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Global and local: local heritage and production

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Local heritage and production

Intangible cultural heritage represents a resource for the development of communities. Transformable and reproducible, heritage is regenerated and takes on new forms when integrated into new contexts and new development dynamics. In this context, I would like to analyse the dynamics relating to the processes of globalisation and local production, with reference to the intangible heritage of local communities, based on a definition of two terms, *global* and

local, to show how they are strongly connected and, at the same time, how they influence heritage practices at different scales. Finally, as an example, I will present the initiatives that have been carried out and that have been implemented in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, in relation to the assessment of the historical and cultural heritage linked to the artisan tradition of places, and I will try to connect the terms *heritage*, *identity* and *tradition* through the account of heritage practices and improvement processes carried out, on various scales, by institutions, museums, associations and individual artisans. I will also show

the role played by the different institutional and non-institutional actors in the process of reconstruction and readjustment of territorial policies, connected to local production and globalisation processes and to the new issues of tourism and communication. *Global* and *local* are two apparently opposite terms that are misleadingly identified with change and stability.

The concept of *culture* has always been central to the anthropological disciplines, as the expression of human diversity and globalisation has played an important role for anthropology, and, in reference to cultural issues, the

El canvi de perspectiva, que veia els conceptes de *global* i *local* diametralment oposats, ha revitalitzat avui els elements culturals marginats, i s'han recuperat costums, esdeveniments i pràctiques locals i s'han projectat en un escenari global connectat a les demandes del mercat. La recerca tracta de connectar els termes *patrimoni*, *identitat* i *tradició* mitjançant la narració de les pràctiques patrimonials i de millora que s'han dut a terme, en diferents escales, per la regió catalana amb referència als processos de producció de les localitats relacionades amb qüestions turístiques globals i comunicació.

El cambio de perspectiva, que consideraba los conceptos de *global* y *local* como diametralmente opuestos, ha revitalizado elementos culturales marginados en la actualidad, recuperando costumbres, eventos y prácticas locales y proyectándolos en un escenario global vinculado a las exigencias del mercado. La investigación trata de relacionar los términos *patrimonio*, *identidad* y *tradición* a través del relato de las prácticas de patrimonialización y valorización llevadas a cabo, a distintos niveles, por la región catalana con referencia a los procesos de producción de las localidades conectadas a los temas globales del turismo y la comunicación.

The change in perspective, which saw the concepts of *global* and *local* as diametrically opposed to each other, has revitalized marginalized cultural elements today, reviving local customs, events and practices and projecting them onto a global scenario linked to market demands. The research attempts to link the terms *heritage*, *identity* and *tradition*, through the account of heritage and valorisation practices carried out, at various levels, by the Catalan region with reference to the production processes of localities connected to the global themes of tourism and communication.

term globalisation is increasingly used as synonymous with *homogenisation*. However, this is not the most widespread view in the discipline, as the term is preferably used "to indicate a more general, growing but highly varied interconnectedness internally, as well as a growing awareness of humanity and the world as something unique" (Hannerz, 2001: 8).

Cultural difference becomes part of a global mosaic of more or less circumscribed units. In this sense, the mass mediologist Marshall McLuhan (1964), in the sixties, used the formula of *global village*, as an alternative to the concept of *cultural mosaic*, to indicate how different cultures are really interconnected and that they are not always limited to specific territories or communities; in fact, no culture manifests itself as a territorial entity with clear and lasting

borders. Although the deep roots of a culture are usually found in particular places and regions, it is also true that the inhabitants of these places themselves live experiences in other countries and continents, at an ever greater distance. The encounter between cultures and their interconnection is a derivative of the mobility of human beings, but also that of meanings and ideas through the media, writing and the various forms of global communication. Especially thanks to new technologies, distances are shortened and the world is aware of being a unique field of interactions and cultural exchanges. Language has long dominated our way of thinking about cultural boundaries, as it coincided with the concept of *nation*, but other symbolic modalities, such as gestures or representation, have shown how cultural forms easily relate to each other and cross state borders.

