Crafts and Conservation: Synthesis Report for ICCROM

Lucy Donkin  21st June 2001

The opinions expressed in the present document do not necessarily reflect ICCROM’s position nor that of its Member States.
Introduction

This report seeks to illustrate the issues surrounding crafts and conservation, with the help of various examples and case studies. Based on the intended structure of the ICCROM forum, it is divided into four sections: the notions of crafts, conserving the intangible and the role of the conservation-restoration field. The contents and approach of the report have evolved after discussion with various ICCROM staff members: Alejandro Alva, Catherine Antomarchi, Joseph King, Katriina Similä, and the Director General Nicholas Stanley-Price. Their opinions and contribution will be acknowledged during the text where appropriate. The report is accompanied by a separate document which lists possible key speakers.

Section A asks the question ‘What are the intangible values of crafts?’ After offering possible definitions of crafts, it explores the various spheres in which they operate. Crafts are discussed as a form of knowledge, as a learning process, and as an economic process, with attention also given to their social, religious, and cultural connotations. Finally, they are examined terms of their relationship to space and the environment, an area which tangible and intangible values are particularly close, and as a creative process. The section stresses the importance of recognising diversity between cultures and over time, and the examples are chosen to highlight this. The need to understand crafts as part of this wider picture runs through the following three sections.

Section B asks how these intangible qualities can be conserved, focusing particularly on securing the transmission of know-how and preserving authenticity. Various existing training structures and approaches are explored, again with a view to demonstrating their diversity. Measures which provide training in crafts may have varying or multiple aims, with the continuity of crafts knowledge and processes often the means to an end. This may be to enable the suitable restoration of the built heritage, or the provision of jobs in economically depressed areas or for groups at risk. There is a need within training to respect crafts as part of a wider picture. This section also looks at areas in which the authenticity of crafts can be assessed, including the process, the product and the practitioners. The benefits and difficulties of imposing criteria on crafts in these areas are considered, as is the issue of how to respect and foster creativity.

Section C deals with the broader conditions for conservation. It examines threats to the survival of crafts, whether economic, social, political or educational, and seeks to present successful strategies to overcome them. Current solutions are primarily economic, concentrating on ways to make crafts financially viable. The ways in which intervention can have repercussions on other aspects of the crafts are discussed, and comparisons are briefly drawn with the conservation of other forms of intangible heritage.

Section D explores the role and responsibilities of the conservation-restoration field in the perpetuation of crafts processes, stressing the need for sensitivity to their wider social and cultural dimensions. Possible areas for action include: a more equal interaction with craftsmen which values their knowledge and contribution towards the understanding of tangible heritage; restoration projects which document and incorporate traditional craft and conservation practices; and the exposure of craftsmen to conservation issues and of specialists in conservation to crafts skills. There is also a need for greater communication between the different interest groups involved in promoting crafts.
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A. Exploring the Notions of Crafts

A.1 What is Craft?

A.1.a Definitions

The definition of craft and crafts is a matter of debate, varying between cultures and historical periods. However, there are certain aspects which can be seen as common features.

• Craft is characterised by a certain type of making, in which objects are created by hand through the skilled use of tools. Craftsmanship has also been characterised by David Pye as the ‘workmanship of risk’, that is to say ‘the quality of the result is not predetermined, but depends on the judgement, dexterity and care which the maker exercised as he works’.1
• Craft is characterised by a certain type of product, involving the creation of essentially functional objects.
• Craft is medium specific. As defined by Bruce Metcalf, ‘it is always identified with a material and the technologies invented to manipulate it’.2

More specific definitions have been put forward regarding crafts in a particular culture. Perhaps the most famous example is that of Soetsu Yanagi (1889-1961) who coined the term *mingei* to refer to Japanese craft products. *Mingei*, which literally means the art of the people for the people, had to be the work of anonymous craftsmen, produced by hand in quantities, inexpensive, to be used by the masses, functional in daily life, and representative of the region in which it was produced.

A.1.b The Relationship between Craft, Art and Manufacture

Craft is often defined in relation to other creative processes, although the exact nature of the relationship is a matter of discussion. In particular, craft has been described as occupying the middle ground between art and mechanised manufacture. However, these categories too are culturally and temporally specific, and the boundaries between them are permeable.3

• Some cultures do not make a distinction between craft and art. In Europe the intellectual separation of the two came about in the Renaissance, with the idea of the artist as a unique individual with a rare talent. Since then fine art has come to be regarded as superior, although certain movements such as the early Bauhaus have taught that arts and crafts are equal and the same.4 The distinction was later introduced into other areas of the world.

