials and honor rolls that nearly every Australian community cherishes as an enduring symbol of a deep and abiding connection to that pivotal moment in the national story.

Memory of Anzac

In Australia, the myth of incarnation by mortal sacrifice – of an ex-colony rising to enjoin in the "great cause" with its former master, in youthful innocence "all inspired beyond men" (to use the English poet Laurence Binyon's phrase), to fight with valor and resourcefulness on the slopes of Gallipoli – has been the most exalted of all the Australian national fables. According to the historian Dale Blair, the story was promulgated in official war histories to "enshrine, mythologise and sanitise" the enormous death toll suffered by Australia in World War I (counted at 61,000 dead) (Blair 2001: 2). Perhaps it is not surprising that a mythology of national identity turning on such trauma should be so compelling a trope in a nation of self-described "battlers," struggling with courage against cruel nature, stigma and hard luck (Page and Ingpen 1982).

Australia, historically, is also a country with a grain of militarism, where the soldier is a seminal figure and the army a key institution both in colonial life and in the late years of the British imperial era. Convicts, it has been claimed,

were the first colonials to be sent out to fight imperial wars in China, India and elsewhere (Lockwood 1968: 54). Reservists were formed by the self-governing colonies after British garrisons withdrew. The first volunteer regiments, raised in the 1860s, would fight for the Empire in Sudan just as nineteenth-century Australian art and poetry put the finishing touches to a colonial self-image that celebrated tough, enterprising characters overcoming hostile circumstances with habitual cunning. Extolling resourcefulness and feats of horsemanship and arms, bush literature appealed to the manly virtues of rural dwellers and pioneers, and created a powerful motor for a developing national consciousness. Organized into colonial battalions, Australians served with distinction under the British in the South African War, mostly in mounted units; and Australians of all political stripes, after 1900, when Australia was officially created by the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act (UK), would recognize if not advocate the virtues of arms and military discipline "as an outlet", in the words of one observer writing for Sydney's Evening News, "to that wonderful energy by which so much of our Australian youth is distinguished" (1903: 4).

The ideal of the home-grown citizen-soldier began to loom larger in the national psyche after Lord Kitchener's scheme for compulsory military training was introduced in 1911. If the military institutions enthusiastically promoted for the Australian State by senior British figures effectively marshaled for the empire "a source of manpower for future conflicts" (Cahill 2013: 251), it should be remembered that citizen forces or militias were initially also conceived to extend (or perhaps boost) the imperial policy of countering foreign (Russian in the 1850s, and later Asian) "aggression" (see Lockhart 2011). The virile new nation was psychologically drilled to guard the frontier of a hostile late imperial world in fearful times. This is where the cherished stereotype, the rugged "digger" of Australian legend (a term probably originating during the gold rushes but popularly used to refer to soldiers of the Australian Imperial Force), confronts the darker militarized nationalism of the Immigration Restriction Act 1901, one of the first pieces of legislation passed by the Federal parliament, which was meant to limit immigration precisely to keep non-Europeans out of the country. Scratch the surface and the link between armed defense and the racial intolerance that stirred modern Australia in the early 1900s is uncomfortably evident.

So the Anzac centenary of 2015 has been a double-edged cultural experience for many contemporary Australians who may have grown uneasy with the patriotic clichés that have tended to shape the narrative of the annual tributes to fallen heroes. The centenary has, on the one hand, allowed for a parade of conservative values, tales of a nation substantiated by virtues burnished in the trenches and on the troopships. On the other hand, recent historical analysis (Blair 2001; Lake and Reynolds 2010; Holbrook 2014), building on earlier work by socialist historians in particular, has allowed Australians to scrutinize that narrative, to acknowledge a subtler, even divergent picture. Recognizing the problematic "official" accounts but not necessarily ready to renounce the cherished legend, Australians have focused instead on characteristics supposedly ascribed to the soldiers themselves: solidarity, humor, compassion, comradeship, an emphasis on

rehabilitation and support for returned servicemen and women from Afghanistan and Iraq, respect for "difference", teamwork. An awareness has developed that invites modern Australia to reconcile the digger of the national imagination with a more open reflection on national experience even as the institutional traditions of the Anzac story appeal to nostalgic or sentimental attachments.

There is no question that war commemoration retains its power to inspire Australians to acknowledge the complexity of their historic relations with the world. And the objects themselves – of which Australia has a spectacular wealth – retain profound if equivocal meanings to modern Australians: aloof yet egalitarian; soldierly yet emblematic of peace; authoritarian yet humane.

It is interesting that at a time when official didactic forms of commemoration are supposed to be declining, Anzac Day (25 April) has established itself as a cultural event that blurs the boundaries between commemorative gathering and national patriotic ritual. In the 1920s and 1930s Anzac Day retained a "split personality" (White 1981: 136), representing both an opportunity for social amusement and a totem of conservative politics. This duality remains a challenge today. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s Anzac Day had little more grip on the national imagination than, say, the traditional race day (indeed, Anzac Day was and remains an important race meet around the country). Twomey (2013) and Holbrook (2014) have argued that it became orchestrated and understood as a mass participation ceremonial event and a paramount statement of Australian identity from the 1980s onwards – the moment perhaps when the stereotype came of age and, in White's phrase, "the workingman's paradise had been made over into the land fit only for heroes" (1981: 139). The 2006 Anzac Day Dawn Ceremony at the Australian War Memorial attracted 27,000 people (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006); the 2015 ceremony, 120,000 (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2015).

This is the background against which Australia's vast collection of war-commemorative heritage – at least 14,600 memorials at the last count – must be managed. Faced with the powerful sentiments that places of "war memory" (and by no means only the memorials of World War I) continue to evoke, what challenges does the conservator need to grapple with?

Ownership

In Australia, many memorials have been financed by public subscription or at private expense. The legal "transfer" of ownership or resumption by the state is uncommon. Memorials are often not legally the property of government instrumentalities (unlike other structures built by public subscription; say, schools or hospitals where the asset can be acquired or resumed). Land may be legally the property of a municipality. Sculpture is only de facto the responsibility of local authorities and is often managed by community organizations with custodianship rights if not legal title. The question of ownership often throws up uncertainties in early discussions between government and communities about conservation or repair.

This could also partly explain why so few are listed – there are only three state-listed war memorials in New South Wales (NSW) and about 100–120 locally listed war memorials. The state of Victoria has similar numbers. Notwithstanding similar proportions in the other, less populous states, this would imply barely 2 or 3 percent of the approximate total as enjoying statutory protection under state and local government legislation (a proper survey is yet to be done). The idea of conservation is predicated on the notion of ownership: an owner can be coaxed or coerced into taking action to preserve or protect from damage with statutory consequences for neglect. Neglected conflict memorials may be hard to find, as there is still a strong culture of respect and duty of care, often through family and community bonds. But this does not obviate the need for consistent conservation-based approaches to counting and inventorizing them to track changing attitudes and ensure consistent, sustainable principles for management and use.

Symbolic and utilitarian

Australians have seen a transformation in the past fifty years in the way public art is conceived and implanted in the city fabric. Rhetorical aspirations – statues, dedications and commemorations to honor founders, patrons and archetypes, to symbolize great virtues like justice, democracy, sacrifice – have given way to more pluralistic, nuanced, even intimate or "anti-monumental" forms of expression in public art. Planners and artists have promoted new relationships between art and public, new languages and new forms of participation. The social fabric that gave shape to the civic virtues on which traditional monumental art depends has moved on. This can put pressure on commemorative heritage by forcing it to adapt to changes in urban representation, use and interpretation.

Changes have also been geared toward the need to accommodate ritual observances. In NSW, requests for local or state government to grant assistance for changes to fences and paving, to provide railings, lighting, security, upgrade steps and add seating, to remove trees and widen spaces for access are common. In some cases we see organizations reconfiguring the relationships between different objects in ways that simplify performative rituals but may falsify the meanings and values proper to the original elements and setting.

Memorials are relatively easy to relocate, and can be conveniently repositioned for political or practical purposes. A recent trend to ghettoization has been observed, with councils developing memorial parks or precincts where objects can be venerated away from the impacts of re-zoning, freeing up land for shopping and entertainment. Memorials are often managed as part of the public urban infrastructure – by parks and leisure services – not as heritage places. Smaller works are vulnerable to being shunted around from place to place at the behest of changing trends in the way cities are inhabited and developed. Even some important civic sites – city squares where public memorials and artworks are pivotal to the spatial and distributional qualities of a precinct – lack a heritage planning component so that policies for managing memorials are sketchy and secondary to

issues such as planting and grounds maintenance and access. Urban places made up of groups of memorial structures, some old, some contemporary, interspersed with a range of public facilities, often have only the most rudimentary heritage assessment and no conservation management plan.

Many early memorials were planned as pieces of public infrastructure (clocks, fountains, lights, halls). Over time, commemorative drinking fountains, especially, have been made redundant and even removed or infilled to simplify street maintenance. Changing habits of occupation, use and management of urban spaces, including health and safety anxieties or fears of misuse or malfunction, have eroded the fabric of the memorial setting and changed it into at best a mute symbol, at worst a piece of socially and even culturally deactivated street furniture which may attract disproportionate attention for one day in the year.

As the monumental and didactic have given way to other forms of memorialization such as interpretation signage, community art, oral history, publications, multi-media events, etc., traditional places of remembrance themselves are still expected to accommodate and channel ideas of commemoration and provide a canvas for expression through traditional and newer cultural practices. In Australian tradition, every serviceman and woman must be accounted for, individually and collectively. Australian memorials are unusual in that they usually record by name all those who took part, the dead and the returnees. Australians expect that any contributions that have been overlooked or undervalued should be reintegrated, through additions and alterations if needs be, so that none are forgotten. This, and the seemingly assured prospect of future conflict somewhere involving Australian forces, may mean a proliferation of plaques and inscriptions.

Toward a rhetorical analysis

Cultural significance is an established and versatile construct for heritage assessment. Subdivided into different criteria, significance provides a yardstick against which the impact of change can be assessed. The idea is firmly inscribed into heritage legislation in Australia. But the limitations of the notion of significance have been pointed out by theorists and practitioners (Mason 2004). Its effectiveness depends on the criteria of analysis. Determining how to manage and conserve war-commemorative objects/places based on conventions such as historical, artistic, technical and social values is problematic. The monumental and didactic character of public memorials, particularly war memorials, is fundamental. They embody and transmit cultural memory. Using broad historical, social or aesthetic criteria to measure the impact or desirability of change, whether cleaning of marble, re-gilding of incised lettering or relocation and/or re-interpretation for contemporary consumption, risks alienating us from the distinctive way that memorial art appeals to both the emotions and the senses.

World War I memorials, for instance – not only the heroic, figurative ones but also conventional monument types such as sarcophagi, obelisks or cenotaphs – are statements; exhortations in fact, combining spatial and sculptural form with

text, for the purpose of visual rhetoric. They operate as a manifestation of virtues that in Anzac terms are specifically connected with death and regeneration, but also the shared consciousness of grief. In their physical presence and in their affective symbolism they encapsulate an *ethos* that belongs to the post-war experience. They shape and command the psychic rebirth of a traumatized population, fashioned in the late nineteenth-century language of public welfare in which urban landscapes are socially and spatially organized according to what has been called "moral environmentalism" (Schultz 1989; Scobey 2002: 10). Just as they once they drew their affective power from a shared sense of loss and new beginnings, they reach out to us today across an arc of time, inviting us to meditate on what they represent. To authentically experience the solemn language of the war memorial, we have to recognize that this ethos is crucial to its identity and acknowledge that, if loaded with "symbolic accretions" (Dwyer and Alderman 2008: 169), if made to stand for all commemorations before and since, memorials may become vulnerable to alterations and adaptations that negatively impact on their authenticity.

Part of their rhetorical identity arises from a use of language that also looks back to and is inspired by classical civic values. A memorial is not to be read like a book or captioned with interpretive writing, but perceived as both a testimony (comprising a list of names) and a sacred utterance: "lest we forget". Together the words and names demonstrate and consecrate the act of sacrifice as a kind of secular liturgy: the *logos*. The dead of Australia's Imperial wars were not generally repatriated. Few combatants were buried on home soil after death in battle or at the front. Their loss is inscriptive. And what does this inscription signify if not a will to participate in salvation, in the resurrection of a society shocked by the magnitude of human calamity in twentieth-century global conflicts? In other words, we should treat the odes, citations, writings, names and dates not as records but as recitations; not as lists but as poems.

If the intent of a war memorial is to externalize grief and to conjure from it the image of a sacrifice made worthwhile, war memorials are monuments to anguish as well as redemption. Can we authentically feel the pathos of 61,000 (World War I) or 27,000 (World War II) war dead, of a reality in which as many as one in three Australian families in the 1920s may have been personally shaken by the human cost of war? By contemplating such pathos in the twenty-first century, we might better handle the impact of creeping physical change that threatens to undermine the sacred purpose of war memorials in Australia's streets and squares. We need to feel the monumental impact, not merely read it.

Conclusion

As a conservator, I am interested in protecting the sentimental history of commemorative art as well as its material identity. War memorials were and are specific responses to unique historical and social dramas. They communicate values proper to a place and time, values explicitly tied to the rhetorical, the notions of *ethos, logos* and *pathos*. As twentieth-century wars recede into memory and

new or indeed future conflicts stimulate new forms of memorialization, we must be able to better insulate our twentieth-century war memorials from the forces of change and be more confident in articulating the limits of modern practices where these are likely to have an adverse impact. To safeguard their unique identity from cultism or misrepresentation, we must let them coexist with future memory rather than be encumbered with the need to commemorate all conflicts, past and present.

By applying appropriate specific tests, for example by learning to understand and respect the rhetorical basis of the forms and gestures used in twentieth-century public art, not falsify them for modern consumption and mass mediation, and by incorporating those tests within heritage assessment and management approaches, perhaps we will be better able to live with and safeguard our commemorative heritage authentically, on its own terms.

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10 "Now you have visited the war"

The search for fallen soldiers in Russia

Johanna Dahlin

In late April every year, the Gaitolovo area in North-western Russia is transformed. Gaitolovo was once a village, obliterated in the battles for Leningrad in 1941–4. After the war, a lone pig farm, now abandoned, was erected. The area is crossed by a straight, dusty, bumpy gravel road which runs along high tension wires from which you can hear a constant buzzing. This is not too far from St Petersburg, but the woods and bogs of this area are a bit desolate. But come spring, search units gather here for the "All-Russian Memory Watch" (this part of it is known as the Sinyavino expedition). Then, it is the status of a former battlefield, as a site which saw intense fighting and large-scale death and destruction, which attracts visitors. The visitors that arrive each spring are search groups seeking the remains of soldiers. The groups have, in many cases, traveled far. The most distant are from Kazakhstan; others are from Chelyabinsk, Tambov, Archangelsk and Kirov. Many of them have an economic situation where, in the words of the expedition leader, "every tin of *tushchenka* has to be accounted for."

The search groups build their own camps. Some, like the Vyatka units, dig out semi-permanent *zemlyanki* to which they return year after year. As camps are erected, a cluster of tiny villages is created, forming a temporary town. When the sun sets, late at this time of the year, small dots of light pierce the darkness. The woods are filled with *poiskoviki* (as the search units' members are called), dressed in camouflage, increasingly soiled and dirty for each day, and equipped with spades, probes and metal detectors. Every night, the leaders of all the groups gather for meetings to report their progress and receive information. Progress in this case means how many soldiers have been found. These former battlefields not only have visible traces of the war in the form of trenches, barbed wire and shrapnel; there are also remains of soldiers who died in battle. In many cases soldiers still lie where they fell. Indeed, millions of soldiers are still lying unburied on the Russian battlefields of the Second World War.[1] Voluntary search units, such as the ones gathering around Gaitolovo, are trying to find and bury the remains of these soldiers and, if possible, identify them. Speaking about the war in the present tense when referring to the battlefields, this movement attempts to bring closure to the war seventy years after its end.

The search movement is of relatively recent origin. It was more than forty years after the Second World War before it was formally constituted in 1988.

There are nation-wide, as well as regional, organizations for the search groups. The national organization calls itself simply the Russian Search Movement. It has a nested structure of regional branches which, in turn, are made up of search units encompassing more than 40,000 members. The movement carries out search work in large parts of Russia every year. During the years that the movement has been in operation, its members have found the remains of nearly half a million soldiers.[2]

I have followed this movement since 2009, most intensely in the years 2010–12, and have done fieldwork with *Ingriya*, a search unit based at St Petersburg state university which has mainly, but not exclusively, students and former students as its members. Usually a part of the Sinyavino expedition every spring, its members can commute back and forth between work or studies in the city and search work during the two weeks of the expedition.

The Second World War – or the Great Patriotic War as it is most commonly known in Russia – was a devastating experience for the Soviet Union. The enormous death toll and suffering means that the war touched all inhabitants, and all families have their stories of wartime suffering, death and loss. Since the 1960s, what has been termed a cult of the war (Tumarkin 1994) has developed in the Soviet Union. Although the war has been subject to different interpretations during different decades since then, it has retained a high status – now perhaps more than ever. Victory Day – May 9 – is the focus of the celebrations, where the great parade on the Red Square in Moscow, now matching or even surpassing the Soviet times in splendor, attracts most attention. All around Russia (and other parts of the former Soviet Union) this holiday is celebrated with parades and official pomp and circumstance as well as being an important family holiday where those family members, dead or alive, who took part in the war are central (Dahlin 2012).

This chapter discusses the search movement and its relation to dark heritage tourism. There are several forms of travel and visitation that are relevant to the search movement, where it appears in both the form of travelers and hosts. The search units travel to the battlefields; some travel far, while others are more locally based. But the search movement also acts as host, inviting others to visit the war. The search movement not only engages with the war's history, it also brings people to places they would not have visited otherwise. Ethnographic research enables the exploration of the different meanings produced by the memorialization practices surrounding lost and found soldiers in Russia. Here I discuss how these different practices of visitation create a place-based connection between past and present – a connection that is tied to the identity of the visitors on a personal or collective level.

Visiting battlefields

Battlefields as sites of visitation are not a new phenomenon. Indeed, Baldwin and Sharpley (2009) point to Alexander the Great visiting Troy and the Tomb of Achilles in the year 334 BC. As sites linked with death and disaster, such visitation can be seen as a subset of dark tourism – battlefields are, in many cases, important

tourist sites. Smith (1998) even suggests that sites associated with war are the "largest single category of tourist attractions in the world." There are examples of organized travel to battlefield sites in the nineteenth century, but it was after the First World War that battlefield tourism emerged on a larger scale (Baldwin and Sharpley 2009: 189).

Pilgrimage in its medieval form can be seen as an early form of dark tourism (Sharpley 2009: 4), and pilgrimage is a term often employed to describe visits to sites of battle. It is often characterized by religious endeavor, spiritual comfort or enlightenment; in other words, travel that has a "spiritual dimension." In relation to visiting a battlefield, pilgrimage would be the term that refers to travel where remembrance is the key feature, often with the purpose of visiting a particular grave and its associated spiritual value (Baldwin and Sharpley 2009: 191). In a study of visitations to sites connected with the First World War in the interwar period, David Lloyd (1998) explores the tension between "pilgrimage" and "tourism," quoting a 1936 study of the tourist industry, which complained that "many hundreds of thousands of people, from all parts of the world, rushed to the scene of war during the years immediately following 1918 to satisfy a morbid curiosity" (Norval, cited in Lloyd 1998: 29). Reflecting a dualism between sacred and profane, it also creates a dichotomy of legitimate and illegitimate reasons. While the visit to a loved one's grave can be contrasted with "morbid curiosity," in many cases the difference between the categories is blurred. There were organized tours for bereaved parents and spouses, and many of the "tourists" were also touched by war (Lloyd 1998).

In her 2013 dissertation, Florence Fröhlig discusses journeys of Alsatian veterans (and, increasingly, their descendants) held as prisoners of war in camps in the Tambov region. The journeys are explicitly labeled pilgrimage, perhaps partly to distinguish them from tourism, as the participants are keen to do (Fröhlig 2013: 127). As, for instance, Stone (2009) has pointed out, there is something morally suspect with dark tourism. This, then, is frequently countered by an emphasis on the educational aspect and learning from the past as a motivation for visiting places associated with death – perhaps most notably sites associated with the Holocaust, whose representation is "regularly accused of being trivialised and merchandised" (Stone 2009: 62). To distance itself from "morbid curiosity," travel to sites associated with death and disaster is often framed as heritage, education or history (Stone 2009: 244). Stone also identifies a growth in pilgrimage travel. Pilgrimage and commemoration appear as legitimate tropes for visiting sites associated with death and suffering.

In his study of school trips to death and concentration camps, Kyrre Kverndokk (2007) also uses the term pilgrimage. In his case it is an etic term, not used by the schools or students themselves, but it has quite frequently been employed in discussions of visitation to sites associated with the Holocaust (cf. Cole 1999; Feldman 2008). In Fröhlig's study, there is an individual significance of the journey, a quest to a place that has been of great significance – and great hardship – for the individual or for a close relative. In Kverndokk's study, there is no such family connection; rather, the significance of the journey is generalized and linked to the

values discussed earlier. Such other "higher" qualities can also be associated with a battlefield tour, such as understanding what happened and why. The tour can, of course, also be an act of remembrance, and also those visitors who do not have an individual grave to visit can term their visit a quest and frame it in spiritual and sacred language (which is frequently the language of war commemoration). In both Fröhlig's and Kverndokk's studies, the use of the term pilgrimage not only indicates that the journey has "a higher purpose" but also draws attention to the ritual dimension of such journeys. This ritual and commemorative aspect is prominent in the search movement, most notably in the funerals, but it is also present in other aspects of the work and in the visitation hosted by the search unit. While I cannot recall ever having heard the Russian word for pilgrimage, *palomnichestvo*, used in the context of the search movement, or visits to battlefields, it can still be useful to draw attention to similarities with other practices that are termed pilgrimage.

To grieve for the dead is one reason to visit battlefields, and grieving for the war dead is often framed differently from grieving for other dead. George Mosse (1990) has described the development of a "myth of the war experience" (with a focus on Germany) after the First World War, and this myth contains a sacralization of war that is common to war commemoration in many countries. The language and remembrance customs that derive from the First World War in Britain (see Kapp and Otnes, Chapter 8 of this volume) also provide a framework for interpreting the battlefield as a sacred place; this "evolved as a response to the losses and the pyrrhic nature of the victory of 1918" (Baldwin and Sharpley 2009: 191). The Soviet Union was no exception to the sacralization of the war experience, although here the cult developed not so much after the First World War but after the Second. Not least, the notions of sacrifice and "they died for us" are central to its sacralization (Dahlin 2014). As Smith (1998) has noted, victory is won at the cost of lives lost, material destruction and disruption of the existing social order. Wars also serve as time-markers; their impact on the lives of people is so great that "culture and behavior are marked by three phases: 'before the war', 'during the war', and 'after the war'" (Smith 1998: 205).

The war, of course, had a devastating impact on the Soviet Union. To some extent it affected every inhabitant. But even as a cult of the war and the fallen developed in the Soviet Union in the 1960s (Tumarkin 1994), the battlefields were largely neglected and forgotten. Very little attention was directed toward the remains of the soldiers who died in battle. Some battlefields were memorialized and monumentalized, of course. Best known is probably the Mamayev Kurgan complex with the enormous statue "The Motherland Calls," commemorating the battle of Stalingrad. In the area where I have worked and which is the main focus of this chapter, the (in)famous battlefield Nevskyi Pyatachok contains Soviet-era official monuments and the memorial at the Sinyavino heights does have an official heritage listing (*kulturnoye naslediye RF*). Despite this official status, it is a multi-vocal affair. In the years since I began my engagement with the area in 2010, many new memorials have appeared here, largely raised by minority groups and former Soviet republics commemorating the role of their own group in the war.

Maidan Kusainov, leader of a Kazakh search unit, has designated the area as the "memorial zone Nadezhda" (Nadezhda is a woman's name that also means hope) and he and his unit have erected many signs in this area. This self-proclaimed status does not, however, have any official recognition. There are also many other smaller memorials in the area, and the state and lack of upkeep of these memorials have for many years annoyed *Ingriya's* "commander" Yevgenii Ilin to the extent that a few years ago he launched *operatsia zvezda* to paint and care for the memorials. Student volunteers, who may or may not be members of the search unit, have taken time every summer since to care for the memorials in the Sinyavino area. These memorials are raised by quite a wide variety of actors. The high official status of the war has not led to large sums being spent on the upkeep of memorials, and this high official status and the lavish city celebrations have not pushed out other actors: they are busy preserving a heritage they feel the officials are neglecting. The many small-scale and decaying memorials in the Sinyavino area also highlight the interplay between memory and forgetting.

The search and the searchers

Three times a year *Ingriya* carries out search expeditions lasting for two weeks each. These expeditions are journeys to the battlefields, which, to many of the participants, were unknown territory before they joined the search unit. The search expeditions go to places where fierce battles raged for over two years. These battlefields are archaeological sites littered with artifacts of war such as helmets, splinters and barbed wire. They are also a landscape of death: trenches pierce the forest and the remains of solders who lost their lives during the battles can be found just a few inches below ground. While expeditions are filled with practical work, they can also be seen as a form of pilgrimage, and they also have a ritual dimension. Camp life is both physically and mentally distant from the participants' normal urban life; it establishes its own rhythm and routines (Figure 10.1).

Search expeditions include long days of hard physical work – there is search work as well as chores related to the upkeep of the camp, such as fetching wood or water. Camp life means washing in icy cold water, line-ups by the flag, as well as communal meals and socializing by the campfire. Although one can stay reasonably dry and warm, keeping clean is almost impossible. After a few hours of digging everyone is covered in mud from head to toe. Working on a battlefield, *poiskoviki* have learned to be careful. You cannot drive the shovel full force into the ground because unexploded ordnance may detonate from the force. Therefore, the probe is an essential search instrument. Before lighting a fire you need to make sure that there is nothing that can detonate near or underneath it.

