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**Contemporary concepts of heritage, “old” choices: a study based
on the preferences of the visitors of several museums in Lisbon**

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CONTEMPORARY CONCEPTS OF HERITAGE, "OLD" CHOICES: A STUDY BASED ON THE PREFERENCES OF THE VISITORS OF SEVERAL MUSEUMS IN LISBON

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RESUMEN: El patrimonio cultural está siendo conceptualizado cada vez más como un proceso cultural. Esta es una importante reivindicación defendida de forma amplia tanto desde la Academia como desde las principales instituciones vinculadas al patrimonio cultural. Así, la propia UNESCO, al menos desde 1972 y formalmente desde 2003, trabaja de forma activa con el objetivo de conseguir una mayor conciencia de que las nociones de patrimonio no deberían estar construidas únicamente a partir de nuestra fascinación por los objetos y por su valor artístico y material, sino que el contexto social y cultural único del patrimonio deberían ser los ejes protagonistas en su configuración y gestión.

Este artículo, basado en un conjunto de encuestas realizadas a los visitantes de algunos de los principales museos de Lisboa, pretende demostrar que, aunque existe una conciencia y sensibilidad hacia las formas recientes de patrimonio, como los lugares inmateriales y naturales, un amplio segmento de la población sigue identificando a los monumentos históricos como los principales bienes patrimoniales de esta ciudad.

PALABRAS CLAVE: procesos de patrimonialización; percepción del patrimonio; Lisboa; materialidad; visitantes; museos.

ABSTRACT: Heritage has gradually come to be accepted as a cultural process, as has been advocated by a majority of academics over time, as well as by UNESCO itself, which since 1972 and formally since 2003 has paved the way for growing awareness that notions of heritage should not only be framed by our fascination with an object and its artistic and material value, but also by its unique social and cultural context. This article, based on a survey carried out with visitors to some of Lisbon's major museums, demonstrates that although there is an awareness and sensitivity towards recent forms of heritage such as immaterial and natural places, this segment of population tend to identify historic monuments as the main heritage goods of the this city.

Key Words: heritage *process*; heritage *perception*; Lisbon; materiality; visitors; museums

The most fundamental thing about life is that it does not begin here or end there, but is always going on

(Ingold [2000] 2002, 172).

[The monument]... has by vocation the anchorage of human societies in the natural and cultural space and in the double temporality of humans and nature¹

(Choay [2009] 2011, 16).

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

At present, the term “heritage” is employed in varied contexts and across several subject areas. Its growing breadth of scope has led to the term becoming increasingly difficult to define, and especially to identify. As François Hartog argued everything is liable to become heritage (Hartog 1998, 4). Once a word essentially linked to private law, “heritage” has gradually expanded as a concept to encompass forms of collective property related to a group of individuals organised as nations, countries, societies or cultures.

Heritage has lost its exclusively monumental and tangible character, having come to assume a fundamentally cultural orientation. It evolved from being solely represented in museums and in the form of monuments, visited and appreciated by a restricted, homogeneous audience – namely, the cultured, moneyed elite – to become apparently accessible and comprehensible by all. However, this democratisation of Culture – already reflected upon in the 1960s by André Malraux, and which sought the equal distribution of cultural goods (Choay [1992] 2007, 193) – would appear to have utterly failed. Firstly, and as it has been displayed

by numerous researchers since the 1980s, the dynamic evolved into one of commercialisation (Urry 1990; Howes 1996; AlSayyad 2001), which led to the most popular world heritage sites becoming more expensive and restricted in access. On the other hand, and as Nestor García Canclini highlights, this massification of heritage made it accessible to far more diverse audiences. Almost all societies have contact with multi-ethnicity, multiple languages and heterogeneous tastes (García Canclini 1999, 18-19), to which we could also add differences in educational levels. This reality makes it extremely difficult to provide a cultural package that allows all people access to the same heritage goods in an equal and uniform manner.

Research on heritage has also evolved from being solely dedicated to the protection and restoration of monuments and ancient art works. Current understanding tends to view heritage as a social construction of the past (Leniaud 1992), which is built in the present based on the interpretation of memories (individual or collective), social imaginations and historical production (Harvey 2001). Tradition and national values have been replaced by identity (Le Goff 1997) and by the specificities

¹ Author's translation into English

of different communities (Anderson 1991). From this perspective, cultural heritage is not merely an inert support for knowledge, but is imbued with historical, artistic and architectural values. It is a living process subject to change (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, 57).

One could argue that it made sense to extend the right of classification of a heritage asset beyond experts and academics working in the field. Those who know, observe, inhabit and use these assets may also be considered agents in this process. Nevertheless, we see that heritage is mainly an act of power (Guillaume 1980). As Françoise Choay highlights, the modern concept of heritage emerged with the establishment of nation-states in the 18th and 19th centuries ([1992] 2007, 86-160). There thus exists a legacy linking said concept to policies of power and the creation of national uniformity (Daugbjerg & Fibiger 2011). Today, in the UNESCO era, heritage is, in theory, essentially supranational and its focus is on cultural diversity. However, and as Laurajane Smith points out, in practice some countries still operate on the basis of the 18th and 19th centuries way of understanding heritage, which considers it an established and unquestionable legacy; a positive contribution to national cohesion (Smith & Waterton 2010, 12) that should be respected by all, preserved and passed on to future generations (Smith 2011, 43). This authorised discourse, defines heritage as a set of material objects, places or landscapes deemed of unquestionable value by the "experts" (Smith 2006).

This article aims to verify to what extent this evolution in the understanding of heritage –from a perspective founded on fascination for the individual object

and its tangible characteristics, to one that privileges its social and cultural context (Ahmad 2006) – is reflected in the public's opinion about what is considered heritage. In a context where the role of communities in defining heritage is increasingly debated (Waterton & Smith 2010), we are seeking to understand through a case study based on a particular community – the museum visitors – if the aforementioned changes promoted by UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICOM and Council of Europe, have had an impact on their heritage choices.

1. THREE KEY MOMENTS ON THE "FORMALIZATION" OF THE CONTEMPORARY NOTION OF HERITAGE

As we argue above there was a gradual evolution in the modern notion of heritage and its preservation into the present or contemporary notion. The first one was established from the necessity to 'control' the ravages in the French Revolution period (Choay [1992] 2007), whose concerns were mainly with material objects. The second one is far more complex including, objects, places, natural environments, cultural traditions (with and without material representation) that are transmitted from generation to generation, which could evolve and mutate over time (See for example Council of Europe Convention on the value of Cultural Heritage for Society 2005, article 2).

In the scope of this paper, it would be impossible to describe step by step all the historical and social processes that have been taking place in the period of time that goes from the French revolution to the Faro Convention in 2005.

In this long process of transformation from monumental heritage into meta-cultural heritage, we select three crucial moments that can synthesize the evolution of the modern notion of heritage: the creation of UNESCO, in 1945; the UNESCO Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, in 1972, and the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, in 2003.

The universalization of the notion of heritage, introduced by the creation of UNESCO in the aftermath of the Second World War, had a strong influence in the way it is defined in the present, defining heritage as something universal, that belong to all, to the humanity. Before the conception of UNESCO, heritage was used to differentiate cultures, or to be more precise to create a national cohesion based on a collection of objects from the past (Kohl & Fawcett 1995). As Daugbjerg and Fibiger remark, in some languages of Latin origin, the word heritage "(for example the French *patrimoine*) shares etymological roots with terms for the homeland" (Daugbjerg & Fibiger 2011, 135). This was probably the most important change in the contemporary idea of heritage, a break with the past, grounded in the fear of the nationalist ideals that led to the last World War and its destructive power, but also a way for the West to lead the cultural changes of the post war in opposition to the countries of the other side of the Iron Curtain, although theoretically they all should be integrated in the UNESCO (Dorn & Ghodsee 2012).

The materialization of heritage as global concept emerged in the UNESCO Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, in

1972. This Convention introduced the concept of World Heritage Site alongside with a profound concern to create laws and mechanisms to protect cultural and natural (material) sites around the world, ruled by an intergovernmental committee composed by different state members. Although this intent of globalization heritage was mainly oriented by the ideal of the northern hemisphere, as the former Director-General of UNESCO, Koichiro Matsuura, pointed out, the Convention of 1972 had some problems dealing with the living expressions of the South (Matsuura 2004, 4). In fact the concept of universal value, defined in article 1 and 2 (UNESCO 1972), was fundamentally validated by a Eurocentric view of what represents heritage.

