CHAPTER TWO:
Folktales, myths and traditions:
The integrated intangible aspect of European cultural monuments and sites

Historical cities and intangible cultural values.
Carnival festivities, collective urban celebrations.

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Introduction

Nowadays, Carnival Celebrations represent festive events taking place in public urban space within historic cities and towns. Traditional ephemeral events, such as Carnival, are a particular form of ritual performance with a strong symbolic connotation and can therefore be considered “intangible assets” of our cultural heritage, after 2003 UNESCO Declaration. The “Convention for the Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” (UNESCO, 2003) originates from the awareness that intangible forms of culture are fundamental identity and cultural diversity resources. Their importance does not lie in the traditional performance itself, but in the variety of knowledge and skills transmitted over generations\(^6\), \(^7\). Carnival festivities in Europe, and specifically in small ancient towns, villages and hamlets in Southern Italy, feature ritual occurrences, being urban events, which involve the entire civic territory, public areas, streets, squares, traditional public retail market spaces, as well as wide areas in front of religious or civic buildings. These so-called “luoghi”\(^8\), are an essential part of the urban value of historic centres. As a matter of fact, they represent the tangible assets of our cultural heritage and contribute to improving the quality of the urban landscape, where intangible qualities of popular celebratory traditions, ancient and folk music, cantatas and dances, and processions disguised with masks and traditional costumes are performed. The “ephemeral” heritage of Carnival events includes representation and expression of traditional practices, knowledge and know-how of local communities, conveyed through songs and music, myths and rituals, ideals and visions, dialect and idioms, arts and literature, standards and rules, traditions, shows, lifestyle. Moreover, “original” tools, objects, artefacts and masks are associated with the entire urban context as a whole and other single areas within it. The above are all fundamental signs of cultural diversity and human creativity, yet the broad participation of local communities is referred to as a highly significant value. Hence, Carnival is as a cultural expression, an opportunity of great interest for local communities, a chance of sociability and inclusion while encouraging a strong feeling of cultural identity among urban communities\(^9\).

\(^7\) cf. COLLETTA T., Festività carnevalizie e città storiche in “Territori della Cultura” 2018, CUEBEC online review.
\(^8\) venues [NdT]
\(^9\) UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage recognizes that “communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity”.
Collective celebrations of carnival festivities, intangible assets in integrated urban conservation.

Traditional and popular traits of each town’s festivities, have for long been adversely considered as aspects of folklore and superstition, while they are now being acknowledged as demo-ethno-anthropological assets of cultural heritage. Since 2003 collective Carnival celebrations have bestowed with significance of intangible assets of cultural heritage, thanks to their uniqueness and long-lasting ancient tradition of ritual practices, as well as to their original historical authenticity, not yet corrupted by strong tourist components. All Carnival rituals are indeed unique expressions, imaginative and creative performances, extraordinary sociable and inclusive opportunities among members of the same community, not only during the days the event, but also throughout the preparation stage. The wide participation of the local population and of cohesive social groups represents the identity of the historical venue where events take place. Therefore, Carnival festivities, need not only to be regarded as ephemeral heritage, but of fundamental intangible cultural value in the integrated approach of the historical urban landscape conservation\(^{10}\); they are part of a complex system featuring the urban identity, which can be identified with the spirit of place - the genius loci - that each city has inherited and preserved\(^{11}\) (Fig.1).

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\(^{11}\) required safeguard of “genius loci” within the process of integrated conservation was stated in ICOMOS, Quebec Declaration, 2008. cf. www.icomos.org
It is well established that the ascribed “value” of historical towns and cities is the result of a two-thousand-year stratification and of a long cultural continuity. Not only it includes tangible assets, but also the so-called saxa\textsuperscript{12} - urban space, walls and doors, streets and squares, market areas, urban fabric, and architecture, as well as immaterial resources - cultural significance, the citizens’ acknowledgement of their urban identity and belonging to the urban space, their ancient traditions and customs, religious and secular festivals, processions and ritual parades, economic activities, crafts, and finally human heritage, i.e. men and their community group\textsuperscript{13}. The intangible cultural heritage values recognition in current integrated urban conservation programmes\textsuperscript{14}, draws upon the need for safeguarding all ancient local and urban traditions being part of secular and Carnival festivities. From this point of view, the intangible cultural heritage of European Carnival celebrations, and particularly those in Southern Italy, needs to be referred to within a conservative and value-enhancing perspective\textsuperscript{15}. Moreover, the progressive transformation of festive events from a collective ritual, in which actors and audience tend to coincide, to a comprehensive performance in which the role of actors and spectators increasingly tend to differentiate, draws the attention to the need for maintaining the authenticity and original identity of Carnival festivities.