The objective of the search is to find the remains of soldiers so that they can be buried, but there is one artifact that is even more desirable: the soldier's death medallion, a small ebonite capsule, which was the Soviet equivalent of an ID-tag. It might hold the key to identifying the remains. Therefore, finding a medallion is a highlight in the search, often followed by cheers and cries of joy. Medallions are unusual as not many soldiers carried one, and it is even rarer for the medallion to

Figure 10.1 Resting in the Vyatka units' *zemlyanka* near Gaitolovo.
Source: Photo: Johanna Dahlin.

carry preserved data. Often the excitement of a found medallion is exchanged for disappointment. If the capsule was not securely closed, the paper that had been placed inside will have perished quickly, or it might have been empty all along.

The search unit has several relatively fixed campsites to which they return, although they occasionally seek out new sites, and these are deemed suitable for different parts of the year. A site might, for instance, be too wet in spring but good in autumn. The search work and the extended time spent in the woods and bogs and scenes of battle create affinity and intimacy with places. *Poiskoviki* have to learn to interpret landscape and terrain types. Experienced searchers know these areas like the back of their hands. They remember what they found, and where they found it. Place and found objects, as well as historical documents, are used to piece together a detailed image of the past. And imagining in this sense is crucial to interpreting the landscape.

A strong sense of having understood something that most people have not is frequently expressed. The glamorous image of the war displayed at the public Victory Day celebrations is contrasted with the horrible images unfolding in the woods and bogs. The objective of the unit's official dissemination is not only to spread knowledge of the war, but also to deepen the official picture with poignant examples of the very high cost of that victory.

The expeditions are centered on the "core activities" of finding, identifying and burying soldiers. But to spread knowledge of the war is also a key objective. To this end, for instance, members of the group visit schools and a regular part of

the annual activity is to arrange tours of the battlefields. The search units are thus both visitors and hosts on the battlefield. In the following sections I will describe the two main categories of visitors they host: relatives of identified soldiers and tour groups.

Proper burial

A proper burial is the prime purpose of the search, and identified and unidentified remains alike are usually buried at the war memorial. (I know of only a few cases where the remains instead have been repatriated at the request of the relatives.) In cases where relatives have been found, they may come for a visit or even take part in the funeral. In May 2012, *Ingriya* hosted the relatives of Pavel Kazantsev: his daughter Liudmila, her son Pavel and a grandson. Kazantsev's remains had been found by the unit the previous autumn. Kazantsev was mobilized from Kazakhstan, and the fall of the Soviet Union thus made the search more difficult, but with the help of the Kazakh search unit they were able to locate his relatives – now living in Voronezh in southern Russia. The family members arrived by train the morning of the funeral, a journey taking more than 24 hours. When contacted by the search unit, it was the first the now elderly daughter, Liudmila, had heard of her father since 1941. I accompanied one of the unit's most experienced members (and more importantly in this context, a car owner) to meet the relatives at St. Petersburg's Moscow railway station. He was wearing his search uniform so that they would recognize him, and he was a bit uneasy about his outfit, feeling out of place in this "civilian" context. We scrutinized all passengers disembarking the train. He frowned at my suggestion of holding a sign, countering that this is not how things are done in Russia. It turns out that the uniform did the trick. We were approached by the Kazantsevs. Liudmila Kazantseva (as I will call her, although she changed her surname when she got married) started to tell me her story, of how her mother was left with three young children and of how life was very difficult, not least since her father was designated missing in action.[3] She tells me how she and her mother, after the war, had gone to meet the trains of released POWs who were sent to Kazakhstan (because they were considered suspicious elements and subject to further punishment after release) to see if her father was among them.

At the memorial, the funeral preparations were underway. The Kazantsevs were introduced to Leonid Stepanov, who was the one who found the remains. They were taken to see the small homemade coffin in which the remains had been placed. It was draped in red, just as the bigger ones are. That day, 811 soldiers were to be buried, placed in fifty-six coffins. Only a handful had been identified. There was one other relative present, the son of a soldier found by the search unit Suvorov. Liudmila Kazantseva showed a picture she brought of her father in uniform. This is the one picture she has. Unfortunately, the photo had stuck to other old photographs and rendered her father nearly faceless. She suggested a likeness between him and Leonid, being of similar stature. During the funeral, Liudmila Kazantseva gave a speech (Figure 10.2), outlining the last she had heard

Figure 10.2 Liudmila Kazantseva, accompanied by Yevgenii Ilin, is preparing to speak at her father's funeral.

Source: Photo: Johanna Dahlin.

of her father, and stressing that he did not go missing, he died for his country. Afterwards, she was interviewed by a team from the TV channel NTV. The TV team followed as the search unit escorted Kazantsev's relatives to the place where he died and was found. On that spot the search unit a few days earlier had erected a memorial post bearing Kazantsev's details. The post was supported with stones, strong enough to reinforce its upright posture in the very marshy ground. The grandson in his white sneakers and the TV team in their suits moved uncomfortably in the mud and bushes. The relatives placed flowers by the post, the search unit produced a bottle of vodka and some bread, and we toasted to the memory of Pavel Kazantsev. "I have always remembered," Liudmila Kazantseva said, "always." She returned again to the question of why the authorities had written "missing," when in fact he had died. The commander tried to explain that this was very common, but he cannot say *why* this was so. For many, the designation "missing in action" had severe consequences.

We continued to *Ingriya*'s camp, or rather camp-site, because the expedition was over and most of the camp was deconstructed. Some people had stayed on, though, and Natasha had been cooking. Yevgenii Ilin told about the search unit. Liudmila Kazantseva talked about her father and the family, and described how they have relatives in St. Petersburg but do not come here very often. It is, after all, quite a journey from Voronezh. "We will come more often now," she said, "to visit the grave."

Figure 10.3 Pavel Kazantsev's grandson Pavel takes a handful of mud from the place where the remains were found.

Source: Photo: Johanna Dahlin.

Graves in Russia are important places and there is a duty to visit graves, not least during particular times of the year, such as *troitsa* (Pentecost) (cf. Paxon 2005). Earth has a meaning, too, and if the body is separated from the home, earth becomes the symbol that can unite them. Catherine Merridale (2001) has stressed the importance of earth itself, stating that it was a great misfortune to be buried in foreign earth, and there was an assumption for the one who left the village that the body should be repatriated after death. Some people who had left their home brought some earth from there to be buried together with, and it was common practice for soldiers to bring earth from the battlefield where their comrades had died to give to next of kin. This earth was kept in the icon corner and mixed into the grave of the mother or widow (Merridale 2001: 37). The Kazantsevs were given an engraved cartridge case at the funeral, into which they were supposed to place earth from Pavel's grave and the place where he died. Pavel the younger took a handful of mud and filled the case as Leonid Stepanov outlined how the remains laid in the now water-filled pit (Figure 10.3).

Relatives do come now and then. They are always taken to see the battlefields, the memorial post, the grave. They tell their stories. They write letters, they send photos. Sometimes, the search unit is also contacted by people who are looking for relatives and know the area where they went missing. They are also welcomed, taken to see the battlefields and told how very unlikely it is that they will be able to find their relatives. Many of the search unit's members are

also motivated by their own private pilgrimage. They may have relatives missing here, or in some other area. One of the pioneers in this area, Maidan Kusainov from Kazakhstan (who assisted in finding Kazantsev's relatives), made his first visit to the Sinyavino region as a PhD student in the late 1970s. When he left home to further his studies in Leningrad, his father who served here urged his son to visit the battlefields and look for his dead comrades (Elisayeva 2006). Since then, Kusainov has been returning almost yearly, bringing his Kazakh search unit, which, as already mentioned, has strewn the area with small signs and memorials. Kusainov has become a Sinyavino spring institution, and the memorials have become part of the memorial landscape.

Battlefield tours

In addition to welcoming relatives, the search unit also hosts battlefield tours. Three battlefield tours are a regular feature of *Ingriya*'s yearly activity: two ski tours in winter and one bus tour in spring. In addition to these, other tours might be organized on request. The regular tours are primarily for students at the university at which the unit is based, but are open to anyone wishing to take part, and are sponsored by the university, which provides a bus and food.

I will describe one of the ski tours (of the Volkhov front), always held in conjunction with the anniversary (usually on the closest Saturday) of the 27 January 1944 liberation of Leningrad from the Siege. All quotes from the guiding were recorded on 28 January 2012, but I have taken part in this tour for several years.

All *ingritsy* are expected to take part in the tour, so it is also a merry get-together for the search unit's members who, with intimate knowledge of the area, do not pay too much attention to the guiding, which is usually given by Yevgenii Ilin, but sometimes (as it was 2017) by some of the experienced members of the search unit. (The need to guide and to educate guides is a frequent topic of discussion within the search unit.) In winter, the snow hides many of the material remains so the traces of war are less pronounced than in the spring tour where participants can be more directly confronted with them. But the snow also makes the area more accessible as it is possible to ski over frozen bogs.

The tour follows the following format. The group meets at the Moscow railway station in central St. Petersburg early in the morning and travels together on the *elektrichka* (commuter train) to Apraksin (in 2012 a worn-down station which now has undergone a remarkable transformation as a commemorative church has since been built). From Apraksin they go through the woods to Tortolovo, before joining the Arkhangelskii trakt, a tiny dirt road with a grand pedigree – Lomonosov himself is said to have walked here. Arkhangelskii trakt is followed across the stream Chernaya reka past the obliterated village Gontovaya lipka, and the German defense point *Roshcha Kruglaya*; after a few kilometers they pass a wooden cross commemorating the Seventh work settlement and after a few kilometers more they end up at the memorial at the Sinyavino heights. From here, a bus takes the participants back to the city. In 2012, the tour was held on a very cold winter's day, and Ilin attempted to keep the guiding short so the participants could keep warm by moving.

Ilin gave an introductory guiding as soon as the group got off the platform in Apraksin. Here, he outlined the significance of the Volkhov front. In his welcoming address he established the place as peripheral and largely forgotten. But he also stressed that the place, as part of the Volkhov front, is legendary for its significance in the battle for Leningrad from 1941–4. He also singled out the participants as people out of the ordinary for having come here. In this, the tour resembles a quest. "This," he said, "is where our city's destiny was decided." But he stressed once again that the place has been largely forgotten and ignored. There is a definite edge toward the authorities and the insufficient efforts that have been made toward the memorialization of the area. After the welcoming address, the group walked for a few hundred meters along the train tracks, before they headed into the woods.

The next stop was Tortolovo, which used to be a village of thirty-three homesteads. This is where the tour entered the line of battle, and Ilin mentioned some figures to give the audience an idea of the losses. He said that the Kirov district holds the record for irrevocable casualties for the Leningrad region. "Now we will go where our fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers lay. They may be here, here, or anywhere," he said, and also told the story of Tortolovo, which he characterized as a "godforsaken village" taken by the Germans in September 1941 (Figure 10.4). Tortolovo was subsequently retaken and lost several times by the Red Army. "Now, nothing remains of the village, and this is the typical picture in this territory," he said and mentioned some of the other obliterated villages that the tour will pass by. Nothing remains of them, only "humble memorials and people's memories." He also outlined the strategic significance of the village: it was built on higher ground, surrounded by bogs. In this flat and marshy area, even the slightest elevation became important – an observation that links the present landscape with wartime action. Before the group moved on, a flower was placed by the memorial and a salute fired.

After Tortolovo, the tour passed by several memorials and obliterated villages. For each of them Ilin told of the significance of the area, the battles, the enormous losses and the memorials. He lamented the lack of upkeep, and also invited the tour participants to join the efforts that search units would begin during the summer to take care of the memorials. Near where the search units often have their camp during the autumn expeditions, the tour participants were invited to witness the erection of a memorial post dedicated to Vasilii Filimonovich Kharitonin, and twenty-seven unnamed soldiers, found by the search unit the year before.

When the group reached the memorial at the Sinyavino heights, they were fed and able to warm up by the campfire tended by members of the search unit. At the memorial, a TV team was also present, making a short feature of the tour for the local news.

In the closing part of the guiding at the memorial on the Sinyaviono heights, Ilin outlined the battles for the heights and also talked about the graves and the absence of names by the graves, despite there being identified soldiers in the graves. He lamented the lack of money allocated to memory, despite this being a memorial of "federal significance." After a final flower laying, salute and a group photograph, the group boarded the bus back to the city.

Figure 10.4 Yevgenii Ilin addressing the tour group in front of the memorial marking where the village Tortolovo once stood.

Source: Photo: Johanna Dahlin.

"Now you have visited the war," Ilin usually tells the tour participants. The act of visitation, of seeing and visiting, is considered important in itself. And as the war and sacrifice are sacralized, so is the act of visiting the places connected with it.

Conclusion

In literally engaging with the past, doing something with it, aiming to bring closure to long-gone events, the search movement is connecting past and present. Places are important, as material traces and for what happened right here. While located in the present, the act of visiting them is presented as visiting the past. The war is often referred to in the present tense within the search unit, and by visiting the places associated with the war it is claimed that one has visited the war.

Being physically present in places, in dealing and doing something with the very material remains of war, *poiskoviki* can also be seen as doing something with the past. The search is connecting the present landscape with wartime events, and in inviting guests to the battlefields, the search unit passes on their historical imagination and what they have learned to read and understand from the landscape – for instance, by pointing out the features necessary to imagine what happened.

The past is thus identified with place. But in contrast to Kverndokk (2007) – who in his study of Norwegian school trips to death and concentration camps found that this connection between past and place also became a form of othering, where the places visited were placed not only in a different country but in a different time – this Russian landscape of war and death is an association that here is part of one's own, not other. This association is presented as crucial for identity on a personal or collective level. Having seen and visited these places is framed as a central part of what it means to be a citizen of St. Petersburg. The visits can be seen both as quest and pilgrimage, and all of the different forms of visitation – be it during expeditions, welcoming relatives or battlefield tours – have commemorative and ritual aspects.

Visitation can be seen as part of a process of transforming legacy into heritage. It is a way to engage with Russia's troubled twentieth-century history, where the war is simultaneously a great tragedy and a great triumph. While honoring the heroism and sacrifice of soldiers, to a great extent the search movement highlights the tragic side of war.

Notes

1 According to Yevgenij Ilin, leader of the search unit Ingriya, the official figures are that approximately 1.6 million soldiers did not return from battle. Official figures are notoriously unreliable, and most likely far too low. In an interview he estimates the numbers of missing at 5 million.
2 The Russian Search Movement (www.rf-poisk.ru) was "rebranded" in 2014. It was previously known as Russia's Union of Search Units. The older site at http://sporf.ru contains more information on the movement and its history (last visited 29 March 2017).
3 The designation missing in action in many cases meant that instead of heroes dying for their country, the fallen on the battlefields were seen as traitors. If your body could not be found, it could not be proven that you had not deserted or been taken prisoner, which was equaled with the former and a punishable offense. According to Catherine Merridale this came to mean, even if not spelled out, that he who went missing in action was equaled with a deserter (Merridale 2005: 98). Pensions were not paid to the families of those missing in action, as opposed to the confirmed fallen, and the search unit has heard many stories of the problems a missing parent met when their sons and daughters were navigating the Soviet system. The symbolism and moral redress in an identified soldier can thus be enormous for the family.

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Part V

Oppression

11 Armenia aeterna

Commemorative heritage in sound, sculpture, and movement from Bulgaria's Armenian diaspora

Donna A. Buchanan

Forget-me-nots and the Fortress of Swallows

In anticipation of April 2015, the Armenian State Centennial Commemoration Commission, established by Presidential decree on April 23, 2011, adopted a floral symbol, a purple forget-me-not, to promote awareness of the upcoming centenary of the Ottoman Turkish pogrom against Anatolian Armenians, and this official logo soon marked the occasion worldwide.[1] The events culminated, as they have since 1919, on April 24, the annual day of Armenian Genocide Remembrance; on this date in 1915, some 235 Armenian intellectuals and community leaders residing in Constantinople were detained, deported, or executed, marking the onset of an ethnic cleansing operation in which more than a million Armenians lost their lives (Akçam 2006: 183; De Waal 2010: 55, 2015: 34–35; Suny 2015: 347).[2] As the centenary observances began in Yerevan, the logo could be found dotting the urban landscape, festooning flags and banners along city streets, projected against buildings at night, and framing the stage for an April 23 concert by the US hard rock band System of a Down, or SOAD (est. 1994) (Figure 11.1), whose four members descend from pogrom survivors (Grow 2015).

Usually accompanied by the motto "Remember and Demand," a plea that the events of 1915, which Armenians call *mets eghern*, the "Great Catastrophe," be acknowledged officially by Turkey and other states as an act of genocide, the forget-me-not, obviously chosen in part for its association with remembrance, is rife with additional symbolism that outlines a chronological narrative (De Waal 2010: 60, 2015). The flower's black nucleus represents the past suffering stemming from the massacres and their aftermath; the slim, lilac petals encircling it signify that diasporic Armenians stand united today in observing the centennial and demanding that the genocide be recognized; the large petals represent the five continents to which survivors dispersed after 1915 and thus the future of the Armenian nation; while their dark-purple hue recalls the clerical robes worn by Armenian priests and as such, the universal import of Christianity for Armenian consciousness. As the first state to have accepted the faith, ca. 300 AD, to an Armenian, Christianity is, as one man in Bulgaria's diaspora told me, "like your skin" (cf. Abrahamian 2006: 114).

The flower's inner medallion is also a flat, graphic abstraction of the Tsitsernakaberd Memorial Complex in Yerevan (erected in 1967), also site of

Figure 11.1 Fans await SOAD's "Wake Up the Souls" concert in Yerevan, marking the band's Armenian debut and the centennial of the 1915 pogrom. The stage is framed by vertical purple banners on which the centenary's official logo, the forget-me-not, appears in white. April 23, 2015.

Source: Photo: Matthew Knight. Used by permission.

the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute (AGMI; opened in 1995).[3] The twelve golden trapezoids ringing the core, whose color represents the eternal light of the sun and its creative force, connote the twelve stone slabs that enclose the complex's Sanctuary of Eternity, curving inward over the Eternal Flame—the blossom's heart—that burns perpetually for the tragedy's victims (Figure 11.2). The slabs' significance is at least threefold and deeply embedded in the Armenian landscape, both imagined and physical. For some, they represent the twelve provinces of western Armenia lost to Turkey after WWI, lands that include the biblical Mt. Ararat, a near sacred peak in Armenian belief and the nation's principal topographical symbol. Bowed reverently toward the flame like figures in mourning, a second interpretation, the basalt slabs also denote *hachkar*-s, the elaborately etched cross-stones awarded UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage status in 2010 (UNESCO 2010).

Visitors approach the Tsitsernakaberd memorial along a path bordered on the left by a 100-meter basalt wall inscribed with names of cities and locales where Armenian populations fell victim to the pogrom, from Constantinople to the Der Zor district of the Syrian desert (Figure 11.3). Walking the path, which locals call "The Road to Golgotha," thus re-traces a topography of Armenian loss, and the deportation route that brought death to so many (Darieva 2008: 101, 103).

Inset in one end of the wall, closest to the monument itself, are plaques etched with the names of international public figures who protested the atrocities; behind these are containers holding, since 1996, urns of earth taken from their tombs (AGMI), effectively claiming these individuals as extended kin whose memorialized voices find an eternal home, like those of Armenian ancestors who actually perished in the pogrom, in Tsitsernakaberd as a metaphorical family crypt. Echoing the post-1990 ceremonial reburial of famed diasporic Armenians in homeland graves, part of a larger phenomenon that has everywhere characterized the reordering of postsocialist cosmologies (Verdery 1999: 23–53), the wall (re)patriates the natal lands of these voices in a new moral order of protest and remembrance that is at once increasingly global in reach and embedded in the monumental landscape (Abrahamian 2006: 298; Darieva 2008: 103).[4]

Tsitsernakaberd, or the Fortress of Swallows, draws thousands of international visitors annually, including many political dignitaries and heads of state; armchair tourists can explore the site virtually through an interactive video on the AGMI website.[5] As a place of "thano-heritage" it is directed at documenting the Catastrophe and guiding the public's interpretation, processing, and commemoration of this event and its legacy (Cameron 2010: 213; Darieva 2006: 95–96). But in its educational mission and commitment to promoting international awareness

Figure 11.2 Visitors inside the Tsitsernakaberd Memorial Complex's Sanctuary of Eternity take photographs and leave flowers near the Eternal Flame. July 21, 2016.

Source: Photo: Jonathan L. Hollis. Used by permission.

Figure 11.3 The opposite side of Tsitsernakaberd's memorial wall, where the names of well-known international figures who protested the atrocities of 1915 are displayed. July 21, 2016.

Source: Photo: Jonathan L. Hollis. Used by permission.

of genocidal crimes, it also holds potential to become a "Site of Conscience" that might foster "tolerance and activism" among all visitors, whether locals, diasporans, or tourists, mobilizing future strategies of civic engagement and intervention even as survivors and their families seek healing from the traumatic past (Ševčenko 2011: 244–45, 251).

From Yerevan to Sofia

While I have begun this chapter in Yerevan, its focus is on how intangible heritage has fostered remembrance and reconciliation in Bulgaria's Armenian diaspora, a community with which I have conducted fieldwork since 2007, a century after the 1915 Ottoman pogrom. I demonstrate how this community is deploying music and traditional dance, often in collaboration with Bulgarian artists and always in dialogue with similar Armenian initiatives elsewhere, to commemorate the difficult past. These elegiac tributes, I argue, conjoin diaspora and homeland in a transnational community of sentiment whose metaphorical terrain is at once imagined and spatially marked through sound, movement, and the postsocialist construction or renovation of built environments (churches, parks, monuments)

that map the Armenian presence across Bulgarian space. Significant among these physical markers are newly erected *hachkar*-s which, through their cosmological imagery and physical composition, link Bulgaria's Armenians with those in Armenia proper, and are themselves the site of performative remembrances in ritual, music, and movement commemorating 1915 and its legacy. While these expressive phenomena indexically invoke the Armenian lands, even the very soil itself, thereby denoting historical losses and the displacement that followed, they also signify renewal in important ways.

Bulgaria's Armenians

Bulgaria's contemporary Armenian diaspora comprises a more established community of Anatolian or western Armenians, largely descendants of refugees from Istanbul and Turkish Thrace displaced between 1894 and 1922, and Caucasus or eastern Armenians who have immigrated from the post-Soviet Republic since 1991.[6] According to the 2011 census, of Bulgaria's nearly 7.4 million people, a mere 6,552 self-identify as Armenian. Informal sources, however, place the figure much higher—ca. 12,000 old diasporans and 25,000–40,000 newcomers.[7] The diaspora's two segments differ in size; they also dispersed from different parts of historic Armenia, for different reasons, in different generations.

One might assume a high degree of compatibility between the two factions, for Bulgaria's western Armenians share a Black Sea locus, a heritage of Soviet-style socialism, and the ongoing experience of postsocialism with their eastern brethren. Significantly, however, post-Soviet Armenia, autonomous since 1991, does not occupy the heritage lands in Anatolia vacated by the older diaspora's families. The population's divergent geopolitical histories have wrought enduring differences in language and aesthetic disposition still relevant today. Eastern and western Armenians speak almost mutually unintelligible dialects, and the community remains fairly segregated (cf. Tchilingirian 2001).

Performative arts of remembrance

Music, (post)memory, mourning, and the primordial nation

In Sofia, the centennial was preceded by a month of commemorative artistic and educational events, including a play, a poetry reading, a lecture, a recital, a photo exhibit titled "Armenia, 100 Years Later," and a concert by the Sofia Chamber Orchestra, which exists under the auspices of "Parekordzagan" [Friendship], Bulgaria's branch of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU). Knowledge of traditional instrumental performance within the older western Armenian diaspora was largely lost with migration; therefore, this concert, patronized by Arsen Shoyan, Armenia's Ambassador to Bulgaria, and titled "Renaissance: Armenian Poetry, Music and Dance in Memory of the Armenian Genocide Victims: For a Better World," featured Armenian guest artists on the Turkish-Armenian zither, *kanon*, and double-reed *duduk*, two of the nation's most

emblematic instruments. The *duduk*'s timbre, in particular, is for most Armenians a plangent icon of profound grief, because the instrument has customarily provided the soundtrack for wakes, funeral processions, and burials (Nercessian 2001: 53–60). This sorrowful association has rendered the *duduk* a sonic index of Armenia's traumatic past in nationalist discourse. For example, *duduk* virtuoso Djivan Gasparyan, whose 1989 CD *I Will Not Be Sad in this World* commemorates those Armenians lost in the 1988 Spitak earthquake, has remarked, "In its tiny holes [the *duduk*] bears the cry of Armenia's bitter past" (Schnabel 1998: 54, quoted in Nercessian 2001: 56).

Gasparyan's remarks were echoed by several Armenian Bulgarians whom I interviewed. One woman called the *duduk* "the stamp of the Armenian nation." A second woman, a literary scholar who emigrated from Armenia in 1992, told me that whenever she hears the instrument, it expresses one history in a single tongue: "destiny, happiness, sadness, tears"—in other words, the story of the Armenian people and their fate, in a single language that moves beyond the nation's internal divisions. Another recent émigré, a professional oboist and cantor, observed that the *duduk*'s mellow tone closely replicates that of the human voice, and that more than any other instrument, it captures the sound of Armenian history. Sonia Bedrossian, Parekordzagan's director, attributed the *duduk*'s ability to "brilliantly convey the emotions of the inner self" to the suffering the Armenian people had experienced. Music can help convey emotion, she explained; perhaps this suffering was the reason why the *duduk*, as an Armenian instrument, was able to "exemplify with sound the tragedy of a people." In fact, through productions such as the 1990 *JVC Video Anthology of World Music and Dance*, these associations have become part of the world music canon—part of the conventional wisdom about what and how the instrument signifies. The anthology's first Armenian selection, a folksong called "Memories," features Gasparyan soloing with a massive socialist-style *duduk* ensemble inside Tsitsernakaberd's Sanctuary of Eternity. Importantly, the *duduk*, too, was inscribed in UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage List in 2008, further legitimating its status as a national icon, a contentious matter given that similar instruments exist in Azerbaijan (the *balaban*), Georgia (the *duduki*), and Turkey (the *mey*) (see Nercessian 2001: 45–50).

Returning to the centenary concert, the bilingual promotional posters for this event, like those of so many companion occasions elsewhere, were emblazoned with the forget-me-not, linking this community to others in the diaspora. Indeed, throughout spring 2015, the websites of Armenian organizations adopted the flower as their logo, and almost all my Bulgarian-Armenian friends made it their Facebook profile picture, assuming the qualities for which the blossom stands, if not the identities of the genocide's victims, as their avatars. This relationship became one of embodiment in late March 2015, when the AGBU, following Armenians in Switzerland, sponsored a "Blood for Memory" drive for Bulgarian children in need, to honor victims of the genocide and other crimes against humanity.

