

Sources and forms of territorial heritage

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Abstract

Until the 1980s, the concept of heritage had a reductionist nature as it was focused solely on the identification of isolated resources, relatively independent from their environment, which were included in a protective catalogue. Over the last 25 years, successive recommendations from both national and international organisations (UNESCO, Council of Europe) have gradually changed this traditional conception in favour of other points of view. Territory is no longer simply a support for heritage sites or a stage for the landscape, but one in which everything is considered as a whole, as heritage territory.

The process through which a territory is recognised as possessing heritage sites can no longer be based on the mere location and inventory of the resources, as it did in the past. In order to overcome this limitation, after analysing many international experiences, we make a proposal here for classifying heritage sites that incorporates new variables to explain the nature of a heritage site and to understand the most complex and integrating meaning of the so-called 'territorial heritage'.

Keywords: Territorial heritage; Cultural heritage; Territorial resources; Regional and local development; Landscape.

Introduction

The objective of this work is to study the relationship between both material and immaterial cultural heritage and the territory where it is situated. This can be understood as a unique and original set of natural and social combinations. From this perspective, territory should not be understood as a piece of land belonging to a nation, a region a province, or any other political-administrative division. Rather, it is a space with diffuse limits, whose character and value is greater than the simple sum of all the heritage resources it contains.

It is not the quality of the individual resources (a cathedral, a castle, a factory, a tradition, a natural landscape) that gives a geographical space its character, but the combination of these and other resources which are the result of stable, cyclical, continuous or discontinuous, human activity. The explanation of all this is articulated through a singular and original story.

This set of heritage sites (locations) and the relationships between them is what we call territorial heritage, that is to say, a variable or unstable portion of space without political or administrative borders that, at the same time, surpasses such borders. Heritage, whether it is material or immaterial, historical or cultural, occupies an 'aterritorial' space, that is to say, its limits do not correspond with conventional territorial divisions or the frontiers that separate them. On the contrary, heritage territory is made up of the conserved resources and activities, and even the secular footprints and memory of both. These aspects can share the same space (a cultural route that crosses several countries, for instance) although they belong to different political territories (countries or regions).

The growing consideration of these resources as a labour and economic reservoir has contributed to heritage resources no longer being perceived as a burden that had to be attended to and which had only a secondary and exceptional nature, but as an essential resource of the new productive and competitive model of some regions (Graham et al. 2000).

The growing political and academic interest in this material since the beginning of the 21st century is only a reflection of the strategic nature attributed to this territorial resource, and of the preoccupation over the processes of their over-exploitation and degradation, usually extended to their surroundings, which are incompatible with their singular and exceptional natures.

From this perspective, as a hypothesis, it is worth considering whether the protective legislation (inherent to the identification and cataloguing of heritage resources) is compatible with the immense number of plans and regulations that control the process of their exploitation as territorial-economic resources; that is, if all this has not caused an increase in the number of local typologies, which has in turn complicated any understanding of the heritage and its relation to the territory, especially when a part of it has been stripped of its traditional meaning and use, that is to say, of the roots of its historical sustainability.

The contribution of the social sciences to the analysis of territorial heritage

The process that passes from valuing and protecting resources to interpreting them in a territorial context and from there to generating a series of procedures and mechanisms to give them value and articulate economic development around them (Harvey 2001) is relatively recent. Until the 1970s, cultural resources were recognised as such with respect to their intrinsic historic-artistic value and the historical period to which they belonged. They were mainly monuments or places that received individualised treatment, isolated from their spatial

context, and responding to protective principles of conservation that had arisen during the Age of Enlightenment and had been reinforced during the Romantic Period.

To this focus, based fundamentally on the exceptional nature of the resource itself, another is added that values the cultural legacy of the whole, but which also establishes a relationship between the resources of the past and the way of life and values of the present, in order to grasp and recognise the cultural values as the result of a social construction (Ortega 1998; Ivanc & Gomes 2015). The territory is incorporated not as a support or physical space, but as the interface resulting from the human transformation derived from the need to inhabit it, that is, from creating a geographical heritage space, identified for consumption through the unique combination of variables contained in its landscape.