These celebrations represent an unlimited potential for the territory; as a matter of fact, not only they attract a large number of people within the territory itself who can cooperate to the good organization of these events, but also appeal tourist flows, coming into contact with different tangible and intangible heritage. Being eminently urban events, Carnival festivities are fundamental values of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage of historical urban territories hence closely related to urban conservation.

As far as the effects of the enhancement process are concerned, consequences are wide-ranging and distinctive and generate different territorial value development under cultural, economic, and social aspects, involving community identity, thus renewing and explicating

\textsuperscript{12} Saxa loquuntur is a Latin phrase invoked to refer to messages deciphered. from the vestiges of the ancient past: “stones speak” [NdT]

\textsuperscript{13} cf. ICOMOS “Florence Declaration” in 2014: Heritage and Landscape as Human Values, in www.icomos.org/2015/GA2014


the meaning of heritage itself. It is a propeller for local development and enriches the individual life of citizens, being an incentive in the field of culture and creativity and contributing to the generation and social strengthening of communities. Actually, the stratified value of urban spaces and of the rich historical landscape, their multiplicity and the original essence inherited and preserved in each town or city, determine a strong attraction in the collective imagination and is a stimulus to visit them. (Fig. 2)

Historic cities and carnival festivities
privileged places of cultural tourism

Historical cities are privileged by cultural tourism flows for their concentration of memories of the past, being extraordinary venues, strongly branded by the peculiarity of ancient environments with a long-lasting tradition. They are an attraction for their urban stratification distinctiveness—often dating back two thousand years but providing continuity of performance, as in southern Italy—as well as for the complexity of their heritage and the historical urban landscape where they are located, for the genuineness of their extraordinary and

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strong urban identity\textsuperscript{18}. Nowadays, the main character of their cultural identity, is identified in the spirit of place or genius loci: identity of place and spirit of place, are mostly distinguishable in public spaces and historical squares, because of their particular atmosphere, featuring liveability and memories, displaying recognizable characters of public utilization. Public space in countless European historical towns and cities are the privileged venues for traditional long-established local events, as well as for Carnival celebrations, which are main vehicles for cultural exchange. Processions, costume parades and Carnival dance performances march past the most representative urban sites of the whole community: such as historical squares, wide and narrow alleys, market areas, religious and civil buildings. (Fig.3,4)

\textsuperscript{18} Presentazione, The role of the integrated conservation of cultural heritage for a creative, resilient and sustainable city;

Fig. 4. Mercogliano (AV) (Campania Region). The ritual carnival masquerade procession in the public route.
In recent years, historic towns and cities have been increasingly attracting tourism, generating new urban tourist flows, no longer looking only at their privileged destinations because of their unique and rich heritage, but also for their leisure “festivals”, which can be considered the ultimate tourist attraction. Yet, the spirit of Carnival should not be identified just as a tourist attraction, on the contrary, it ought to be promoted as the prevailing and recognizable identity of that specific historic venue, thus, understanding the relevance of an integrated approach to urban conservation, i.e. including all assets of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Traditional festivities, civic events, festivals and new grand design encourage new tourist flows and subsequently develop innovative economic activities, even though not all relating with culture. They therefore represent an important resource for economic growth, employment and social cohesion, an opportunity for the revitalization of urban areas and the promotion of sustainable tourism, enhancing the attractiveness of local manufacturing and economy to a diversified tourist demand. Hence, the importance of these assets becomes evident: the integrated enhancement process is based on the substantial coincidence of the concept of “territory” and “cultural heritage”, envisioning a process, where the two areas refer to each other and are inseparably linked by a constant referral of actions and results.

Secular urban festivities historic “places”, the risk of the tourist market

As true today as it ever was, festivals are the expression of the economic and cultural context that originates them, hence being natural that they also explicit progressive transformation, as Giuseppe Galasso stated concerning festivities in the South of Italy 19. Over the centuries, celebrations have developed there an extreme significance, thus leading design innovation of collective celebrations from small to large scale, like the manual skills and creativity of local handcraft. Creativity, generated from the experimental collaboration between craftsmen and architects, musicians and composers, walk-ons and actors, breeds new attractiveness. Popular traditions (the popular traditions of the “square”), as are Carnival events, are rather important moments for local cultural heritage enhancement and communication, thus an opportunity to promote knowledge of cultural diversity and to increase dialogue between local communities and audience.