This primordial act of beneficence, where lifegiving blood was bequeathed by the very community from whose ancestors and family members it was once

violently taken, literally transfused the Armenian nation into a diaspora of anonymous bodies, echoing the dispersion of Anatolian Armenians themselves to points unknown after 1915. As with other "victim diasporas," the massacres and waves of forced displacement are, after all, the reason why the contemporary western Armenian diaspora exists in Bulgaria (see Cohen 1997: x, 27–55). In this community, memories of the trauma have, as elsewhere, "served as a virtual 'charter of identity' even among families who [did] not directly experience it" (Dudwick 1993: 265, after Phillips 1989; see also Abrahamian 2006: 328). They have become embodied through the phenomenon Hirsch (1996: 662) calls "postmemory," where the enculturation of subsequent generations is "dominated by [traumatic] narratives that preceded their birth," an inheritance of calamitous histories mediated variously through photos, items, songs, stories, and other mechanisms handed down within families and greater society.[8]

Easter at "Erevan"

In recent years, the Great Catastrophe has been commemorated annually in Sofia at a small park called "Erevan," a gift to the Armenian community from city mayor Boiko Borisov. The park stands near the new Armenian Orthodox cathedral currently under construction; it is also the site of Sofia's *hachkar*, bestowed by Yerevan's then mayor, Ervand Zaharyan, and erected in 2008 (DarikNews 2008; Figure 11.4). A solemn ceremony of remembrance is enacted in front of the *hachkar*, often followed later by a *panahida* (an Orthodox requiem for the dead) at the Armenian graveyard. In 2011, the April 24 observances that I witnessed coincided with both Orthodox and Latin Easter. Consequently, some communities delayed their services until April 25 so as "not to have eggs and commemoration on the same day," as one friend put it, but Sofia's Armenians retained the original date.

After the Easter morning liturgy, about 300 community members made pilgrimage on foot from the present Armenian church and cultural center to "Erevan," located a half-mile away. This was a silent trek, unaccompanied by music, not unlike the traditional march of mourning to the Tsitsernakaberd memorial enacted each April 24, itself implying the long desert walk suffered by the 1915 deportees (Darieva 2008: 96, 99). Once we arrived at the *hachkar*, the program included a brief address and laying of wreaths by the Armenian ambassador, recitations of mournful Armenian poetry, and excerpts from the diplomatic missals of Austrian, British, French, and American witnesses of the pogrom, read in Bulgarian translation to recorded music.

Musical interludes were in fact key to the occasion; these included the Armenian national anthem and works featuring the *duduk*: two recorded excerpts in the style of Gasparyan's 1989 CD, and additional live selections by Yerevan's Artur Nadosyan and Arshen Nersesyan, with prerecorded synthesizer accompaniment. Nadosyan had recently emigrated to Sofia, but Nersesyan was simply visiting. Beyond the dearth of local *duduk* players for hire, my interlocutors impressed on me that, as one friend put it, only an Armenian could really express the "spirit"

Figure 11.4 Sofia's *hachkar*, decorated with wreaths and bouquets of flowers from the previous day's Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day observances, April 25, 2011.

Source: Photo: Donna A. Buchanan.

and the "soul" of *duduk* music. While one or two Bulgarian Slavs play the instrument, for some listeners the results are neither as evocative nor as "Armenian." The primordial notion that, to quote Gasparyan, a non-Armenian *duduk*-ist "never get[s] to the essence" of the instrument's musical capabilities, "because he is not Armenian" and does not carry this "in his blood," suggests that the pogrom's emotional heritage can only be sounded effectively by a native performer (quoted in Nercessian 2001: 48). Together with the compositions of musicologist Komitas Vardapet, an artist-intellectual critical to the development of Armenian classical music who was detained in Constantinople in 1915 and died of the psychological

breakdown he subsequently suffered (Alajaji 2015: 25–55; Paladian 1972), *duduk* performances in ritual contexts like this one have come to represent "genocide music," a term that Darieva (2008: 105–106, n. 18) reports has emerged in diaspora to refer to particular Armenian musical genres and commemorative concerts "infused with the experiences and memories of the expulsion of 1915."

The metaphorical significance of Easter for this day of remembrance was lost on no one. In her remarks the event's emcee, Vartanush Topakbashian, drew analogies between Christ's sacrifice and the pogrom's victims, and between Christ's resurrection, the endurance of the Armenian people, and rebirth of the Armenian state.

Similar sentiments of perseverance and rebirth suffused Sofia's centennial observances in 2015. On April 23 members of the Armenian scouting troop "Homenŭtmen" planted one hundred forget-me-nots interspersed with white paving stones forming the numeral "100," effectively seeding the ground with living botanical representations of the commemorative logo and by extension, the Tsitsernakaberd memorial and all it invokes (BTV 2015). That the sowing of this symbolic flower bed and the larger ceremony of which it was a part transpired in front of the *hachkar*, rather than at the Armenian cultural center or cemetery, highlights the stele's significance.

Testimonial art: cross-stones of cosmology and truth

Hachkar-s are commemorative standing stones whose intricate carvings literally engrave Christian theology in the rock of pre-Christian Armenian cosmology. For Armenians, stone is a potent cosmological element that marries the land and its residents to the sacred. The *hachkar* descends from ancient megaliths called *vishap*-s, or dragonstones, once erected to guard or mark water sources (Azarian 1973: 27; Petrosyan 2001a: 10; Shahinyan 2012: 29–34). In Armenian mythology, the dragon is a powerful cosmogonic figure who dwells at the base of volcanic Mt. Ararat, which is both deified and constitutes a tripartite cosmograph comprising the underworld, earth's surface, and heavens. The peak's triangular shape is also the center of the universe, from which the world tree grows (Petrosyan 2001b: 37). On early *hachkar*-s, the world tree appears as a solar symbol, a cross with beams of equal proportion (Shahinyan 2012: 4, 9). By the ninth century, this figure had evolved into the Christian cross, and *hachkar-s* became commemorative, spiritual monuments raised to ensure the soul's salvation (Azarian 1973: 28). Still others became sacred themselves, "sainted" in their ability to heal, grant one's desires, and avert meteorological catastrophes such as hailstorms, drought, and earthquakes (Petrosyan 2001c: 63). They marked military victories, topographical features (especially crossroads and springs), edifices (churches, bridges), and by the eleventh century, graves (Azarian 1973: 28–29; Petrosyan 2001c: 63; cf. Abrahamian 2006: 273–276).

Hewn of basalt or pink volcanic tuff and often raised in groups on the ground or rocks themselves, *hachkar*-s visually suggest hills or mountain ranges, and are microcosmic metaphors of Mt. Ararat (Azarian 1973: 29). The engravings on their western faces depict the same three-part cosmic model represented by the

holy mountain (Shahinyan 2012: 3). While each *hachkar*'s design is unique, at the bottom is the cosmic egg, also conceived as the sun or wheel of eternity. Flanking the egg are two dragons whose cosmogonic power gives birth to the world tree in the form of a cross rooted in the underworld. The cross's horizontal beam marks the earth's surface, while at the top are representations of divinity—doves, fruit, angels, the Madonna, Christ (Petrosyan 2001c: 64, 66; Shahinyan 2012: 8–11, 49, 63–64). The repetitive geometric, floral, and vegetal imagery carries the eye upward to the heavens, its lines flowing without interruption in a sign of infinity (Azarian 1973: 30). When complete, every *hachkar* is blessed and anointed in a religious ceremony of dedication at its chosen site (UNESCO 2010).

Hachkar-s flourished during the Middle Ages, waned with the Seljuk and Mongolian incursions of the 1300s, were revived primarily as tombstones in the 1600s and 1700s, and emerged again in the 1990s as prominent national monuments, newly raised especially as genocide cenotaphs (Abrahamian 2006: 299; Azarian 1973: 31; Petrosyan 2001c: 60, 68). At Tsitsernakaberd, for instance, between 1988 and 1990 new *hachkar*-s commemorating Armenian civilians massacred in the Azerbaijani cities of Sumgait (1988), Kirovabad (1988), and Baku (1990) during the Nagorno-Karabagh conflict were erected near the memorial, enveloping these incidents in a larger postsocialist iconographical topography of ethnic cleansing.[9] This practice gained new import in 2006, when the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) determined that, in an act of so-called "cultural genocide" following the Nagorno-Karabagh war, and to eradicate physical evidence of the Armenian presence in the contested territory of Nakhichevan, Azerbaijan had systematically destroyed, between 1998 and 2005, approximately 2,000 500-year-old *hachkar*-s standing at the Armenian burial ground at Djulfa (Armenian Jugha), desecrating the graves and replacing the cemetery, once termed a "garden of *hachkar*-s," with a military rifle range (Castle 2006; Maghakyan 2007; Page 2006; Todaro 2004: 14). In Bulgaria at least nine *hachkar*-s have been erected since 1990, most recently at the Armenian church in Pazardzhik (April 2017; see Dimitrova 2017).[10] Thus, when I visited the eastern Bulgarian city of Shumen in 2011, where the Armenian community had just renovated their church complex, my hosts were eager to show me their new *hachkar*; like that in Sofia, it was sculpted in Armenia of pink volcanic tuff, and raised to commemorate the victims of 1915.

My interest in *hachkar*-s lies partly in how such monuments are sounded: how they are voiced, spoken, musicked, and danced in discursive terms that "bring to sound" and embody in movement the cosmology in which they signify, in ceremonies of remembrance such as those described here (Sullivan 1984: 47). Like the Quechua songs of the post-Shining Path Peruvian Andes so insightfully examined by Ritter (2014: 247), *hachkar*-s exemplify testimonial art. As metonyms of Armenian history, nationhood, and belief (ibid.: 245), each stele establishes a site where immediate individual, community, and "postmemorial" narratives of loss—oratorical, poetic, musical, and kinetic—echo synergistically in mimetic collective observances whose ritual scenarios "quote" each other across the years and states, throughout the diaspora and

homeland (Gispert 2010: 18–20). For Gispert, *hachkar*-s are "devices" of "memory storage" (ibid.: 19), encoding an accumulative geohistory of traumatic violence remembered and inherited to which they also bear witness as spiritual vehicles (cf. Ritter 2014: 245). The stones galvanize new narratives of truth and their telling, providing a venue where, like Andean *canciones testimonials*, these narratives "can be presented and transformed in the search for public consensus about the past and the present" (Ritter 2014: 220–221).

For example, in 2011, organizers of the Sofia genocide observances asked "Nairi," the new Armenian dance group in which I participated, to perform a stately women's dance, costumed in flowing white gowns, around the *hachkar* as part of the ceremony. The request accentuated the ethnic and spiritual overtones of the occasion, while employing gender and color to silently underscore the innocence of the pogrom's victims. Armenian circle dances traditionally connote community unity and celebrate victory (Abrahamian 2007: 179); in concept, then, our proposed performance illustrates how choreographic language is functioning to convey contemporary Armenian "national realities" (ibid.). Moreover, keeping in mind the *hachkar*'s physical and cosmological associations with Mt. Ararat, it connotes a danced topography of the postsocialist nation whose counterparts include, for example, the 160,000-km circle dance around Armenia's Mt. Aragats enacted on Independence Day in 2005 (May 28), in which 500,000 people participated (Abrahamian 2007). But Nairi was not ready; our dresses were not yet sewn, and some felt it unseemly to dance for the dead.

A symphony of rebirth

A second, musical illustration is *Phoenix*, a chamber symphony written for the Parekordzagan orchestra that memorializes the 2007 assassination of Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink in Istanbul by the Turkish nationalist Ogün Samast. Dink, who founded and edited the bilingual newspaper *Agos*, regularly spoke out against Turkey's reluctance to acknowledge the genocidal intentions of the 1915 campaign, but also decried the ongoing politicization of that tragedy as a "trump card" of international relations, advocating instead a shift in the prevailing moral compass as a route to peaceful reconciliation between Turkish and Armenian communities (De Waal 2010: 59; Ozinian 2008).

Composed by Bulgarian Georgi Andreev, executive music director of the internationally acclaimed National Folkloric Ensemble, "Philip Kutev," the work originated at the request of one of the orchestra's violists, a Bulgarian Armenian and close friend of the composer. It is beloved of the orchestra and has become a repertory staple. Praised by community members for its Armenian sound, the work's three-movement programmatic structure outlines the nation's plight and survival. As Andreev described to me, the first movement, "Hratek" or Fire (Bulg. Pozhar), features a Kurdish rhythm, *kartal havası*, which he observed "keeps going like a machine, like a train." "Hratek," then, is the conflagration that consumed the Phoenix; like the Eternal Flame of Tsitsernakaberd's Sanctuary, it recalls both the Armenian nation's Zoroastrian roots and its intended destruction

by Ottoman forces. While for Andreev the movement's Kurdish rhythmic structure carries only a regional association, its persistent quality evokes the systematic nature of the violence and the relentless march of forced migration that displaced western Armenians to Der Zor, while its ethnic origin accords with the Kurdish atrocities visited upon the refugees along the way (Akçam 2006: 174, 180; De Waal 2010: 55; Suny 2015: 282, 314).[11]

The second movement, "Vokpal" (Bulg. Oplakvane), is a lament whose chord structures allude to Orthodox hymnody. "Vopŭl," Andreev explained, means "wail" or "lamentation" in Armenian, as if to breathe from the depths of the heart, in extreme sorrow. To capture this sentiment, Andreev worked with his friend to devise an extended playing technique that would cause the viola's strings to emulate the *duduk*'s sonorous timbre. The movement opens with an unaccompanied viola solo in which this technique is foregrounded—an unmetered, modal, improvisatory-sounding melody, much like those indicative of Gasparyan and other contemporary Armenian *duduk*-ists, with characteristic ornamentation. As explored above, Andreev's decision to highlight the *duduk* aligns strikingly with the discourse of nation, sentiment, and belonging framing interpretations of the instrument and its sound.[12]

The work's finale is simply titled "Haygagan Bar," or "Armenian Dance." "Haygagan" points both to Hayastan, the Armenian ethnoym for their state, Hai, or what Armenians call themselves, and Hayk, the great-great-grandson of Noah, whose ark famously alighted on Mt. Ararat (Abrahamian 2006: 37). Noah and Hayk, legend has it, are the progenitors of the Armenian people (Petrosyan 2001b: 35–36). Hayk's son, Aramanyak, and his descendants named the topographical features of the Ararat valley (Petrosyan 2001a: 13–14). Simply by name, the work's conclusion therefore asserts the origins of Armenians in biblical chronicle and the very landscape of eastern Anatolia. "The diaspora is very strong, internationally," Andreev told me. He pronounced this movement joyful because Armenians, like the Phoenix, have risen from the ashes to transcend their adversity and flourish.

Turning back momentarily to Tsitsernakaberd, this resurrectionist perspective resonates with an additional interpretation of the memorial's architecture, one attributed to the architects themselves. Arthur T'akhanyan and Sashur K'alashyan apparently conceived of the monument "as a gaping grave, the twelve inclined slabs rounding the eternal fire visualizing this act of a grave opening" (Abrahamian 2006: 298, citing Jürgen Gispert; Darieva 2008: 97).[13] Visitors descend the steps to the flame or grave, the steep angle forcing them to bow their heads as if in reverence or prayer, but emerge from it as if resurrected (Abrahamian 2006: 299, n. 44). This phenomenon is further realized materially in the complex's Memorial Column, "the Reborn Armenia," "an arrow-shaped stele of granite, 44 meters high," that pierces the sky with manifold significance (AGMI). A pronounced crevice vertically splits the spire part way down, the two resulting shards officially signifying the forced deterritorialization of Anatolian Armenians, but overall unity of the Armenian nation (AGMI). However, alternative interpretations have arisen in tandem with changing political circumstances and agendas (Darieva 2008: 98).

The fragments also denote a divided Armenia, where the smaller piece is the western Armenian diaspora; the two peaks of Mt. Ararat, one taller than the other;[14] and after 1990, the Russian Federation towering alongside the Armenian state; or Armenia and the disputed Nagorno-Karabagh region, which Armenia claims. Each reading attests to a territorial nation cleaved by contestation and loss, but also Armenian perdurance. The official centennial billboards advance this sentiment further. Captioned with "On April 24, more than 240 Armenian intellectuals were massacred or deported," and then, "international struggle, memory, acknowledgement, rebirth," one presents Tsitsernakaberd's spire and Sanctuary as a pen and inkwell, pointing to the events that portended the pogrom's onset but also the community's longevity—and assertive voices—a century later.[15]

Notably, *Phoenix* was premiered for and dedicated to the genocide's 93rd anniversary in 2008—the same year that Sofia's *hachkar* was raised and the *duduk* inscribed by UNESCO. Indeed, in its tribute to a specific decedent, postsocialist commemoration of the genocide, and message of resurrection and renewal, *Phoenix* functions much like a contemporary *musical hachkar*. Importantly, although the postsocialist mounting of *hachkar*-s suggests an increasingly commemorative cosmology of sorrow indivisible from the cosmology of the nation, how the tragic heritage of Ottoman-era Armenian deaths is being received and memorialized through performative arts of remembrance, in Bulgaria and elsewhere, is, as the illustrations in this chapter reveal, equally indivisible from the celebration of life.

"Genocide music" for a new "global morality"

In closing, let me return to SOAD's commemorative concert in Yerevan, the last stop on their aptly named "Wake Up the Souls" tour. Despite the band's unparalleled following in Armenia and the diasporas of Europe and the Middle East—including that in Bulgaria—this was their Armenian debut; the concert, like the centennial observances themselves, drew thousands of tourists and SOAD fans to Yerevan. Ethnomusicologist Matthew Knight, an eyewitness to the event, recounted how crowds of people milled around the stage area long before the concert began, while children handed them paper forget-me-nots. As part of an initiative organized by the Armenian Ministry of Education and Science, in March schoolchildren in grades 5–12 had prepared 1.5 million paper flowers—one for each 1915 victim—distributing these to visitors at the concert, Tsitsernakaberd, and other key tourist sites like just so many garden seedlings (Nikoghosyan 2015).

The night opened with a documentary video. To the strains of a solo *duduk* with electronic drone, its narrator, singer-songwriter and activist Tom Morello, grimly described the Ottoman persecution of Armenians and the efforts of activists both in and outside Turkey—like Hrant Dink—to seek "a truthful and just international resolution" to the situation, as part of a "peaceful, global movement" directed at ending "the worldwide cycle of genocide" for which the Great Catastrophe was a "blueprint."[16] Like Parekordzagan's "For a Better World" concert, SOAD's performance placed the Armenian tragedy

in a broader context of "global morality," what Darieva (2008: 93) defines as "a moral universalization of local and national suffering" through transnational intervention. "They are waking up the souls of their own system," Morello declaimed. This oratory morphed seamlessly into SOAD's opening song, "Holy Mountains," whose lyrics powerfully address the genocide's perpetrators, the Araks (Aras) River that partially bounds Armenia and Turkey, and the dual peaks of Mt. Ararat, which stand just beyond the river's banks and whose cosmology the *hachkar* connotes.

If we understand *hachkar-s* as iconic of each other, then those in Bulgaria indexically link Armenians there to other diasporic communities wherever the sculptures exist, and through their physical composition and cosmological implications, to Tsitsernakaberd and the terrain of Ararat and Armenia itself. To raise a *hachkar* is like driving an Armenian stake into the land. It creates an axis, a point of assembly and healing that is also a spiritual center for the community. Somewhat like miniature, informal "sites of conscience," *hachkar*-s hold the power to inspire reconciliation; they are places of social activism and commemorative heritage brought to sound and movement in performative testimonials such as those examined here.

Acknowledgments

Research for this chapter was supported by a Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad Fellowship, and a University of Illinois Mid-Career Faculty Release Time Award, IIP International Research Travel Grant, and Campus Research Board award, which I gratefully acknowledge. An earlier draft of this chapter was presented at the 60th Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Austin, Texas (2015). My heartfelt thanks also to Georgi Andreev, Jonathan Hollis, Matthew Knight, the "Nairi" Armenian Folkdance Troupe, and other members of Sofia's Armenian community for the gift of their knowledge, friendship, and hospitality. Any errors of interpretation are my own.

Notes

1 For examples of the logo, see the official website dedicated to the centennial at http://armeniangenocide100.org.
2 The number of Armenians who perished as a consequence of the pogrom is contested. Estimates range from 600,000 to the official Armenian figure of 1.5 million. On these figures, late Ottoman-era campaigns of violence against Anatolian Armenians, and the use of "genocide" in the Armenian context, see Akçam (2006: 8–10, 174–204); De Waal (2010: 53–60, 2015: 18–41); and Suny (2015: 349–365).
3 For further details about the complex see www.genocide-museum.am/eng/index.php.
4 The complex's underground museum and its exhibits, symbolic and real graves, and recently mounted *hachkar*-s (below), all created between 1988 and 2000, only deepen the memorial's significance as a collective mausoleum. On this topic and the profound multivalence of soil in establishing a postsocialist cosmology of loss and its remembrance, one that continues to evolve, see the pair of superb analyses by anthropologist Tsypylma Darieva (2006, 2008).

5 See www.memcosoft.com/genocidemuseum.
6 According to the World Bank, Armenia's population totaled 3,544,695 in 1990, but dipped to 2,963,496 by 2010, giving some measure of the population loss due to emigration and other factors in the first decade following independence. See http://data.worldbank.org/country/armenia.
7 Figures differ wildly. Komitska et al. (2000–1: xviii) and Mitseva (2001: 19) suggest a total population of 13,000 Armenians at the millennium, while Bohosyan (1999: 10–11) estimates an ebb and flow of ca. 40,000 eastern Armenian immigrants during the 1990s, not more than 17,000 of whom probably stayed. This would suggest a total Armenian population in the late 1990s of ca. 25,000.
8 Cf. Abrahamian (2006: 328–329), who argues that for Armenians of the post-1915 diaspora, the genocide has become a new "Creation Myth." Like Hirsch, he also recognizes the phenomenon of "postmemory," noting that third-generation Armenians "may lose all characteristics of Armenianness except the knowledge of the genocide their grandparents experienced in the Ottoman empire" (328, n. 9).
9 See Abrahamian (2006: 298) and Gispert (2010: 17–18, 20) on the larger significance of the Sumgait cross-stone, which the latter insightfully perceives as a synecdoche of the memorial itself.
10 In Bulgaria *hachkar*-s can be found in Batak, Burgas, Chirpan, General Toshevo, Pazardzhik, Plovdiv, Shumen, Sofia, and Varna; a tenth *hachkar* is planned for the new Armenian church in Yambol, constructed in 2017. Many but not all of these cross-stones memorialize victims of the genocide.
11 In March 2017, Andreev told me that he had been unaware of the role played by Kurdish forces in the Armenian deportations.
12 In fact, Andreev told me that when the work was initially commissioned, he thought to write a composition for *duduk* and chamber orchestra.
13 Gispert observes that the original function of the slabs was not just symbolic, but technical: to protect the entrance into the Sanctuary. See Darieva (2006: 93).
14 See http://genocide.am/article/about_tsitsernakaberd.html and www.lonelyplanet.com/armenia/yerevan/attractions/armenian-genocide-memorial-museum/a/poi-sig/444011/358583#ixzz3jjvXVRDK.
15 See the billboard at http://armeniangenocide100.org/en/materials.
16 The concert was livestreamed, making it accessible to Armenians and fans everywhere. See www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXpEcumKktk.

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12 Uncovering violent narratives

The heritage of Stalinist repression in Russia since 1991

Margaret Comer

Introduction

In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, how has Russia dealt with the tangible and intangible heritage of its waves of mass repression, and how have these attitudes changed since the mid-1980s, the time of *perestroika* and *glasnost*?[1] This chapter compares the similarities and differences of shifting dark heritage presentations at three different Russian sites that are all connected to mass death and suffering. The first is a complex of sites on Big Solovetsky Island in the White Sea; these sites are all related to the inaugural forced labor camp in what developed into the Soviet gulag system.[2] The second is the shooting range and mass grave associated with Stalinist terror and its contemporary memorial complex at Butovo, just south of Moscow. The third is the scatter of sites related to Stalinist repression in and around Lubyanka Square, where the former headquarters of the secret police still dominates the heritagescape in central Moscow.

As the current and former Soviet capital, Moscow can be considered the "metropole" from which political, governmental, and social decisions were made and transferred to the "periphery," where actions undertaken went on to further shape central decisions and policies. The logistics and decrees of Stalinist mass terror were similarly prepared and decided in Moscow, but those decisions were carried out on bodies and places thousands of miles away. A full review of every site thus marked by Stalinist terror is impossible, but the Solovetsky Islands were chosen because they represent the genesis of the gulag system, yet are also connected to longer legacies of past and present repression, violence, and identity. Although the site is unique in many respects, it also encapsulates myriad shared themes and paradoxes that are evident at sites of repressive heritage across Russia.

This chapter focuses on sites related to certain periods of Stalinist terror and repression.[3] The choice was made for several reasons. Building on the rich body of work analyzing Nazi concentration camps and other, similar sites of mass imprisonment and death worldwide (Macdonald 2009; Young 2009; Carr 2015), as well as the ever-growing study of dark heritage and tourism (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015; Logan and Reeves 2009; Foote 1997; Foley and Lennon 2014), the comparative lack of study of gulag camp sites stood out. The death and victim counts of the Great Terror[4] and the gulag system are still politically contested numbers, but the moderate estimates put them at roughly one million fatalities

from shooting campaigns in the Great Terror and up to three million deaths in the gulag system from 1933–45 (Snyder 2011).