In the same year, five months before the UNESCO convention in Paris, a very important ICOM conference was held in Santiago, Chile, that defined the museum as a living actor, committed to the social and educational development of society. This new concept of museum expressed a need that this institution should also be connected with the present and future, not exclusively to the past (Varine 2012, 233-234). A sign that in the South there were different perspectives about heritage, and that it should not be regarded as something immutable.

It was clear that 1972 Convention was insufficient for the diverse and heterogeneous communities in the South. But some of the reclaims of the South presented in Santiago were postponed by the rise of authoritarian regimes in the region and by a particular complex context of the Cold War (Rotter 2013). It was mostly in the 90s that began to emerge some effective procedures that

would well change the heritage notion of the "North". In 1992, the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO had added cultural landscapes as a new category that implied recognizing the living and continuous traditions that link people and places (Matsuura 2004, 4). Two years later, the ICOMOS Conference of Nara, Japan, regarding authenticity would set a turning point, assuming with its famous declaration at the end of the conference that: "all cultures and societies are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression which constitute their heritage, and these should be respected" (ICOMOS 1994).

The contemporary supposition that heritage is not only about material things but a combination of both tangible and intangible elements, such as culture is, finally occurs in 2003 with the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. This convention lead to recognition of the existence of clear differences between the South and the North, and between institutional heritage and popular heritage. The definition of intangible heritage given by the UNESCO comprehends not only the immaterial expression of culture, but also a new notion of what heritage is:

The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction

with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO 2003)

We can therefore assume that this definition is quite similar to the one mentioned previously by the European Council; creating a totally different idea on what heritage is when compared to the initial scope attributed by the UNESCO before 2003. This idea is so different concerning the past discourse of heritage that several countries – with internal issues regarding "practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith" of some communities – did not adopt the 2003 Convention. Among these countries we find some of the most powerful countries in the UN, such as the United States of America, Great Britain and Russia. Given the idea that in practice the northern hemisphere notion of heritage, influenced by the modern western European tradition of state control of culture, still has an impact on the decisions of national and international institutions (see Smith 2006 and Smith & Waterton 2009 for the particular case of Britain).

2. LISBON AND ITS HERITAGE

In recent years, Lisbon has become one of the most sought after European cities. In 2015, it was ranked the 14th most visited European tourist destination and the 35th most visited globally, according to Mastercard's Global Destinations Cities Index. Lisbon is also in 4th place in the ranking of European cities with

the greatest growth in visitors (Mastercard GDCI 2015, 20). According to the World Tourism Organisation's ranking of the number of international visitors per country, Portugal is the 9th most visited destination in Europe and is one of the European countries that has registered the most sustained and robust growth over the last years, alongside Malta, Croatia and Greece (UNWTO 2015, 7-8). These are interesting classifications for a country that is peripheral in the European context and which has somewhat deficient connections to its capital: Lisbon airport is still located within the city and is relatively small in size, while the city's train links with the main European cities remain stagnant due to slowness and the inadequacies of the Lisbon-Madrid connection.

According to data published by the Portuguese General-Directorate of Cultural Heritage (*Direção-Geral do Património Cultural-DGPC*) from the last five years (DGPC 2016) of visits to monuments, museums and palaces under the tutelage of this entity administered by the Portuguese Ministry of Culture (and thus of national scope), the most popular heritage assets are mainly national monuments, which register quite an uneven ratio of foreign to national visitors – the former representing about 80% of the total number of visitors. In the case of museums and palaces, this difference has become less striking and now presents very similar numbers – although there is a predominance (slight, in the case of museums) of Portuguese visitors (DGPC 2016, 2). The greater homogeneity and balance noted in the composition of museum visitors led us to select this group for our study on perceptions of heritage among Portuguese and foreign visitors, within the context of the city of Lisbon.

Prior to this paper, no opinion study had been carried out on the subject of Lisbon's leading heritage goods, from the perspective of their visitors. Existing surveys were mostly aimed at informing the tourism industry about the main nationalities of tourists, the number of overnight stays in hotels, the types of traveller, the most visited locations, service satisfaction indices, among other data. As a result, decisions regarding which of the city's heritage assets should be protected have ended up being left entirely in the hands of the experts.

In the case of Portugal, heritage protection gained legal consistency principally during the period between 1881 and 1910. It was precisely in this last year of 1910 that the list of assets classified as national monuments was published in the Portuguese Government Gazette (*Diário do Governo*). This list of the nation's most "precious" goods was essentially composed of landmarks defined as historical monuments, as was the case in most European countries (Rosas 1995, 125-191). These generally consisted of architectural objects, especially from the Middle Ages: namely, churches, palaces, old military buildings, and preserved or ruined funerary monuments. The current legislation, dating from 2001, is already framed by contemporary heritage policy and classifies cultural heritage as "not only the range of tangible and intangible goods deemed of relevant cultural interest, but also, where appropriate, their respective contexts, which possess an interpretive and informative relationship with these same goods based on their value of bearing witness" (*Diário da República* 2001, 5808).

The 2001 law has had clear effects, at least at the level of applications submitted to UNESCO. This can be confirmed by recent entries to the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage – Portugal formally accepted the 2003 Convention in 24 of January of 2008 – where four out of six new entries do not conform to the understanding of “historical monument” prevalent in the late 19th century and throughout most of the 20th century. From 2001 onwards, the following Portuguese entries were designated by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites, or as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity: the Landscape of the Pico Island Vineyard Culture (2004); Fado Music (2011); the Garrison Border Town of Elvas and its Fortifications (2012); the University of Coimbra (2013); the traditional Cante Alentejano (2014); and the manufacture of Portuguese cowbells (“*Chocalhos*”) (2015).

3. THE SURVEY

Keeping in mind the elements previously detailed, concerning the evolution of the notion of heritage and also the particularities of the Portuguese case and the evolution of tourism in Lisbon

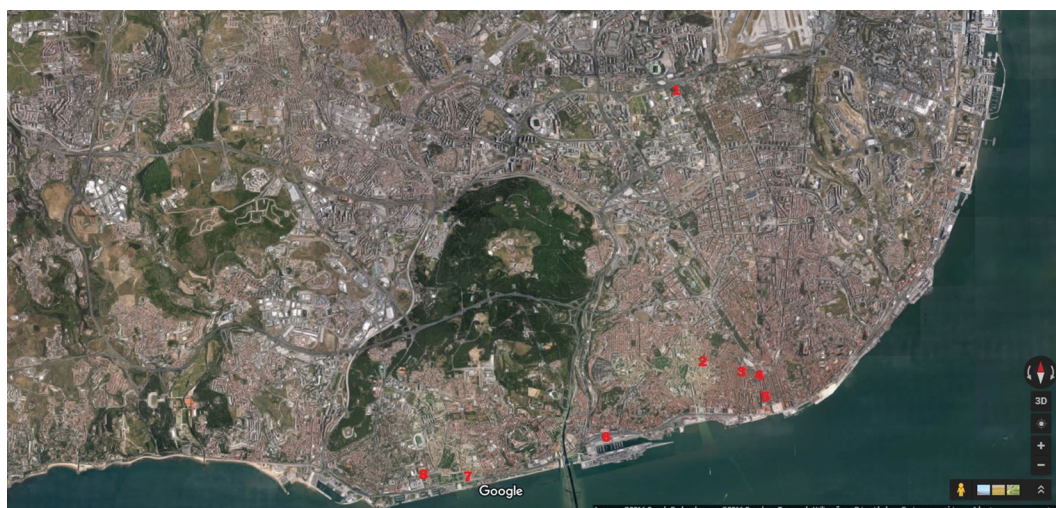
we structured a survey based on museum visitors following two questions/assumptions:

1. The knowledge and opinion about the city’s heritage and its valuation;

2. According to the answers, infer if the visitors of Portuguese museums associate heritage with a broader concept which include immaterial elements and natural places. Perception that is not always present in museums despite integrating the ICOM museum definition: “(...) exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment (...)” (ICOM 2007, article 3)

The survey corpus was composed by a total of 2003 people of various nationalities, over 15 years of age. It was conducted during the first week of March, to the first week of June of 2016, at 8 museums in Lisbon, located in different points of the city (Figure 1). The objective was to choose museums located in diverse areas of the city of different status and different collections, but no specific criteria was applied in selecting visitors surveyed besides age. The survey was only answered by willing participants.