However, the continuity of authentic traditions in many historical secular festivals and Carnival festivities has often been lost: Carnival is a cultural resource of the venue and it becomes a tourist attraction. As a matter of fact, the peculiar scene of the festival, as emphasized by Mazzacane, is represented by the community everyday life context: streets and squares of the hamlet, town or city, especially when we refer to processions and costumes parades routes and stops. The traditional imageries are transformed, cast on the rose-tinted models broadcast on television and on the Web. As a result, local communities legitimately aim at a direct or indirect economic return from popular tradition - as a resource of the territory - in terms of tourism or advertising. Traditional festive performances subject to the “risk” of tourism marketing inevitably weaken their performative value and increase the spectacular-theatrical dimension of the event. Through the reversal of social roles, the abolition of conventions and good manners in everyday life, the exaltation of material and physical symbols to the detriment of immaterial and spiritual ones, and the production of an excessive emotional state (orgiastic feeling) Carnival amplifies some expressive elements, which are more or less explicitly present in all its displays.

Recognized as a secular event extraneous from any sacred dimension, Carnival has proved to be the most suited urban festival to interpret the present trend, where the cultural element still prevails as ultimate reason for the endurance of celebrations addressing the organizing community. This occurs for example in Montemarano in Irpinia (Province of Avellino), where he organization of Carnival still involves each participant to be “actor” and at the same time “spectator” of the ritual festive practice, which is repeated every year. (Fig.4)

The originality of each urban celebration must be considered as a positive, indeed essential, value, because it is a single stable element that confirms the recognition of that particular event in that specific venue, although elements of innovation are introduced year after year. Despite the insertion of creations and new devices it is utmost important that authenticity of the celebration remains preserved. (Fig.5).

The recognition of Carnival celebrations as intangible assets and the inclusion of several of them, both European and international, in the UNESCO World Intangible Cultural Heritage List (since 2003) has drawn new attention to these particular events. Furthermore, in 2015 also the Italian Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities (MIBAC), recognized the importance of “historical Carnivals” as demo-ethno-anthropological assets of the Italian intangible cultural heritage, to

be safeguarded in their integrity, along with their promotion and enhancement. For the first time, a dedicated contest has been called between institutions involved in the organization and management of Carnival celebrations to support the winners with adequate funding for the enhancement of these particular “cultural assets”, thus fostering local communities with the opportunity for an economic return\(^2\). This call for papers for a contest between the “historical” Carnival festivals represents for all Italian regions, particularly rich of these events, a great opportunity to facilitate their promotion and enhancement and to protect their authenticity.

The risk that festivals are exclusively exploited for tourist purposes is indeed increasingly real in contemporary Carnival celebrations. The organizing communities do not look at them as an opportunity to reproduce images of past popular traditions, on the contrary they are trying to catch the gaze of “outsiders”, visitors who turn to be only spectators of the ritual festive practice. We can mention for example the Carnival of Venice or Viareggio in Italy, or that of Nice, which despite having a long-lasting history, are held every year with new themes and new representations to attract new audience. Therefore, many of the events titled popular festivals, are often not the people’s festivals anymore, but festivals for people, despite having had a centennial past and a popular origin, they are nothing more than a tourist attraction. The “battle of flowers” during the Nice Carnival is

\(^2\) In December 2015 MIBACT (Italian Ministry of Culture) published a call for tender for a contest between institutions involved in the organization and management of Carnival celebrations. The call for papers addresses Italian historical Carnivals, whose celebration has taken place for more than 20 years and whose uninterrupted achievement has been proved. Eligible events should prove: a. historical authenticity of the event achieved since 1990, b. artistic and creative quality of future programmes, c. socio-economic impact on the territory, d. impact on tourist development, e. links with the surrounding cultural heritage, management and financial links with territorial stakeholders, f. international impact of the project (through European programmes such as Creative Europe, Europe for Citizens, European Heritage Label, UNESCO). cf. www.beniculturali.it
a clear example, but many other examples could be given. To reduce the risks inevitably associated with the tourist flows and incentive, it is utmost important to preserve and raise awareness of the historicity of the event as well as a thorough knowledge of the surrounding existing cultural heritage.

The risk of transforming the rituals of collective celebrations into ordinary performances exists, especially when we talk about Carnival parades. All around Europe, Carnival events’ primary aims are show and entertainment; the ritual practice no longer finds a justification in itself, but in the fact that it is viewed and attended by tourists, observers, photographers, television specialists, cameramen, professionals or amateurs.