An earlier attempt to solely conduct research on former gulag camps and other sites connected with the forced labor system had to be revised because the gulag experience – arrest, deportation, forced labor, and return or death – is inextricably entwined in history and memory (official and subaltern) with several other repressive phenomena of the mid-twentieth-century Soviet Union, most notably the mass shooting campaigns that arguably peaked during the Great Terror of 1937–8 (Applebaum 2003: 104). Many writers (e.g., Akhmatova 1967; Solzhenitsyn 1985) vividly described the experience of trying to discover the fate of a loved one, often in vain. For decades, government agencies explicitly lied to families about their relatives. With the opening of archives in the mid-1980s, many learned for the first time that their fathers or grandmothers had never left the cities where they had been arrested and had been shot within months of imprisonment (Figes 2007: 582–583). The widespread experience of uncertainty, in combination with long-held mental images of "what happened" to family members, means that commemoration and memorialization of the gulag or the mass shooting campaigns rarely – if ever – focuses solely on one or the other of these aspects of Stalinist repression. Finally, Stalin's legacy and reputation have been repeatedly contested and publicly debated since shortly after his death. In the Soviet period, different leaders alternately denounced his "personality cult" and "excesses" against his own people or maintained a type of radio silence on the matter (Jones 2013). More than a quarter-century after the Soviet Union's collapse, the meaning of Stalin and, by extension, Stalinist repression is again under negotiation. Scrutiny of changing narratives about that repression, its perpetrators, and its victims may help cast light on larger contemporary attitudes toward power, civil liberties, and human rights.

The Solovetsky Islands and the first camp

Founded in 1436, the Solovetsky Transfiguration Monastery grew to become a powerful theological and religious center, as well as an important strategic post for controlling trade in the White Sea. In late 1917, the new Bolshevik government began cracking down on religious institutions and clergy, and the monastery closed shortly thereafter. In 1921, a year after this closure, the first camp in what would become the gulag system was established by special order of Vladimir Lenin, the Soviet leader at the time. This camp, the Solovki Special Purpose Camp (SLON),[5] did not immediately develop into the fully fledged gulag system's model of mass economic enterprises based on forced labor. The first inmates of SLON included a high proportion of intellectuals and professionals; although conditions were extremely harsh and brutal, some were able to continue research, while the camp management treated the rest as if they were capable of being "reformed" into useful Soviet citizens (Applebaum 2003: 42–48). By the mid-1920s, however, this had been replaced by large-scale, organized work programs, and living conditions in the renamed camp declined precipitously (Jakobson 1993: 120–121).

The Solovki camps closed in 1939, but gulag-style camps existed in some form across Russia until the mid-1980s. Today, a small network of sites across the islands bear witness, tacitly or explicitly, to the islands' gulag past. This section focuses on three sites on Big Solovetsky Island that illustrate different aspects of this by turns voiced and silent past.

Today, the Solovetsky Monastery is heavily visited by tourists as well as by religious pilgrims, since it is again a working religious site. Although the monastery's buildings were used for various functions – barracks, offices, an infirmary – during the gulag period, this is not explicitly stated in written or oral interpretation, and Soviet repression is markedly not the main time period or theme emphasized. Various text panels do showcase the "martyrdom" of Russian Orthodox clergy and believers in the Karelian region, and another set of text panels showcases the memorial services and processions remembering the Solovki gulag's victims that monks have led on the islands since 1990.

Overall, there is no single interpretative theme or design within the monastery; different areas have totally different thematic foci, and each seems to have been designed on its own, leading to a somewhat hodgepodge museological effect. In contrast to the dozens of densely printed text panels, one area is equipped with a high-tech video display that recreates an episode when post-revolutionary Bolsheviks sacked the monastery. The apparent financial investment in this area, as well as the focus laid on making sure this specific message of destruction and suffering is communicated, stands in contrast to the relatively low-tech text panels and photographic displays that otherwise commemorate Soviet repression and its victims.

Previously, the island's Gulag Museum was within the monastery walls. It is now located in a former barracks building within the Solovetsky Settlement and, in contrast to the majority of the monastery's interpretation, is coherently and neatly (if densely) laid out. Although there are some "artifacts," the majority of the material is photographic or written, with an emphasis on personal narratives and memories of inmates. The museum covers the entire period of the Solovetsky camps' history and further takes pains to place the Solovetsky gulag complex within the larger framework of forced labor camps and projects within Northern European Russia and across the Soviet Union as a whole. Nearby, in a small brick memorial plaza about a hundred meters from the Gulag Museum, Russia's first Solovetsky Stone memorial stands in a cluster of other, similar stone memorials to different groups of victims – anarchists, Armenians, and so on (Figure 12.1). Other representatives of constituent groups place new memorials on a fairly regular basis, meaning that the small memorial landscape is constantly expanding to include new narratives of loss and suffering.

The Gulag Museum is not the only former barracks building still in use; several others are still standing, although none of them have been preserved in their original function. Some are private houses, and one is a small grocery store and sundry market. This is evident because each of these buildings bears a plaque on its front identifying it as a former barracks building from the gulag era; similar signs mark other "sites of interest" across the island that have now been turned to more quotidian uses.

Figure 12.1 Solovetsky Stone, Big Solovetsky Island.
Source: Photo: Margaret Comer.

The Butovo shooting range, Moscow

Although popular conceptions of Soviet repression often center on extremely remote labor camps, or gulags, Moscow was a key nexus within "the gulag archipelago," as Solzhenitsyn (1985) famously termed the vast network of sites related to Soviet repression. Millions of people were sent to faraway penal and work camps to serve as unpaid labor, and many of them subsequently died. These forced laborers also worked in towns and large cities across the Soviet Union, even building some of Moscow State University's student dormitories. However, especially during the worst years of Stalinist repression, in 1936–8, millions of people never reached such worksites because they had simply been shot after arrest. Since Moscow was a leading metropolis of the period, as well as home to many of the "elite" or "different" groups who were often targeted during Stalin's purges, its population was hit very hard by purges of Old Bolsheviks, intellectuals, and other prominent figures, who made up a high proportion of Great Terror Victims (Getty and Chase 1993: 226–228). Overarching all of these reasons, Moscow, having once again become the empire's capital after the revolution, was the physical, spiritual, and political center of power – many of the decisions about the gulag system, the purges, and the security services' operations were physically made there.

At Butovo, the focus is squarely on victims who never made it past the outskirts of Moscow after their arrests. The total number of people who were killed

and buried at Butovo and a nearby site will probably never be known; the 20,765 victims whose names and images were most carefully documented died during a particularly brutal period of Stalinist purges, the Great Terror, stretching from August 1937 to October 1938. This group of victims – their names, pictures, and the dates of their deaths – is the main focus of memorials and interpretative material at the site. Just like at the Solovetsky Gulag Museum, those pictures, all taken by the security services during incarceration, feature prominently at the site. The former killing fields are fenced off from the road, and signs on the gates prominently identify it as a "sacred" place, admonishing visitors to dress and behave appropriately. After use as a military firing range, among other non-murderous functions, since the land was bought by the Russian Orthodox Church in 1995, there is now a wall of interpretative panels and a small wooden church "on blood," or built on the site of bloodshed – Saint Petersburg's Church of the Savior on Spilled Blood was similarly built on the site of Tsar Alexander II's assassination.

In August 2015, there was a groundbreaking for a new memorial garden, which was still being developed in autumn 2016. In the interim, there was a series of plaques, mounted on a fence, that listed the names of every "religious martyr" who died at Butovo. These included the high-level clergymen shot there as well as priests, monks, nuns, and devout believers. However, in late 2016, these were stacked in piles next to the construction site because the name plaques' material was unsuited to winter weather. The interpretative plaques at the field point out that virtually every sector of Moscow society is represented in the Butovo victims, but there is also a panel especially dedicated to the religious "martyrs." With renovation ongoing, there is now a very small hall of exhibits in the basement of the church, and a larger museum was still being built in 2016, as were several visitor amenities like coffee kiosks. The exhibits inside the church's lower cathedral also focus heavily on rows of victims' photographs, which are juxtaposed with some photographs of skeletal remains, Bible verses, and some recent remarks made by high-ranking Orthodox clergy about the blessed nature of these victims. Here, the religious overtones are predictably stronger than even at the burial site itself; although the fact that many different nationalities and walks of life are represented here is acknowledged, there are no interfaith or even interdenominational memorials. This is a purely Russian Orthodox memorialization. The same dynamic is tacitly present in the large wooden cross outside the main Butovo church. This was made in the Solovetsky Islands and brought in a ceremonial boat procession to the site. The cross is an embodiment of the unbreakable connection between these two types of sites related to Soviet repression: the camps and the massacre sites.

Crucially, the new church consecrated on the Butovo shooting range grounds in 2007 makes explicit the connection between memory and martyrdom. In 2000, the Russian Orthodox Church, not without controversy, officially named Tsar Nicholas II and his family saints and "passion bearers"; they were killed by Bolshevik soldiers in 1918. Many Orthodox churches across Russia and beyond now bear icons and frescoes depicting the royal family as saints. Yet the Butovo church goes one step further – its frescoes are done in a style typical of Orthodox

churches, and, while many depict scenes from the Old and New Testaments, others depict the martyrdom of the royal family, monks on the Solovetsky Islands, Patriarch Tikhon, and many others (Figure 12.2). As Kathy Rousselet points out, "the shift from a process of victimization toward a process of heroization by the church overshadows one of the distinct characteristics of the mass killings" (2013: 47), since many such victims never had the chance to say anything before dying, let alone announce their decision to die for their faith. Rousselet continues to point out that "Church memorialization allows the glorification of Holy Russia" (2013: 47), an idea which has become a powerful part of identity formation since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Witness President Vladimir Putin, a former KGB agent, attending Orthodox services for perhaps the most striking symbol of the symbiotic relationship between the post-Soviet Russian state and the Russian Orthodox Church. It makes sense that, in the rush to fill the ideological vacuum vacated by ideologies of atheism and Soviet citizenship, the government consciously chose to support and align itself with a pre-revolutionary religion that had become closely entwined with Russian nationalism and culture. In the current political climate, when many Russians feel besieged by a NATO-led West in the wake of recent conflicts, these connections between church and national identity have taken on added urgency. In summer 2015, at a Moscow public festival

Figure 12.2 Fresco showing martyrdom of Orthodox monks at Butovo church, Butovo, Moscow.

Source: Photo: Margaret Comer.

in honor of the thousand-year anniversary of the Christianization of the Rus', Patriarch Kirill directed the gathered crowd to keep their Orthodox faith strong because it is inextricably entwined with the *narod*, or Russian nation, more in the sense of a *volk* than a nation-state. In his exhortations, it was clear that this same idea of a "Holy Russia," blessed by God and destined for victory, is an increasingly powerful and politically expedient idea.

Most saliently for the current conceptions and presentations of dark heritage, martyrs and passion bearers and saints need no earthly tribunals to avenge them and their memories. Their suffering and victimization were, of course, painful, but in the end they are blessed; conversely, their tormentors, if non-repenting and unforgiven, will get their final comeuppance in a decidedly non-mortal realm. In a society that has traditionally shown little interest in Nuremberg-style criminal tribunals or truth and reconciliation commissions like those held in South Africa and elsewhere, this holds a certain appeal. The repression and the gulag experience have not been forgotten or erased, although they are not linchpins of history or given the same attention paid to memories of Red Army wartime valor in recent years. The tangled web of victimhood, perpetration, and blame, however, would be difficult and painful to untangle through all-too-human courts and investigations. The allure, for some, of leaving this problem literally up to God is palpable.

The Solovetsky Stone and its memorial landscape

Finally, outside the former headquarters of the NKVD and KGB at Lubyanka Square, in central Moscow, a single stone, placed there in 1990 during the height of public interest in discussing the heritage of Soviet repression, stands as a memorial to all the victims of Soviet repression. The Solovetsky Stone is, indeed, a boulder brought from the Solovetsky Islands, which, as the first and most infamous camp, held a special and terrible significance in Soviet society. Lubyanka, too, held a similar terrible significance, as it was the main nerve center for many of the purges and waves of repression. The current iteration of the Russian security agency, the FSB, has its headquarters nearby; the huge, yellow building that used to house the NKVD and then the KGB headquarters still looms over the square and busy traffic interchanges beneath it. In theory, one can visit a small museum of the security services inside this building; in practice, this is nearly impossible. Further, recent historical volumes produced by the FSB about the NKVD period do a masterful job of eliding the violent bits of history. This stone is modeled on the first Solovetsky Stone, mentioned above. Every year, on 30 October especially, which is the Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Political Repressions, people gather to remember; year-round, you can see small offerings of plastic flowers and candles, just like those left at similar stones and wooden crosses across Russia. These stones are the simplest of the memorial and interpretive sites examined here, but they are also the most accessible, set as they are in central public parks. For those wishing to remember repression, these Solovetsky Stones offer the opportunity to memorialize and mourn; for those who either wish to forget or are simply unaware, it does not force remembrance upon anyone.

At certain times of year, the stone's silent memorialization is temporarily enlivened and made public by certain groups of stakeholders. Since the 2000s, *Memorial*[6] has organized "The Return of Names,"[7] a ceremony held on 29 October of each year that aims to bring the names of victims of repression back into the public sphere. As the organizers state, "The people were shot in secret – we remember them publicly" (International Memorial 2016). The 2016 ceremony lasted for twelve hours, from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., and over 10,000 people passed through the square during that time. Many of them stood in line for hours with small pieces of paper, waiting for their turn to approach the microphone and read out the name, occupation, age, and date of death of two or three Muscovite victims (Figure 12.3). Many, too, recited information for family members who were also victims, in Moscow or elsewhere. Although this type of remembrance is most actively and publicly "performed" on this occasion, it is interesting to note that groups dedicated to remembering Soviet repression on social media platforms will also make "Return of Names" posts on any date of the year. These repeat the same type of information, with photographs when available, and are often timed to be posted on the date of execution of those who are being remembered. As with the digital remembrance schemes described below, this type of development is intriguing and, being online, less susceptible to certain political and financial exigencies.

The next day, on the aforementioned "Day of Remembrance," another group of people gathered in Lubyanka Square. Where the ceremonies the day before had been carefully organized and media-directed, with continuous video filming and photography and lighting and heat lamps brought in for the cold, snowy day and night, this group's activity was much less high-tech. According to placards some attendees were holding, they were members of different Moscow-area support groups for victims of government repression and their families. A series of people stepped up to a microphone to give speeches on various topics; recurrent themes included the crackdown on civil liberties and human rights in contemporary Russia, the planned unveiling of Russia's first permanent memorial to gulag victims in autumn 2017, and the need to keep supporting victims, financially and otherwise. Although not as self-consciously photogenic as "Return of Names," and attended by a much more elderly group, the urgency and emotion in the crowd were palpable. Many attendees carried photographs of dead or disappeared family members, and one man on the side had a small exhibit of poster boards set up that claimed to expose President Putin's hypocrisy regarding the official memory of repression and current human rights abuses. As with the ceremonies the day before, the speeches ended abruptly at a pre-appointed time; the organizers invited attendees to join them at the nearby Cathedral of Christ the Savior for a memorial requiem, while other groups left to attend similar ceremonies at mass graves like Butovo and Kommunarka. Here, again, religious ritual has come to assume an important role in some memorial activity and memorializations, this time beyond the cemeteries officially cared for by the Orthodox Church.

The Gulag Museum, which opened in its current location in 2016 with financial support from the Moscow city government, also took part in Day of Remembrance activities. Open all day, with free admission, the curators screened interviews

Figure 12.3 "Return of Names," 29 October 2016. Participants stand in line, surrounding the Solovetsky Stone, Lubyanka Square, Moscow.

Source: Photo: Margaret Comer.

with gulag survivors in the museum's auditorium as well as a Soviet-era documentary about the Solovetsky Islands in the evening. The room was filled beyond capacity for all of these, and at least one curator attempted to lead over fifty people on a free tour of the museum. The museum's interpretation bluntly presents the effects of Stalinist repression on individual lives, using artifacts like cell doors and items made by prisoners in the gulag as well as videos, a constantly scrolling digital wall of victims' names, and other cutting-edge museological installations. Still, the issue of whom to blame for the repression is handled obliquely. Directly next to the wall of names, a small installation shows the number of shooting lists signed by Stalin and members of his innermost circle. On one hand, as a tour guide pointed out to me, this is a necessary documentation of fact: after years of official misinformation campaigns on all manner of topics, there are still people who think that Stalin – who, after all, is popularly credited with pulling the Soviet Union into the industrial age as well as saving Europe from Adolf Hitler and the Nazis – did not know the full (or even partial) truth about what the secret police were doing and would have stopped the excesses had he known.

On the other hand, this tactic feeds into a certain totalitarian view of atrocity and terror; although the totalitarian view of Stalin and Stalinism, which focused

sharply on Stalin's personal psychology and attempted to explain his actions through that lens, has fallen out of favor in history (Getty and Manning 1993: 4), there is still a reluctance at this museum to examine the motivations and actions of the individual people all across Russia who carried out the orders written and passed by the Politburo. "Perpetrator studies," which have more recently come into favor in some countries (see Matthäus 2004 and Cate 2010 for two views on the situation within Holocaust memory), are virtually non-existent in official museums and the memory culture of Stalinist repression. Recalling the shifting categories of "victim" and "perpetrator" that characterized these waves of repression, as well as the possible awkward questions that could be raised via scrutiny of certain past and present public figures' culpability in repressive acts or connection to repressive organs (Conquest 1990: 478–480), this is not altogether shocking. Further, the museum's interpretation cuts off shortly after Stalin's death; there is a small bank of displays about the "return" process of millions of inmates who were released from gulag camps and other forced settlements in the 1950s, but there is no information about the later use of imprisonment, forced labor, and abuse of psychiatric facilities to silence political and other dissidents, even though these practices continued until the 1980s. According to the museum's interpretation, after the large-scale "returns" of the Khrushchev era, the next sizable development came shortly after 2000, when President Putin took it upon himself to champion remembrance of victims of Stalinist repression across Russia, with the planned permanent memorial in Moscow as a tangible centerpiece of this commitment.

Nevertheless, the absence of the issues of perpetration and the later history of repression in the Soviet Union from the Gulag Museum in Moscow signifies a wider lack of debate about guilt and culpability and the lasting ramifications of the Great Terror and the gulag in a society that holds both former perpetrators and former victims, as well as their descendants. If this issue cannot be tackled in a state-supported museum in the capital, can it be tackled at all in an "official" setting in contemporary Russia? Or, in the current political climate, are these questions left to "guardians of counter-memory," both institutional (such as *Memorial* et al.) and individual (such as the attendees at annual ceremonies, unofficial archivists conducting independent research, etc.), to use Carr's (2015: 78–80) theorization of actors who take it upon themselves to preserve for posterity subaltern – or simply unpopular or out-of-fashion – memories? Since these particular memories were, at one point in the fairly recent past, popular and even urgent issues of public and private discussion, this change in official attitude may well define the current protectors and "curators" of the heritage of Stalinist repression.

Analyzing these sites also leads to scrutiny of the primacy of tangible and "permanent" memorialization of mass death and suffering at these actual "places of pain" (Logan and Reeves 2009). By design, the camps and colonies of the gulag system were placed all across the vast Russian landmass, then and now the largest country in the world. Leaving aside for now the question of whether there is or would be a trend of mass visitation to these sites *qua* sites of dark, gulag heritage (which is not necessarily the case for a majority of current visitors to the Solovetsky Islands), the sheer logistics make any such mass visitation to

the majority of sites inconvenient, if not impossible. Further, many sites have already been swallowed back up by the tundra or forest; with buildings made of wood and other cheap, flimsy material, there is little to see in the absence of a preservation or, even, restoration campaign. Associated mass and individual graves were often marked at the time with wooden markers; most have long since faded away. Without excavation of these sites – which, when they occur, is often undertaken by amateur enthusiasts, not trained forensic archaeologists, in the absence of official financial or political support (Merridale 2000) – those that are still discernible in the landscape will be further erased by time and neglect, benign as it may or not be.

Nonetheless, the physicality and geography of these remote places remain potent; the Solovetsky Stones in Moscow and elsewhere draw their power, in part, from being literally "of" the islands, as does the Butovo cross. For various financial and political reasons, the memorial landscape around Lubyanka Square will remain mostly tacit, with the permanent exception of the Solovetsky Stone there, various "Last Address"[8] plaques scattered across nearby building facades, and the biannual official Days of Remembrance and associated cyclical memorializations. Early in April 2017, however, a "Last Address" plaque installation was interrupted and temporarily halted by police action; it remains to be seen whether future or existing plaques and other small memorials will be similarly troubled. Recently, *Memorial* has begun offering several free tours monthly of the Lubyanka and other areas associated with different aspects of Soviet repression, and maps of these sites and some interpretation are available online (International Memorial 2017). This digital and transient approach offers another outlet for preserving and disseminating the heritage of Stalinist death and suffering in an area of Moscow, where, as it is still a center of governmental power and high real estate prices, it would otherwise be difficult for a civil society organization without major financial and political backing to claim physical space and attention.

As in the case of the Gulag Museum at Perm-36 (for one overview, see Sternthal 2015), recently there have been some deliberate attempts to silence certain narratives and interpretations of Soviet repression, but more striking is a waning lack of interest from the public. Though activities on the Day of Remembrance and days surrounding it in Moscow and other cities across Russia have proven popular in recent years, the history and legacy of Stalinist repression are not the centerpieces of discussion and thought that they once were, especially in the mid-1980s and 1990s. Positioning itself as a country on the upswing, Russia appears to be, at the very least, disinterested in discussing these painful issues at length. This is evidently a period of high-stakes negotiation of Russian identity on many fronts; the fates, names, and faces of numerous victims of Soviet repression have ended up pulled into squabbles over the "right" way to approach and interpret Russian and Soviet history, as well as ongoing negotiations over the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in modern Russian society. However, just as subversive and unofficial narratives and memories of the suffering and death caused

by Stalinist repression survived decades of overt silencing during the Soviet era, private memory and postmemory, as Hirsch (2008) defines it, can and will survive periods of widespread public indifference and government opposition, especially in an increasingly digitized and interconnected world – the real questions are, which of these narratives will rise into and fall out of favor, and how will each be sustained, officially and/or otherwise?

Acknowledgments

I owe deep thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Gilly Carr, and my advisor, Dr. Lila Janik, as well as the rest of the Cambridge Heritage Research Group. The Gates Cambridge Trust and Jesus College, Cambridge, as well as Santander and the Dorothy Garrod Trust, provided crucial financial support. In Russia, many people patiently assisted and guided my research; chief among them are Olga Bochkareva and Maria Shilova.

Notes

1 Literally "restructuring" and "openness," respectively, the former refers to the mid-to-late 1980s Soviet programs of political and economic restructuring, and the latter to simultaneous partial relaxations of restrictions on civil and political life.
2 GULAG (ГУЛАГ – Главное Управление Лагерей) is an acronym for the Soviet "Main Camp Administration," which ran an immense network of forced labor camps, enterprises, and settlements across the Soviet Union. Applebaum (2003) and Jakobson (1993) provide more detail on its activities, as well as the myriad similar enterprises that were not part of the GULAG system. Because it is commonly used as a word describing such camps in its own right, I have used the lowercase "gulag" throughout.
3 Not only is it impossible to review every site related to the gulag system in one chapter, but the sheer quantity of mass death events – from the Civil War, to the post-revolutionary Red Terror, to dekulakization, and many more – in twentieth-century Russia and the Soviet Union (see Haynes and Hassan 2002 for an overview) makes a study of all sites related to those events impossible.
4 The Great Terror, a series of show trials and mass arrests, shootings, imprisonments, and deportations to the gulag, is commonly held to have lasted from 1936–8, though other such mass campaigns occurred under Lenin and Stalin.
5 СЛОН – Соловецкий Лагерь Особого Назначения.
6 Memorial (Мемориал) is a Russian NGO, officially founded in 1989 to preserve memories of Soviet repression, assist its victims, and support protections for civil rights, freedom, and democracy in Russian society.
7 Возвращение Имен.
8 "Last Address" ("Последний адрес") installs memorial plaques – one per victim – on the walls of former homes of victims of Stalinist repression.

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13 The peculiar heritage of lynching in America

Rasul A. Mowatt

There is a peculiarity to the history of lynching in the United States. It is simultaneously reduced in scope, intentionally avoided, ever present, and mostly forgotten in the psyche of American citizenry. Those who know the history of lynching are rarely aware of its scope in volume, frequency, and ferocity. Those who are familiar with a lynching quickly change the topic of conversation, as if they do not wish to acknowledge their knowledge. Those who may feel the semblance of dread in what a lynching was now appears to avoid confirming their suspicions of the vastness of lynchings of Black people and the vastness of lynching's impact on the Black and other non-White population in the U.S. Others "seemingly" do not know or have forgotten the history of lynching, notwithstanding the sheer volume of publications and references to lynching that resurfaced during the presidency of Barack Obama that was directed at him in effigy or otherwise, precludes such ignorance. Some 70 year ago, in *Dusk of Dawn*, W.E.B. Du Bois situated the ramification of this peculiarity in regards to the lynching of Sam Hose in rural Georgia:

> At the very time when my studies were most successful, there cut across this plan which I had as a scientist, a red ray which could not be ignored. I remember when it first, as it were, startled me to my feet: a poor Negro in central Georgia, Sam Hose, had killed his landlord's wife. I wrote out a careful and reasoned statement concerning the evident facts and started down to the Atlanta *Constitution* office, carrying in my pocket a letter of introduction to Joel Chandler Harris [journalist and author of the Uncle Remus stories]. I did not get there. On the way news met me: Sam Hose had been lynched, and they said that his knuckles were on exhibition at a grocery store farther down on Mitchell Street, along which I was walking. I turned back to the University. . . .
>
> Two considerations thereafter broke in upon my work and eventually disrupted it: first, one could not be a calm, cool, and detached scientist while Negroes were lynched, murdered, and starved; and secondly, there was no such definite demand for scientific work of the sort that I was doing.
>
> (Du Bois 1940: 34)

With the over 5,000 reported cases of lynching in the U.S., of which over 4,000 of those reports highlighted the spectacle and festive killing of Black men and

women, what reconciliatory role could memorials play given this heritage of racial violence (Equal Justice Initiative 2015; Mowatt 2007; White 1929)? The aim of this chapter is to present a compelling need for memory work and rework on the American psyche so as to: 1) locate a historical definition of lynchings; 2) situate the purpose of lynchings along with a need for memory; 3) acknowledge the role of the various state historical markers of lynching; 4) highlight the importance of the Duluth Memorial; and lastly, 5) embrace the intent of the planned "Memorial to Peace and Justice" in Birmingham, Alabama. The presentation of this compelling need for memory work and rework seeks to argue that in the climate with the U.S. under the Trump presidency it is especially poignant to have official acknowledgment of lynchings for currently lynching effigies, imagery, rhetoric, and occurrences seem to be on an uptick (Mowatt 2015). What we can learn from the history of lynchings can aid in the prevention of their return, a return of state-sanctioned vigilante racial violence.