Figure 1. Google earth view of the city of Lisbon with the location of the museums used in this survey. 1. Lisbon Museum “Pimenta Palace”; 2. Saint Roche Museum; 3. Carmo Archaeological Museum; 4. Geological and Mining Museum; 5. National Archaeology Museum; 6. National Coach Museum; 7. Orient Foundation Museum; 8. Nacional Contemporary Art Museum. © Google Maps 2016.



Museum	Type	Collection	Total visitors 2016
<i>Lisbon Museum "Pimenta Palace" (MC)</i>	Public Regional	Art History and Archaeology	41.437
<i>National Archaeology Museum (MNA)</i>	Public National	Archaeology	146.955
<i>National Coach Museum (MNC)</i>	Public National	Art History	382.593
<i>National Contemporary Art Museum (MNAC)</i>	Public National	Contemporary Art	51.992
<i>Orient Foundation Museum (MFO)</i>	Private	Oriental Art	<i>Less than 50.000 *</i>
<i>Saint Roche Museum (MSR)</i>	Private	Religious Art	23.179
<i>Carmo Church and Archaeological Museum (MAC)</i>	Association	History and Archaeology	236.158
<i>Geological and Mining Museum (MG)</i>	Association	Paleontology and Archaeology	<i>Less than 15.000 *</i>

* We did not have access to the real numbers, it's an estimate

Chart 1. Main characteristics for the museums mentioned in the text.

Those selected museum are mainly related with collections of art, archeology history, which according to the INE [Statistics Portugal] represent almost 70% of the total of visits in Portuguese museums (INE 2017, 139). The specificities and characteristics of the selected museums can be verified in the following table (Tabla 1).

The questionnaire form was printed in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese, and was distributed to tourists at the beginning of their visit to the museum together with their entrance ticket, so they could answer at that moment or at the end of the visit. Intentionally, we did not give any notion of heritage to the respondents, allowing a free selection on what they would consider as heritage.

After a short experience with larger questionnaires' which include more questions about personal information (such as gender or race) and types of heritage (specifying typologies) we chose a simple and short one because by being easy to fill in, it would have been better received among the visitors and allow an equitable participation of all social and age group segments. Museum visitors do not have much patience for long questionnaires. The survey questionnaire included the following five questions; intentionally the fourth question presents more lines, allowing the inclusion of several elements:

The majority of visitors surveyed were of Portuguese nationality (32%), fo-

<p><u>Inquiry on Heritage:</u></p> <p>1- Nationality: _____</p> <p>2- Age: _____</p> <p>3- Education: _____</p> <p>4- In your opinion what are the main heritages of the city of Lisbon? _____</p> <p>5- You think they are well valued? _____</p>

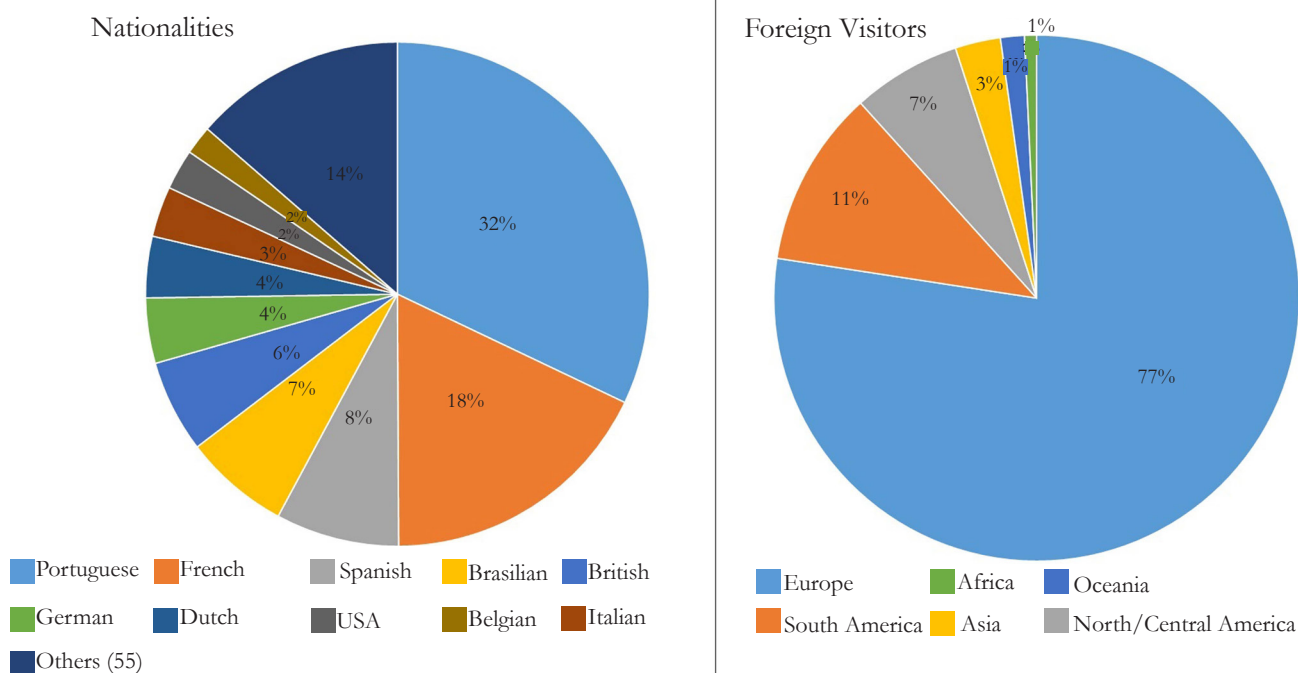
Figure 2. Survey questionnaire.

llowed by French (18%), Spanish (8%), Brazilian (7%) and British (6%). These percentages are very close to the values presented by the DGPC related only the National Museums – located mainly in Lisbon – which were visited by 50.1% of foreigners in 2016, surpassing national visitors for the first time (DGPC 2017) but far from the result concerning all type of museums in Portugal, in which foreigners represent, in 2016, only 43% of total visitors (INE 2017, 24). In our survey a total of 65 nationalities responded to the questionnaire (Figure 3). Among the foreign respondents, most were European (77%). With the exception of the Geological and Mining Institute Museum and of the National Museum of Archaeology, the number of people surveyed per museum was quite balanced (Figure 4). In the case of the first museum, this situation can be explained by the reduced number of visitors.

ced (Figure 5), with only a slight predominance registered among the younger segment, aged between 15 to 24, which is not usual since the average age of museum visitors in Portugal is approximately 40 years old (see EPMN 2016). Nevertheless the exhaustive survey on the publics of 14 Portuguese National Museum (EPMN) produced by the CIES of the University of Lisbon (more than 13.000 valid questionnaires and during 12 months between 2014 and 2015) indicates that this segment was in great growth already in 2015 (*idem ibidem*). This could be explained by the fact that the period of the survey was taken, outside the usual holiday time, where the majority of the public could be integrated in school and study visits. The educational level of those surveyed was mainly university graduates and a significant proportion of the 26% who indicated only having secondary education was still of school age, suggesting a public with at least a good cultural level, again within the parameters for Portuguese museums (*idem ibidem*).

Figure 3. Distribution of percentage of visitors for nationalities (left) and the region of foreign visitors (right).

As regards the ages of those surveyed, the number of responses was very balan-



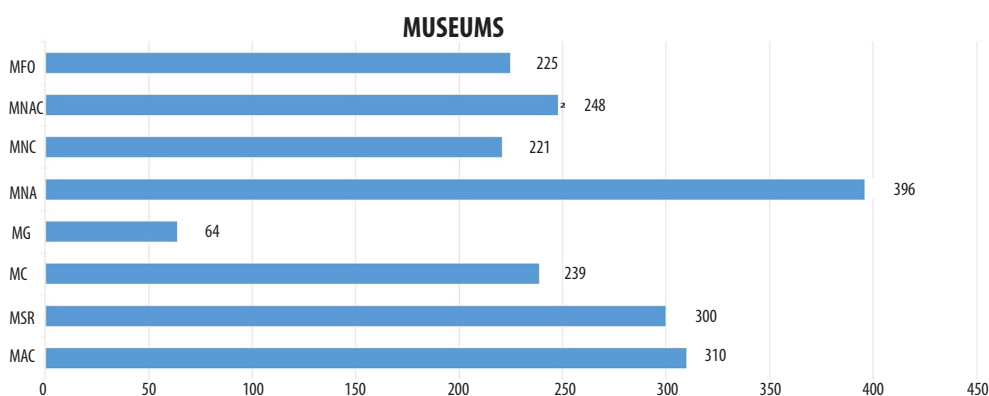


Figure 4. Number of surveys by museum.