Carnival costumes themselves end up being chosen among the currently most relevant ones and festivals adapt to those aspects of common feeling able to recall a common imaginary to the elements of society; communities demonstrate the progressive decrease of the internal symbolic dimension and the increase of the external symbolic dimension. Carnival and its venue increasingly look at each other through “the eyes of the outsider”, homologating the symbolic repertoire and the rich expressive potential of the traditional costumes and masks to identifications that are often trivializing, based on the caricatured deformation of current politicians or on topical issues. Evident and renowned example of the above are the grand parades of allegorical floats, more and more technological and larger in size, which are the attraction of the most famous historical Italian Carnivals: from Viareggio to Fano, and Putignano. Despite a long-lasting historical tradition, many Carnival festival find themselves in the need to differentiate from other similar events, to conform to the current show business, and to maintain or increase the consensus by enhancing the sense of amazement. This is the case especially in large cities, while it is easier for ancient festive traditions to be preserved in small towns, where the relationship between local populations and traditional ritual festivals is closer. This is more evident as explained below for the colourful costume folk festivals included in many historical Carnivals held in Campania and Southern Italy, which maintain their ancient ritual traditions and original music, thus preserving their original authenticity.

There are, however, due exceptions, which for their long historical continuity and their preserved integrity and authenticity have had their “Festivals” and “Carnivals” being recognized as of outstanding universal value and therefore enrolled in the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity of UNESCO22.

22 cf. COLLETTA T., Le festività carnevalizie europee nella Lista dell’UNESCO del 2003, in COLLETTA T. (edited by), Festività carnevalizie cit., pages 70-84
Research on the historical carnivals of southern Italy

The research was conducted with support of the European Commission within the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union in the project: “Ephemeral Heritage of European Carnivals Rituals” in the years 2014-2017 by the Interdepartmental centre of research in Urban Planning “Alberto Calza Bini”, of the University “Federico II” of Naples. As official partner of the Project the research centre has focused its interest on the relevance of the intangible “values” of the “festivals” cultural heritage in Southern Italy, aiming to safeguard their authenticity and promote their enhancement. The Creative Europe Project, called “CARNVAL”, intended to pay great attention to ephemeral events of European carnivals and to implement a European network of creative and cultural organisations and institutions related to European Carnival rituals as festive events, to reinforce the idea of European cultural heritage and enhance the feeling of a common identity.

In this perspective, the Neapolitan working team (L. Fusco Girard, T. Colletta, A. Errico, L. Bello, T. Peluso) has focused its interest on the “rituals and festivals” of Southern Italy still performed in many historical towns and cities. The research has highlighted the rich and ancient traditions of the southern Carnival festivities, particularly in Campania, their historical rituals, the close relationship with urban space and the still-existing strong social cohesion of the local community, comparing them with the different experiences of Italian and European carnivals.

In Campania, Carnival Festivals are a collective celebration, symbol of a festive event that takes place in public urban space and involves the participation of the entire local population. Citizens live this opportunity to create a space of integration and sociability, encouraging not only the production of particular artistic “Carnival” expressions but also developing a strong spirit of identity. Urban identity and the spirit of place of traditional Carnival rituals are the main capital of intangible heritage of those communities and represent the existing expression of Southern Italian cultural values.

These existing expressions of traditional cultural values, with the rich tangible heritage often consisting in thousand-year-old urban stratification, are for ancient towns and cities a potential resource and an opportunity for development. The promotion of new forms
of “experiential” tourism, addressed to interested visitors can trigger new forms of qualified cultural tourism from which local economic development and sustainability can be achieved, though new receptive and catering, recreational, and manufacturing activities.

With a view to raising awareness on southern Italian Carnival festivals and disseminating the results of the European Project, the Interdepartmental centre of research in Urban Planning “Alberto Calza Bini” has organized a study meeting on the theme of intangible cultural heritage and ephemeral manifestations of Carnivals as essential elements of the “spirit of place” in Southern Italian urban territories. The study meeting on “I Carnevali in Campania e nel Mezzogiorno”, took place at the Royal Palace in Naples in June 2017, and addressed the issues of protection, enhancement and promotion of historical Carnival festivities, regarded as important intangible heritage of our territory with a view to sustainable culture tourism for development. The different ways of celebrating Carnivals in Campania (processional dances, folk music, costume processions and parades of floats) were highlighted under different points of view including the reasons that closely relate them to the historical, social and cultural features as well as to current urban life. The participation of the entire population to the festive event establishes a pact of reciprocity among all citizens representing their urban identity.