The economic use of the territory is thus accomplished through numerous proposals that can be grouped into four large categories, which are present in most recent research into heritage and tourism: The creation of public policies conceived to boost the services sector (Denicolai et al. 2010; Gogolou & Dimopoulou 2015); the construction of new infrastructures and facilities as instruments of territorial qualification and revitalisation (Ciambrone 2013; Simeon & Martone 2014); the need to create a territorial trademark based on the exceptional nature of the heritage resources and the uses and customs of that territory (Harvey 2001; Ivanc & Gomes 2015; Lorenzini et al. 2011; Smith 2006); and finally, the promotion of tourism, in all its manifestations, with the creation, recreation, recuperation and sale of touristic products based on the original heritage or on some of its reinterpretations (Ashworth 2003; Biernacka & Kocwin 2010; Gogolou & Dimopoulou 2015; Kirshenblatt 1998).

The abuse of this strategy nowadays makes the revision of the growth model, based on the exploitation of heritage resources through tourism (Min et al. 2016) ever more necessary. This model aims to achieve a high number of visitors; which is often achievable and justifies public investment, both politically and economically. However, it does not take into account the damage due to the destruction or transformation of certain resources caused by urban and mercantile pressure on the territory, especially when the said resources have lost the function for which they were initially created.

The exploitation of the territorial heritage is just one way of turning back the clock to a time when the resources existed, under the supposition that the face of the territory that contained them is in continual flux (Lowenthal 2005). Thus, territorial heritage should not be understood as the accumulation and protection of material or immaterial remains, of landmarks, but as the imprint of the memory that created and used them, and which, over the course of time, gradually abandoned them, beyond the political, administrative or economic frontiers.

From this perspective, cultural heritage is also the reconstruction and evocation of the past, which we perceive through unconnected fragments in the territory, and which can now be located in their original place or displayed in a museum for its unsustainable consumption by mass tourism: First as an isolated resource, then as cultural heritage landscape (Robertson 2003) and finally, as territorial heritage (Braaksma et al. 2016).

On the territorial significance of heritage: a geographical approximation

Among the most common uses of heritage as an adjective, whether historical, cultural, territorial, material or immaterial, it is possible to find a common denominator, which consists

of considering as heritage those resources, or groups of resources, that society has found a different use for, one which was not its primary use or *raison d'être*; that is, a new story to prolong its useful life. This state is reached when the heritage resource no longer has any value for the group that created it, and an alternative is sought to recreate or to stage the traditional use, as well as to insert a new use with the capacity to attract other groups of consumers from any exceptional heritage resource (Landel & Senil 2009), thus initiating a new cycle of territorial exploitation.

In order to reach this situation, several phases have had to be completed (Figure 1). The first is that of the discovery of new resources; this discovery is frequently deliberate, corresponding to strategies that are searching for resources to which a story or legend can be attached and which can multiply its value. Once the resources have been identified, it is necessary to classify and catalogue them and justify their inclusion as part of the heritage. This can be based on a certain academic, historical, literary, or fantastic discourse that gives added value to a forgotten or unknown resource, with the aim of making it an economically and politically profitable resource (Greff 1990).