The Anglo-Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1992) maintains that "the idea of agency should not be connected to that of a system, but to a flexible sense of habitat, in which action operates and, at the same time, produces" (Hannerz, 2001: 28). Habitats can expand or shrink and can be identified with individual individuals or communities; in this case, the analysis of the cultural process of social relations establishes when a habitat of meaning is shared. It is clear that most of our habitats of meaning today are shaped and defined by collective and institutional actors; the legitimacy of states

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Museu de la Terrissa of Quart
(2019) CIRIACA CORETTI



is achieved through the promotion of a different culture and through the cultural construction of citizenship. To understand the nature of the culture we live in today, we must also understand the way in which institutional and collective actors manage it; the state and the market are actors with their own interests and logics, and not systems that directly produce culture. In this context, goods become meanings and forms that convey messages. Sociologists Scott Lash and John Urry (1994) write about contemporary economies: "what is produced more and more are not material objects, but signs".

Defining locality is more difficult, as there is no term that defines it as an effective social form. In his text, *Modernità in polvere* (1996), Arjun Appadurai defines locality in its relational and contextual rather than spatial aspects, as a set of particular forms of action, sociality and reproducibility, as a structure of feeling, of ownership, of social life and the ideology of the situated community: "a structure of feeling generated by particular forms of intentional activity and which produces peculiar types of material effects" (Appadurai, 2011: 235). The scholar adds the term *neighbourhood* to the locality: "Neighbourhoods in this sense are effective communities characterised by their specificness, spatial or virtual, and by their potential for social reproduction" (2011: 229-230). Neighbourhoods are the contexts in which meaningful social action is generated and represent the prerequisites for the production of reliable local subjects, understood as recognised subjects, named and endowed with the capacity to act socially in the neighbourhoods. When local subjects carry out social activities of production, representation and reproduction, they contribute, even unintentionally, to the creation of contexts that can go beyond the own,

material or conceptual borders of the neighbourhood, and thus contribute to changes, even if they are minimal, based on collective self-representation. Therefore, while local subjects attempt to carry out the task of reproducing the neighbourhood, historical or environmental circumstances gather the potential to reproduce new material, social and imaginative contexts. The relationship between the contexts created by the neighbourhoods and those found in them is, ultimately, a question of power relations and different degrees of organisation and control in which specific spaces and places are inserted. If we try to determine the typical components of the locality, we realise that they are not easily identifiable locally nor are they necessarily linked to territoriality; this way of seeing the place is rather the result of cultural habits.

The local is the gathering of several significant habitats, where the global is what is considered local elsewhere. The social theorist Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, in some recent writings (1987 and 1992), referring to the changes and repercussions caused by the encounter between modern civilisation and other cultures, points out how modernity gives rise to an increasingly internal civilisation, but also to a series of multiple modernities. Eisenstadt also points out that "the construction of the boundaries of societies and social systems, especially political ones, on the one hand, is a basic component or aspect of human social life, and on the other, he recalls that these boundaries tend to be fragile, permeable and relative in terms of times and contexts" (Hannerz, 2001: 69).

In short, the production of the locality is the result of the interaction between the localised space-time and the local subjects with the skills that allow it to be reproduced. In the production of

locality, time and space are socialised and located through conscious practices of representation, performance and action. The fact remains that the notion of locality remains a fragile concept and, at the same time, transitory, this is because its reproduction must take into account the possible disintegration of the context and resistance to standardisation, without counting the pressures generated by the more complex hierarchical organisations represented, first of all, by nation states. The possibility that locality becomes a structure of feeling is often a slow, variable and indeterminate process, which is conditioned by institutional initiatives and power hierarchies, but can also be determined by local actors, whether they are cultural operators or actors - inhabitants of a territory, and it would be a mistake to leave its production exclusively to specialists.

Cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, has always been an essential element in defining local, regional and national identity, and, taking into account the processes that have been described, it increasingly represents a source of pride or, even and everything, of resistance. The important thing is that the cultural heritage is recognised as its own by the community to which it belongs, sharing the history of its places and at the same time interacting with external influences. The improvement processes carried out in favour of local assets include both approval and localisation processes. Therefore, local events today are conceived, declined, and constructed as global-local events, and specific cultural events are designed to take place in a larger arena such as tourist markets or global communication. The change in perspective, which previously saw the two concepts as diametrically opposed, has revitalized marginalised cultural elements; this is how customs, manifestations

and material objects have emerged, the perception of institutions and communities has changed in relation to their own cultural heritage, both material and intangible, which helps to reconstruct the specific characteristics of cultural heritage.

With the aim of promoting cultural diversity, UNESCO's policies to protect intangible heritage have repeatedly stimulated anthropological reflection on issues such as the authenticity of artisan production related to the production, representation and promotion of local communities, in our case, understood as conformity to tradition.