Locating a historical definition of lynchings

After years of research in the area, the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama in 1959 defined lynching as a racially motivated killing in the following terms:

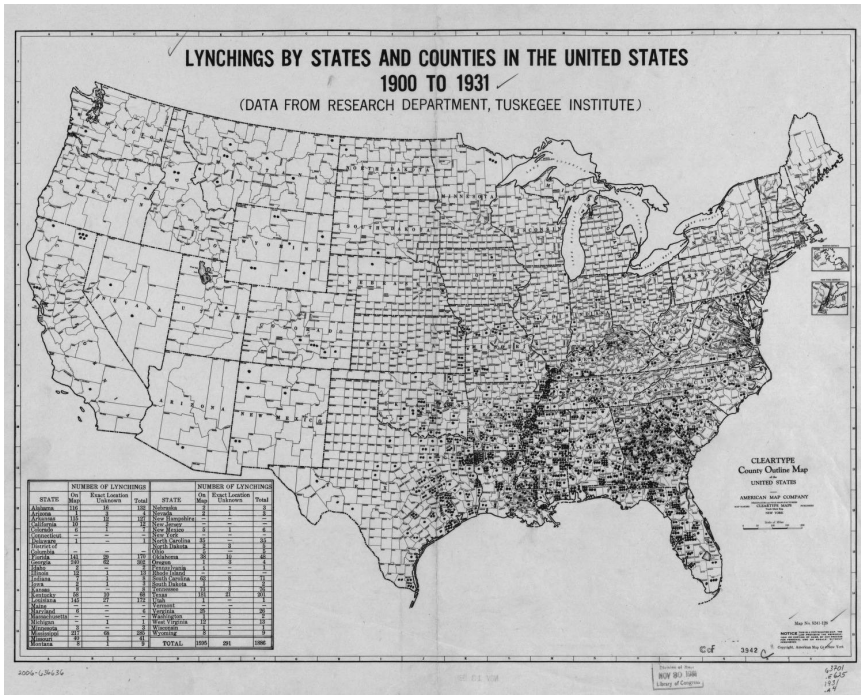
> There must be legal evidence that a person was killed. That person must have met death illegally. A group of three or more persons must have participated in the killing. The group must have acted under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition.
>
> (Ginzburg 1988: 245)

Tuskegee's definition was an outgrowth of work that scholars at the institution had undertaken prior to the twentieth century in locating and enumerating the cases of lynchings. According to Jonathan Markovitz,

> Lynching was always intended as a metaphor for, or a way to understand, race relations. While there were many different types of lynchings, lynch mobs typically worked to ensure that Black audiences were aware of the strength of White supremacy and the costs of violating the boundaries of the racial order; at the same time, they wanted to reinforce images of White men as chivalrous protectors of White women.
>
> (Markovitz 2004: xvi)

By the numbers

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) formed in 1908 in response to the frequency and volume of racial violence in the U.S.: the practice and spectacle of lynchings and the inciting of race riots (see Figure 13.1). The NAACP, alongside Tuskegee, focused their attention on studying lynching and crafting anti-lynching legislation (NAACP 2012). Two of the NAACP's chief journalists and researchers on lynchings, Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1901) and



STATE	NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS On Mass	Exact Location Unknown	Total	STATE	NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS On Mass	Exact Location Unknown	Total
Alabama	116	16	132	Nebraska	2	1	3
Arizona	3	—	3	Nevada	2	1	3
Arkansa	115	12	127	New Hampshire	—	—	—
California	87	4	91	New Jersey	—	—	—
Colorado	6	—	6	New Mexico	4	—	4
Connecticut	—	—	—	New York	—	—	—
Delaware	1	—	1	North Carolina	32	—	32
District of Columbia	—	—	—	North Dakota	3	2	5
Florida	141	29	170	Ohio	30	15	45
Georgia	397	62	459	Oregon	1	3	4
Idaho	2	—	2	Pennsylvania	1	—	1
Illinois	12	1	13	Rhode Island	—	—	—
Indiana	5	2	7	South Carolina	62	9	71
Iowa	2	—	2	South Dakota	4	—	4
Kansas	9	—	9	Tennessee	17	3	20
Kentucky	66	22	88	Texas	151	37	301
Louisiana	143	27	170	Utah	1	—	1
Maine	—	—	—	Vermont	—	—	—
Maryland	6	—	6	Virginia	26	3	29
Massachusetts	—	—	—	Washington	7	1	8
Michigan	—	1	1	West Virginia	17	1	18
Minnesota	9	—	9	Wisconsin	5	—	5
Mississippi	381	65	581	Wyoming	9	1	9
Missouri	67	—	71				
Montana	5	1	6	TOTAL	1695	291	1986

Figure 13.1 Lynchings by states and counties in the United States, 1900–31.

Walter White (1929), provided the greatest early commentary and database of the numbers of lynching cases through the U.S. Harris statistically noted,

> Between 1882 and 1927, an estimated 4,951 persons were lynched in the United States. Of that number, 3,513 were black and 76 of those were black women. Murder, rape, and "minor offenses" were the major causes of lynchings and burnings . . . of the 2,060 Blacks lynched for "various causes" between 1882 and 1903, 783 were lynched for murder, 707 for rape ("either attempted, alleged, or actually committed") and 208 for "minor offenses"; many were also burned or "roasted alive."
>
> (Harris 1984: 7)

Fouss (1999) begged us to consider the "frequency with which lynch mobs executed their victims: two or three a week until World War I . . . [or] the geography of lynching: 44 of the 48 continental states have hosted lynchings bees" (Fouss 1999: 2). But more contemporary research on lynching by the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) has documented "3,959 lynchings of Black people in twelve Southern states between Reconstruction in 1877 and 1950, which is at least 700 more lynchings in these states than previously reported" (EJI 2015: 4–5).

However, it is important to recognize that this number only constitutes the occurrences of lynchings in those states and during that specific period.

The earliest documentation of lynchings occurred immediately after the Civil War; between 1865 and 1877 over 3,000 occurrences were recorded. These lynchings were enacted by defeated Southerners who took their revenge on Black Freedmen (Budiansky 2008).

The last mass lynching (multiple people killed at once) occurred in 1946 in Georgia with the shooting deaths of George W. and Mae Murray Dorsey (who was pregnant), and Roger and Dorothy Malcolm (shot 60 times, as they were tied to a tree) (Wexler 2003). The last recorded lynching, but more clandestine than the spectacles of the past, was of Michael Donald in 1981 in Mobile, Alabama after he was secretly abducted, beaten, and later hung from a tree. The two most recent deaths of Black teens by hanging, Lennon Lacy in a North Carolina playground in 2014 (Pilkington 2014, October 9) and Ben Keita from a tree in Seattle in 2017 (Hanna and Hassan 2017, March 3), invoke the possibility of the resurgence of more clandestine lynchings or the reality that they may never have gone away.

The transmission of trauma

More than a century ago Ida Wells-Barnett said in regards to lynching,

> Our country's national crime is lynching. It is not the creature of an hour, the sudden outburst of uncontrolled fury, or the unspeakable brutality of an insane mob. It represents the cool, calculating deliberation of intelligent people.
>
> (Wells-Barnett 1900, January)

At the end of the same speech she elaborated on how knowledge of lynching was commonplace both domestically and internationally. The French press went as far as rebuking the protest from the U.S. while acknowledging the fear of racialized mob action that could arise from their own mishandling of the Dreyfus Affair, stating, "Stop your lynchings at home before you send your protests abroad" (Wells-Barnett 1900, January).

But it is with Walter White that we begin to see questions about the psychological impacts of lynchings on the American psyche. Because of his lighter complexion White (ironically) was able to "pass as White" and gain insight into 41 lynchings and 8 race riots. In the first chapter of *Rope and Faggot*, "The Mind of the Lyncher," White remarked on his dismay about White children joyously talking about "the fun [they] had burning the niggers" (White 1929: 3). He commented further,

> Psychologists have established that from birth the human mind passes through all racial experience . . . Imagine, then, the mind of a normal child in a Southern community . . . in a community where a lynching or perhaps a burning occurs, where thousands of participants and spectators . . . where there is morbid scrambling for charred bones or links of chain which held the victim to his funeral pyre . . . the effect upon young minds is almost too appalling to be contemplated.
>
> (White 1929: 4)

White continued that in those minds "the seeds of lynching as a panacea which will correct all ills" have been sown (White 1929: 5). Returning to Fouss (1999), "consider the number of people who witnessed the workings of lynch mobs: 75,000 people witnessed that portion of a single year's lynchings investigated by Arthur Raper of the Southern Commission for the Study of Lynching (SCSL)" (Fouss 1999: 2). For those who are White in the U.S., the existence of lynchings acted/acts as a corrupting force in being a humane society.

Lynchings, for scholars/activists of color in the NAACP and at Tuskegee, acted as a cautionary tale to a person of color, and more specifically a Black person in the U.S. As a Black woman, Evelyn White stated,

> I did not welcome the steady stream of invitations to explore the great outdoors . . . I always declined to join the expeditions into the woods . . . I was certain that if I ventured outside to admire a meadow or to feel the cool ripples in the stream, I'd be taunted, attacked, raped, maybe even murdered because of the color of my skin. I believe the fear I experience in the outdoors is shared by many African American women and colors the decisions we make about our lives.
>
> (White 1999: 378)

In 1939 the great Billie Holiday first performed Abel Meerpool's "Strange Fruit" at Café Society on West 4th Street in New York City. She sang it as a protest about lynching and the U.S. government's lack of response at the time. She was noted for going to the bathroom and throwing up after each time she performed the song (Goodman 2017, January 3; Holiday and Dufty 2006). The song has been performed countless times since 1939. These singers include Carmen McRae, The Cocteau Twins, Tori Amos, Rupert Wyatt, Siouxsie and the Banshees, and Annie Lennox. Some renditions have paid tribute to Holiday's performance and the song's intent while most have reinterpreted this song about someone's pain as a performance of vocal ability.

Other artists (Kanye West, Mick Jenkins, and Strange Fruit Project) have merely sampled elements of the song or renditions, further eliminating the original intent and focus of the song. Nina Simone's rendition and Audra McDonald's performance as Billie Holiday in HBO's *Lady Day at Emerson's Bar & Grill* seem to be the only ones that invoke the intent and outrage of the original, as well as the terror that one could have for a song that highlights a death that could be their own. For Nina Simone and Audra McDonald (and Billie Holiday) lynchings, by way of the song, were a personal trauma. However, the fact that each of them experienced unease, anger, and sadness indicates a communal trauma. This in turn highlights a societal trauma among Black people in the U.S. since the occurrence of a lynching is "a discrete happening . . . persisting condition . . . and an acute event" (Erikson 1995: 184).

Performance and situating the purpose of lynchings

James Madison posits that "a lynching was a performance that sent a message . . . a weapon of terror that could strike anywhere, anytime, against any

African American" (Madison 2001: 15). There was/is a nightmarish choreography to lynching rituals and lynching itself (Wright 1997). For Fouss (1999), lynching rituals were conducted in a "performance complex" that resulted in a lynching cycle of performances with each stage executed to build excitement and to elicit the emotions that were required. From the 1) Preliminary cycle, the crime (murder or rape) and the seizure of the victim; to the 2) Embedded cycle, after the point of seizure, the mock trials, and up to the extralegal public nature of the execution that rested on word of mouth through prolonged torture; and finally to the 3) Subsequent cycle, which included leaving the body to hang and be seen, the procuring of souvenirs (postcards, limbs and other body parts, and staging relics such as charcoal or wood) (Young 2005), and the creation of the narrative for newspapers and storytellers. For Harris, "ultimately, lynching and burning rituals functioned to sustain a belief . . . deviation meant death," and this was the basis for the effectiveness of social control that a lynching conjured in the minds of most Black people within the U.S. (Harris 1984: 18–19).

Terror, amusement, and social control

Not only was the performance of the lynching cycles intentional and effective; the lingering effects of their occurrences were as well (Tolnay and Beck 1995). According to Tolnay, Deane, and Beck (1996), lynchings operated under two models: contagion and deterrence. The "contagion" model involved the adoption of lynching rituals and practices in neighboring towns and states as lynchings persisted year after year. Each new town, city, or state took up the ritual and practice (or at least considered it) to respond to the supposed criminal nature of Black people in their area. A lynching was a form of reactionary terrorism "to maintain and fortify the status quo" of White people across social classes. Lynchings were either tools of the state or at least tolerated by it (Tolnay, Deane, and Beck 1996: 788). As Walter White found in his investigation,

> It's a matter of safety – we gotta show niggers that they mustn't touch a White man, no matter how low-down and ornery he is . . . When he told of the manner in which the pregnant woman had been killed he chuckled and slapped his thighs and declared it to be "the best show, mister, I ever did see. You ought to have heard the wench howl when we strung her up . . . I slowly gained the whole story, with names of the other participants. Among them were prosperous farmers, business men, bankers, newspaper reporters and editors, and several law enforcement officers.
>
> (White 1929, January 1: 70)

The "deterrence" model focused on the adoption of lynching in one locale to decrease the need for the lynching ritual and practice to be adopted in another locale. The resulting effect was that White citizenry in a town or city (and even state) were satisfied in the terror that was inflicted on their Black fellow citizens. This led to Black behavior, in particular their every day social movement on the

street as well as their travel patterns from one location to another, being altered to reduce conflict or harm. With the success of the deterrence model of lynchings, survivor narratives that invoke this sense of terror-induced trauma were (and still are) commonplace. An account from a Black resident of the Mississippi Delta contextualizes the community conditioning that then took place, as

> Whenever there was a killing, like a lynching or rape scream . . . everybody would go in, close their doors. In the community they didn't walk the roads, they didn't sing . . . they would try and take to the back fields and go back ways, not be seen, because if anyone was caught . . . who knows what could happen to them.
>
> (Rogers 1999: 120–121)

The EJI alluded to the reality that lynchings were the cause of the Great Migration north as:

> Close to six million Black Americans fled the South between 1910 and 1970. Within a single decade, the Black populations of Georgia and South Carolina declined by 22 percent and 24 percent, respectively. The United States Department of Labor observed that one of the "more effective causes of the exodus . . . is the Negroes' insecurity from mob violence and lynchings."
>
> (Equal Justice Initiative 2015: 19)

Effigies as lynching ritual without the practice

It is important to see lynchings as both ritual (the narrative, performance) and practice (the actual killing). Seeing lynchings as ritual, in particular, allows us to locate and study where the threat of a lynching was used and as effective as the practice of one. The use of lynching *effigy* invokes the sentiment of the condemning White populace who erects it, while inciting terror and trauma on the Black populace that witnesses it, leaving a multiracial and ethnic populace in between the two oblivious to the codified sign of the lynched mock-up and symbolism of what the lynching may mean (Rushdy 2012). Lynching effigies were simply metaphors for actual lynchings. Whereas a public lynching is illegal today, a public lynching of an effigy is not. The growing use of lynching effigies should be a reminder and cautionary tale of the desire for some to return to the practice (Rouse 2012). As Mowatt (2015) indicated,

> Lynching effigies were punched and hit like Piñatas during White anti-Civil Rights legislation enactment and desegregation in the late-1950s and early 1960s. Anti-Obama displayed placards, home displays, church signs, re-imagined posters, and Facebook posts presented phrases like, "Hope for the Rope . . . Change and Estrange" with a noose, "Hang in there Obama" with a hangman's post, "Nobama" with a strangled and beaten likeness

> of Obama, and "Rope" instead of the Obama 2008 campaign slogan of "Hope". This revival of lynching imagery used in protest or twisted humor (during Halloween) provides a very counter notion to collective forgetfulness of lynchings.
>
> (Mowatt 2015: 9)

Lynching historical markers

Several states have erected historical markers in memory of lynchings that have occurred. I focus just on Georgia and Alabama in this chapter. For example, Brooks County, Georgia had the highest rate of lynching in the U.S. during the peak era of 1880 to 1930, and the state holds the highest total number of lynchings (although some argue that Mississippi holds the highest). Georgia had 531 (586 according to the EJI) total lynchings during this period, with some estimates revealing at least one lynching per month (Tolnay and Beck 1995). Georgia was also the focus of a great deal of investigative work of the NAACP, whereas Alabama was the focus for Tuskegee. Alabama had the highest rate of lynchings throughout history, with ten counties in double digits (Jefferson County with 29) and every county recording at least one, alongside a total of 347 lynchings, according to EJI (2015). However, it should be mentioned that Phillips County, Arkansas holds the highest number within a single location in the U.S., with 243 lynchings that occurred between 1877 and 1950.

Georgia

In 1998, the Georgia Historical Society and the Moore's Ford Memorial Committee, Inc. (Figure 13.2) held a service in memory of the previously mentioned lynching victims, George W. and Mae Murray Dorsey, and Roger and Dorothy Malcolm, and erected a marker in their honor. Georgia also gained national and international infamy with the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish immigrant, in 1915. The Georgia Historical Society, the Jewish American Society for Historical Preservation, and the Temple Kol Emeth erected a marker in his memory in 2008 (Georgia Historical Society 2014, June 16). Georgia was also infamous for one of the most heinous lynchings that was alluded to by the interview respondent to Walter White in 1929 who gleefully indulged in the retelling of the lynching of a pregnant woman. The respondent was giving a live account of the lynching of Mary Turner in Lowndes County, Georgia in 1918. Her husband, Hayes Turner, was lynched the day before and her protest of his death ultimately led to her own murder (Associated Press 1918, May 20). Rediscovering her murder led to the formation of the Mary Turner Project in 2008, and the erection of a marker on May 15, 2010 (Georgia Historical Society 2010). Newnan, the town that hosted the lynching of Sam Hose (from Du Bois's previously mentioned *Dusk to Dawn*), has refused any requests to erect a marker in his memory while three markers there commemorate Confederate history ("Making Murder" 2015, February 19).

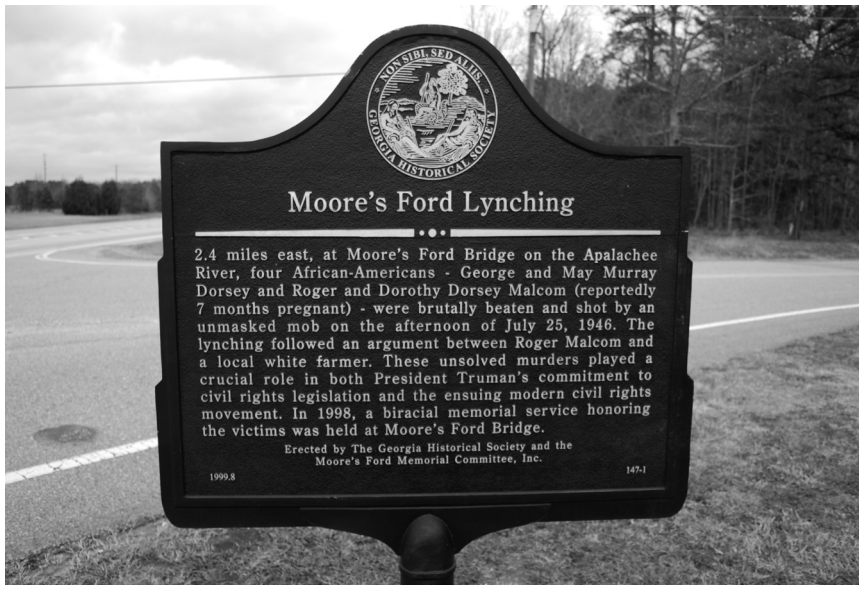


Figure 13.2 Moore's Ford lynching historical marker.
Source: Photo: Rasul A. Mowatt.

Alabama

As part of an ongoing initiative to bring to light the history and memory of lynchings in America, the EJI has assisted various towns and cities to erect historical markers. On December 6, 2015, the EJI along with Brighton, Alabama city leaders erected a marker in memory of William Miller who was lynched in 1908 (Pace 2015, December 13). The EJI has been working with a University of Alabama class by erecting the first marker on lynching in Tuscaloosa County, unveiled on March 6, 2017 (University of Alabama 2017, February 27). This marker will serve as a memorial to eight victims of lynching in the county: Andy Burke in 1884, Bud Wilson in 1889, Charles McKelton and John Johnson in 1892, Sidney Johnson and John Durrett in 1898, Cicero Cage in 1919, and lastly, Dennis Cross in 1933. The influence of the EJI has also led to the planned marker in memory of Bunk Richardson who was lynched in Gadsden, Alabama in 1906. A reading group came across an account of his lynching by way of the book *Just Mercy* by Bryan Stephenson (2015), founder of the EJI. As organizers in the area noted,

> I want them to see Gadsden as a place that is not afraid to discuss our history. It is not afraid to discuss both the wonderful things about our history and the very, very ugly things of our history – that we're not trying to sweep things under the rug, that we are not afraid to embrace difficult conversations.
>
> (Yaeger 2016, December 13)

Highlighting the importance of the Duluth Memorial

Hailing from Duluth, Minnesota, Bob Dylan has mentioned his hometown in two songs: 1965's "Desolation Row" and 1978's "Something There Is About You." It is in the former's opening lyrics that a long-hidden lynching resurfaces into the public consciousness in which Dylan refers to a hanging and a restless police squad.[1] What is additionally remarkable is that Dylan's father was nine years old at the time of the lynching and it occurred only two blocks away from his home. The memory of this lynching passed onto Dylan which was irreversibly imprinted on to his own memory and influenced his career as well as lead to a song in dedication to Emmett Till, the 1972 officially released "The Ballad of Emmett Till" which was originally written and performed in 1962 as a protest song.

The lynching and memorialization of Elias Clayton, Elmer Jackson, and Isaac McGhie

In present-day urban Duluth, on the corner of First Street and Second Avenue, there stands a memorial in honor of three Black men who were fatally beaten by a White mob, and then hung from a light post only to be lowered for the proud mob to pose with bodies on June 14, 1920 (Fedo 2000). The mob, whose number was estimated between 1,000 and 10,000, seized three of the six jailed men and lynched them (Minnesota Historical Society 2008). Thirty-seven indictments were issued for those who could be identified in photographs of the lynch mob. Only three were convicted and they served no more than 15 months for rioting, and no one for murder (Read 2008). Although it is remarkable that the present-day citizens of Duluth – through the work of the Clayton Jackson McGhee Scholarship Committee – embraced this tragic note in the heritage of the city by erecting such a memorial in 2003, what is equally remarkable is that this is currently the *only* such memorial beyond the few aforementioned indiscriminately located historical markers throughout the U.S.

Even further, the State of Minnesota was one of the few states that passed an anti-lynching law in April 1921 due to the events of June 14, 1920 (Fedo 2000; Read 2008). Minnesota was preceded by Indiana in 1899 (and then again in 1931), and joined only by Virginia in 1928, California in 1933, and South Carolina in 1951 (Madison 2001). Fouss reminds us to also "consider the number of anti-lynching bills introduced into the U.S. Congress between 1882 and 1951: over 250" (Fouss 1999: 2). The ambivalence and resistance to laws to protect the Black citizenry at the State and Federal level is just one indicator of the need for such memorials. Not only do the actual lynching practices impact American society in ways that are invisible, but the maintenance of lynching rituals through effigies depicting former President Obama and the lack of protection historically and presently (the lack of hate crime laws, or the enforcement of them) indicate the lingering protection of the lynchers, their supporters, and the terror they instill. Thus, as Doss noted, "memorials that focus on shameful historical moments, such as racial terrorism, raise questions about how to remember, represent, and perhaps redeem those histories" because those histories are still occurring (Doss 2014: 41).

Embracing the intent of the planned Memorial to Peace and Justice

Fouss (1999) stated his "belief that the legacy, if not the practice, of lynching persists" (Fouss 1999: 28) and that "they [lynchings] are best not forgotten" (Fouss 1999: 29). These two statements provide the basic rationale for any memorialization. However, Sherrilyn Ifill extends this rationale further by stating that,

> Public spaces have yet to become part of the formal reparation or racial reconciliation process for Black Americans . . . lynching, particularly in the twentieth century, was most often an explicitly public act . . . compelling communities to recognize the public nature of lynching serves a vital purpose. (Ifill 2007: 9)

This is especially so since so many public spaces were used for Black deaths at the hands of fellow citizens.

The EJI, extending its work on the placement of markers throughout the country, began to envision the need for a national museum or memorial to those who have been killed by the extralegal, vigilante justice of lynching. EJI bought land that was once the location of a slave-holding facility that overlooked the city of Montgomery, Alabama and partnered with the MASS Design Group, which is known for its work on a memorial of the 1994 Rwandan Genocide in Kigali, Rwanda.

The EJI design (Figure 13.3) uses the openness of the property, and in turn creates an open memorial spaced adorned with 800 columns suspended from the ceiling for the counties in which at least one lynching took place. The columns hang, as thousands of victims once did from trees, bridges, street signs, and light posts. On the columns will be the names, dates, and location of known victims per county. An identical set of columns will be outside of the structure within

Figure 13.3 A rendering of the Equal Justice Initiative's planned Memorial to Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama by the MASS Design Group.

Figure 13.4 A second rendering of the Equal Justice Initiative's planned Memorial to Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama by the MASS Design Group.

a courtyard, with the intention of each column being retrieved by the State, and then erected on the site of the lynching within the county of occurrence. In another location there will an exhibit of jars containing soil samples supplied by volunteers near to the sites, towns, and cities where lynchings occurred. The memorial is meant to invoke the need for reciprocity that is at the heart of restorative justice (EJI 2017). The Memorial to Peace and Justice is expected to open in 2018 (Figure 13.4).

Conclusion: memory work and rework

Lynchings were such a commonplace occurrence in the U.S. that they were used as a plot device in major works of fiction, to wit Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*, William Faulkner's *Dry September* and *Light in August*, and James Baldwin's "Going to the Meet Man." Given their frequent occurrence, their forgotten history has to be more an intentional reworking of historical memory. Lynchings, specifically of Black people, were enacted publicly with such festive fanfare that everyone was clear about what one was (and is). Further, lynchings were so vital in establishing the racial order in the U.S. that familiarity may be a "tell" of disregard. And lastly, an incomplete knowledge of lynchings that is often expressed through reductionism reveals an intention to *not know* in this age of information abundance and availability.