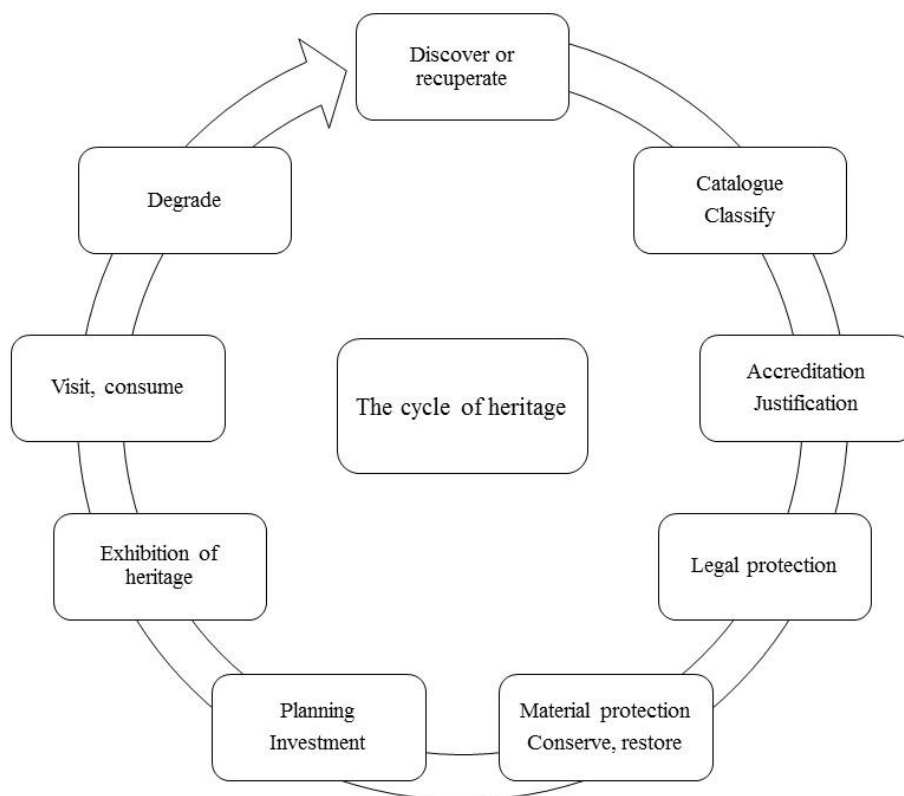


Figure 1. From forgotten to memory as an economic-territorial resource.
Source: Authors.

In a third stage, it is necessary to proceed with the control of the resources, unveiling a set of laws and protective regulations to boost their uniqueness, at the same time as creating the

proper conditions for a new discourse and thus creating a new use and function. Once these aims have been achieved, it only remains to embellish the product, elaborating plans and projects to create a brand image (Kockel 2002) and to unfold a marketing strategy, ready for the last stage of this complex process. This last stage is to sell it to the public, to attract those social groups that have the time to contemplate and consume the heritage, understood now as the materialization and recreation, in the present, of an original creative period in which the social and territorial identity is supposedly rooted (Graham 1998).

In order to set these strategies in motion, it is necessary to formally assume an apparent contradiction, since, to give added value to a heritage resource, it is first necessary to 'empty it'; in other words, to clean it of the historical connotations that are deemed inappropriate, and then to give it new features that serve its exploitation, with new services and establishments (hotels, restaurants) that transform the asset and its surroundings into a singular, exceptional landscape; a standardised, common landscape.

Once this initial contradiction has been assumed, the investment in conditioning the heritage resource is perfectly justified in political terms, since it is an endogenous, owned resource, boosts the gastronomic and architectural economy, needs a high contingent of manpower, both temporary and permanent, revives the feeling of belonging and territorial exclusivity, is the basis, together with other variables, of the so-called local development, and is an alternative to the crises of other productive sectors, especially the agrarian and industrial crises (Ciambrone 2013).

It is true, however, that this set of initiatives also suffers a high degree of uncertainty, since investment in heritage as a strategy to 'rescue' territories entails a high dose of risk and uncertainty, given that the product is consumed in situ, i.e., a constant, high flow of consumers or visitors is necessary, though in reality this flow is neither regular (due to it being seasonal) nor predictable. In addition, it is also unrepeatable and finalistic, as well as being sensitive to competition from other territories with more original or better stories which are more innovative or competitive, as they have known how to create a better brand image with which to promote and exploit their heritage.

This shows that, in reality, what is important is not the resource itself, but the story upon which it is anchored and which perpetuates the reason for its continuing existence. In addition to the artistic or architectural significance, a castle or monastery also has the added value of the social and historical context in which they were built, used or abandoned. The heritage resource may be real, material or immaterial; it may have had an existence and value prior to the story, but without the story it will disappear. This happens, for instance, with a great part of the industrial heritage (factories) which, once its function in the territory has ceased, is wrapped in the mystique of manual labour, with typically nineteenth century labour organisation and control, recreated in new memory containers, inert objects contained in industrial museums, centres of interpretation, or other equivalent formulas (Merciu et al. 2014).