Envisaging sundry interventions to raise awareness and to promote scientific reflection, as well as to perform a wide dissemination of the rich cultural heritage of the investigated festivals, the book “Carnival celebrations, intangible cultural values and historical cities. A resource for quality tourism development in the South” has been published containing several entries.

The work aims to disseminate the current knowledge on the topic and to promote a space for intercultural dialogue between the scientific community, the local community and the future generations, in order to share the tradition of Carnival as a cultural resource of each territory and as a potential resource for a quality tourism development in the South.

The work is divided in three parts. The first one focuses on the historical and cultural value of the intangible heritage inherent to secular festivities and traditional Carnival rituals and the need to safeguard and transmit them to future generations, in relation to what was stated in the 2003 UNESCO Convention; it summarizes the activity of ICOMOS for the enhancement of the demo-ethno-

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anthropological heritage of “festivals”, of the genius loci of historical cities, of the skilful “conservative” work of ancient traditions, approaching integrated urban conservation. Special attention is paid to highest danger for traditional rituals of Carnival which is the risk of the exploitation of the festival for exclusively tourist purposes with the consequent transformation of the rituals in a show performance. Popular traditions (the popular traditions of the “square”) represent an important moment for the enhancement of the southern cultural heritage, but only the promotion of a qualified cultural tourism can trigger a local economic development, and constitute a real resource, in terms of propeller for new and sustainable receptive, recreational, productive, Eno-gastronomic, and artistic-cultural activities etc. The close relationship between intangible cultural heritage and cultural tourism is unmistakably evident for the implementation of an innovative local development, in terms of circular economy, sustainable tourism and local development, as stated on several occasions during the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development (2017).

The second part of the volume deals with the cultural values of Carnival festivities and the different ways of considering Carnival traditions in an intercultural dialogue, as well as the opportunities offered by the Creative Europe Project “Ephemeral Heritage of the European Carnivals Rituals” to implement the attractiveness and competitiveness of Carnival festivities and the spirit of identity of the historical cities of Campania as a potential cultural resource of the place for a quality tourism development. The focus is on Carnival festivities as an urban event, highlighting the close relationship between the ritual itineraries of Carnivals and the current road network in the concerned towns and cities, with a special glance on their public space. The strong existing links determine the close correspondence between the safeguard of events and the revitalization of streets and squares, and of major monuments of those cities - historical buildings that have very often been restored and turned into exhibitions of the ancient Carnival traditions, as it has happened for the ancient baronial mansion in Acerra, now Pulcinella Museum. The carnival event can be a propeller for the promotion of tourism and at the same time can trigger the development of neglected geographical areas, through festive tourism, leading to significant economic benefits for local communities, in a proper sustainable development.

The third part focuses on the historical Carnivals in Southern Italy and in particular in Campania, on the rich cultural heritage of Carnival and its tangible and intangible value, on the routes of historical rituals and processional routes, on anthropological readings, on ancient artistic heritage, on cultural associations and foundations, on creative and
cultural industries related to the organization and management of Carnival celebrations. Particular attention has been paid to the stock character of Pulcinella, traditionally the “mask” of southern Italian Carnival. In this sense, the aim is to raise awareness on ancient “historical” Carnivals in Campania by informing, communicating and promoting them to a wider public and to the main stakeholders (professionals, governments, national NGOs, regional and municipal institutions, etc.).

The purpose is to promote the rich heritage of historical towns and cities in Campania, their tangible and intangible assets, not only as tourist attractions, but as a rediscovery of ancient symbolic traditional celebrations aiming to safeguard them and to achieve a sustainable tourism, according to the approach of integrated urban conservation, expressed in the “Principles of Valletta” (ICOMOS, 2011).

The fourth part of the volume concludes with the case studies and a rich iconographic and photographic repertoire of the selected Carnivals of Campania, which have been included in the CARNVAL project network of European Carnival celebrations. The files of the above mentioned selected Carnival celebrations of Campania are published and divided into the areas reflecting the districts of Campania (Neapolitan Area, Caserta, Benevento, Avellino, Salerno) and enriched with news about the tangible cultural heritage, the organizational and economic management, as well as with information on existing foundations, associations, museums and dance or music schools within every Carnival location we studied.

Summing up, the message that most of these “festivals” should convey is that they are common heritage, which lives in people and with people, image of their past and hope for their future: cultural heritage and at the same time economic resource, to be protected and safeguarded in its integrity and authenticity, in a single common cultural area of European identity, a fundamental resource in the European Year of Cultural Heritage that opened in ‘year 2018 and for which the volume was awarded the Logo.
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