Embedded in a history of lynchings, according to Fouss,

> [is a] no degree zero position from which the complete and unvarnished story of lynching can be told, and, consequently, all studies of lynching should be viewed as contingent, provisional, and partial.
>
> (1999: 4)

Those who are against invoking this "dormant" history show their hand through acts of vandalism, such as riddling the marker of the previously mentioned Mary Turner with bullets (WVTM 2013, July 18). Just as in the past, our present and future are dependent on the knowledge that,

> Acts of ritualized violence require group participation in order that the individuals involved may avoid feelings of guilt . . . The concept of law and order destroyed the [supposed] offender, not the men [of the lynch mob] pulling the triggers. In like manner, various concepts, not individuals, destroy black victims.
>
> (Harris 1984: 12)

The need for heritage sites, historical markers, and memorials is one of the only ways to combat the continued burying of this horrendous history. These places will enable us to learn from the past and prevent a possible future that repeats it.

Note

1 The original version of this chapter quoted the actual brief lyric, but it had to be removed from the final version because it was not possible to secure permission. However, the reader can see the lyric at this website: https://bobdylan.com/songs/desolation-row. Various other websites give the lyrics and one can also hear the song sung online.

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Part VI

Unbounded

14 Death everywhere

Dissolving commemorative boundaries in a liquid world

David Charles Sloane

Erika Doss (2010) has written that Americans live in an age of "memorial mania," so one might find the post-WWII interest in "living memorials" a quaint, fleeting memory of a past age. Yet in the U.S. the generation after the world war hoped cities, towns, and nations would build auditoria, plant trees, name highways, fund scholarships – pretty much anything rather than erect another doughboy, obelisk, or figurative statue (Shanken 2002). When the most prominent postwar military monument, the Marine Corps War Memorial, was raised near Arlington National Cemetery in 1954, many chastised it as out-of-step with the times, even calling it "bad art" (Marling and Wetenhall 1995: 195).

This rebuke was tied to the emergence of the modernist movements in architecture and art, but it also reflected a solidification of society's vision of dying, death, and commemoration. The dying were to be kept safely hidden from view in the hospital and the dead were shuttled quickly to the funeral home and cemetery; commemorative activities were restrained. As famed etiquette writer Amy Vanderbilt wrote in 1952, families should discuss "practical issues like wills, bank accounts, and any medical formalities" rather than the more emotionally charged ones; the "emotional mood after a death should be as light as possible" (Stearns 2007: 98). The dead should be remembered, but lives should go on as quickly as possible.

The contrast to the present is stark. A growing movement is bringing the dying back home and into homelike hospices. Emotional memorial services staged at places outside funeral homes are competing with formulaic funerals held at faith-based institutions. Many Americans are mourning along roadsides and on sidewalks. They are honoring the dead inside their homes, around their neighborhoods, and even on their bodies. Social commentators have noted the rise of "dark tourism" sites, including cemeteries and everyday memorials (Stone 2006). The shift suggests a profound reversal of previous social values, and highlights why dark tourism is more acceptable to the present generation than previous ones.

This transformation is propelled by three trends in American life and death. First, while the vast majority of deaths occur in old age (almost 70% of all deaths in 2010), "trauma [is now] the leading cause of death in individuals 46 and younger" (Rhee et al. 2014). So, even as the majority of deaths result from expected natural causes, rising rates of suicide, drug overdoses, and continuing high rates of homicide mean that traumatic deaths are a constant reality in American communities.

These traumas do not affect all communities equally. African American and Latino neighborhoods are much more likely to be the sites of roadside shrines and R.I.P. (Rest In Peace) murals (Figure 14.1), simply because their rates of traumatic deaths are higher (and their cultures reinforce public mourning more than some white cultures). However, whether for the tragic mass shootings or the child kidnappings, suicides and homicides, everyday memorials have been embraced by a wide spectrum of American society as an appropriate way to respond to a sudden death.[1]

Second, in 1960 less than 5% of Americans were cremated. Most people were buried or entombed in cemeteries after religious services. By 2015, a larger percentage of the dead were cremated (roughly 48%) than were buried (46%). Projections suggest this trend will only escalate; by 2030 over 70% of American dead will be cremated (NFDA 2014). Burial necessitates the use of the institutions of the American way of death (hospital, funeral home, cemetery). After a cremation, survivors only use an institution when they make an affirmative choice.

Third, these changes are symptomatic of the liquidification of modern institutions, as chronicled by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1992; see also Jacobsøn and Køarl 2014). Bauman argues that modernism medicalized death, necessitating the institutions to oversee the "care" of the dying and death in isolated spaces (similar to those with a contagious disease). In our era, a social rejection of this medicalization and professionalization results in new approaches to death. As a result, Bauman argues, the institutions constructed to serve the dead are shaken, if not dissolving.

Thus, the worlds of the living and the dead are merging. More Americans (and people around the world) are demanding a more natural process of death, more environmentally responsive places of burial, and, my focus here, personalized commemorations as part of their regular lives (Clayden et al. 2015; Margry and Sanchez-Carretero 2011; Santino 2006). Together, they symbolize, as Tony Walter (1994) has written, the "revival of death" as the dead have repopulated the city.

Transition from isolated gray to everyday colorful

While the victory of the modernist approach to death was most evident in the shunning of the dead from society, the colorless stoneyards and featureless memorial parks embodied it visually. Memorial motifs were standardized and stripped of almost all information besides name and dates of birth and death in burial grounds of gray granite family monuments and invisible flush-to-the ground bronze markers (Sloane 1991). Compared to the nineteenth-century lyrical epitaphs and elaborately ornamented statues, the twentieth-century monuments and markers mimicked suburban subdivision houses, all lined up in a tidy row.

The flush markers were cost-effective and more egalitarian (key selling points for a generation coming out of the Depression), but death was hidden even in the sanctuaries set aside for them. Hubert Eaton, who synthesized this style in Glendale, CA at Forest Lawn Memorial Park, aspired to rid his burial place of

Figure 14.1 R.I.P. mural for Ray Jackson, Buffalo, NY, 2015.
Source: Courtesy of Bradshaw Hovey.

all signs of death, including refusing to plant deciduous trees since their falling leaves might remind visitors of death and substituting "memorial park" for "cemetery" (Sloane 1991).

Today new commemorative approaches embrace a wide range of colors and incorporate an intense personalization and informality. The brilliant whites of ghost bikes (decorated old bicycles painted white and placed at the site of a cyclist's death), the vibrant reds and blues of the balloons, candles, and mementoes of the roadside shrines, the attention-demanding geometric designs of the R.I.P. wall murals, and the repurposed traditional imagery of memorial body tattoos (inked images that honor a loved one) and vinyl vehicle decals (small memorial stickers placed on truck and car back windows with simple commemorative motifs including the person's birth and death dates) suggest a powerful change from the dull uniformity of previous generations.

These new approaches draw upon such transitional memorials as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. (inaugurated in 1982) and the AIDS Memorial Quilt (conceived in San Francisco in 1985).[2] I call these "transitional" memorials because they contrasted sharply with earlier monuments, coming to represent separate but interwoven changes in form, content, and mode of commemoration that have influenced memorial design ever since (Sturken 2007). Together, they innovatively undermined key elements of the modernist paradigm, creating space (hence their transitional nature) for a new spectrum of approaches to flourish.

Maya Lin's controversial and revolutionary design for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial reinvigorated monumental design, helped launch a new environmental context for memorials, and successfully challenged the masculine (i.e., stalwart, unemotional, upright) nature of past monumental designs (Sturken 1997; Haas 1998). Even though the memorial was situated in the powerful symbolic geometry of the National Mall, it became a safe space where thousands of people could make statements of their own by leaving medals, letters, photographs, and a host of other objects (Haas 1998). By becoming a DIY memorial (Finn 2014), the Vietnam Veterans Memorial allowed survivors of that war, their families, and other Americans to publicly interact in the celebration of those who had died by incorporating private memories into a national memorial.

This national memorial and others that followed it (like many Holocaust memorials) left three legacies that influence the everyday memorials. First, they named names. The ordinary soldiers who had fought the Vietnam War were listed by the date of their death, not by their rank or "importance." The AIDS panels for the men, women, and children who had died of this sudden, devastating disease spoke eloquently about their lives, not just the way they died. The memorials (architecturally permanent in the former, mobile in the latter) demonstrated that even the stigmatized dead could/should be named, memorials could make political statements, and people could openly cry, hug, speak, and emote in public about their loss in ways previous generations resisted.

Second, each memorial contributed to the form of the everyday memorials. Each celebrated American feminine, rather than masculine, artistic traditions in their form and interactive qualities. The horizontal Vietnam Veterans Memorial contrasted sharply with the "look but don't touch" Washington Monument, by providing visitors with a journey through its increasing depth. The Quilt's panels evoked the long tradition of female support networks in America and their contributions to mourning traditions.

Finally, the memorials created the opportunity for survivors to exhibit a new informality and personalization. People began leaving items at the Wall almost as soon as it was open to the public, and quilt makers recognized quickly that they could personalize and accessorize their panels. Mourners on the Mall left heartfelt letters attacking the war's cost along with photographs of families and the soldiers as young men and women. Similarly, panel makers wove in traditional elements of LGBTQ life such as an angel as well as, evocatively, a favorite drag queen's dress. Their actions disrupted previous conceptions of public mourning, opening up the space and form of mourning, setting the stage for the dramatic changes immediately ahead.

Performing mourning slipped into daily life through the red (AIDS), pink (breast cancer), and white (violence) ribbons, cancer quilts, and other DIY emblems. Symptomatic of a broader "everyday urbanism" (Crawford 2008), the new memorials suggested that people felt more comfortable expressing their grief in public, thereby creating spaces for mourning. Symptomatic of this shift was the worldwide fascination with the British response in 1997 to the death of Princess Diana. Instead of the buttoned-down, private, emotionless reaction anticipated

by the media, thousands of people left millions of offerings in their pilgrimage to Kensington Palace (Walter 1999; Monger and Chandler 1998). The notion of a DIY, public commemorative performance of mourning had seemingly suddenly become an international phenomenon, although, as I shall discuss below, the media's interpretation was far too narrow and self-congratulatory.

A new spectrum of commemorative responses

Together, the cumulative aggregation of roadside shrines, ghost bikes, R.I.P. murals, memorial body tattoos, pavement memorials (objects embedded in sidewalks or plazas), and vinyl vehicle decals embodies a new age of commemoration. I observe seven important qualities about them. First, the memorials resituate mourning to the public realm. Second, mourners design, erect, and maintain them. Third, everyday memorials are for everyone, not just the victim in the tragic newspaper story or the celebrity. Fourth, they are informal in design and structure and immediate in response. Fifth, the everyday memorials are personalized. Sixth, whether fixed or embodied, the memorials are ephemeral, typically being made of impermanent materials and placed in precarious locations. Seventh and last, even as sometimes they are new forms that have been adopted globally, everyday memorials retain a strong connection to past traditions. I do not describe each variation in detail. Instead, I integrate them in the discussion that follows and focus on their commonalities and differences. The chart in Figure 14.2 provides basic information on each type while the chapter's illustrations (Figures 14.1, 14.3, 14.4) portray them.

Resituating memorials in the public realm

The most fundamental shift represented by everyday memorials is spatial. While some cultural traditions and individuals resisted the separation of death from life, maintaining shrines and funeral services at home, the modernists separated the dying and the dead from the healthy living. Today's resituating of commemoration from the cemetery to the roadways, sidewalks, human body, and automobiles/trucks reconnects the spatial geographies of life and death in a more holistic, less fragmented fabric that gives mourning a new legitimacy. For instance, out one night with a friend near Boston, MA, we suddenly came upon people surrounding a ghost bike. The ghost bike radiated light even at night given its bright white paint. A front basket held cards, photographs, and mementoes, while a few deflated balloons hung from the frame. A large white ribbon had been tied to the basket, and some artificial flowers were strapped to the handlebars. It was a cold winter night, but few people passed without stopping for a moment, caught up in this surprising reminder of life and death.

This memorial's site was an example of "everyday urbanism" (Crawford 2008). Everyday urbanism calls out the "lived experiences" as more important than the "physical form" of the city and argues for the need to rethink the place and importance of routine, quotidian activities; activities that are too often

Type/*Focus*	Location	Description	History
Shrines *(Individual)*	Roadside, sidewalks yards	Vary from simple to elaborate displays incorporating flowers, candles, photographs, mementoes; political message of safe streets	Very old, renewal recent, pervasive nationally
Ghost bikes *(Individual)*	Roadside, sidewalks	White bicycle; often decorated with flowers, notes, photographs, mementoes; political message of safe streets	St. Louis 2003, expansion worldwide
R.I.P. Murals *(Individual + Collective)*	Walls, building grates	Painted murals of mostly young people killed traumatically; motifs include roses, lilies; angels, and portraits; political messages anti-police oppression + end violence	1980s, northeast corridor urban centers
Memorial Tattoos *(Individual)*	Arms, legs, backs	Inked representations; often including portraits and flowers, angels, other religious imagery	Old practice, rapid recent expansion
Memorial Vinyl Decals *(Individual)*	Car, truck back windows	White vinyl cut into simple, traditional images accompanied by text giving name, dates of birth and death. Motifs include angels, lilies, cross and other religious symbols, soldier, fire, police imagery, informal (i.e., Harley motorcycle)	Mostly 21st century, national

Figure 14.2 Typology of everyday memorials.

viewed as "in-between spaces," but are in reality zones of "social transition and [possibly] . . . zones of imagination" (ibid: 6). These acts reveal "a fabric of space and time defined by a complex realm of social practices – a conjuncture of accident, desire, and habit" (ibid: 6). The ghost bike was sited in an in-between space (the sidewalk) that actually is a critical transitional place for conversation and connection, where complex social relations are enacted on a daily cycle.

Perhaps the most radical resituating of memorials occurs with memorial body tattoos and car/truck vinyl decals since they are mobile memorials. The relatively scant research on these memorials is mostly on the tattoos, and scholars focus more on the use of the body and the iconography (Govenar 1981). Yet, their mobility should not be undervalued. Carrying around your grief and displaying it wherever one goes is a powerful statement of public mourning. The movement is especially forceful given that neither the body nor motor vehicles are traditional locations for memorialization.

Figure 14.3 Compilation of everyday memorial types: top left: vinyl decal; top right: pavement memorial; bottom left: roadside shrine; bottom right: ghost bike.

Source: Photos: David Charles Sloane, except the pavement memorial, courtesy of Jacqueline Illum, 2016.

Mourners in control

The key element of the everyday memorials is that they are in the public realm. They are not institutional, nor does an institutional structure them or restrict them. Instead, the mourners are in control. In keeping with the desire by a growing number of survivors to control the process of dying and death, as exemplified by natural death and burial (Clayden et al. 2015), everyday memorials allow mourners to express their grief in ways they wish. These methods may be a traditional process or it could be an alternative. Even the everyday memorials vary from the relatively conservative vinyl decal designs to the exuberant celebrations of life in the R.I.P. murals. Mourners may create everyday memorials as a complement to conventional church and cemetery services, or they can decide to use the everyday memorial as their primary site of mourning, a decision Holly Everett (2002) reported regarding roadside crosses in Texas. As she also pointed out, friends might take one approach while the family is more comfortable with something more conventional.

For everyone

The widespread acceptance and utilization of everyday memorials reverses the early spin much of the media put on the phenomenon, especially roadside shrines.

Articles spoke of "media friends" (celebrities) whom regular folks were desperate to interact with emotionally (Hollander 2010). The media was viewed as the reason for these "friendships." As the practice continued beyond Princess Diana to Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., Michael Jackson, Prince, and beyond, this type of mourning was typecast as simply another artificial element of a frenzied media culture (Joshua Meyrowitz quoted in Gross 1999: WK3).

As usual, the media was being narcissistic. The phenomenon of everyday memorials is older and reaches beyond any cult media star. For instance, famed photographer Robert Frank shot a lonely cross along a western highway as early as 1956.[3] As historian Kenneth Foote (1997: 170) reminds us, some "particularly dangerous stretches [of western state highways] came to resemble small cemeteries, with rows of crosses marking dozens of fatalities." Drawing on the long history of saint shrines in Europe and *descanos* and other secular shrines in Mexico and other Catholic colonies, these everyday memorials had nothing to do with stardom, and everything to do with memories and warnings.

The R.I.P. murals exemplify the dual characteristic of everyday memorials. One can find murals for Eric Garner and Michael Brown, prominent examples of police killings, but murals are also put up for "Ricky," a young man in Baltimore, and "Jessica," a young woman honored in New York. For their pioneering book on R.I.P. murals, Cooper and Sciorra photographed a stunning 1993 memorial by Hector "Nicer" Nazario, Bio, Brim, and B-GEE 183 for Jessica Martinez, killed by a bullet intended for her boyfriend. A single red rose with white highlights around its top bursts off the wall. Set on the wall of an auto shop, the flower and the tall, dramatic "Jessica" could not fail to capture a passer-by's eye (Cooper and Sciorra 1994: 19). The form is used for celebrities because it is a form of the people, as much as the other way around.

Informality and immediacy

Similarly, newspapers and other media have made everyday memorials an element of their coverage. What the *Los Angeles Times* calls "makeshift memorials" has become their standard illustration for a story related to a traumatic death. Whether the elaborate shrine for Prince in Minneapolis or any number of everyday memorials for high school students killed in motor vehicle crashes, the newspaper has found them an accessible symbol of tragedy and mourning. When *The New York Times* reported on the hit-and-run death of a bicycle advocate, they included not only a small photograph showing a photograph of him surrounded by candles from his shrine, but also a full-size shot of the ghost bike with a friend kneeling prostrate at the back wheel in grief (Jula 2016).

The immediacy of the response is a key element of the everyday memorials pervasive adoption. The day after Alton Sterling was tragically killed in 2016 by Baton Rouge police officers, protestors gathered in front of an R.I.P. mural of him painted on the front of the convenience store where he sold CDs and where he was killed (Hennessy-Fiske 2016). A shrine with balloons, photographs, flowers, candles, and mementoes was erected on a table in the parking lot in front of

the mural. His portrait and the shrine provided mourners and protestors a place to gather, to express sadness and anger. They did not, could not, would not wait for the funeral and burial to publicly express their grief.

Personalization

The cultural constructs around place and informality are reinforced by the fifth characteristic, everyday memorials' personalization. Modern cemeteries require standardization, obedience to the strict rules about what memorials should look like and how graves should be cared for (Sloane 2005). Moving the memorials out of the institutional landscape opens up opportunities for localized, personalized designs, including toys, beer cans, and favorite clothing items (such as sports t-shirts). For instance, a small shrine near the California poppy reserve in Lancaster, CA, outside Los Angeles, had a teddy bear surrounded by a small sign, a cross, and flower bouquets memorializing Jessica who was killed in January 2003. The touching emotional personality that illuminates the girl's life prods the passer-by to stop and notice how death has penetrated the daily lives of those who loved this young girl.

Culture scholar Marita Sturken (2007: 6–7) has noted how the teddy bear especially has become representative of America's "comfort culture and consumerism." The teddy bear's history stretches back to Theodore Roosevelt, but only when it was used extensively to comfort people with AIDS did it become a "particular" cultural icon. Since the 1980s, thousands of bears have been distributed after the bombings in Oklahoma and the September 11 strikes in New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. Formerly just a child's toy, the bear "doesn't promise to make things better; it promises to make us feel better about the way things are" (Sturken 2007: 7). For me, the bear and all the other objects of personalization represent an effort to reject standardizing mourning, asking instead to integrate it into ordinary life by embodying it in objects and performative acts that are quotidian elements of our routines.

A roadside memorial in Northern California for Kris, a young boy kidnapped and killed, demonstrates the range of items used to personalize their grief. His family appropriated a space along a busy dusty road and the back of a small billboard for their shrine. Along the road, they placed a painted blue cross with blue artificial flowers draped over it; a child's fish toy, blue teddy bear, wind chimes, and a plaster angel hanging from the sides of the cross; and various Halloween items (the holiday had just occurred) such as a candy dish, themed balloons, and orange, blue, and white candles surrounding it. Photographs of the boy were pasted to the back of the cross.

Nearby, the back of the billboard was covered with messages from the family, expressing their love, anger, and loss. The notes reflected the ambiguous positioning of mourning. While many messages left at everyday memorials reflect conventions around mourning, such as, "We will miss you," "love always" with a heart, "Never Forgotten," or "Rest in Peace," not all adhere to old formulas. Kris' memorial is near the bridge under which his body was found. On the back

of the old, almost dilapidated billboard, the family scribbled notes in large writing to him. He obviously loved to fish, and, among others, his uncle wrote, "May the Fish always 'Bite.'" Yes, they included more traditional phrases, such as "you will always be in our hearts," but also "from one frog lover [to] the next."

Not all the everyday memorials incorporate this level of personalization. The vinyl decals especially come primarily in traditional motifs. They honor the mother, father, the grandparents, or a child by using standard symbols, like an angel, lily, or cross. Alternatively, they show the weapons of a soldier, the badge of a fireman. In some cases, the motifs are more informal, such as a Harley Davidson. Around these motifs they spell out the name of the deceased, often adding at least a birth date. They seem in many ways more conservative than the other types of everyday memorials. Yet, as I noted above, their placement on the back window of a car or truck is a radical shift from the privatization of memory and commemoration in the twentieth century.

Ephemerality

I have not been back to see if the memorial in Northern California is still there, but I doubt it, given the perilous nature of its location along a regional highway with a great deal of truck traffic. The temporariness of the new memorials is, thus, a critical aspect of their emergence. The shrines, ghost bikes, and R.I.P. murals especially are immediate, urgent, non-institutional responses to a death, and they are often transitory. For instance, one morning in 2006 I drove by a large memorial shrine to a young man named Deion at the front of a small commercial shop in South Los Angeles. Mourners had set up a shrine in the street with candles, flowers, a photograph, and a couple of liquor bottles, and spray-painted "WE WILL MISS YOU FOREVER AND EVER" with a heart across the store (Figure 14.4). A few hours later, all evidence of the memorial was gone.

Still, many of these everyday memorials are not as ephemeral as one might expect. I live in a mixed neighborhood with many Latinos and Asians. Several Latino houses have saint shrines, mostly to the Virgin Mary. So, when my dog and I came across a small shrine in the parkway (the space between a sidewalk and a street) with a cross embedded into a carved-out space in a tree, fronted with flowers and mementoes laid out much like a grave, I was not surprised. However, parkway memorials are vulnerable to people stepping on them, cars jumping curbs, and vandalism. Yet this child's shrine has never been disturbed over the last four years. The family maintains it, putting new flowers and mementoes out on major holidays and the child's birthday. Will it last beyond their stay in the apartment building that stands near the tree? Probably not, but clearly that day is not coming soon.

The ephemeralness varies depending on the form of the everyday memorials. Roadside shrines and ghost bikes are quite vulnerable, while R.I.P. murals, memorial tattoos, and vinyl decals are part of a private space that allows them potentially longer existence. Even these, though, can be endangered – trucks and buildings get sold – while some seeming ephemeral forms, such as roadside shrines, such as the

Figure 14.4 Ephemeral everyday memorial, Deion, Los Angeles, 2006.
Source: Photo: David Charles Sloane.

one described below in Buenos Aires, can be institutionalized, allowing them to become sites of dark tourism (Stone 2006).

Connections to the past

Finally, even as they are innovative approaches to public mourning, everyday memorials retain a strong connection to past cross-cultural mourning traditions. Traditional images, such as angels and roses, are popular, just as they were on late nineteenth-century cemetery memorials. Angels are particularly common. Obviously popular in cemeteries, the image adapts well to the murals, decals, and tattoos; and, as we saw with Kris' roadside shrine, they can be included there as well. The iconography in the memorial tattoos sometimes mimics famous angel sculptures; others are more informal. One tattoo portrays a naked pixie from the side, her hair cascading gently over her tearful face. She holds dogtags in her hand and a pair of combat boots sits at her feet. The tattoo combines the older sense of the tattoo as a cultural perversion with a traditional figure to create an accessible image of love and memory.[4]

Conclusions

While I have provided only examples from the United States, the phenomenon of everyday memorials is global. In many ways, the American examples draw

upon the heritage of older European and colonial practices, while sometimes they establish new forms that have been adopted worldwide – popular culture generating a new heritage practice (Robinson and Silverman 2015). The resituating reflects both the renewed publicness of everyday urbanism and the speed of cultural shifts in a networked world.

The rapid acceptance of ghost bikes is perhaps the best example of the worldwide nature of the change. Within a few years after the first ghost bike was placed along a roadway in St. Louis, Missouri in 2003, they could be found in twenty-eight countries in Europe, South America, and Asia.[5] The adoption reflects the easy way the white bike can stand by itself as a powerful symbol that translates across cultures, yet represents everywhere a space of mourning. As a worldwide recognized icon within the cyclist community, it can also signify a political space as survivors use the ghost bike to advocate for safer streets and against lax enforcement of traffic laws that contribute to cyclists' deaths.

Similarly, R.I.P. murals, which remain largely restricted to Latino and African American neighborhoods in selected large American cities, allude to the political murals of Belfast and Derry in Northern Ireland and other spots around the world. Indeed, the muralists' techniques seem directly related to the global street art movement. Cooper and Sciorra (1994) detail how many of the muralists started in subway graffiti and other forms of street art. They simply adapted their street art techniques to the urgent need for families and communities to memorialize their dead. The colors and forms of such murals mirror street art projects that could be found anywhere from Spain to Argentina, England to Africa as street artists learn from each other through the web.

The bikes and murals are only two examples of the dynamic global nature of everyday memorials. Margry and Sanchez-Carretero (2011) provide examples from Italy, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Poland, Venezuela, and other places around the world. Santino (2006) brought together essays that demonstrate the use of photographs and other elements of everyday memorials as protests of past state executions and devastating terrorist acts.