However, territorial heritage does not consist solely and exclusively of exceptional resources. Together with those elements that have been awarded the status of heritage resource, the territory also contains many other resources of varying formal quality and high symbolic value. Such assets are often the basis of the individual formation of the territorial image, yet they pass unnoticed as they are not linked to a particular story and they lack formal,

administrative, academic or legal recognition. As chance would have it, some resources in this heritage universe that are not tagged as cultural, and which make up a kind of invisible, diffuse heritage, are given a story with a plot that rescues them from anonymity (Smith 2006), managing to make them visible so they can have a new existence, living a new cycle of exploitation after reproducing the stages that go from their discovery to consumption (see Figure 1).

Heritage, therefore, does not exist, at least not cultural heritage, as an absolute truth according to classical logic (Figure 2). The degree of territorial imprecision and diversity that this category presents is such that it has to be dealt with within the parameters set by diffuse logic, that is, as a partial reality or, in other words, considering that a resource's qualified heritage nature, and by extension the surrounding territory, is never absolute, but an intermediate situation between what is without doubt heritage and what is not.

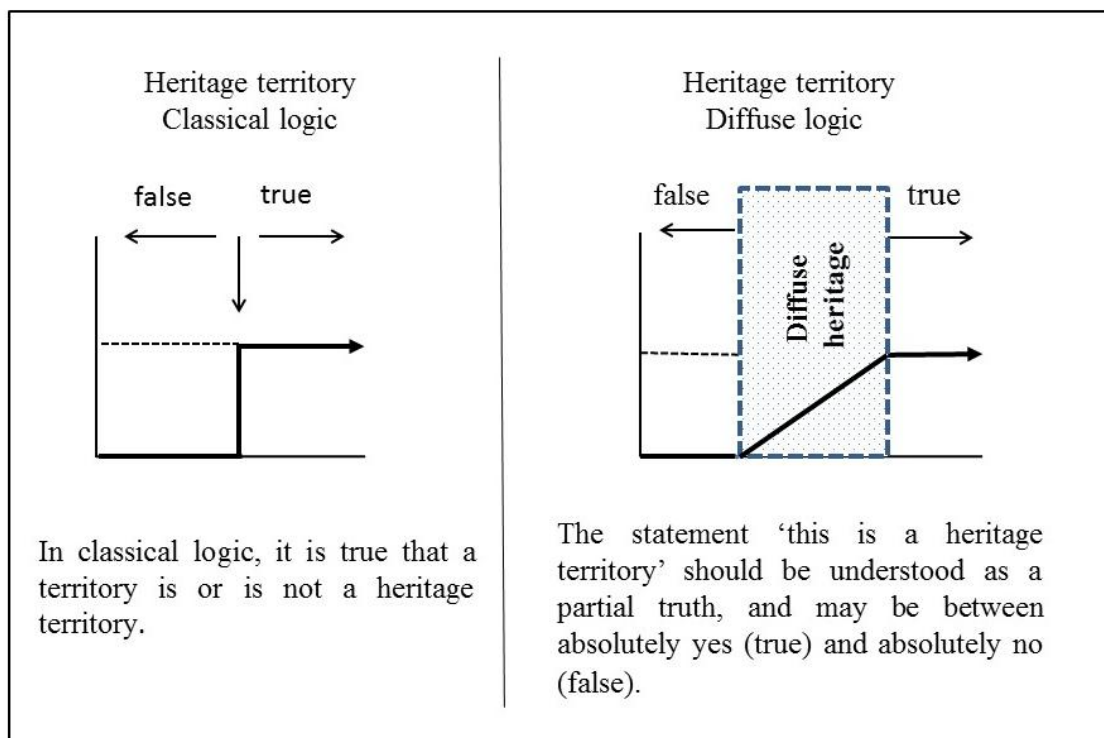


Figure 2. Heritage territory and diffuse logic.

Source: Authors.

Yet this imprecise heritage without value, once despised and then rescued from oblivion, together with the rest of the perceived and unquestioned heritage, needs a use above and beyond its own contemplation for it to have meaning. This use can be associated with other resources in order to profit from and take advantage of society's most valuable current resource: The use of leisure time. It is from this that the intensive, abusive use of the territory comes. It is highly profitable in the short term, but unsustainable in the long term, not so much due to the expiration of the resource itself, but of its story, when it is no longer capable of competing with other resources or other territories to ensure its own existence and

sustainability (Landel & Senil 2009).