Finally, it is surprising, but not unexpected, to note that, in the era of mass production and consumption, there is considerable interest in distinctive artefacts, with their own cultural identity and individual history. In global markets, in which differentiation is sought, the reference to *genuineness* is important and *authenticity* of the artisan product.

In the era of globalization, one of the characteristics most requested by the market seems to be that of "making goods more cultural and, at the same time, more commoditised" (Lai, 2007: 36). It is possible that this new style of consumption came about because of the general disapproval of mass industrial productions, perceived as anonymous. Antonio Sassu (2007: 173) reminds us that:

[...]

Globalisation opens up new markets and facilitates the sale of identity goods, the demand for which increases with income. Wealthier consumers are turning more and more to goods that, due to their

authenticity, maintain the characteristics of typical local products. Obviously, there is a danger that products of local identity will become standardised, partly because of codified knowledge spreading due to the loss of some tacit knowledge and partly because of tastes becoming homogeneous, not to say that they are produced *en masse*, but if these problems are overcome, that is to say, if the identity of the good can be maintained first, globalisation is perfectly integrated into localism [...]. In conclusion, globalisation is a phenomenon with which economic development manifests itself today, which teaches us the ways of production, which opens new markets and which is not opposed to typical local products. There is no incompatibility between localism and globalism.

The following case is an example of how specific local events are designed to be presented in a wider and global setting that is also linked to tourism markets.

Case study of the craft tradition of Catalonia

An example of these processes is represented by the diversified heritage policies, which are implemented in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, with reference to its ethnological heritage and the social construction, more or less conscious, of a common identity through the improvement and promotion of its cultural heritage.

Since 1993, the Generalitat de Catalunya has approved two laws, still in force, which, following the *Mission du patrimoine ethnologique* (France, 1980), promote the safeguarding and promotion of the Catalan Cultural Heritage: Law 2/1993 of 5 March, for the promotion and protection of

popular and traditional culture and cultural associations, aimed mainly at the different areas of traditional Catalan culture, to popular cultural organisations and entities that promote the study, dissemination and conservation of ethnological heritage, and Law 9/1993 of 30 September, on Catalan cultural heritage, thanks to which the Cultural Heritage Advisory Committee was created, as an advisory body to public administrations in matters of heritage. As a result of Law 2/1993, the Ethnological Heritage Inventory of Catalonia [*Patrimoni Etnològic de Catalunya*] programme was also created, which aims to research, document, disseminate, protect and safeguard ethnographic heritage. From 1994, the year in which it was created, until 2015, some 267 research projects on Catalan ethnological heritage were completed. This is a considerable number and a scenario of great interest in terms of the capitalisation and promotion of local heritage, material and immaterial, which, among other actions, encourages Catalan applications to the representative list of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage and in the Register of Best Practices for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO.¹

Although neither the two laws nor the Ethnological Heritage Inventory of Catalonia programme make explicit reference to traditional craft heritage, the field research I did in Girona in April, May and June 2019 at the Catalan Institute for Research in Cultural Heritage (ICRPC), under the direction of Saida Palou Rubio, anthropologist, and Xavier Ulled i Bertran, historian and head of cultural management of the Institute's museum heritage, highlighted how small cities, especially, are characterised by having a strong traditional craftsmanship from the rural era that distinguishes its identity. Between

the end of the 1990s and the 2000s, numerous institutional initiatives were launched to promote local crafts, especially in small towns, and several history museums were born, thanks to regional and European funding and local culture, many of which are related to the themes of artisan tradition and its renewal after the transition from a predominantly rural world to an industrial and modern world.

The phenomenon of the creation of new museums and the reform of the oldest ones has characterised the last few years, since in 20 years many museums have been founded and those that were already there have been renovated. While it is true that institutions do not change or do so very slowly, Catalan museums are, in this case, the exception that confirms the rule. In recent years, they have been able to transform, renew and project themselves into the future through a conversion of the old historical-collecting movement and the fruition of new museographic purposes.