The global embrace is exemplified by an extensive memorial I visited to a 2004 nightclub fire in Buenos Aires that took 194 lives, mostly teens and young adults (McCleary 2012). The main shrine is a shed titled "El Santuario De Nuestros Angeles Del Rock 30-12-04 Nunca Mas Cromañón." In it are dozens and dozens of smaller shrines to the individuals killed in the fire. The shrine is physically layered: first sneakers are hung along a rope, then there are religious/ethnic symbols, followed by photographs hung on a line; finally, under the roof, there are detailed shrines to the individuals. The combination of sorrow and anger – driven even further by findings that past political corruption meant the club was not prepared for a fire – are palpable. One stands dazed.

As we stood there, three young women walked by, drawn as we were by the memorial photographs on the walls, the sneakers and shoes hanging from a rope, and the other daily items of our lives. They stopped and looked, took photographs (not selfies), then moved on to their next tourist site. Their visit to the shrine was a dark tourism, specifically having targeted it as a stop on their itinerary, punctuating that day's activities.

Everyday memorials have become a vital part of mourning and commemoration in our era. They represent the desire for immediate action, the gradual turn away from reliance on institutions to guide death rituals, and a return to an urbanism of the streets after a period of mallification and gated communities. They are not by themselves permanent enough or organized enough to support the collective memory of a society, but they do represent an urgent need by a wide variety of people in a remarkably diverse range of settings to "speak out" publicly about death and the need to articulate their anger and sorrow at the loss of those they love. They are not a national heritage of death, as with Ground Zero, or an international heritage of death, as with Holocaust memorials. Rather, they are a new vernacular performance and heritage of death, creating new landscapes of memory and emotion.

Notes

1 Various scholars have proposed different names for the variations discussed here: early on, wayside or roadside shrines (Monger and Chandler 1998); among the news media, "makeshift memorials"; and more recently, "grassroots memorials" (Margry and Sanchez-Carretero 2011). I don't find any term satisfying, so I offer everyday memorials as reflective of their ordinariness and quotidian nature as part of everyday urbanism.
2 In 1985, San Francisco gay activist Cleve Jones attended a rally where protestors hung signs from the federal building demanding federal action around AIDS (Sturken 1997). Jones noted the signs looked like a quilt. The resulting NAMES Project organized the AIDS Memorial Quilt, which produced joyous, tragic artifacts that summarized specific lives and evoked LGBTQ culture, the politics of marginalization, and advocacy against the tyranny of science and medicine.
3 For Frank's photograph, see "Crosses on scene of highway accident – U.S. 91, Idaho, 1956," www.squarecylinder.com/2009/07/robert-frank-sfmoma (accessed 8 November 2014).
4 For an image of the tattoo, see https://101tattoos.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/southerner4ever1.jpg (accessed 8 July 2016).
5 For a summary of the ghost bike movement, see http://ghostbikes.org.

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15 Tourists at Chernobyl

Existential meaning and digital media

Tim Hutchings and Katya Linden

Introduction

Early on April 26, 1986, a reactor exploded at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant near the town of Pripyat in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The disaster sent a radioactive cloud over the western USSR and northern Europe. For a day, Soviet officials pretended not to notice, but soon the international scale of the tragedy became impossible to hide. An evacuation started, leading to the creation of the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone and turning Pripyat into a ghost town.

Today, Chernobyl is a perpetuated tragedy. The reactor is still partly functioning and radiation leakage has not been solved. The sarcophagus that shields it is still under development. Some of the catastrophe's victims are alive and new ones continue to be born. In keeping with the theme of this section of the volume, the heritage of death at Chernobyl is, literally, "unbounded": radiation traveled spatially and endures through time and the final toll of individuals affected is impossible to calculate with precision. According to the Ukrainian government, the territories around Chernobyl will not be safe to inhabit for 20,000 years.

2016 marked the 30th anniversary of the disaster, and the diverse responses among international media reflected Chernobyl's contested heritage. *The Guardian* raised global questions about nuclear power (Willsher 2016), while *National Geographic* described the wild natural environment blossoming around the empty city (Wendle 2016). Russian news agency RIA Novosti found a human interest angle through interviews with displaced residents of Pripyat and with "liquidators", personnel who dealt with the consequences of the disaster (RIA Novosti 2016). *The Daily Mail* traveled to medical institutions instead, to show children suffering from terrible radiation effects (Charlton 2016).

Politicians took the opportunity of the anniversary to reflect on the Soviet past and discuss current concerns. Russian officials and media argued that the Ukrainian government has not solved any of Chernobyl's social and technological problems, suggesting they do not have the necessary resources (Russia Today 2016). Ukrainian officials and media argued instead that the area has become safe enough to promote as a tourist attraction (Ukraine Crisis Media Center 2016).

These competing narratives construct Chernobyl in different ways: as a medical and financial crisis, a tale of government mismanagement, a warning to

humanity or an ecological success story. In this context, the idea that Chernobyl could be commodified and marketed as a tourist attraction – designed not only to memorialize the dead but to witness new life – is politically highly charged.

This chapter examines the English- and Russian-language websites of five tour operators. We begin with the paradigm of "dark tourism", applied by previous Chernobyl researchers. We end by proposing an alternative: "existential tourism", attracted not primarily to death but to experiences that shake one's sense of meaning and provoke new understanding. Our discussion of existential tourism moves beyond Erik Cohen's (1979) classic definition by resituating the concept within the new field of "existential media studies" (Lagerkvist 2017), which draws attention to vulnerability and the ambivalence of connectivity. Chernobyl is a polysemous heritage site, generating layers of conflicting "emotion, memory and practice" (Frihammar and Silverman, this volume), and we propose our new understanding of existential tourism as one resource to help make sense of this complexity.

Dark tourism and Chernobyl

The study of dark tourism is a field devoted to "the attraction of death and disaster" (Lennon and Foley 2000). According to Philip Stone, dark tourism includes "encounters with spaces of death or calamity that have perturbed the public consciousness, whereby actual and recreated places of the deceased, horror, atrocity, or depravity, are consumed through visitor experiences" (2013a: 307). This form of tourism can be understood as "a cultural institution that mediates between the ordinary Self and the significant Other dead" (ibid.: 308), by commodifying death and making it available to experience, purchase and circulate. Historians and sociologists have long argued that Western societies have silenced and marginalized death (Ariès 1974), and Stone proposes dark tourism as a "potential mediating mechanism to challenge the death-denial thesis, whereby certain kinds of death are de-sequestered back into the public domain for contemporary consumption" (Stone 2013a: 309).

In practice, motivations for creating and visiting tourist spaces are complex. A graveyard, for example, is a site associated with death, but John Lennon and Malcolm Foley observe that visitors might not consider it "dark" (2000: 14–16). Cemeteries are also experienced as beautiful, historic, comforting and more. Building on Stone (2006) and others, Richard Sharpley proposes that we recognize different "shades" of tourism (2009: 17), ranging from "pale" experiences of playful celebration to the "darkest" experiences in which tourists "seek to integrate themselves with death" by witnessing it or even anticipating it for themselves (ibid.: 18).

The commodification of Chernobyl has been frequently used as a case study in dark tourism. Paul Dobraszczyk's account of his own tourist experience begins with anticipation of "a secret world in ruins, one that might challenge existing certainties and provide liberating alternatives . . . Pripyat's ruins offer many opportunities for experiencing pleasure" (2010: 371, 378). Instead, Dobraszczyk

experiences "the uncomfortable sense of being a voyeur onto an ongoing catastrophe" (ibid.: 371), one that has not yet finished unfolding. He is startled by "strangely disconcerting" signs of life, including "a car park where cleaners sit smoking as if in any other office environment" (ibid.: 374). He experiences "a sense of being overwhelmed" on seeing new toys in the ruined amusement park, implying "an immediate human presence in an otherwise empty space" (ibid.: 380). Evidence of looting suggests the ruins are "irrevocably bound up with violent human agency rather than technological failure or the return of nature" (ibid.: 381). Dobraszczyk eventually finds merit in this unease:

> Experiencing a petrified city like Pripyat challenges any attempt to create a safe distance from the incomprehension that goes with this experience, the resultant sense of helplessness mirroring current anxieties about the uncertain future of our own cities. In this context, helplessness may then be conceived as a positive, life-enhancing response to the inevitable.
>
> (ibid.: 387)

Jeff Goatcher and Viv Brunsden apply the concept of the sublime to make sense of the tourist experience at Chernobyl. The sublime, they argue, "combines fear in the face of the infinite or incomprehensible, with a transcendence of that fear" (2011: 128). They declare Chernobyl "a sublime disaster" (ibid.: 128), in part because of its invisibility: its 'horror' cannot be photographed directly, because the site is "distinguished by the total absence of the people that built it, that gave and maintained its vitality" (ibid.: 131). Like Dobraszczyk, Goatcher and Brunsden analyze the place of Chernobyl in a wider world marked by persistent risk. Considering the banal everydayness of photographs produced by "sublime tourists" (ibid.: 132) at Pripyat, they argue that Chernobyl "shows us how our senses have been made useless by the machinery that we hoped would free us from natural necessity, but then gives us some hints [of] another type of apprehension" (ibid.: 128).

Philip Stone's study of Chernobyl also emphasizes the productivity of anxiety, both for entertainment and for sociological reflection. Radiation has "an enduring traumatizing effect" with "no precise temporal or spatial boundaries" (Stone 2013b: 83), but such invisible, unbounded perils "inject a sense of both thrill and anxiety for the contemporary tourist" (ibid.: 83). Stone draws on Foucault to argue that more political insights may also be experienced. Chernobyl, "where disaster has been captured and suspended"' (2013b: 93), becomes "a heterotopia – a ritual space that exists outside of time – in which . . . notions of Otherness are consumed in a post-apocalyptic place" (ibid.: 79). Chernobyl offers an exciting experience of peril, but also "a monument to the secrecy and failings of the Cold War" (ibid.: 79), where "the politics of the past are interfaced with the present" (ibid.: 80), reconstructing the past and creating "a new space where microcosms of society are perceived" (ibid.: 79).

Ganna Yankovska and Kevin Hannam (2014) balance these tourist-centered interpretations by interviewing tour guides. They demonstrate that Chernobyl is

not just a death-focused site of dark tourism, but also attracts "toxic tourism" associated with environmental degradation. These two genres occur in separate seasons. Autumn and winter are the best seasons for dark tourism, a guide explains, because "everything is grey, empty and frightening" (ibid.: 934). In spring and summer, "experiences are totally different as the flora is abundant" (ibid.: 934). Following the success of the computer game *S.T.A.L.K.E.R.*, guides report a rise in visitors wanting "to experience extreme adventure", including some who ask for details of radiation poisoning, are "interested in seeing mutated animals", or "pretend to be in a 'zombie' type movie" (ibid.: 936). One guide reports that itineraries are "modified for the younger tourists with more extreme places" (ibid.: 934), including those in the game, but others try to emphasize the history and human suffering of Pripyat instead. According to one guide, "this trip into the heart of the disaster and its surroundings makes everyone more conscious about the consequences and a need to volunteer for the suffered one" (ibid.: 935). The guides quoted in this account reinsert human life and history into Chernobyl, refusing to accept the "total absence" assumed by Goatcher and Brunsden (2011: 131) and pleasurably desired by Dobraszczyk (2010: 378).

Methodology

This brief survey has suggested a tension between the experiences desired by tourists and those encouraged by tour guides. To explore the complexity of Chernobyl tourism in more detail, we chose to analyze the prevalent discourses on Chernobyl tour websites, looking for themes in the way companies described the appeal of their destination. We searched Google using the keywords "Chernobyl tour" in English and then in Russian, selecting the top three results in each case. One website, chernobyl-tour.com, appeared first in both searches. This gave us a total of five sites: our Russian-language search identified chernobyl-tour.com, tour2kiev.com and pripyat-tour.by, and our English-language search added tourkiev.com and chernobylwel.com. Three sites (chernobyl-tour.com, tour2kiev.com and chernobylwel.com) offer websites in multiple languages. Pripyat-tour.by is available only in Russian, and tourkiev.com is in English.

For the purposes of this study, our Russian-speaking author (Linden) analyzed the Russian and English texts of each site. All quotes from Russian in this chapter come from her own translations. Our English-speaking co-author (Hutchings) focused on the images on each site. Each author conducted a thematic analysis, looking to identify the main discourses used by each site to attract tourists to visit Chernobyl, with particular attention to any differences between the material presented to Russian- and English-speaking visitors.

Surfing through the Exclusion Zone: five websites for Chernobyl tourists

Chernobyl-tour.com is the top result on Google both in English and Russian. The site offers trips from one to 30 days, for groups or individuals, including

opportunities to fly over Chernobyl or visit Kiev's Chernobyl museum. The site's English tagline promises "Eye-opening experience of post-Apocalyptic world" [sic], while the Russian version is more prosaic: "Official tour provider to the Chernobyl Zone". In each case, the text is positioned over a modern aerial photograph of the power plant.

The tour providers boast experience dating back to 1986, the year of the disaster. In a text in English and Russian (Chernobyl-tour.com n.d. a), founder Sergei Mirnyii is introduced as a platoon commander for radiation reconnaissance in the immediate aftermath of the explosion, riding in his military vehicle "along almost the same routes as the visitors of nowadays". The "strangeness, oddness and inexplicability of what he witnessed in Chornobyl kept intriguing and haunting him", driving him to a new career as an environmental scientist, fiction writer and eventually tour guide. Nowadays, the text insists, "radiation contamination is largely defeated" – but tourism offers a kind of "informational cleanup", reassuring the world that Chernobyl is safe.

Descriptions of tours differ in Russian and English. The English homepage explains the history of Chernobyl, its current radiation status and environmental conditions, and boasts that the disaster "changed the trajectory of our civilization development; it is the most evident contribution of Ukraine into the global history". The text points out the unique skills that Ukrainians learned in fighting radiation, skills that now help them to protect visitors. Tourists will see "the intricate ensemble of hundreds of impressive technical and cultural monuments . . . surrounded and engulfed by flourishing nature, which has gone wild in this area". This sentence connects three themes – technology, nature, education – also present in the narratives of other Chernobyl tour websites.

In Russian, the description is different. Nature is not "wild", but "wise and free". Instead of skillful scientists, the text emphasizes mystery and life-changing wonders:

> Every day our bus goes from Kiev to another world . . . You will feel the scale of what happened in these places, and changed the history of the civilization of Earth, you will feel the power and wisdom of nature, free from humans . . . After visiting CHERNOBYL at least once, you will *reconsider the idea of "normal life"*. Including your own. And this is, perhaps, the main meaning of this trip [emphasis in original] (Chernobyl-tour.com n.d. b)

The theme of nature continues with "self-settlers" (a translation of the Russian word *samosely*) who live in the area illegally. The English text presents self-settlers as brave fighters, who will "tell in a simple way about their meeting [with] wolves or elks on village roads, about their war with wild boars, constantly attacking their vegetable gardens" (Chernobyl-tour.com n.d. c). Old people who came back to live in the "dead" villages are portrayed heroically: they are alone and strong, their life is "a daily feat and risk, increased manifold by their age and being distanced and forgotten". The source that makes them so strong is nature itself: "They stay in constant communication with nature, depending on its forces,

struggling and using them. This is the real full harmony with nature – something inaccessible to urban dwellers and even those who live in modern villages." Encountering people who lead this primitive, preindustrial existence is portrayed as a disturbing yet inspiring experience for the "urban" tourist.

Homepage images also differ. In English, five images are shown: two of guides showing the power plant to tourists, one of the famous Ferris wheel with the plant on the horizon, a map showing tourists' international origins and a woman waving a Ukrainian flag illustrating a section on the "current situation in Ukraine". The Russian version offers eight images, of which three are the same: one of tourists, the map and the flag-waver. Visitors now see a new image of tourists beginning their journey, one of tourists exploring ruined Pripyat, a ruined building in the city, a group looking at a rusted military tank and a Geiger counter in front of another rusted vehicle. Images in English and Russian emphasize happy tourists with their guide, but the Russian images add new civilian and military devastation.

Our second example, tour2kiev.com, offers tours throughout Ukraine. Tour2Kiev offers a variety of Chernobyl trips, but their main offer is a two-day excursion beginning in Moscow and including meetings with self-settlers. In English and Russian, the main page about the tour lists possible dates, prices and itineraries, illustrated with a small image of the concrete sarcophagus over the reactor.[1] Other pages offer information about the disaster, including a copy of an article from the UK's *Observer* newspaper (undated, but published in 2002) arguing that the risk of radiation is overstated and the relocated population should be allowed to return. Another link leads – on the English and Russian websites – to a page of 18 photographs, uncaptioned, showing the power plant, ruined buildings, sunken ships and the interiors of empty houses, but no tourists.

We see hints of the intended appeal of the tour in the details of the itinerary. There will be "photo-stops", including one at a monument to "the courageous firemen . . . who saved the world" (tour2kiev n.d. a). Visitors will receive "up-to-date" and "first-hand" information. The visit to the "ghost city" of Pripyat is advertised as the "Extreme!" highlight: "Pripyat is similar to a mummy. It has a body but it doesn't have a soul." Visitors are warned that "The spirit of Soviet darkness reigns here" – a comment that is not explained.

More detailed information is offered on a page titled "FAQ Chernobyl Trip" (tour2kiev n.d. b). Again, there is a difference between Russian and English versions. In Russian, Chernobyl is "an amazing mystery", and tourists are motivated by a basic human compulsion: "we are always interested in visiting places that present some danger." The website reassures readers that "the one-day excursion to the dead city no longer poses a huge danger." This company promises to help tourists "understand the mystery of the dead city of Pripyat by visiting its main 'attractions'", and assures them that the results will be life-changing and also informative: "this extraordinary adventure" will "help to revise principles and beliefs, and also will give an opportunity to learn more about the history of the nuclear energy development". We see here the themes of technology, nature, education and mystery, all identified above on Chernobyl-Tour.com.

In the English version of this FAQ page, these topics are not discussed. When asking "Why would people want to go to the Chernobyl Zone?", the authors admit there is no clear answer: "Somehow people are drawn to the place. They want to feel the unseen killer lingering around, the sense of imminent danger. Maybe they are just interested in the whole accident and its aftermath. But one has to agree, (fortunately) there is no place like this on Earth." This text indicates education and mystery, but does not claim to change life views.

Our third example, pripyat-tour.by, is a Belarusian website organized by a researcher from Belarus who works in Chernobyl. The website has only a Russian version, with no text in Belarusian or in English. It is a personal page with a short text promoting a trip at the top. The only options are a one- or two-day trip to "the most extreme place on the planet". The advertisement promises

> 100% guarantee of impressions for a lifetime! The nature in the exclusion zone is unique, it lives on its own without any human influence, and only the barking of the Geiger meter gives away a sign of the long-standing interference into it. And perhaps one day this closed territory will become the cleanest place on earth.

In this description nature and technology are mentioned again, with promise of a unique ecological situation.

The homepage of Pripyat-tour.by presents a carousel slideshow of nine images: a close-up of a rusted machine, two scenes from the abandoned fairground, two old buildings, two images of the power plant, a scene of sunken ships and a living catfish. The iconic Ferris wheel appears no fewer than four times on this one page: once in this slideshow, again in a sidebar image with a radiation warning sign superimposed over it, at the bottom of the page in a video and as the background wallpaper of the whole website. There are no images of tourists, but the photograph of a fish witnesses to life in this otherwise empty landscape.

The fourth website we have analyzed, www.tourkiev.com, was created by Kiev-based SoloEast Travel. The website offers tours from 12 hours to five days, including a visit to a Soviet missile base ("touch the button that could cause a catastrophe" [TourKiev.com n.d.]) or to fire weapons on a shooting range. Flexibility is emphasized, and SoloEast promises a tour that "starts from your door step in your country, including air, transfers and accommodation". The site provides very little information, beyond a limited itinerary, and there is no information about Chernobyl itself. There is, however, a promise in the site header that the tour will make "all Your friends jealous" [sic]. Instead, the homepage links to positive reviews from tourists and media sources. The site boasts that Top Gear, Fox News and Travel Channel used their services, and provides links to their shows.

Tourkiev.com contains much richer imagery. Three images at the top of the homepage advertise the main destinations: the Ferris wheel of Pripyat, the missile base and the shooting range. A central carousel of six images includes two groups of tourists (one posing happily for the camera, another taking their

own photographs); the Top Gear team; a book cover, advertising the work of a previous tourist; the company's "modern minibuses"; and a figure in a gas mask and radiation suit standing by the reactor. This final image links to a page promising that a visit is safer than a transatlantic flight. A slideshow at the bottom features 26 images through the seasons, including ponies in deep snow, snow on the fairground, broken dolls in ruined houses and elderly self-settlers working on a sunny farm.

Our final example, chernobylwel.com, has the most elaborate and contemporary design in this sample. Its logo features a gas mask inside a cog circled by a laurel wreath and star, over a scroll reading CHERNOBYLWEL.COMe. In Russian, the text of the site is exactly the same. It seems to be automatically translated, as the Russian text is awkward and copies the English style of writing. The English page is quoted below.

The homepage has a video header, which plays behind the logo and the words "Welcome to Chernobyl: Experience a 101% Tour". A horizontal menu links to a detailed history of the disaster, its victims, "Pripyat – city of ghosts" and reassurance about radiation safety. The menu also links to a photo gallery, reviews, FAQs and a blog. Beneath the menu, four tours are introduced, from one to three days in length. The two-day tour has two formats: a trip to Pripyat (tagline: "Taste the untouched. Feel the unknown. See the wild") and a trip to the power plant: ("Silence, hope, and a communist atmosphere"). An individual tour ("Alone in the urban wilderness") is available. The cheapest option is an 11-hour "Retro Tour" with the tagline "Travel back in time. Get enchanted by history" (ChernobylWel.com n.d.). This option offers a truly Soviet experience, including communist uniforms to wear and old Soviet cars for transportation. The tour promises the chance to take "200+ captivating photographs", to discover "communist propaganda and its artifacts – buildings, signs, slogans, and military technique" and to "peep into the places that will give you goosebumps".

The themes of untouched, unknown and wild places bring an element of mystery to each trip. On the homepage, tourists are invited to experience the power of nature in the context of the tragic past: "See how nature has taken over and overruled the exclusion zone and see this amazing place for yourself." Trips promise to be "breath-taking", "intense" and "imprinted in your memory FOREVER", but also completely safe. This tension between danger and safety is repeated sitewide: at the bottom of the homepage, for example, a reassuring map of global radiation levels is captioned "Is your mother still afraid to let you go?"

Chernobylwel.com's appeal to nostalgia is unique in this sample. Other websites do not mention retro cars, or the chance to wear costumes. This theme is continued in website photography, published with vintage-looking filters with scratched edges. The header video includes imagery of self-settlers, the fairground and Ferris wheel and ruined buildings. Below, a man in Soviet uniform and gasmask gazes at a barbed wire fence, providing the background for a slideshow of TripAdvisor reviews. Further down the page, large images show the power plant in fog, broken musical instruments, the Ferris wheel again and finally a group of elderly women inhabitants laughing. At the bottom, a carousel

of 16 "photos from you!" provide more contemporary imagery of tourist life, featuring happy and playful tourists and animals.

Analysis: existential tourism

The websites we have studied make very few references to human death, despite the casualties inflicted during the initial explosion, emergency response and subsequent radioactive fallout. Instead, these websites memorialize the dead city of Pripyat, described as a post-apocalyptic landscape (chernobyl-tour.com), a ghost city (ChernobylWel.com) or a mummy with no soul (tour2kiev.com). They emphasize the natural environment that has flourished without human interference, and romanticize the self-settlers who have survived in this new wilderness.

This chapter began with a survey of the literature on dark tourism, which theorizes the attraction of death and disaster and has often taken Chernobyl as a study. To interpret our findings, we will turn instead to a different idea: existential tourism, a concept borrowed from tourist studies (Cohen 1979) and reinterpreted here as part of the new field of existential media studies (Lagerkvist 2017).

In a widely cited typology, Erik Cohen identifies five "modes of tourist experiences" (1979: 182), differentiated by the tourist's relationship to the "spiritual centre" from which they derive ultimate meaning. For some tourists, life already has meaning, and tourism offers recreation or diversion. For others, less satisfied, travel promises meaningful, authentic experiences of different cultures, or the chance to experiment with new possibilities. Cohen's fifth mode is the "existential", in which a tourist chooses a new center "external to the mainstream of his [sic] native society and culture" (ibid.: 190) and commits to it fully. The existential tourist cannot stay at this center, but "remains oriented toward it, feeling as if he were in exile when he returns to his ordinary place of abode" (Cohen 1985: 294). Temporary visits must provide the energy needed to persevere elsewhere. "Centres are 'traditional' or 'elective' only relative to a given point in history" (1979: 191): the tourist may be motivated by "a desire to find one's spiritual roots" (ibid.: 191) by returning to a site of historic importance to their culture. Appropriation may also be involved: "the 'world' of any given culture or society is not clearly bounded" (ibid.: 191), and tourists may coopt the cultural heritage of others, reinterpreting it as part of their own tradition.

This understanding of existential tourism draws attention to the question of meaning, one of the primary themes of the websites analyzed above. Meaning is only one theme of existential philosophy, however, and an existential analysis cannot consider this in isolation. A more nuanced approach has been developed by Amanda Lagerkvist, who argues for an existential approach to the field of media studies. Drawing particularly on the work of Heidegger, Jaspers and Arendt, Lagerkvist reminds media scholars that each person is "a struggling, suffering, and relational human being" (2017: 101), thrown into the lifeworld and questing for meaning. She observes that "our communication culture offers both new existential predicaments, and at once new spaces for the exploration of existential themes and the profundity of life" (ibid.: 97). Connectivity makes us

vulnerable, but also allows us to find meaning in new ways. A truly existential approach requires attention to two dimensions: the "limit-situations" in which "our thrownness is principally felt, and our security is shaken", and also the everyday meaningfulness of our "mundane being-in-the-world" (ibid.: 98).

We propose a new understanding of existential tourism, integrating Lagerkvist's approach into Cohen's original model: the existential tourist encounters a new center of personal meaning, but does so in a limit-situation of personal vulnerability. Existential tourism is therefore related to but distinct from dark tourism. Both forms of tourist may be attracted to death and disaster, but the existential tourist finds new personal meaning through that experience. To demonstrate the application of this new concept, we return now to consider the key existential themes of our website sample.