Memory and the forms of territorial heritage

Heritage territory is ordered in conformity with the imprint of the traditional principle of distributed and caring social responsibility. At the place of origin in a territory, each resource or activity has a particular function in the territorial workings, whether it be social, political or spiritual control, or ownership of the land itself. The recreation and imprint of this distributed historical responsibility is what we now call cultural heritage or, more appropriately, territorial heritage. This heritage, as it is dysfunctional in the light of current development strategies (any time other than the moment of creation), can often only be understood as an inventory of museum resources.

The process through which a territory is recognised as possessing historical heritage (or more generally, cultural heritage), can no longer be based on the mere location and inventory of the cultural resources in isolation. These operations have already been resolved through national or regional legislation concerning historical or cultural heritage. However, as has already been pointed out, all this has scarce relation to the territory in which the resources are located, or even to the uses of the territory to which they were linked (Gogolou & Dimopoulou 2015). In order to overcome this limitation, we have created a classification proposal that starts from the commonly accepted division between material and immaterial resources included in all definitions and legislation concerning heritage. This allowed us to determine the meaning of the memory of territory as the building blocks of the territorial heritage (Mascari et al. 2009; Smith 2006; Tilley 2006).

The first of the two basic, formal additions is related with the material nature or otherwise of the resource (see Table 1). In the first case, that is, when the resources are tangible and cannot be moved, we consider that the resources become heritage when they enshrine the memory of a function, a way of life, or forms of belief and are dealt with within the classical process of reuse or rehabilitation in order to begin a new cycle of exploitation of a social or economic nature (as a social resource). Starting from this criterion, we then group the resources into four large categories: First, that made up of the set of resources which enshrine the exceptional and monumental historical memory of the inhabited territory, whether it be residential (such as the historic centre of a town), religious (such as a monastery), or a street, a palace or a necropolis.

Category	Source	Added resources	Territorial-heritage typology
MATERIAL RESOURCES	A. The monumental material memory	The catalogued territory. From monument to monumental set	Monuments, Historic-sets Necropolis Heritage cities
	B. Non-monumental material memory	Imprecise heritage Common resources awaiting cataloguing	Architectures and territories without recognised heritage value
	C. Culture and work memory	Elements of the productive tradition of a place	Labour heritage: factories, farms...
	D. Geographical memory as heritage	Singular combinations of natural, historical and cultural attributes	The territory as global heritage

Table 1. A proposal for the systematization of the material sources of territorial heritage
Source: Authors.

A second variant would comprise the set of resources included under the definition of imprecise heritage; a set of common resources which do not generally fit exactly into the classification criteria and categories of the so-called cultural resources, but which are examples of a way of urbanising, building or exploiting the land in a traditional, almost forgotten way. They are generally outside the city or territory routes or axes with heritage value (Vileniske 2008) and many are in a ruinous state, often irremediably so.

However, on occasions, they also present great expectations for reuse or rehabilitation. They are unknown territorial resources which, in some cases, already possess the structure of a touristic product, but one which has not been given any story at all, above and beyond the inventory of perceptible resources. Their value remains hidden and does not form part of the great infrastructures that serve national or international tourism, since they make up an unrecognised category which could be labelled ulterior territories, that is, heritage territories situated on the edge of the system of territorial development. The only touristic attraction they may have is one that is specifically designed to justify the visit and its insertion in the regional touristic circuit.

Thirdly, it would be necessary to consider the heritage variant in which the memory and culture associated with work as a new endogenous potential is highlighted, that is, that which is based on the end of the productive cycle of a resource in order to transform it into the cultural sublimation of that place's productive tradition (Jones & Munday 2001; Loures 2008; Högberg 2011; Xie 2015). It is an imperceptible process that converts a factory into industrial architectural heritage, or which transforms an extractive activity, which we call a mine when it is in use, and mining industry heritage when it is no longer in use.

Finally, it is necessary to point to the set of heritage resources that are collected in the territory's geographical memory, the latter being understood as a set of singular combinations

(landscapes) with natural and cultural attributes that, conveniently packaged, can be called ‘heritage parks’, ‘landscape catalogues’, ‘national centres of interpretation’ (place, municipality, district or region).