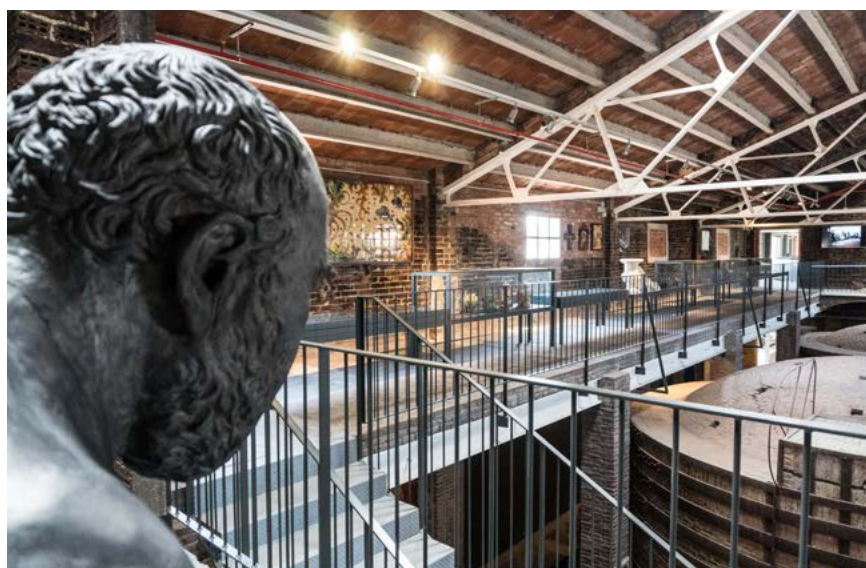
Field research has shown how craft productions survive in the area thanks to local museums, through collaboration with municipalities, local trade associations, schools and the artisans themselves. The peculiarities of these museums is that they have a contemporary character and that they take into account the transformation processes that the world of crafts has experienced, in which mechanisation has gained strength. Every museum tells a story: the story of the place where it is located and of the community that has animated it; a story made up of people, objects, workplaces, tools, materials, but also of crisis, recovery and readjustment from the craft sector to new requests and new markets. In short, the museum represents the place where the current history of the community is collected. The local museums, with their respective permanent exhibitions, aim to initiate a

discourse, each with its particularities, around the temporal conjuncture that involved the transformation of old currents of thought and issues related to consumption. On the one hand, they aim to be strategic centres of local culture, through the preservation, conservation and dissemination of the material and immaterial heritage linked to their artisan productions, and on the other, they want to become proactive and provocative agents.

Among the many museums in the region I have identified some: the Earthenware Museum of Quart, the Terracotta Museum of Ceramics of La Bisbal, the Càntir Museum in Argentona and the Cork Museum in Palafrugell; after a first bibliographic search, it seemed useful to visit them and interview their respective directors. It became immediately clear that each of the museum institutions identified is characterised by a strong territorial bond, highlighted by the museum spaces they occupy, which was added to the obvious link between the collections and the historical tradition.

The Quart Earthenware Museum and the Terracotta Museum of Ceramics of

La Bisbal occupy the old tile factories that were active for many years and were dedicated to the local craftsmanship of objects and bricks. In the 1990s, these spaces were taken over by the respective municipalities and became museums in the early 2000s. To testify to the historical value of the buildings, their renovation has left intact some parts such as, for example, the original smokestacks, tanks and kilns, the latter used for museum exhibitions. The old smokestacks, in addition to recalling the traditional activity that used to be carried out, are features on the urban landscape and I recognise that during my research their vision was decisive in identifying the museum structures. The Quart Earthenware Museum is essentially based on the tradition of black earthenware: a particular process that identifies the region of Quart and that in the past had a great capacity to adapt to the market, as objects were produced for domestic use and bricks as, subsequently, elements of decorative use in architecture. The artisan families with the most tradition, such as, for example, the Marcó family and the Bonadona family, with their respective family businesses still active today in Quart, have been able to grasp the



Museum of Ceramics of La Bisbal. (2019) CIRIACA CORETTI

new social reality and are now mainly dedicated to decorative ceramics and sculpture, without neglecting the market reserved for the catering and tourism sector, thanks to which the new pieces are exported abroad or in the surrounding area. Inside the museum there is a permanent exhibition dedicated to these two families, together with other lineages of potters that have contributed to characterising the long ceramic tradition of Quart².