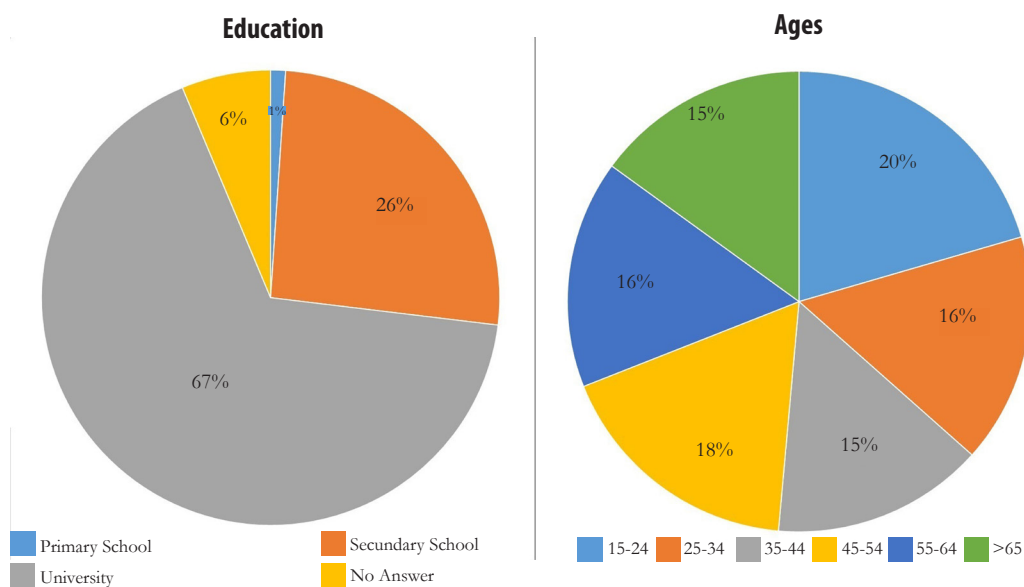


Figure 5. The percentage of visitors following their education (left) and age (right).

4. VISITORS' CHOICES (DATA RESULTS)

The majority of national and foreign respondents presented very similar heritage choices. The Jerónimos Monastery (31%), the St. Jorge Castle (29%), the Belém Tower (25%) and the Sé Cathedral (11 %) were considered, in this survey, Lisbon's most ranked heritage sites. It is also important to notice that the area of Belém (6 %), where the first and third most voted heritage sites are located, was also highlighted, having been ranked in 10th place. There are no immaterial or natural heritages in the top 15, the first immaterial – people's

friendliness² (4 %) – only appears in 17th place and the first natural – Tagus river (2%) – in 22th place (Figure 6).

The responses collected typically listed an average of three sites in Lisbon considered heritage – the standard answer being Jerónimos, the Castle and Belém Tower. Foreigners identified two sites on average, while Portuguese respondents identified four. We could identify some particular differences between the Portuguese and foreign respondents; we will come back in detail to this subject further down in this text.

² It may seem odd to consider 'people's friendliness' as immaterial heritage. We assume that, considering that it is mostly a feeling of the foreign visitors concerning some intangible cultural aspects: "Portuguese are very friendly", "they are helpful", "they try to speak in our language", for example.

Figure 6. The main heritages of Lisbon according to the respondents of this survey. Number of times mentioned in a total of 2003 surveys. In red the references to the term "museum" and "church"

The great majority of those surveyed also thought that the city's main heritage sites are well-valued and well-maintained (Figure 7). The strongest criticism of the state of Lisbon's heritage was expressed by nationals (Figure 8). This is unsurprising and, in a certain way, understandable

considering that locals are more likely to have deeper knowledge of the goods in question and to include other heritage assets, which are well-known but located in areas of the city less visited by foreign tourists. Europeans visitors, probably because they are more familiar with the culture and similarities concerning heritage types, are more critical than the visitors from the Rest of the World where there is, in some cases, less investment in preserving heritage.

The concentration of heritage choices in the area of Belém could be explained by the fact that many of the city's main tourist attractions are located there – Jerónimos Monastery and the Belém Tower are both World heritage sites since 1983 – ranging from museum collections, national monuments and symbols of power, through to entertainment facilities and recreational spaces (Figure 9). Belém has a long tradition of "monumentalising" space, which extends back to the 16th century. At that time, it was the location chosen for the Jerónimos Monastery; in the early 20th century, Belém Palace became the official residence of the Portuguese presidents; in 1940, during the dictatorship of the Estado Novo, the Portuguese World (*Mundo Português*) Expo was also

Main heritages of Lisbon

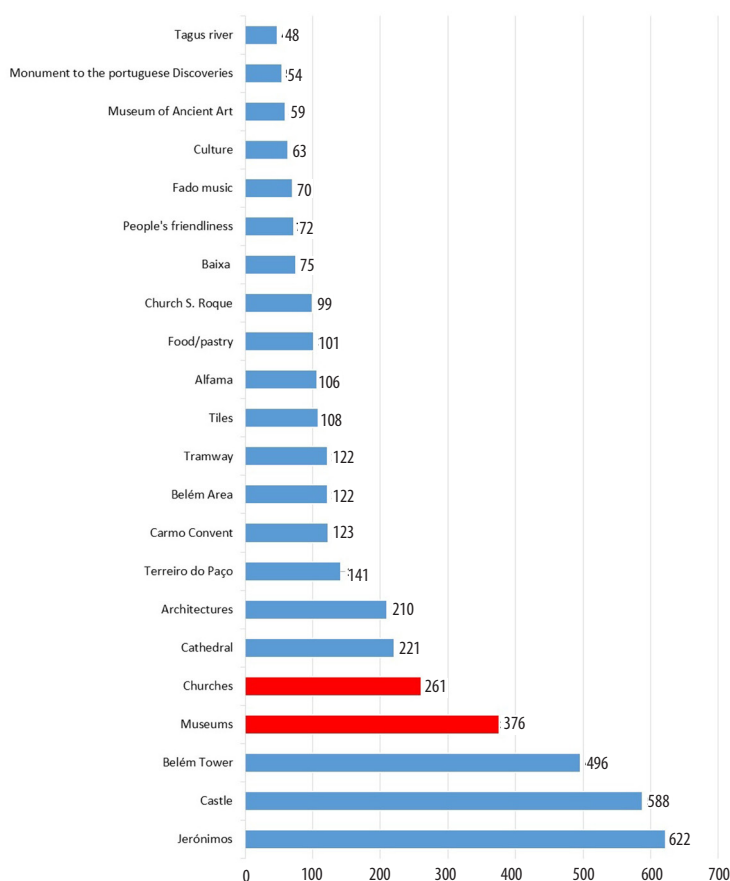


Figure 7. Type of answer concerning the opinion about the valorization of heritage in Lisbon.

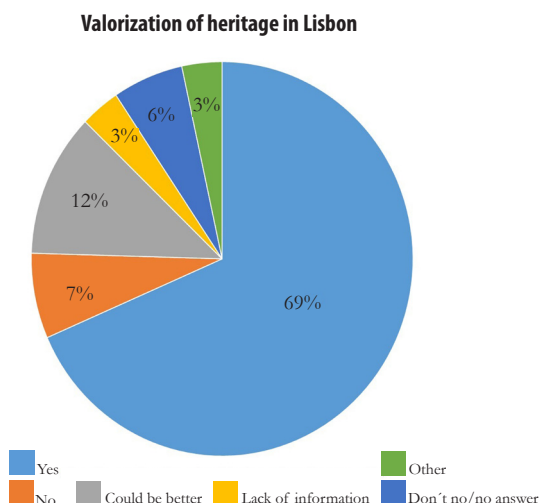


Figure 8. The percentage of the no answer relating to Portuguese, Europeans and Rest of the World answers.