The purpose of visiting this dead city, according to these websites, is not primarily connected to death or memorialization. Instead, tourists are offered three incentives: to experience mystery and danger, encounter the power of nature and transform their horizons of personal meaning. In some cases, the company also seeks to mobilize tourism as political activism.

All five websites share the first theme, personal risk and mysterious danger. Chernobyl is described as extraordinary, a mystery, attractive and unusual, a chance to visit another time (Soviet) and a unique environment (an urban wilderness). Chernobyl is also a forbidden zone where a global catastrophe continues to happen, the domain of an "unseen killer" where visitors endure "the sense of imminent danger" (tour2kiev.com). The only evidence of invisible radiation is "the barking of the Geiger meter" (pripyat-tour.by).

Chernobyl models the death of urban civilization, but all five sites emphasize that nature has been regenerated, wild and powerful. Texts and images shows animals, fish and the forest, while vehicles rust and the scars of streets disappear beneath the pressure of new trees. The "dead city" (tour2kiev.com) is falling apart and nature is taking over. Self-settlers are presented romantically, living authentically in "full harmony with nature" (chernobyl-tour.com) after the death of the city.

Personal danger, the death of the city and the rebirth of nature are all connected to a third theme: the opportunity to reconsider the meaning of life. Tour operators claim – in Russian (chernobyl-tour.com, tour2kiev.com), but not in English – that visiting Chernobyl can change the attitude of the tourist, due to dramatic interactions with technogenic catastrophe, the revitalized power of nature or the resilience of local self-settlers. According to tour2kiev.com, for example, a visit to Chernobyl will force the tourist "to revise principles and beliefs". Chernobyl lies outside the limits of normal experience, generating a limit-situation in which "our security is shaken" (Lagerkvist 2017: 98) by civilization's fragility.

Websites encourage different stances toward the Soviet era. Three (Chernobyl-tour.com, tour2kiev.com and pripyat.by) enroll the tourist in a kind of political activism. For these websites, Pripyat's death had three causes: the explosion at Chernobyl, the Soviet decision to exile inhabitants and the unnecessary fear of radiation that prevents their return. Tourism demonstrates the

follies of government policy. The other two websites offer a less critical, more playful engagement with the past. Tourkiev.com appeals to Soviet history as military fantasy, inviting the tourist to fire real guns and imaginary missiles. Chernobylwel.com invokes nostalgia, inviting tourists to become "enchanted with history" through costumes and vehicles. All five sites promise to enter a limit-situation of existential risk, a place of invisible danger where the tourist witnesses the fragility of urban civilization and the resilience of nature. The sites encourage different responses to this encounter, including transformation, protest or nostalgia for the imagined security of military power.

The intersection of death, life and meaning on these websites is central to our concept of existential tourism. According to Heidegger, awareness of death enables people to understand their life as finite beings. For Heidegger, death will not happen to us in the future: it is happening to us right now. The reality of death completes us. Understanding our mortality and incompleteness is necessary to become aware of our true nature. For Heidegger, inauthenticity is a form of being in which we surround ourselves with routine to avoid the unpleasant reality of life's finitude. Awareness of being-toward-death is the key to authentic living (Heidegger 1927/62: 42). Only when understanding the unavoidable closeness of death can we escape from everydayness: "Once one has grasped the finitude of one's existence, it snatches one back from the endless multiplicity of possibilities which offer themselves as closest to one – those of comfortableness, shirking and taking things lightly" (ibid.: 408). As chernobyl-tour.com promises, "after visiting CHERNOBYL at least once, you will reconsider the idea of 'normal life'."

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the heritage of Chernobyl, a disaster that has become an international tourist destination. This section of the volume explores "unbounded"-ness, and Chernobyl is a complex example. The disaster is "unbounded" in space and time, as noted above, because radiation is invisible, mobile and long-lasting. Efforts must be made to solidify and set boundaries around it, using the concrete sarcophagus, the geographical "Exclusion Zone", radiation-measurement technologies and other techniques. These tools construct Chernobyl in particular ways, which are political as well as medical or scientific. As we have seen, tourism can be used to oppose these constructions, demonstrating to the world that Pripyat is now safe to be inhabited and commodified – although encountering the dead city has different implications in the Russian and English versions of these websites.

Websites also unbound Chernobyl in another way, through digital connectivity. Photographs, reviews, stories and information flow out from Chernobyl to find new international audiences. As Lagerkvist argues, digital connectivity is part of the infrastructure of our lifeworld, through which we encounter new vulnerability and search for new meaning (2017: 97). Further research is needed to explore the mediatization and digitization of Chernobyl in greater detail, including its representation in journalism, travel blogs, tourist photographs, online reviews and more.

We have focused in this chapter on the discourses promoted by tour operators, and we have proposed a new understanding of existential tourism to make sense of them. Chernobyl tourism is not just "dark", attracted to death and disaster, nor can we apply Cohen's classic definition of the existential tourist's quest for meaning. We have found a richer resource in the new writings of existential media studies, reaching back to Heidegger, Jaspers and other existential philosophers to find new opportunities for meaning inside limit experiences of risk, trauma and vulnerability. As tour2kiev.com puts it, "this extraordinary adventure will allow you to change the usual outlook on life" (n.d. b).

Acknowledgment

This research is part of the program "Existential Terrains: Memory and Meaning in Cultures of Connectivity" (et.ims.su.se) funded by the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation, the Marcus and Amalia Wallenberg Foundation and Stockholm University.

Note

1 Main page for Chernobyl tour: www.tour2kiev.com/en/Chernobyl.html. *Observer* article: www.tour2kiev.com/en/chernobyl_myth.html. Photo gallery: www.tour2kiev.com/en/chernobyl_photo.html (all accessed 16 May 2017).

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Part VII

Epilogue

16 "Dark" tourism and the heritage of death

Joy M. Sather-Wagstaff

Prologue

While writing this epilogue, a number of horrific events have taken place within the span of less than three weeks. At U.S. pop singer Ariana Grande's performance at the Manchester Arena (Manchester, UK) on Monday, 22 May 2017, a suicide bomber exploded a device in the midst of a crowd of concertgoers. Over a hundred have been treated for injuries and over twenty are confirmed dead. In the U.S., on the following Friday, a man who was harassing two young Muslim women riding on Portland, OR, public transit killed two men and injured another as they attempted to intervene. On the evening of 4 June 2017 (London time), seven terrorists attacked Londoners out for the evening near London Bridge, killing and injuring several. The following Monday morning, a lone shooter attacked a workplace in Orlando, FL. Makeshift, ad-hoc memorials of the kind discussed in this volume (Sloane, Chapter 14) have been quickly set up at or close to every one of these sites and memorial vigils have been held or are scheduled. Thus far, memorial images and lights have appeared on buildings around the world in remembrance of the victims of the Manchester and Portland attacks. I am sure that we will see, in the future, heritage of death sites in the form of formal memorials to all of these victims.

Yet other deaths may not be remembered in the same way or at such a global level. I refer, for instance, to the suicide bombings of a funeral and the area containing several foreign embassies and coalition forces in Afghanistan, twin suicide bombings targeting children, families, and the elderly in Baghdad at an ice cream parlor and pension center, and a heavily armed man attacking clients and setting fire to a casino in the Philippines. Not only are these countries regarded as "other" by the West, but in the media, these events are represented as so commonplace as to merely confirm negative attitudes and sentiments of hopelessness toward them. These victims were not and will not be represented by most mainstream Western media through individual, detailed life profiles like those from Manchester. They are instead described primarily as generic civilians, "ones who, with *life having become a game of chance*, just were not lucky" (*The New York Times* 2017). Their deaths are thus rendered unexceptional and somehow "less tragic"; the expected collateral of ongoing conflict, framed as fundamentally opposite to similar deaths in the West.

Yet all of these deaths will become a part of the heritage of death in some manner over time and space. They will all generate very powerful political, cultural, affectual, and emotional geographies for what can be called "difficult heritage" (Logan and Reeves 2009; Macdonald 2009), regardless of the various forms that those geographies might take, informal to formal, civilian or government, private or public. And the formal memorial landscapes and other public memoryscapes that arise from these and future massacres will, like those established before them, become places of importance for both locals and tourists.

The heritage of death: quotidian lives, tourist lives

Visiting sites for the heritage of death is commonly called "dark tourism," a travel practice some consider to be superficial, disrespectful to the dead, or, perhaps more extreme, an experience that should be exclusive to those directly impacted by such deaths. Yet such travel has important effects for the living across time and space—imagine, for a moment, the places you have visited that are of or for the dead. Now imagine a world where this was impossible, where all formal places of and for the dead were closed to the general public and only the dead's kin (and perhaps close friends) could visit. Such places would ostensibly include obvious sites of the dead and death—cemeteries, catacombs, and memorials—but also those that are, to some, less apparent. Aside from most natural heritage sites, nearly every official and informal heritage and historical site in the world is linked explicitly or implicitly to the dead, even if simply based upon the fact that humans once inhabited, worked, played, or warred at such sites. Museums of all kinds are overwhelmingly places of the dead and monuments to and statuary of the famous of the past characterize cities throughout the world. Even common stretches of our everyday worlds are a part of the heritage of death, from bridges, highways, and streets to public parks and schools that commemorate the dead heroes of wars, assassinated public leaders, and political and cultural icons through acts of designation and naming. If such a world existed, what would human heritage look like given that we find its most important value in its service for the living, in active use in the present for celebration, historical knowledge-building, education, commemoration, and identity-making? How would heritage survive on a large scale given that it only exists through human practice?

I pose this thought exercise not only because of the centrality of the dead and death to human heritage writ large but also to consider the ongoing generation of heritage itself in the present through embodied interaction. This entire volume is focused specifically on how the heritage of death is manifested in and through landscapes of emotion, memory, and practice by and for living human beings. The sites and phenomena under study here—from historic cemeteries, museums, burial sites of the infamous and famous alike, to battlefields, memorial monuments, commemorative gardens, and historical markers—share more than just death in common. They also share the necessity of ongoing human interaction and practice to be made, maintained, and re-made over time as heritage sites. In the broadest cultural performance sense, such everyday interaction and practice at

these sites is, to quite a large extent, made possible through tourism, and sites are often made to accommodate or even attract tourists. Indeed, as Anthony Seaton aptly observes, "it is hardly an exaggeration to suggest that in the midst of many tourism forms of life, we are in death" (1999: 132). And as a result of traveling, tourists' practices serve as key processes for the broad social construction and circulation of shared (and yet often contested) heritage far beyond the physical boundaries of sites. Heritage itself is not just a collection of sites but an interactive process of memory and knowledge-making that has very powerful social and political effects (Smith 2006). We must thus acknowledge tourism as a critical part of the cultural terrain through which death and the dead are encountered and constantly re-signified if we are to begin to understand the complex and diverse social values of the heritage of death.

However, in both popular and academic discourse one may find significant dissonance over the relationships between tourists, tourism, and the heritage of death. Not unlike the Western Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) that "defines heritage as material (tangible), monumental, grand, 'good', aesthetic and of universal value" (Smith and Akagawa 2009: 3; Smith 2006), there is a Western codified discourse on "dark tourism" that is problematically universalist and overwhelmingly negative, much of which stems from two interacting ideological positions. First, we have contemporary and significantly Western or Western-influenced cultural worldviews on death itself and how the dead should, ideally, be treated in terms of both sacred and secular practices. Second, there exists a range of positions (also primarily Western) that question the sociocultural value of commodification and consumption in general and thus consider tourism, as a consumer practice, to be rife with inauthenticity as a result of commodification. In the case of tourism to sites for the heritage of death, a particular kind of unease results, one that perceives a serious conflict between culturally expected respect and privacy for the dead and their kin and consumption as a profaning act. I take issue with both explicit and implicit moral value judgments predicated upon such anti-consumption (and thus anti-tourist) sentiments.

Such perspectives not only make imagining "extreme limited access" possible but also preclude us from truly considering the affective capacities of such sites and their very real sociocultural and political power. As a means to thus think more critically and productively, I propose that we move away from an uncritical use of the term "dark tourism" to understand tourism to heritage of death sites as having real social value for both heritage and human meaning-making in the world. Building upon Duncan Light's (2017) astute assertion that "dark tourism" really has more to do with heritage than anything truly macabre or profane, I suggest here that we thus work to build a different framework for understanding travel to heritage of death sites, one that hopefully carries a bit less pejorative baggage.

"Dark" tourism?

Death and the dead have not only shaped human heritage but also tourism, defined here in generality as leisure travel, likely even before the earliest

recorded pilgrimages to visit saints' relics and the death or torture sites of religious martyrs to the first instances of mass, organized travel to the Great Pyramids of Egypt and the battlefields of Waterloo in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively. And as the ability and means for leisure travel have grown and intensified, so have sites that until the late twentieth century were usually typologized by scholars under the general umbrella of cultural or heritage tourism, many of them rooted in events related to wars. Nearly twenty years ago Valene Smith argued that war itself has historically developed a range of "promotional, emotional, military, and political tourism … war-related tourism attractions are the largest single category [of such sites] known" (1998: 202). This still holds true in the present as old and new conflicts between and within nation states and other political entities have continued to generate new sites. Additionally, the contemporary "memorial mania" (Doss 2010) that has arisen in the last few decades has also led to an increase in heritage of death sites dedicated to victims of natural disasters and massacres not related to national or international political conflicts.

Acts of visiting such sites (and others like them that represent the "darker" side of human existence such as prisons or slums) by tourists is frequently called "dark tourism," a term codified for the scholarly world in Malcolm Foley and John Lennon's 1996 editorial "Heart of Darkness" for the *International Journal of Heritage Management*. Since the 1990s work of Chris Rojek (1993, 1997) and Anthony Seaton (1996), and the subsequent publication of Lennon and Foley's *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (2000), scholarly production on "dark tourism" has increased at a very rapid pace, generating work from disciplines including but not limited to archaeology, area studies, communication, criminal justice, cultural anthropology, cultural geography, heritage studies, history, journalism, marketing, peace studies, sociology, tourism management, and tourism studies. To illustrate this growth, in 2011 Philip Stone "conducted a Google Scholar search using the generic term 'dark tourism', which, subsequently, generated approximately 63,900 entries, while a similar online search in March 2001 returned under 2,000 entries" (2011: 320). I performed the same search now (in 2017) and it returned 279,000 entries with nearly 2,300 generated in the first five months of 2017 alone. That noted, providing a complete overview of the "dark tourism" literature past and present is impossible here and therefore I direct readers to Light's (2017) excellent and comprehensive work on such. I will instead focus on issues specific to the dissonance over the real-life relationships between tourists, tourism, and the heritage of death that trace to the scholarly codification of the term "dark tourism."

Foley and Lennon defined "dark tourism" as travel to "locations of death and disaster or sites of interpretation of such events for visitors . . . for remembrance, education or entertainment" (1996: 195). They did so because they regarded the use of the term "tourist attraction" to describe such sites as representing "both a judgment about the motives and rationales for making the site available to the public and a commentary upon the experiences of visitors" (Foley and Lennon 1996: 195). However, in the scholarly literature, far

too many never get completely away from judgments and many uncritically assume that the motives and experiences of visitors are superficial, macabre, or based on tactless curiosity. This is inextricably linked to a codification of the term "dark tourism" that is framed by a very Western conceptualization of "darkness" combined with the social reality that many sites for the heritage of death are made amenable to tourism and are consumed by visitors.

The use of the term "dark" to describe these sites, the natural or human-generated deaths that precipitated them, and acts of tourism to such sites is in itself a powerful discursive act predicated on Western definitions of and interpretations for "dark"—gloomy, sinister, ghostly, nasty, macabre, wicked, shadowy, eerie, harmful, malevolent, somber, ghastly, spooky, evil, mysterious, bad, fear-invoking, horrific. There have emerged critiques of the use of "dark" itself as well as assertions that the "darkness" of any given site is a culture-bound social construction rather than an objective one (e.g., Ashworth and Isaac 2015; Bowman and Pezzullo 2010; Jamal and Lelo 2011; Sather-Wagstaff 2011; Stone 2006). Others frame their analyses in terms of heritage—"difficult heritage" or "atrocity heritage" (Ashworth and Isaac 2015; Logan and Reeves 2009), something I shall return to shortly. Yet "dark tourism" persists in use, constructing tourists at sites as quite "dark" in the Western sense both explicitly and implicitly.

Additionally, within some of the popular and academic imagination there persists the notion that "the very words *tourist and tourism* carry negative connotations" (Jakle 1985: 3, emphases added), including, but not limited to, acts of inauthenticity, exploitation, tastelessness, hedonism, and vulgarity. Such negative connotations arise, in part, from the simple truth that tourism is a highly consumptive social practice that relies on commodification in one form or another and this is seen as socially unproductive or even detrimental. Heritage of death sites are indeed, as David Chidester and Edward Linenthal write, "intimately entangled in 'profane' enterprises as tourism, economic exchange, and development" (1995: 1), as tourism is often absolutely essential to the direct or indirect economic support of heritage sites, enabling their very existence. Yet those who use the word "profane" to uncritically characterize these enterprises are performing powerfully discursive acts that construct places of or for the dead as innately sacred and consumption as inherently sacrilegious. This, too, is a particularly Western perspective that not only romanticizes a precapitalist past and fetishizes noncapitalist societies, but also ignores traditions and rituals around the world for the dead where the spiritual well-being of both the living and the dead rely on lavish funerals and ongoing post-funeral practices of conspicuous consumption.

So, are tourists who consume heritage of death sites simply "tourists of history" whose "relationship to the weight, burdens, and meanings" of such is inherently problematic because of entanglement in commercial enterprise (Sturken 2007: 12)? Are travelers who engage with the heritage of death at burial, memorials, and historical sites really just passively "gazing at someone else's tragedy" (Cole 1999: 114)? Are they truly trying to escape the tedium of everyday (post)modern life by fulfilling some kind of a morbid and macabre curiosity through real or

symbolic encounters with death (see Lennon and Foley 2000; Rojek 1993)? While tourists have been and often still are framed as such by scholars, the public, and media, work that has addressed actual visitor experiences and that which takes very seriously the potential social value of heritage of death sites indicates that these claims are largely untenable (see for example Iles 2006; Knudsen 2011; Sather-Wagstaff 2011; Waterton and Watson 2014; Williams 2007).

The heritage of death in a flexible death systems perspective

The term "thanatourism" has been used as an alternative category or description to get at the complexity and deep history of travel to sites of or for death and understand the social value of such. Seaton (1996) proposed this term to indicate the longer history of travel to sites of or for the dead that shape, in some ways, the modern "dark" tourist practices addressed by Foley and Lennon (1996) as well as to situate thanatourism as a form of heritage tourism past and present. Thanatourism comprises a wider range of possible travel sites and activities that fall into five basic categories (Seaton 1999: 131):

1 Witnessing public death-in-process (gladiator battles, the public executions of past centuries, lynchings, fires, airplane crashes, sinking boats).
2 Visiting sites of mass or individual deaths after they have occurred (Holocaust death camps, Pompeii, Graceland, Dealey Plaza).
3 Visiting interment and memorial sites (cemeteries, catacombs, religious pilgrimage).
4 Seeing the material evidence or symbolic representations of deaths at locations other than their occurrence (museums and memorial monuments).
5 Watching and/or participating in reenactments of death (the Passion Play at Oberammergau, battle reenactments).

Seaton (1996) locates thanatourism as a practice situated within a deeply historical Western European Christian tradition of thanatopsis, the process of coming to understand death as a part of the life cycle through encounters with or reflection on death, the dead, or the dying. This thanatopic perspective now shapes what has become a promising framework for thinking through tourism to sites of or for the dead as socially productive.

Drawing from work in the sociology of death, Philip Stone and Richard Sharpley argue that travel to "dark" sites is a contemporary form of thanatopsis resulting from an institutional "sequestration of death" from the public realm starting in the twentieth century and continuing into the present (2008: 582). Sharpley and Stone (2009) further refine this argument to offer a "mortality mediation" approach. This model views travel as a means to "safely" and constructively deal with death in ways that do not exacerbate the modern death anxiety that arises from the privatization of death and dying and contemporary "death-denying" institutions and practices (e.g., the medicalization of aging and mortality, obsession with youth, etcetera). While a thanatopsis-based mortality mediation model allows us to move

away from homogenizing "dark" tourism and tourists as somehow pathological and superficial and instead consider the complex affective power of heritage of death sites for individuals and collectives, some problems remain.

First, the mortality mediation model is based upon the concept of thanatopsis which in its broadest historical forms is not merely a contemplation of death, but the idea that the utter inescapability of death requires us to come to terms with, accept, and not fear our mortality. By this definition, visiting Dachau, Tuol Sleng, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, or the Gisozi Genocide Memorial Center would serve the purpose of not only contemplating death but, in the process of doing so, also understanding death as an inevitable progression of the human experience, rendering irrelevant how and why those memorialized died. This is precisely the opposite purpose that these heritage of death sites are intended to serve and if death were not so feared, the dead would have no symbolic power; discourses of heroism, victimhood, prevention, and "never forget" and honor would be impossible if the dead were as impotent as signs. Second, Western-grounded frames that are uncritically reproduced are just that: Western. Given the astounding diversity of beliefs and practices regarding death and the dead that characterize the entirety of humanity past and present, implicit or explicit use of a universalist perspective that privileges one set of historical socioreligious traditions is undesirable and inappropriate unless applied in the same context as that tradition. Both thanatourism and mortality mediation as explanatory models derived from the concept of thanatopsis are the products of Western European Christian thought and tradition and thus not applicable to a large range of heritage of death sites around the world or to all tourists that visit any site anywhere.

We might therefore consider adapting some additional concepts from death studies to reframe discussions of travel to heritage of death sites in less culture-bound or more culturally appropriate terms. Originating from psychology, sociology, and some areas of anthropology, contemporary death studies address issues regarding death, the dying, the bereaved, and the living in relation to the dead through multidisciplinary lenses. With both theoretical and applied perspectives, death studies generally depend on, in large part, interrogating and illuminating the interplay between actual histories of the human experience with death and the dead in time and space and the lived experiences of humans themselves. This approach positions the dead, the dying, and the bereaved squarely at the center of focus for social research and thus the framework for understanding all social, cultural, and historical activities and processes related to the dead and dying. Within death studies, a death is generally understood to be a rupture in the fabric of everyday life for individuals and their communities of belonging, even imagined communities such as state, nation, or world. This rupture, whether expected or not, is experienced and managed in different ways by different cultures across time and space and even within societies.

As such, I propose here specifically that Robert Kastenbaum's seminal concept of "death systems" (1972, 1979) could be particularly useful in moving forward with generating a less troublesome perspective on sites of and for death

and the dead that are a part of what we might call "tourist systems." While the death system model's origins are in Western social psychology, the framework can be adjusted to generate historically and culturally specific perspectives on the heritage of death and its dialogic relationship to tourism. Death systems are defined as the complex and interdependent web of people, places, things, language and symbols, time, and practices through which relationships between the living, the dying, the dead, and death are apprehended, mitigated, and expressed (Kastenbaum 1972, 1979). These are open and flexible categories that are applicable to every human society. For example, in the everyday world I inhabit, the death system encompasses an inescapable array of that which is around me—not just cemeteries, hospitals, funeral homes, and memorial monuments but also the extremely mundane: traffic lights and car seatbelts, those often amusing warning labels on consumer products, antibacterial wipes for grocery store carts, road and building names, baby locks on cabinets and electrical outlets, schooling, household items that are antiques or inherited, religious and spiritual activities, news programs, weather alerts, family photographs, wars near and far, and much, much more.

Revisiting Seaton's observation that it "is hardly an exaggeration to suggest that in the midst of many tourism forms of life, we are in death" (1999: 132), we can add that through a death systems perspective, it is not difficult to see that in our everyday forms of life, all humans are also "in death." It is indeed quite difficult to find any aspect of everyday life that is completely removed from death and the dead. Framing human experience in this manner allows us to trace and connect the mundane (everyday) and extraordinary (touristic) contours of human activities and beliefs regarding death, the dying, and the dead within and between specific cultural contexts, including those for which a West-centric model simply does not work. In this perspective, the social lives of death and the dead are not considered somehow extraordinary but are an implicit component in all practices, memories, and institutions of all humans. My hope is that taking such a perspective can move us toward de-pathologizing that which is called "dark tourism" to think instead about travel to heritage of death sites as a part of the human activity of heritage-making.

Final thoughts, thinking forward

Heritage is in and of itself a death system—the dead and their lives *are* human heritage writ large but the generation of heritage in the present must be manifested in and through landscapes of emotion, memory, and practice by and for *living* human beings. Tourism is a significant part of this process. Thus it, too, is a critical part of death system practices. The heritage of death sites in this volume are a part of multiple death systems that operate on multiple interacting levels, from the local and regional to the international, and all are, in one form or another, entangled in touristic activities. From heritigized cemeteries, the resting places of the (in)famous, and memorial museums to the multiple tangible and intangible landscapes of war memorials, vernacular and official commemorative acts, historical

markers, prisons, and disaster, sites for the heritage of death are understood to be powerfully affective. Through human interaction, they generate emotional, political, and cultural identities and positions, and yes, heritage itself.

In the words of Mattias Frihammar and Helaine Silverman in Chapter 1, such an "'affective turn' lets us interrogate how death—and specifically a heritage of death—can operate as an emotional arena, in a range of contexts, tourism among the most obvious and public of these." Such an affective turn is only possible if we can indeed move beyond a "dark" framing of tourism to heritage of death sites, understanding that this particular touristic activity *is* a form of heritage-making embedded in and constitutive of multiple death systems, including those of everyday life. And recognizing affect's role in heritage-making requires acknowledging that "affective registers have to be understood within the context of power geometries" and the diverse contexts of different lived worlds, resulting in the "political fact of different bodies having different affective capacities" (Tolia-Kelly 2006: 213). Western perspectives on death and the dead that underpin conceptualizations of "dark tourism" are thus insufficient for understanding the broader world of tourism to sites for the heritage of death. In closing, it is very appropriate that we now return, as Frihammar and Silverman noted, to the importance of Sarah Humphreys' words:

> It is because death both emphasizes the impermanence and unrepeatability of social experience and calls forth attempts to preserve or re-create some aspects of it in permanent form that it offers a particularly stimulating focus for reflections on the paradoxical mixture of the transient and the permanent which constitutes society.
>
> (1981: 12)

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