• Where the concepts exist, craft can be distinguished from fine art by the function of the end product. Craft objects are created for use rather than contemplation, unlike fine art which is an object for contemplation only. The term *mingei* was coined to imply the

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opposite of bourgeois fine art and refers to utilitarian objects. However, the same functional quality may also apply to many industrially produced items.

• Craft can be distinguished from mechanised manufacture by its **process**. Craft objects are created by hand with the skilled use of tools, rather than by a machine. As defined by Paul J. Smith, ‘In its broadest sense craft refers to the creation of original objects through an artist’s disciplined manipulation of material.’\(^5\) However, the same quality may also apply to art.

• Over time a craft object may achieve artistic status. As Rose Slivka writes: ‘Throughout their long history, crafts have produced useful objects which are later considered fine art. Time has a way of overwhelming the functional values of an object that outlives the men who made and used it, with the power of its own objective presence.’\(^6\) The same effect is also produced by geographical and cultural distance, as when a contemporary craft object is displayed as art rather than used.

• In industrialised societies craft processes are no longer necessary to produce certain objects for use. Perhaps because of this, there has been a tendency for some crafts to aspire towards ‘fine art’. A greater stress on originality is accompanied by a diminished regard for both tradition and function.


A.2 What are the intangible qualities of crafts?

Crafts are not simply a particular way of making objects, but are inextricably bound up with the structure, values, history and identity of the communities in which they are practised. While it is possible to identify areas in which crafts can be seen to play a role, it is equally important to acknowledge the great diversity that exists within these areas. The nature of crafts and their significance to their practitioners are not fixed but rather change over time and vary between various areas of the world and different crafts.

A.2.a Know-how and Skill

Crafts demand particular kinds of skill and knowledge.

• Crafts demand a high degree of manual dexterity and co-ordination, which is dependent on good motor control. Howard Gardner has advances a theory of multiple intelligences, which proposes six categories connected to real properties of the brain. One of the six, bodily/kinetic intelligence, is manifested in the skill of the craftsman.7

• Crafts involve tacit knowledge or practical know-how, which is ‘the knowledge that enables you to do things as distinct from talking or writing about them.’ This know-how is personal, but tacit knowledge also has an institutional and communal aspect. ‘Any craft of any complexity is always greater in content and range than any one individual; hence the importance to the health of a craft that many rather than a few people practise it’.8

A.2.b Learning process

Crafts involve a particular kind of learning process, which is characterised by a number of factors:

• The mastering of a craft is a long and gradual process, traditionally drawn out over several years, which often starts at a very young age. It involves the mastering of a tradition, which has to be in place before individual creativity comes into play.

• Crafts knowledge is distributed through people. Since the skills concerned involve tacit knowledge, they are generally taught on the job, primarily through demonstration rather than verbal explanation. The passing on of craft skills involves a close personal relationship, often one to one, between the person imparting the know-how and the person learning it.

• Other aspects of the learning process, such as where the craft is learnt and from whom, are determined as much by the gender of the participants and the end purpose of the product as the nature of the craft itself. In some cases, generally involving women and/or the production of items for domestic consumption, the craft is learnt at home, through informal observation and imitation of family members.

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Weaving in Highland Guatemala in the 1960s ‘A weaver’s training is not a formal education, but rather a process of enculturation.’ Having watched from an early age, a girl is allowed to start her own textile at about the age of eight and is usually a competent weaver by about the age of twelve to fourteen.\(^9\)

- In other cases, generally involving men and/or the practising of a craft for commercial purposes, the skills are learnt outside the home. Even then instruction may possibly be carried out within a family or clan grouping, or the process may be more formalised as a master and apprentice. Often the apprentice has to produce test cases at the end of training, and the process culminates in acceptance into the relevant group or guild.

Felt makers of Turkey ‘Formerly boys to be apprenticed were taken to the workshop by their father at the age of six or seven. They began with the easier jobs such as cleaning and sorting the wool or sweeping the floor, and worked their way up to the more complicated tasks. Apprenticeship took some seven years, at the end of which time, according to one aged felt maker, Mustafa Göngel (Afyon), each boy had to display his skills by making three masterpieces. These were examined by all the masters of the guild and, if they were approved of, the apprentice was eligible to become a journeyman.’\(^10\)

- The passing on of knowledge may be ritualised and enshrined in an oral tradition, that itself forms part of the intangible heritage of the culture concerned.