The Terracotta Museum of Ceramics in La Bisbal focuses on the various ceramic processes that, at least since the 18th century, have been one of the main economic activities in the area and have involved many families of artisans, creators and artists who, through generations, have dedicated themselves to the processing of ceramics and have produced different types of pieces: utilitarian, artistic, experimental and industrial. Bisbal ceramics have experienced significant changes throughout history and their market demand has grown exponentially over the years, increasing the number of artisans, but also their presence in the markets of Girona, Olot and Mataró. From the 1940s, production suffered a decline due to the great cultural, economic and social changes that led to the gradual abandonment of agricultural activities in favour of an urban and industrial society model and the emergence of new materials, such as plastic and steel. This was a situation of decline that would have been definitive had it not been for the emergence and gradual consolidation of the tourist phenomenon, which has allowed many workshops to reorient their production and adapt it to new needs, transforming old productions into basically decorative objects. This circumstance has important consequences on the type of production, which will definitely lose its utility

linked to domestic use. In addition to the permanent collections and the huge repository, part of which is on display, the temporary collections are of particular and strategic importance in terms of collaboration with artisans, so that they feel part of the improvement and promotion process. One of the exhibition spaces consists of a temporary exhibition, which changes every year, and is dedicated to current artistic ceramics from La Bisbal. Another space represents *La Peixera*, an exhibition area designed for con-

temporary ceramics and which is run by the local potters' association, the *Associació de Ceramistes de La Bisbal*, which determines its programming and which is currently based in the Museum. Currently, in the city of La Bisbal there are about forty artisans and it differs from other centres linked to ceramics due to its diversified production, as well as by the type of raw materials and the manufacturing processes, which range from applied ceramics in buildings to the production of artistic and decorative ceramics that use black,



Ceràmiques Marcó, Quart. (2019). CIRIACA CORETTI



Vila Clara Ceramistes and Gemma Ribet of the Associació Ceramistes de La Bisbal, La Bisbal d'Empordà. (2019). CIRIACA CORETTI

white, red or glazed earthenware. In the institutional field, the city holds the title of "city of ceramics", endorsed by the concession, in 2010, of the European Union, of the registered trademark *Ceramics of La Bisbal*, a mark of protected origin that serves to identify, personalise and recognise the ceramic products made in La Bisbal and the surrounding towns. With the aim of promoting the brand and making it known to the end consumer and the various ceramic producing markets, in 2013 the Municipal Council of La Bisbal d'Empordà launched a campaign to promote and disseminate the brand.

The Cork Museum of Palafrugell has also recovered an old building and stands in the town's old cork factory, a landmark for the workers who were part of it and the community that in some way depended on it. Its existence is linked to the presence of the raw material, represented by the cork trees that were the prerequisite for the growth of the cork industry. Factory work was flanked by the ancillary industry of domestic craft work, which employed most of the community, especially women. Although cork processing is no longer an active activity, its historical tradition is well documented by the Museum through the spaces and an installation attentive to the processes that accompanied the development of this activity until to its decline. The Cork Museum is part, among other museum networks, of the system of the Museum of Science and Technology of Catalonia and, in addition to the permanent exhibitions composed of objects and multimedia materials, it includes some spaces dedicated to seasonal displays, exhibitions, didactic activities and educational services. There is also a space enabled in "liquid form", as defined by its director Joseph Espadale i Reballí, intended for visitors' suggestions, who thus contribute to its configuration.



Cork Museum of Palafrugell. (2019) CIRIACA CORETTI

The Càntir Museum, on the other hand, stands next to the old site, which currently houses the municipal historical archive, in the Central Square of the Church; the new site, inaugurated in 2000, was an important step because it consolidated its role as a scientific and professional institution and its vocation for public service, with a modern design and a significant number of cultural activities. The exhibition deliberately follows a subdivision that is not based on geographical criteria but on the types and intended uses of the *càntir*, a sort of jug, with the aim of underlining its thematic specialisation that goes from the origin to the manufacturing and commercialization processes of the *càntir*. The museum was founded out of the strong tradition present in Argentona and from the historical gathering in honour of Saint Domènec de Guzmán, protector of the city. In this event, people from the town and neighbouring communities would go on a pilgrimage to the fountain dedicated to the holy healer because it was believed that those who drank its waters were cured of fevers and disease. People flocked to the fountain in a parade of new jugs

of picturesque shapes, which came from neighbouring villages and were put up for sale by the terracotta artisans. Tradition called for the jugs to be new, so that the healing properties of the water would not be lost. From this tradition was born, in 1951, the current Festa del Càntir, organised by the Càntir Museum, together with the municipality of Argentona and the trade and services association, and which foresees that every year a traditional model of *càntir* is reproduced, which is sold in the museum and purchased by top collectors. The Museum is also the organiser of the International Ceramics and Terracotta Fair, which is held on the same days and coincides with the current Argentona Festival, in addition to running the Argentona Ceramics School and a series of educational activities. Frequent collaborations and exchanges with other countries, including France and Italy, make it a dynamic and leading centre of reference.