The second of the additions contemplates all the plans or projects concerning historical or cultural heritage, as being part of the recognition of certain immaterial attributes and resources, that are linked to or associated with a territory as a real or fictitious stage for events of a singular and ephemeral nature; or as the permanent, anthropological memory of a place as a rite, feast or tradition, the scene of a battle or the place of birth or death of a personality (Table 2). This set of resources can be subdivided, with respect to the greater or lesser relation with the territory to which it is attached, into four categories: The first would be made up of those resources that have the territory as an active and creative support base, which preserves the memory of the elements that allow their exploitation through rites, practices and shared uses, with a high capacity for historical permanence; a set of practices that become heritage when threatened with their loss or when they have already been lost irremediably and their rescue has to be organised. In all these cases, the identity, as the maximum expression of value, is given by the historical relation between space and event, that is, through the accumulation there of the memory of events of great symbolic and cultural significance (Agudelo 2011).

A second category within the so-called immaterial resources is that which is created through the implantation of culture in places that, historically, have not enjoyed an outstanding cultural activity, in other words, transcendental activity. We are, therefore, dealing here with a cultural resource created with a fully touristic purpose, such as that which comes from the literary tradition to recreate a new cultural heritage (the setting of a novel or a writer’s birthplace). The third category is made up of those resources that have the territory as an immaterial and passive heritage support base, whether because they remind us of old episodic events, with an ephemeral existence, which can be transformed into new resources, including an extremely wide set of situations ranging from sublimation through indigenism (here it was born) to the memory of battles (here it was fought).

Category	Source	Added resources	Typology
IMMATERIAL RESOURCES	A. The territory as creative base	Endogenous resource (ethnographic, anthropological)	Rites, agrarian uses, fairs, feasts, customs.
	B. The territory as passive heritage base	Cultural resource implanted in a territory	Book towns, cultural capitals, literary cities
	C. Places which are the stage of ephemeral events	Literature, ephemerides, spirituality, ethnography tradition	Scenes of battles, discoveries or historical events
	D. Evocation and teaching	Resources collected using transversal	museums, centres of interpretation, heritage

	approach of the heritage memory	discourse	parks, cyber-museums
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Table 2. Immaterial resources and territorial heritage

Source: Authors.

Finally, it is necessary to consider a fourth category, which is sometimes a synthesis of the other categories. This category is derived from the evocation and didactics of the memory of the immaterial heritage, synthesized in a museum, centre for the interpretation of traditions or similar cases. This is an option that is characterised by its great versatility, as it can be associated with the resources of the place in which it is located or not, in such a way that it is not the product which succeeds the resource, but the opposite, that is, faced with the need to find productive alternatives, or simply so as not to remain in the backwaters of a territory's touristic strategies, a particular place first imagines the product (a museum, for instance) and then creates the resource (to bring together objects from private or public collections) that is susceptible to being exhibited, and which, in turn, can be integrated into that territory or city's museum route (Kirshenblatt 1998). This new container (an emblematic, signature building) quite often becomes a resource in itself, new heritage created to increase the value of the immaterial resource it contains and recreates (Ivanc & Gomes 2015).

Starting from the combination of the basic heritage variables described, the different territories configure a particular territorial heritage development strategy, taking the leap from the singular available heritage to the product structured as a touristic resource (Denicolai et al. 2010). Its social and cultural value obviously depends on its quality, its intrinsic values and the means and degree of territorial integration.

From this perspective, it is possible to differentiate four typologies (Table 3) that synthesize the passage of the heritage resource to the cultural spaces or heritage territories: First of all, that which can be identified as places with singular, isolated heritage that possess one or several heritage resources susceptible to being converted into cultural products, historical-cultural products, or both; a second situation would correspond to what could be called integrated places, that is, those territories in which there are two elements for the exploitation of the heritage: The resource itself and its value as part of a chain of similar resources with a historic, cultural or environmental basis, which in general has regional or state recognition (a route or trail).

Types	Endogenous heritage potential	Example
1. Places with singular heritage	Territory qualified by one or several resources recognised as heritage	Place with a monastery or fortification
2. Places with shared-integrated heritage	Territory qualified by one or several resources which are part of a chain of resources	Historic centres Historic or cultural routes
3. Real heritage territory	Territory considered the sum of different heritage places (heritage cluster) whose global value exceeds the value of the sum of its parts	Large cultural centres: cities, shires, regions
4. Future heritage territory	Spaces with an imprecise, undetermined, or socially unrecognised heritage value	Factories, mines, ports, bridges...