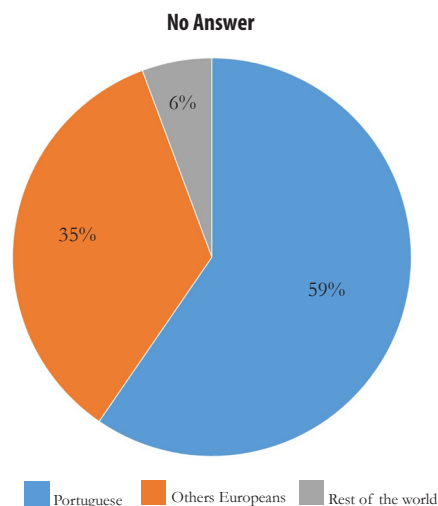




Figure 9. Google 3D view of part of the Belém area in Lisbon, one of main heritage places in the city and in Portugal. In this picture you can see: 1. The Tower of Belém; 2. Monument to Sacadura Cabral and Gago Coutinho; 3. The Berardo Collection; 4. The Belém Cultural Center (CCB); 5. The Planetary 6. The Navy Museum; 7. The Archaeological Museum; 8. The Jerónimos Monastery; 9. The Empire Plaza; 10. The Museum of Popular Art; 11. The Monument to the Portuguese Discoveries; 12. The Navy Museum; 13. The 'Pastéis de Belém' shop; 14. The Ajuda Palace; 15. The Coach Museum. © Google Maps 2016.

held in Belém; and, more recently, this neighbourhood saw the construction of the Belém Cultural Centre (CCB) in the 1990s. Belém is thus a must-see stop for both Portuguese and foreigners, an unmissable part of Lisbon³.

It seems entirely natural that the Portuguese respondents due to their better knowledge of the city give more detailed answers and identify a greater number of heritage sites. This segment also proved to be the most critical as regards the maintenance and appreciation of these sites. It is, however, surprising that the Portuguese were more conservative in their choices than the foreign respondents. More specifically, they were less likely to choose locations other than the four most mentioned heritage sites in comparison to foreigners (Figure 10). The Jerónimos (29%), the Castle (18%), the Belém Tower (22%) and the Cathedral (11%) represent to the Portuguese 80% of their answers. However, for

the foreigners – who prefer the Castle (24%) over Jerónimos (19%) – this value is not so representative, since the four most mentioned heritage sites represent only 63% of their answers. In the “none of this four” column are grouped, in the case of the foreign visitors, elements such as the tramway, tiles, Alfama and food/pastry that are ranked in the top 14 of Figure 6.

Nevertheless, both segments tended to select tangible expressions of heritage over intangible ones, although a combination of both was common. The conservative tendency noted among the Portuguese was in evidence in the responses exclusively identifying intangible forms of heritage (Figure 11). The majority of the visitors knows and identifies other forms of heritage besides traditional historical monuments (Figure 12). Respondents who only listed monuments represented 31% of those surveyed between 15 and 40

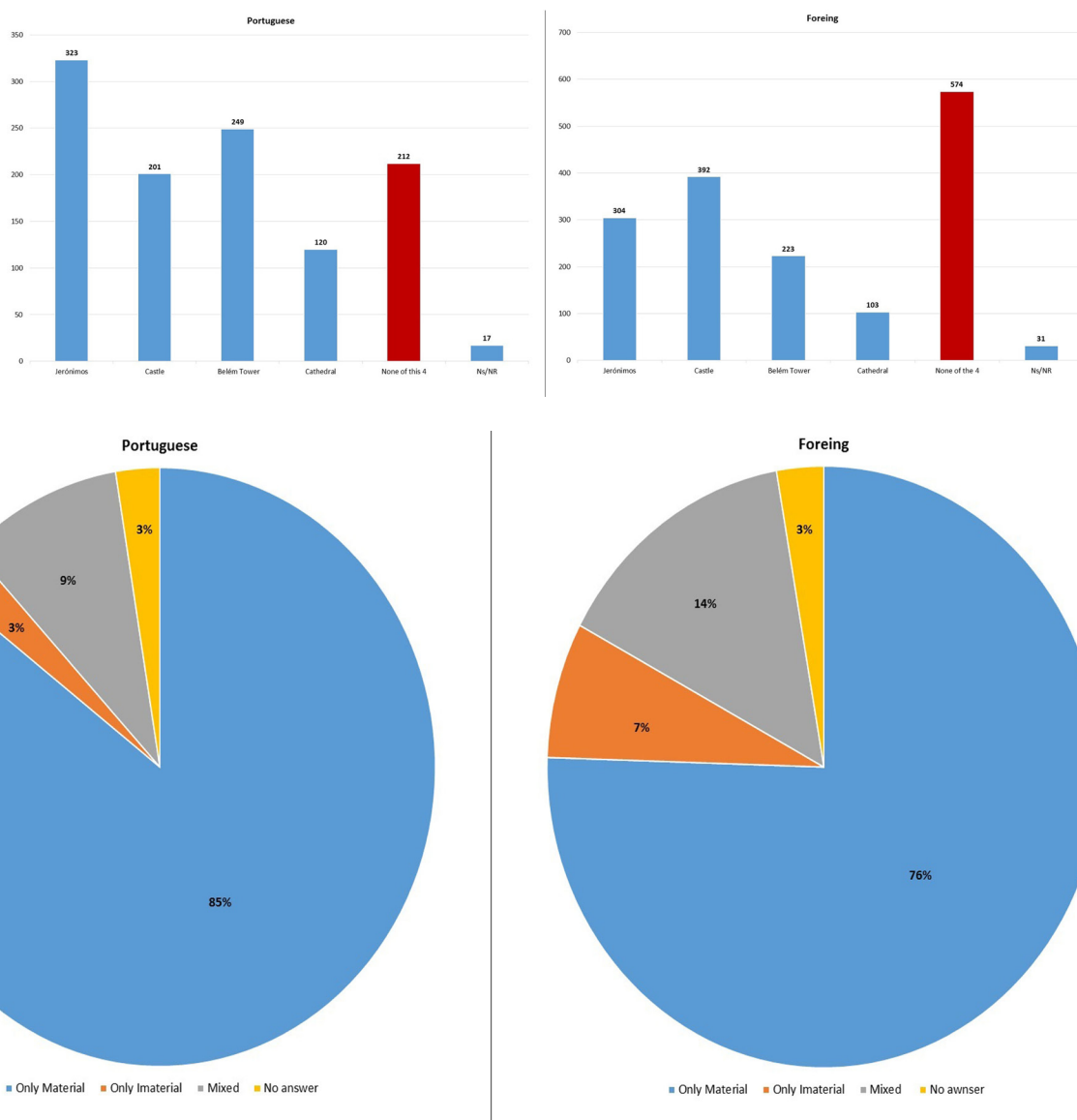
³ Whitt this paper already finalized a new museum was opened in the area, near the Electricity museum: the Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology

Figure 10. Comparison between the Portuguese answers (left) and foreign (right) that mentions and does not mentions the 4 top rated heritage goods. Number of times mentioned in a total of 2003 surveys.

Figure 11. Percentage of material, immaterial and mixed heritage goods in the Portuguese's (left) and foreigners' (right) answers.

years of age (that represent 47% of the total population of the survey) and 25% among those over 40 (53 % of the total population of the survey). Age would not appear to be a factor of relative importance. One could expect the younger visitors to be more open considering alternative expressions of heritage, but that aspect was not representative in this survey and we could not find greater flexibility as regards what may be classified as heritage in younger generations, born from the mid-1970s onwards.

By analysing this survey we can deduce that immaterial and natural heritages have a small impact on the answers. The main immaterial and natural heritages identified in this survey as we saw earlier (Figure 6) was people's friendliness, Fado music, and the Tagus river. We may find slight differences between Portuguese and foreign relating to their preferences in the immaterial and natural heritages. If, in a graphic, we select only the main immaterial and natural heritages goods (Figure 13), we will find that Portuguese value in this order Fado (24%), people's



friendliness (21%), the river (15%) and the natural light of Lisbon (11%). On the other hand the foreign give more

importance to: Culture (24 %), people's friendliness (23 %), Fado (21%) and viewpoints (15%).