The museums mentioned represent added value for the territories where they arise. Their identifying characterisation affects the community at differ-

ent levels and represents a point of reference for local communities, but also for visitors who want to learn about local history and traditions. They are active subjects of participation through the involvement of the community and places of culture, through the tireless organisation of initiatives, activities and exhibitions that promote local talents. At the same time, they contribute to the production of the locality through processes of promotion and improvement of the local heritage. A mosaic of traditions and cultures that heightens regional differences in a global context of circulation of ideas and new museum proposals. The role played by museum directors and operators in the area is very important because they carry out a constant practice of promotion and comparison; moreover, without their availability this search would not have been possible.

In my opinion, an important role in the processes related to the production of the locality, especially with reference to the tourist phenomenon, is attributable to the Centre d'Artesania Catalunya: the area of the Consorci de Comerç, Artesania i Moda de la Catalunya, which accredits, informs and promotes the authenticity of Catalan craftsmanship. In the last twenty years, the Centre has been the protagonist of numerous improvement and promotion policies that have led to the creation of the *Empremtes de Catalunya* brand, with the specific aim of promoting the authenticity of artisan products that represent the signs of identity Catalan landscape, popular customs, art and history. It is a marketing strategy that fosters local craftsmanship and produces value in different forms: it creates meanings and experiences, is an engine of innovation for a local community, and at the same time ensures the variety of products and triggers economies of transfer to



The Càntir Museum of Argentona. (2019) CIRIACA CORETTI

global markets, in addition to influencing the economy and the processes of construction and representation of local identity. It is a registered trademark of the Centre d'Artesania Catalunya of the Consorci de Comerç, Artesania i Moda, whose design began in 2006 and became official in 2010, when the point of sale and exhibition was inaugurated, as well as the headquarters of the brand and the Centre, located in Barcelona, on Carrer Banys Nous, n. 11.

The project was founded from the specific desire to identify artisan products that originate in Catalonia and illustrate the history of the country in order to distinguish these artisan productions from more generic ones, usually comparable to those that exist in the rest of Spain. This desire stems from the observation that both the local public and visitors often buy products that have little in common with local culture, but which refer more generally to the whole of Spain. The project



Empremtes de Catalunya, Craftwork Center of Catalonia, Barcelona, carrer Banys Nous, 11. (2019) CIRIACA CORETTI

was created to offer the public and visitors a range of products that, on the one hand, explain the local culture and, on the other hand, offer artisans another way to market their products. The brand represents a business card that identifies the culture and customs of the region, so that the visitor can buy an object and take away a souvenir that truly and fully guarantees the image of the territory it refers to and that is represented by the object. In this case, the object has the purpose of identifying an experience attributable to the culture of the country to which it belongs and to a specific custom; an experience attributable to the journey of which the object is a witness, even outside the context that generated it. As stated by Xavier Villas i Balasch, director of the Centre d'Artesania Catalunya, the brand distinguishes: "Catalan artisan products made in Catalonia that explain the history of Catalonia, the history, the tradition, the customs". The distinction of products through a brand allows citizens and the millions of tourists who visit the country every year to admire, buy and take with them a real and guaranteed image of the country. The brand is part

of a government project that receives the collaboration of the General Directorate of Tourism of the Generalitat of Catalonia, the Institute of Catalan Studies (IEC), the Foment de les Arts i del Disseny (FAD), the National Art Museum of Catalonia and some independent designers. This collaboration has given rise to remarkable research on the representative icons of Catalonia, from resulted in the *116 Tourist Icons of Catalonia*, conceived as a catalogue of icons that visually and conceptually identify "a universe of cultural, natural and social elements and meanings" that best define Catalonia as a tourist destination³.

The study lasted two years and of the 116 icons identified, thirty were selected to represent the thirty categories of the *Empremtes de Catalunya*[®] brand.