Table 3. From cultural resource to heritage territory

Source: Authors.

Third is the situation that can be identified as heritage territory, which is achieved when a territory has a high density of singular resources (Capel 2014), both material and immaterial, corresponding to several categories from those of tables 1 and 2, which are spatially structured and organised. The global value exceeds the simple sum of the elements and are also recognised and encouraged as territorial brand names by various regional administrations and which make up a kind of heritage cluster, endowed with management instruments capable of converting the set of resources in each territory or place into sustainable resources.

Finally, the fourth situation should not be forgotten; where the set of resources and territories are considered to be possible future heritage resources, that is, that there is still no recognition as they possess an imprecise, non-cohesive heritage value, which is not yet available as a product for direct sale or in combination with other resources. They are part of the luminous heritage backroom full of resources of cultural interest, which has perennially contributed to excluding forgotten heritage, generally confined to old, historic quarters or small villages or places. All of them have made up the immense pockets of apparent conventional heritage poverty in a territory, despite being relics of old settlement and the husks of dreams buried by the splendour of the catalogue of resources from which they are still excluded.

Determining the character of resources, their cataloguing and inventory for later conversion to a touristic product susceptible to generating resources, is a necessary activity that many regions have been doing little by little over the last few years. The result has been none other than a hypertrophy of plans and projects that have converted into heritage everything that had either stopped being functional in itself or because of its link to the territory, that is to say, incongruent with its original use; or that set of resources, uses or customs which, in spite of its local, ethnographic or cultural nature, could be packaged up as a touristic product and added to the vast container labelled 'cultural heritage', on sale through classical methods (the travel agency) or internet and the social networks.

We are thus witnesses to a rebirth of the territory, through the transfer of the memory of ancient uses and customs to the present, in a peculiar exercise of historical sustainability of a cyclic nature, since each successive period of use of a resource arises from the exhaustion, or the abuse, of the previous (Ashworth 2003). Thus, heritage territory becomes a meeting place of interests that are often different, in which their relevance is no longer the singularity and quality of the resource itself, but the greater or lesser facility for the ability to maintain itself, that is, to be sustainable.

Conclusions

The combination of the diverse sources of heritage resources and the attribution of value to the resulting set of all of them in a territory, which we have called 'territorial heritage', represents a conceptual leap in the social, political and economic evaluation of these resources. They no longer have value in themselves to necessarily become part of their environment through the landscape, understood as a syncretic response to all the combinations that can occur in a place or a territory. This combination is the sum of unrepeatable moments, since territorial heritage is precisely the imprint, renovated many times, of the use that society made of the space, which in some cases it protects (conserves) and in others destroys, and which as a whole makes up what has traditionally been known as the geographical space. Such a space has often been subjected to such a large number of aggressions that it requires some form of protection to accomplish a double objective: To conserve the resource for future generations and achieve its exploitation without additional cost, now called sustainability.

The good thing about the entire legislative activity carried out by international, national and regional organisms to define and protect the heritage is that it focuses the attention on this question and promotes its exploitation in an orderly, profitable, or sustainable way. However, heritage management resorts to dividing up what is an addition to the territory, using a complex network of laws and projects, not always backed up by the necessary finance and educational capacity for it to be really sustainable.

The question is that not all countries or regions have followed the same path in coordinating and adapting their laws to the plan and the plan to this project. We should also keep in mind the fact that this process is necessary to safeguard three essential aspects, as has been demonstrated in the experience of other countries (Seitel 2001): To make the resource singular and to do so in each territory; to recuperate it for its material and legal protection; and to adequately put its new life cycle in order, maintaining the original use or uses it had in the past, in different economic, social and functional conditions, yet in the same location, in the same territory in which it acquired its value, to convert it into territorial heritage.

Territorial heritage is the sum of all the resources and stories contained within it. In some cases, they are resources of a profound historical or cultural significance which, today, can still be functional; yet there are other cases in which the resources were used at some time in the past, but which later became memories of the uses they had. They all make up the profound territorial memory, their geographical memory.

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