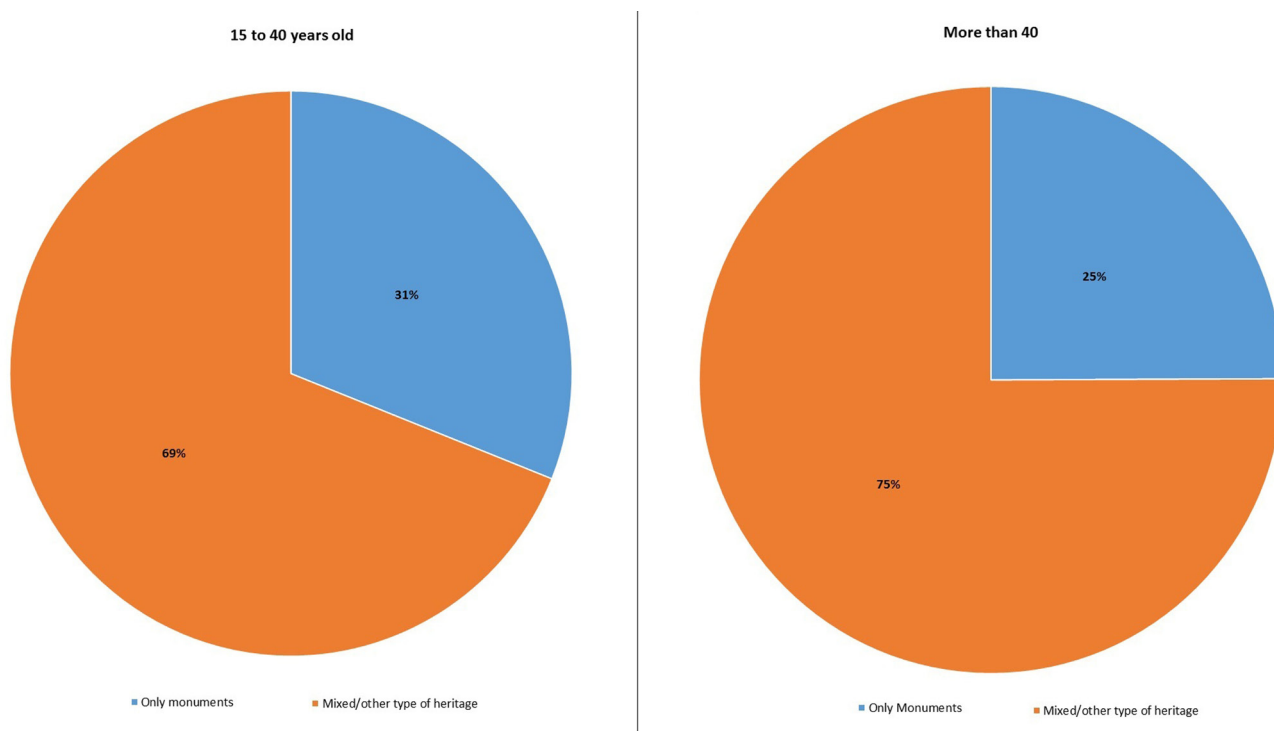


Figure 12. Comparison in percentage of answers which include only historical monuments and the answer that include this and other types of heritage and its relation concerning ages: from 15 to 40 years old (left) and more than 40 years old (right).

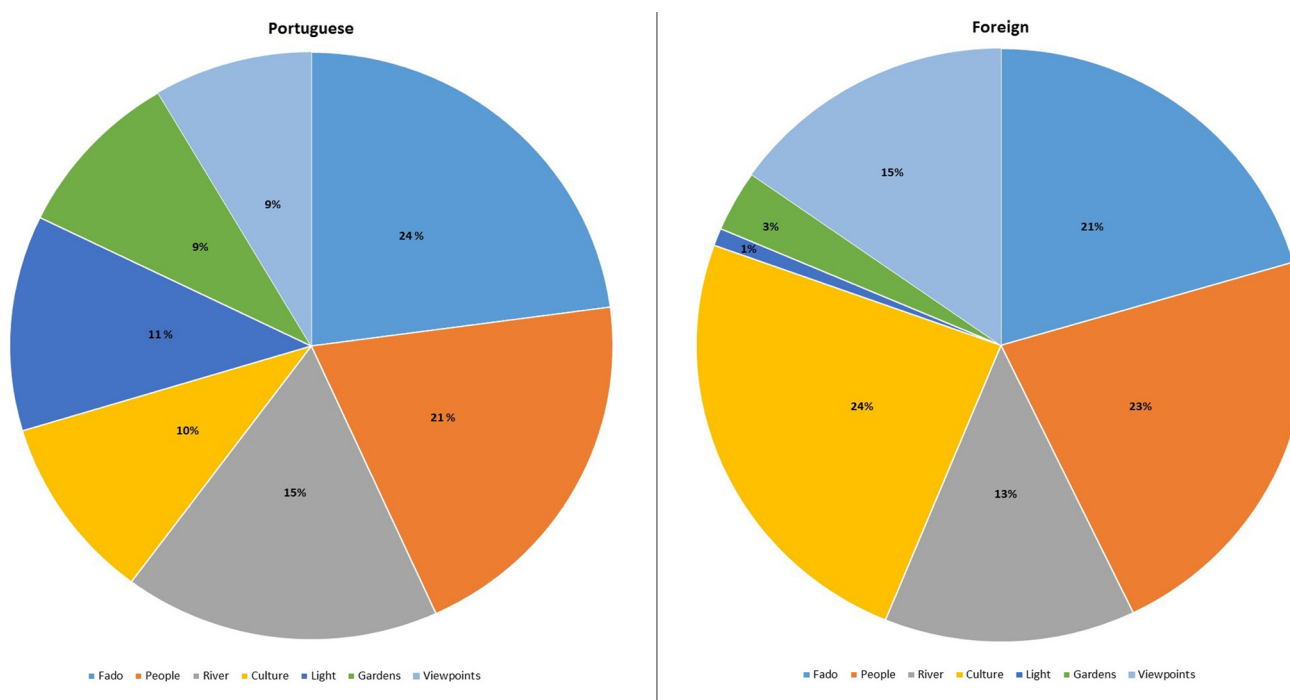


Figure 13. Percentage of the main immaterial and natural heritage goods in the Portuguese's (left) and foreigners' (right) answers.

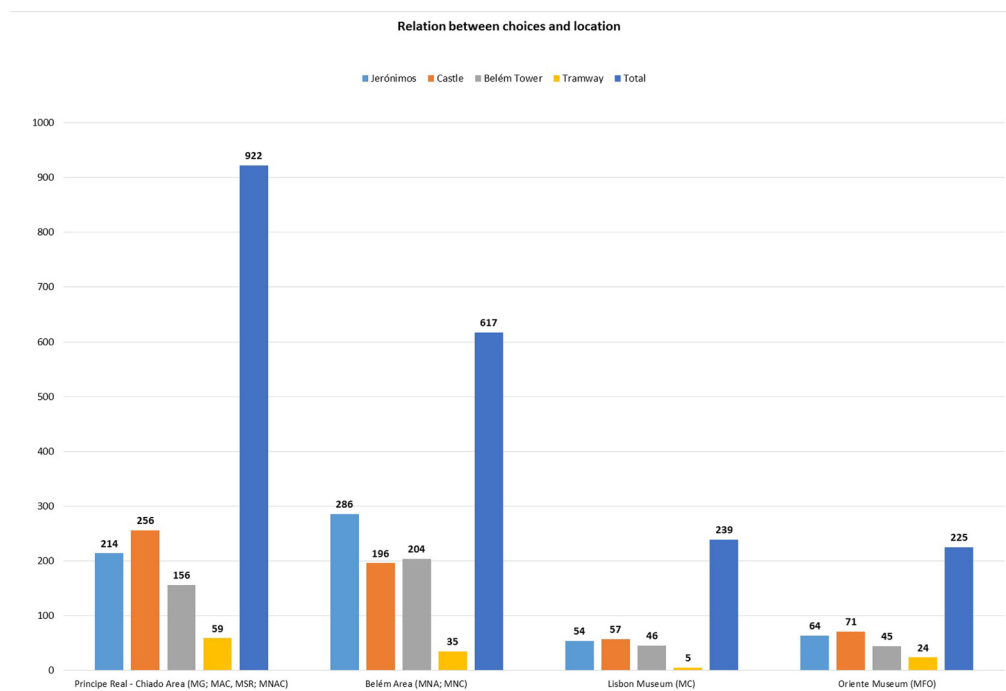


Figure 14. Relation between heritage choices and the location area of the museums.