One of the brand's categories is the one belonging to *Oficis Singulars*, which identifies a type of regionalised craftsmanship, for example, the ceramics of La Bisbal, the black terracotta of Quart, the terracotta of Breda and Miravet, palmwood of the Terres de l'Ebre, the

plumes of Arenys and l'Arboç, the alabaster of Sarral and a whole series of areas that over the centuries have specialised in certain processes, based on the raw materials available within the reference area. The *Oficis Singular* category recognises the identity of some of the trades and products closely linked to the territorial demarcation. The category identifies and promotes knowledge and products especially linked to the artisan tradition of origin that would otherwise not have survived commercialisation and would not have had a market today. With this name, an attempt was made to adapt traditional products to the current market. The objectives of the *Oficis Singular* project are: the research, definition and cataloguing of occupations with denominations of Catalan origin; the conservation of Catalan craft heritage, guaranteeing its continuity; the promotion of artisan activity as an economic activity in rural areas, and the innovation of artisan products through new designs that respond to the current market. The implementation process began in several stages that involved the identification of the areas; the preparation of a work plan in collaboration with the town councils; the creation of a documentary and bibliographic archive of the professions; working days with designers and artisans to create new products, and finally marketing through campaigns to promote and disseminate the project. The synergy of intentions and the collaboration in the realization of the product are an exclusive characteristic of the Unique Crafts category. It is a process of joint creation, in which the designer, on the one hand, makes available his/her idea and experience of the market and the craft and, on the other hand, contributes the technique and the raw materials in order to create a contemporary product that can be marketed. Most of the artisans who join this initiative are



Empremtes de Catalunya, Craftwork Center of Catalonia, Barcelona, carrer Banys Nous, 11. (2019) CIRIACA CORETTI

not very young, 40 to 60 years old, and usually come from smaller rural areas, where this initiative assumes the most important implications, especially for marketing.

The creation of the brand is not the only activity that the Centre d'Artesania Catalunya supports. Every year, numerous initiatives are carried out in favour of local crafts: exhibitions, conferences and projects dedicated to specialists in the sector, as well as to a more general public. The Centre is also part of the World Crafts Council Europe (WCC) and has numerous collaborations with local associations, such as the Potters' Association of Catalonia and the Federation of Crafts Associations of Catalonia. Currently, the Centre d'Artesania Catalunya is working on a specific project for the promotion of talents, aimed at young artisans, through a promotion program carried out by Marina Calls i Xart, head of Projects for the Promotion of Crafts.

One of the events, organised by the Consorci de Comerç, Artesania i Moda de Catalunya (CCAM), in which I had the pleasure of participating during my research, was the Catalan Craft Week, which in 2019 reached its 8th edition. The initiatives, which were carried out during the seven days of the event, proclaimed craftsmanship as a transversal element of society for its great cultural, social, heritage and economic value, which combines the knowledge of techniques and materials, creativity and innovation, with identity, understood as tradition and contemporaneity, while possessing an international, local and universal character, a unique vehicle of expression that reaches the whole world. The activities were quite varied and involved museums and artisans: there were guided tours, audiovisual exhibi-

tions, live demonstrations, activities for families and children, conferences, seminars, master classes and debates on the subject. The initiatives were mainly held in Barcelona, but also involved neighbouring towns. The visit to the Pujol I Bausis La Rajoleta factory, in Esplugues de Llobregat, was particularly interesting, where we visited the kilns where some of the most emblematic pieces of Catalan Art Nouveau architectural ceramics were manufactured and witnessed the reproduction of a tile, formerly produced by the same factory.

In relation to marketing and tourism, the Barcelona Genuine Shops Tour initiative consists of a guided tour of the shops and companies of artisans and designers, whose products feature the Made in Barcelona, an itinerary intended for visitors who want to discover the historic shops of the city, but also the art and design of those most recent. It is an interesting experience that emphasises the importance of tradition and the authenticity of local crafts, but also their commercial and economic value.

Conclusions

As the Catalan case shows us, trademarks, certifications, guarantees and authentications by scholars and experts certify and guarantee success in the market of handcrafted objects, in the same way that heritage and improvement policies contribute to building its own heritage. The brand thus becomes the witness of the relationship between the object, the personal history of those who manufactured it and the area of production, and certifies its belonging and origin in the cultural and economic market. It is interesting to note that a prominent position in authentication processes is often determined by the presence of the anthropologist, as a scholar, expert, guarantor and "authenticator" of the cultural heritage more or less compatible or relevant to the tradition. In other words, in these cases the anthropologist is in charge of deciding which are the most relevant aspects of the tradition and the most innovative.