Tongu-Tengzuk, Ghana ‘The establishment and maintenance of the building tradition at Tongu-Tengzuk has been due to the passing of the essential elements of building construction or conservation from members of the older knowledgeable group to their successors. The transmission of the knowledge is conducted verbally or by demonstration. Oral traditions can be formulaic in nature and its [sic] transmission includes mnemonic devices.’\(^11\)

A.2.c Economic process

The specific economic significance of crafts varies between cultures and between types of craft. However, world-wide, a large number of people derive their livelihood from crafts or use them to produce essential items for personal consumption. The percentage is particularly great in the developing world. According to the United Nations, nearly 90 percent of all women in developing countries are engaged in some form of artisanal activity throughout the year.\(^12\) In the 1980s over a billion dollars worth of artisan work was exported annually from Third World Countries to industrial centres.\(^13\)

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\(^12\) [www.craftscenter.org/about/whyhelp.html](http://www.craftscenter.org/about/whyhelp.html).

For some, particularly in rural communities, certain crafts form part of the cyclical activity of the year. The objects created are often destined for personal consumption and contribute to the self-sufficiency of the family or village unit. The materials may be bought or themselves produced by the craftsmen.

**Kilim weaving among Kurds in the Van area of Turkey**

"Unlike many Turkish villages today where commercial pile-rug weaving may be observed throughout the year, weaving is done mostly in winter, commencing with the snows in late September – early October and ending with the thaw about mid-April. While some kilims and plain-weave bags are made in the Yaylas [high pastures] during the summer, weaving assumes a secondary role during that busy season."  

For others, the practising of a craft is a full-time activity or profession, with a commercial end. The goods may still contribute to the self-sufficiency of the local community, or may be traded over a wider area. Persian carpets, for example, have been widely produced for sale and export for many centuries.

Within the same community, and even within the confines of the same craft, the practising may have different economic values. For example, women may produce for home consumption, while men produce for sale.

Crafts are currently valued for their contribution to employment and economic growth, particularly the employment of women and as seasonal or supplementary work for agricultural communities. By contributing to the sustainability of rural communities crafts can help prevent migration to urban centres. At the same time, they provide job opportunities for a work force left redundant by industrialisation. Because of their relatively low technology, crafts can also provide income for displaced persons in refugee camps, often widows and orphans.

**A.2.d Social Dimension**

The practicing of crafts plays a significant role in the structure and functioning of society.

Where activity is seasonal the whole community may be involved in a co-operative effort, with a division of labour according to age, gender and ability.

**Spinning and weaving on the island of Arran, Scotland**

"Before the farming ‘reforms’ which resulted in the clearances and the subsequent mass emigrations to Canada, farming was done on a communal basis and this included the production of wool and flax. When the shearing was finished the women in the community would travel round the various farms with their spinning wheels and work until all the spinning was done. Their was great social importance attached to this time; when a girl was getting married, for instance, the whole community would get together to card and spin the wool for her blankets. The family worked together too, in the production of textiles, with the children"

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helping to clean and card the wool, the women spinning and the men weaving.'16

• Particular clans, tribes or castes may be associated either with artisan work in general or with specific craft processes, thus giving the practising of crafts a hereditary aspect. It is notable, however, that the specific craft practised by a particular group does not necessarily remain static but can change over time according to the availability of labour. The producers may not always be responsible for the distribution of the goods. In Japan before the Meiji Restoration, the clan of the daimyō or feudal ruler was responsible for the distribution of the goods produced in the province.17

**Burundi** The Banyagihugu forms the lowest of the sections of society and is subdivided into three sections according to activity, dealing with the growing of crops, the rearing of animals and the production of objects. The Banyamyuga or artisans are further subdivided into five main specialities according to the types of material dealt with – wood, metal, earth, textiles and materials for basket weaving.18

• Crafts are sometimes associated with certain families, or there may be family groupings within the larger work unit.

**Wood carvers of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal** ‘There are strong family ties in the group and fathers, sons and brother work in close relation to each other’.19

• Particularly in urban settings, guilds or similar craft organisations may group together practitioners of the same craft trade. They aim to maintain standards and control the production process, and to protect the craftsmen.

**Medieval Europe** The guild system was particularly developed in the medieval West, when the guilds played a crucial part in the structure of urban society and many wielded considerable social, economic and political power.

**A.2.e Religious Dimension**

The practicing of crafts is often felt by their practitioners and by society in general to possess a religious significance.