In the case of this survey we did not find any considerable differences between the answers in the different museums: Jerónimos monastery, the St. Jorge Castle and Belém Tower were the dominant heritage responses. However, we may note a tendency in the visitors to choose secondary heritages in a close proximity to the respective museum (Figure 14).

The choices indicated in this survey sample may fall within the scope of the visual culture paradigm (Mirzoeff 1998; Osborne 2000), which have an important impact in the tourist propaganda (Palmer and Lester 2007). Architectural heritage choices (buildings, monuments and squares), which are arguably more visible and striking, do in fact represent the preference of most visitors, but also elements related to the act of walking and travelling to the city, such as tiles and tramways. This perception also emerged in other studies, namely, those aimed at identifying the heritage goods most highlighted by visitors to other Portuguese cities, such as Coimbra,

Évora (Fortuna 1995) and Porto (Santos 2016). We may assume that the answers could be influenced by tourist guides and by the fact that the survey has been carried out in museums; nevertheless there are details in the answers that led us to seek for a different proposal concerning the interpretation of the data. We may assume that the visitors "type" of museums, with the characteristics of those that integrate this survey, could be more receptive to choose historical monuments or art works; but certainly would not have a considerable impact over other type of responses, such as the preference for the tramway, tiles and food over Fado which figures in the World Intangible Cultural Heritage list since 2011 and is typical of Lisbon.

5. "MONUMENTS" AND PHENOMENOLOGY (GOING A BIT FURTHER THAN THE DATA)

The point that the majority of the choices fall within a "monumental" unders-

tanding of heritage may be “easily” linked to the predominance of an “authorised heritage discourse” (AHD) which, according to Laurajane Smith:

(...) 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 (Smith 2006, 29).

Assenting with Smith about the notion of a ‘typical’ discourse about heritage, it does not seem fair to justify all the misrepresentation and general opinion about heritage with the AHD. The problem with heritage is that people have the tendency to compare it with History, but they are not exactly the same, as Schouten points out: “Heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing into a commodity” (Schouten 1995, 21). Thus most heritage is political used to define national characteristics of cultures and countries, and this perspective is generally imposed “from above”, from the institutions who have the power, sometimes contrary to historical facts and to the majority opinion of the people.

We may recognise that this AHD has considerable impact in Portuguese mentalities influenced by the cultural heritage policies of more than 40 years of an authoritarian regime – which privileges the Discoveries Era (represented in the Belém area monuments); as well as the fact that the main tourism circuits and guides – this is also AHD – tend to direct visitors to the same key locations (Henriques 1996). It is im-

portant to notice that most museum visitors in Lisbon – and in this survey – are Europeans, whose notion of heritage is probably more influenced by this discourse and by a long tradition of considering historical monuments as the heritage paradigm. However, one must not deny the influence exerted by the impact these elements have on the landscape and the importance humans attribute to this factor.

According to Paul Ricoeur, the passage from “corporal memory” to a “memory of place” develops through essential physical actions: finding one’s way around, moving, and, principally, by living (Ricoeur [2000] 2004, 41). For this reason, human beings need material markers to comprehend their daily social and physical processes and to help in identifying the time and geographic location of their surroundings. The collective remembrance of these spaces takes place when a symbolic component is added that enhances the mere physical materiality of the object and its functional component (Nora 1989, 197).

Humans have felt attracted to the most diverse types of materiality since prehistoric times, most artistic and symbolic expressions of this time being inspired by elements found in nature, such as caves, mountains, abrupt faults, lakes, watercourses, etc. (Bradley 2000). Over time, nature is changed by our human capacity for transformation and these magical places are replaced by new ones, created by the human hand. Christopher Tilley argues that this transition is carried out through a perspective of knowledge and interpretation of the territory, processes which he sees as socially conceived (Tilley, 1994). In the same vein, but in a different text, Tilley states

that this creates “an intimate connection between persons and things; through making things, persons make themselves” (Tilley 2004, 218).

A social understanding of time and space (Cosgrove 1989; Sennett [1994] 1996; Thomas 1996) allows us to not only understand the act of monumentalising within a perspective of power and control over our territory – and thus over all who inhabit it – but also as a means of communicating and understanding this same territory, and of promoting cultural cohesion. Places help us remember events and situations, establishing a sort of phenomenological relationship that orders, in a binding way, the coordinates of time and space, to the extent of triggering ‘sensations’ dated in time and located in space amongst those who interact in this environment (Larrión-Carvalho 2008, 73).

When interviewing visitors at the various museums, it was to be expected that many would highlight the matter of tangibility when referring to heritage. However, the fact that mainly tangible elements were emphasised does not exclude the existence of a strong intangible component, insofar as what valorises heritage objects are the intangible qualities they represent to people (Carman 2009, 197). Belém, for instance, represents the Portuguese Discoveries, given material form in the Tower of Belém, a defensive structure that helped control maritime traffic during the era of the Discoveries, and the Jerónimos Monastery, erected facing the shoreline from where innumerable ships set sail for various parts of the world, thus affirming the power of King Manuel I as leader of an empire built on maritime trade. This glorious image is quite present in the

Portuguese History, introduced by both the authoritarian regime (1933-1974) and by the contemporary democratic regime that recovered the Discoveries period and the Portuguese role in encompassing the globe in the 1998 Lisbon World Exhibition (Silva 2014, 13-20).

The ever popular St Jorge Castle and Praça do Comércio are also spaces to which people tend to attribute an important intangible quality. The Castle is located at the highest point of Lisbon. It is visible from practically any point of the city and is therefore always a presence during one’s visit, representing Portugal’s emblematic medieval past. Praça do Comércio is simultaneously a place of conviviality and of contemplation, flanked by restaurants and open at its southern end to the Tagus River and the horizon of the opposite riverbank. When tourists mention the tram in their responses, they are most probably highlighting the thrilling experience of careering up and down Lisbon’s slopes in this mode of transport; and mention of Alfama immediately brings to mind the charms of a typical neighbourhood with buildings covered in ceramic tiles and where Fado music can be heard live at many restaurants.

Although survey respondents showed awareness of the intangible aspects of heritage – often combining monumental elements with those more day-to-day in character, and the tangible with the intangible – the large majority of answers continue to privilege traditional historic monuments. In our opinion, this could not be explained merely by the existence of a sort of Portuguese ‘authorised heritage discourse’, that influence both Portuguese and foreign through history books and guided tours and also by the



Figure 15. The St Jorge Castle and the Cathedral (far right), at the top, and at the bottom, the Jerónimos Monastery (left) and the Belém Tower. Photos by G. Carvalho Amaro, 26 April 2016.

simple reason that, as we mention before, using Kevin Lynch (1960), these monuments are an enduring presence. They have an important visual impact in the environment, present in the “image” that people have of the city (Figure 15).

In the case of nationals, it is common to find that Lisbon’s great historical monuments figure prominently in their image of the city, seeing as these ubiquitous heritage goods trigger memories of the past and reminiscences of stories heard at school or shared by family members. Combining both an authorised and a popular heritage discourse.

For tourists, their experience of the city almost always revolves around historic locations where monuments take centre stage. This also helps explain

the differences in respondents’ choices. Most foreign tourists, who only know specific areas of the city, only rarely declared that the city’s heritage is badly preserved or could be improved, and it is they who attributed value to experiences such as riding the tram or to details such as the traditional tiled facades (Figure 16), commonly found in most Portuguese cities and thus of little importance in the eyes of the Portuguese, but which foreigners see as extremely original.

These diverse choices lead us to reflect on how tourists understand heritage, suggesting that people essentially perceive and assimilate it in a phenomenological way, in the “practical” sense conferred by Tim Ingold, where perception is formed through action. In Ingold’s view,

understanding the world is simply being in the world; inhabiting it – with all that implies, such as relating to other human beings, animals and distinct materialities – is understanding it ([2000] 2002, 5).

The difference between Ingold and other phenomenological authors, like

Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Paul Ricoeur, resides in the fact that he combines culture with ecology:

I believe that this division between naturalistic and 'culturalogical' accounts is unfortunate, in that it takes for granted precisely the separation, of the naturally

Figure 16. The typical tramway 28, at the top and tiled facade from Lisbon, in bellow. Photos by A. Santos, 15 March 2016.



real from the culturally imagined, that needs to be put into question if we are to get to the bottom of people's own perception of the world ([2000] 2002, 5).