The question of authenticity, in the contemporary world, assumes a central role, especially with reference to the production processes of the locality



Catalan Craft Week, from 7 to 13 October . (2019) CIRIACA CORETTI



Dualart, Pas de l'Ensenyança, 2, Barcelona, Catalan Craft Week, from 7 to 13 October. (2019) CIRIACA CORETTI

we have talked about. The search for authenticity seems to have become a real obsession these days and is closely linked to issues related to heritage and cultural certification. Franco Lai recalls, in a monographic volume dedicated to authenticity in the world of art of the French ethnology magazine *Terrain*, that: "There is no authenticity without an authentication procedure". Lai continues:

[...] Local products represent several aspects of "authentic fakes" [...] Craft products have a series of elements that characterise them as such (raw materials from the region, production stages, etc.), but they are not faithful copies of the original. Relevant technological innovations, new aesthetic elements, etc. are now involved on numerous levels. Innovations that often make these products of even higher quality and very "creative". They are "authentic" to the extent that their qualities are accredited by the brand, the production specifications and, in any case, by their market reputation. To be clear, I am not saying that local products are fakes, I mean that

their "authenticity" is guaranteed by brands, procedures and experts. (Lai, 2007: 38)

Franco Lai, always remembering the concepts expressed in the premise:

Local craft products are the result of various "intentionalities" and are therefore loaded with various meanings. They must be genuine and authentic, as such they must carry a biography and a history, not only of their path in the production process, but also of the place they refer to and of which they are representatives. They convey a series of meanings that refer more or less explicitly to tradition, culture, etc. They thus become the symbols of the so-called "local identity", sometimes experienced and sometimes mainly invented and ostentatious [...] In political discourse and at various levels, the word that often appears is "valuation" [...] Thus, the objects also become emblems of the redemption of the most disadvantaged regions of national history that seek reassertion in the new European context and the global

market. What results from this in a sophisticated way or as a result of various choices and dynamics is a real process of "locality production" [...] At the base is political planning that gives rise to a real process of construction of authenticity. It is a complex process that involves multiple levels of decision-making [...] In this way, associations of the productive categories, entrepreneurs, regional politicians and local administrators, experts from universities and research centres, development agents, heritage managers, at various levels of local, regional and community decision-making, come into play in several ways. (Lai, 2007: 40-41)

In conclusion, it is clear that, based on the practices implemented, political institutions, museums, trade associations and individual artisans have contributed in various ways to the "local production" we have talked about and have constituted an added value for local communities, in a globalisation context linked to the improvement of differences and to modern globalisation processes linked to the market and tourism. The very creation of the *Empremtes de Catalunya* brand, in fact, is part of a wider process of capitalisation and construction of a collective identity that involves the whole country at various levels since the beginning of the nineties. Through the study of the processes that involved the local institutions and museums, the most characteristic artisan productions emerged and that even today, on a local scale, enliven the communities and define their specificity in the social and cultural sphere. Like local museums, local artisans lend their voice to objects by conveying not only their historical and social value, but also emotions and feelings. This aspect is particularly interesting if reference is made to

the context of contemporary artistic craftsmanship, bearing in mind that local craft production is characterised precisely by the reference to the culture and tradition of the territory, but also by belonging to a contemporary context characterised by a consumer market that looks at the memory and the specificity of places. Contemporary artistic craftsmanship is defined as a production in which technical mastery is adjusted to product customisation through subjective interpretation and reworking of traditional forms.

It is a participatory construction of heritage, which claims its own historical and cultural specificity, through a more or less conscious collective self-representation, which leads to the production of new material, social and imaginative contexts and which, in connection with the modern contemporary representation processes of the locality, contributes to the definition of "global village". ■

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NOTES

1

In the same context, other actions of the *Inventari del Patrimoni Etnològic de Catalunya* programme were carried out, such as the cataloguing and declaration of festivals and festive elements in the *Catàleg del Patrimoni Festiu de Catalunya*; and participation in the preparation and monitoring of the National Plan for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage and of the National Plan of Traditional Architecture.

2

Due to economic problems arising from the global Covid-19 pandemic, the local political institutions closed the Quart Earthenware Museum in November 2020. It is currently unclear when it will reopen or if it will ever reopen.

3

In the 482 pages of the book there are 116 very diverse icons, such as: the El Bulli restaurant, *castellers*, the mountains of Canigó and Montserrat, *calçots*, the New Music Festival, *correfocs*, Romanesque heritage, the castle of Miravet, the Marquina *setrillers*, the figure of the *caganer*, etc.