• Crafts, as acts of creation, may be perceived as a sacred occupation. For example, the Pre-Hispanic Maya considered weaving a sacred activity,20 and in India crafts were and

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are considered a ‘sacrament rather than a secular trade’. For this reason tools may be blessed and the practitioners undergo a ritual purification. In Nepal tools are blessed and purified each year during the Dasain festival.

• This religious element might also exercise a certain control over who can practise the craft and its various components. The association of various craft occupations with various genders, families and clans is seen to be divinely sanctioned. Moreover certain tasks can only be carried out by certain individuals.

| India | That “any other than a silpan [craftsman] should build temples, towns, seaports, tanks or wells is comparable to the sin of a murderer” was the prevalent belief, and this protected the craftsman from competition and unfair prices. Those practising specific crafts were socially accepted to be the descendents from the five sons of the deity Visvakarma – each worshipped as the god of a particular craft, starting from the eldest: Manu, worked in iron; Maya, in wood; Tvastram, in brass, copper and alloys; Silpi, in stone; and Visvajin, in gold and silver. |
| Nepal | ‘The task of ‘opening’ or carving the eyes of an image of a god can be carried out by only three men in Bhaktapur. This honour is handed down from generation to generation and is passed onto the next man only after certain religious rites have been performed.’ |

• Work on a religious complex might be conceived as a common religious/social duty, and involve all the community. There is often an integral ceremonial or festive dimension.

| Timbuctu, Mali | The annual repair of the mosques is announced by the Imam. While it is lead by two families of masons, each responsible for one of the two great mosques, the faithful contribute materials and unskilled labour and all youths of working age are expected to participate. Women are involved in bringing water, a job once carried out by the corporation of water porters. The minaret of the mosque receives particular attention by the most skilled craftsmen. At the end of the day, the Imam blesses the community before the evening prayer. |

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23 Ibid., p. 58.
A.2.f Cultural Dimension
Crafts play an important part in the identity and culture of various groups, whether regional, national, or ethnic.

• Crafts are connected to a way of life, which determines both the products needed and the materials available. For example, pastoral, sea-faring, and agrarian communities all support different crafts.

**Felt-making**, with its huge wool consumption and potential to produce portable structures, arose from the lifestyle of the nomadic pastoral peoples of Eurasia.

• Craft products are often highly specific to the locality in which they are produced, partly through the availability of materials and particular needs, but also because they are intended to express a certain identity. This is particularly the case with products designed to be worn.

**Fishing Communities** The patterns on the various knitted sweaters produced in the fishing communities of the British Isles were specific to the village, family and individual for whom they were created and fulfilled the morbid function of identifying drowned sailors.

A.2.e Environment and Space
Crafts involve their practitioners in a close relationship with the physical world around them, whether it be the built or the natural environment.

• Crafts, particularly rural ones, often employ local materials, whether vegetable and mineral products such as clay, wood, rushes and natural dye stuffs, or animal products such as wool, bone, and leather. This means craftsmen develop a familiarity with the materials and the resultant products can easily be repaired with local resources. The production of harvesting of craft materials may involve traditional land management, which aids the maintenance and creation of cultural landscapes. Craft products are adapted for use in a particular environment, which determines part of their local specificity.

• In many areas of the world the practising of crafts is reflected in the structure of the built environment and the organisation of space, both within the house (for example, spinning galleries) and the settlement as a whole. This tangible element is to be distinguished from the direct products of crafts themselves. Rather the space is given meaning by the activity and reflects on its social significance. Anthropologists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss have seen spatial organization as a complex metaphor of the social relationships of the inhabitants.26 Where the craft is practised might depend on the gender of the person carrying it out as much as the craft itself.

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Islamic City  ‘The Islamic town is essentially based on the idea of the market and the structure of the Islamic city is related to the craft guilds’. ²⁷ Typically the town includes places to exchange money and to store precious goods, while the practitioners of individual crafts congregate together in different areas.

• The physical organization of the living and working areas of the community enables the overlapping of activities and the integration of function. ²⁸ Activities carried out in public aid the transmission process.

A.2.g Creative process
Crafts involve the act of creation, an aspect which contributes to their religious significance in many cultures. The product is a tangible one, which marks it out from other forms of intangible heritage. While the concept of creativity is often associated with originality, the value placed on originality and the contribution of the individual differs according to time and place. There is currently debate on the extent to which the characteristics of anonymity, tradition, and repetition conventionally ascribed to non-Western Art are indeed true.