Ingold's view – informed by the ecological or environmental perception of the psychologist James Gibson (1979) and by his own anthropological work in Lapland with reindeer hunters – may seem very distant from any proposal aimed at explaining the reason why, in the city of Lisbon, heritage choices tend to favour historical monuments. Nevertheless, it is along this line of inquiry that Ingold develops his dwelling perspective, based on the understanding that environments, like life itself, are never complete, but rather forever in construction ([2000] 2002, 172). Houses – which we build from various different materials – are also living elements, with a life story that “consists in the unfolding of their relations with both human and non-human components of their environments” ([2000] 2002, 187). In subsequent texts, Ingold has applied his theory to highlight the unique relationship between humans and objects, emphasising the tangible nature of materials, in contrast to the prevailing culturalist trend. In his opinion, in order to comprehend materiality “we need to get as far away from materials as possible” (2007, 2). He argues that the physical characteristics of materials are what truly matter and influence the perception of artisans. For instance, clay allows us to do things that stone does not, and vice-versa – an aspect that entails a functional knowledge of the world, and especially of matter. Ingold is undoubtedly innovative in considering an alternative to “agency” as a way of explaining the stimuli conveyed by objects. In his view, the answer as to what lends life to objects is not found in culture, but in nature.

Things are alive and active not because they are possessed of spirit – whether in or of matter – but because the substances which they comprise continue to be swept up in circulations of the surrounding media that alternately portend their dissolution or – characteristically with animate beings – ensure their regeneration (Ingold 2007, 12).

Though agreeing with Ingold that the properties of matter are essential to understanding its final process, one must consider, as Michael Taussig comments, that culture also influences this final process and the opinion we have of the properties in question. Let us take as an example gold and cocaine, two forms of matter that, in addition to their prominent properties, carry considerable symbolic weight, rooted in their enduring negative relationship with human beings. The connection existing in these substances' properties and powerful myths lend them an aura of evilness and of respect (Taussig 2012, 170).

In the case of historic monuments, this combination of properties is evident in their antiquity and in their physical condition (wear, restorations, traces of presence, mixture of styles), which lead us to relive the past through the idea we have of it. It is this endurance and ongoing transformation that fascinates people and that helps them comprehend their own existence in the continuous context of our evolutionary world. Ingold introduces another interesting perspective on this issue, by considering that death (in the case of human beings) and destruction or disuse (in the case of buildings) does not necessarily represent an ending, in the same sense that before their existence, these elements were already present in the environment (2010, 160).

This continuity also offers security, by allowing us to understand where we come from. On the one hand, we feel we are confronting death (the past), while simultaneously our own lives (existence in the moment); in Ricoeur's words, this confrontation with death becomes a promise of life ([2000] 2004, 357). In Ricoeur's opinion, emotions are paramount and primordial to our memory of a place: "The memory of having inhabited some house in some town, or that of having travelled in some part of the world are particularly eloquent and telling. They weave an intimate memory and one shared by those close to one" ([2000] 2004, 148).

According to Ingold, the focal point resides in knowledge – the kind of knowledge that remains "recorded" and that consists, first and foremost, of abilities acquired through practice, not only by information passed down from generation to generation. As such, a generation's contribution to its heirs takes place through the education of attention. This proposal sheds light on the way Ise temples are constructed as heritage in Japan, where the perception of heritage weaves together tangible and intangible elements through learning. The tradition of rebuilding these temples every 20 years – which has endured more than 1200 years – represents an established commitment between people and objects that involves, in addition to the construction of the temple itself, the celebration of ceremonies and the gradual transfer of specialised knowledge: the carpentry works are carried out by around 100 participants, mainly local carpenters, who temporarily put aside their regular work for a period that may last from two to four years (Yoshida 2004, 108). Although plans exist for

each structure, the eldest and most experienced carpenter is expected to recall and convey to the apprentices his working expertise and the tools that should be used in building the sanctuary (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2004, 62).

In the case of this survey, we are not dealing with people that participated actively in the conception of heritage, though their experience of the place may influenced their choices. For example, we notice that there is a relation between the heritage goods selected and the location of the museum, as it has been seen in figure 13. The same could be applied regarding the preferences of foreign museum visitors for 'exotic' aspects (considering the visual *habitus* of foreigners) of the city such as tiles and tramways.

These approaches from Ricoeur and Ingold can be applied to the way in which people assimilate heritage and particularly to how identify and recollect it. One approach operates at a more transcendental level, conceived through a process that makes us conscious of other human beings and that allows us to emotionally respond to the traces of a past, justifying a beginning and a reason for the present. The second is of a more experimental character, which is assimilated through the experiences we live in relation to something we deem worthy of being preserved. We believe that the opinions of visitors to Lisbon's museums can mainly be framed within these two dimensions: the feeling of being awed by historic monuments, and the sensory engagement with places and elements that are new (in the case of tourists) or that have always been present (in the case of those who know the city better).

CONCLUSION

The responses collected through this sample of museum visitors could be said to reflect the "traditional" view that ancient historic monuments are the main examples of heritage. However, this interpretation is not exclusively due to a particular imposed discourse or structured city tour, but is likely to be rooted in Lisbon's unique social and geographical features, which lend prominence to certain monuments in the city landscape, thus possibly explaining the fact that the four top choices were common to all nationalities that visit Lisbon. This is an emotional relationship, resulting from the fascination that such places or sites create within us, concrete evidence of a time gone by (Lowenthal 1985). A past we find portrayed in books and in films; a past we imagine, whose existence we can bring into question, until it is reconfirmed, according to the expectations and imaginations of each of us, in the form of historic monuments.

Lisbon has three references in the UNESCO World Heritage list: Jerónimos Monastery (1983), Belém Tower (1983) and Fado⁴ (2011). These references are present in all international and national tour guides, and also in all sorts of merchandize and souvenirs.

Certain materials, due to their properties (resistance, stability and solidity) have a greater impact of permanence. Historic monuments are generally constructed of these more resistant materials because they aim to be eternal, and for that reason they are always directed towards the future (Olsen 2012, 79). Allied to this

factor, we should consider their physical impact in the landscape, that allows monuments to be used as landmarks (Lynch [1960] 2008, 98) and therefore possible of being regarded as symbolic and valuable (Ricoeur [2000] 2004, 41 and Nora 1989, 197).

This article concludes that for the majority of the respondents (both national and foreign) of this survey, the main heritages of Lisbon are essentially tangible goods, in which we notice an important presence of historical monuments. We find no particular differences concerning the type of museum, such as one with an archaeological collection or another with contemporary art collection. As it was mentioned before, the type of museum did not shape the overall answers. Nevertheless there are some differences between the Portuguese and foreigners. The latter seem to have more interest in typical elements of the city such as the tramways and tiles, and also show more sensibility to intangible aspects of heritages. The references to natural heritage are scarce, which could be explained by the fact that we are immersed in a big city, and also by the place where the survey was taken. Although we may find some presence in the references, mostly from foreigners, to the river and viewpoints. The fact that museum visitors chose tangible goods is not a new conclusion, although the fact that they practically make no references to the collections of the museums present in this survey is relevant. Considering, in an open question about heritage, that those 'objects' are not representative concerning the main cultural heritage choices of the city.

⁴ Although Fado is considered a typical song of Portugal it's mostly associated to Lisbon, where was born and has more diversity.

One of the most important aspects of this survey is that age is not a factor in the answers. It was a surprise to us to see that the younger generations – that grew up without the historical monument as the paradigm heritage, and with the recognition of immaterial heritage – have similar answers when compared with those older than 35 years old, inclusively with slightly higher percentages of preferences for selecting exclusively monuments as heritage.

Last but not least, in our opinion, the answers were influenced not only by the tourist propaganda – that emphasizes on the Belém area and the St Jorge Castle – or the place where the survey was taken, that is the museums, but also by the tourists' and locals own perception of the environment, and by the very same

act of strolling and walking around the city. The Portuguese capital it's an old town with its hills and viewpoints where the majority of larger buildings, with a constant presence in the landscape, are either ancient churches or palaces. Furthermore, this survey answers may be "integrated" in the conception that nowadays heritage has a much broader definition. Using an open question such as "what are the main heritages of Lisbon?" it was possible to see the diversity about what people think heritage is. For the museum visitors that participate in this survey, heritage is not only monumental – less than 30 % of those questioned responded only with monuments – it could be an historical monument or a specific characteristic of the city that they appreciate such as a tile a cobble, the river or the character of local people.

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