• Crafts can be seen in the West as an opportunity for originality and innovation by the individual. In a more and more industrialised and specialised society, they offer the possibility for an individual to be engaged in all of the production process – from conception, though design, to execution.

• Yet even in the West the craftsman, particularly in the building crafts, may work as part of a team. In some areas of the world he may in fact be heavily circumscribed by tradition. Often a craftsman will remain anonymous, as in mingei.

• On the other hand, what seems to the untrained eye to be similar may in fact bear the clear imprint of the artist. It has been argued that ‘as in the West we have arguably overestimated the reality and the significance of artistic ‘originality’, so we have consistently undervalued it in other cultures.’ ²⁹

Northwest Coast of America  ‘Historic art from the northwest coast of America (British Colombia and southeast Alaska) is almost always exhibited as the anonymous production of a tribal people, but in fact there is a great deal, both published and in the archives, about individual artists.’ ³⁰

³⁰ Ibid., p. 206.
B  Conserving the Intangible

B.1  How has the protection of crafts evolved?

B.1.a  Early History

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century industrialisation provoked movements which attempted to revalue and revitalise traditional crafts. The thinking of John Ruskin and William Morris, and the ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement, inspired imitators throughout the world.

- In Japan, for example, Yanagi Sōetsu and the English potter Bernard Leach sought a return to the beauty of hand-made objects and the greater fulfilment of the craftsman in their production.
- In Hungary the artist Nagy Sandor set up an artists’ colony where members designed and made their own furniture and established a tapestry school for local women.

These movements often recognised that crafts were not simply a certain way of making things, but were bound up with a whole way of life. Crafts were encouraged as part of political, social, or philanthropic agendas, and went hand in hand with the preservation of other folk traditions such as music and dance.

- Morris possessed strong socialist principles, while some of his followers such as Robert Ashbee, Godfrey Blount, and Eric Gill advocated the pursuit of crafts as part of a self-sufficient, community-based rural lifestyle.
- In the Indian Congress Movement the espousal of crafts and the wearing of homespun clothes took on political connotations.

B.1.b  Conferences

Examples of conferences held during the last few decades which chart the interest of the heritage field in crafts, or the acceptance of crafts as heritage.

- 1980 – Congress on Craftsmanship and Conservation in Fulda. Emphasis on the building crafts; perceived aim ‘to conserve traditional architectural craft products’.


- 1996 – International Seminar entitled Crafts face to the challenges of design and innovation held in Fez under the aegis of the International Centre for the Promotion of Crafts (CIPA) and UNESCO.
• 1997 – *Craft Trades and Very Small Businesses in the Local Development Framework*, held in Serpa, Portugal. The potential of craft was assessed in terms of rural development and the alleviation of unemployment.35

• 1997 - *European Conference on the Craft Industry and Small Enterprises* in Milan, Italy. Crafts were discussed as generators of growth and jobs, and as a factor of economic and social cohesion in the EU.36

• 1999 - *Craft Development in the Coming Ages: Towards a Strategy for Asia* held in Kuching, Malaysia, by the Crafts Council of Malaysia. Crafts were seen as a source for a sustainable livelihood and as a living heritage.37

• 1999 – *Traditional Carpets and Kilims in OEC Countries: Past Present and Future Prospects for Developing this Heritage in the Context of Continuous Changes in the Market, Design, Quality and Applied Techniques* in Tunis. Issues included the need for training and the preservation of authenticity

### B.1.c Rulings and Recommendations

1981 – The *Council of Europe Recommendation No. R (81) 13 on action in aid of certain declining craft trades in the context of craft activity* recognised the contribution of crafts to the economy and recommended that special consideration be given to the revival of endangered crafts.38

1986 – *Council of Europe Recommendation No. R (86) 15 on the promotion of craft trades involved in the conservation of architectural heritage* recognised the value of craft trades as part of the European heritage.39

1993 – The *General Assembly of ICOMOS Guidelines for Education and Training in the Conservation of Monuments, Ensembles and Sites* mentioned crafts as a ‘valuable cultural resource’ and recommended on-site training.40

### B.1.d Changing Ideas of Conservation

What is it about changing ideas of conservation that has led to the desire to conserve crafts?

• Changing philosophies of restoration to include repair. There is a particularly clear need for continual renewal and maintenance where building materials are perishable as with wooden, thatched and earthen structures. The expansion of heritage protection to parts of the world where monuments as well as vernacular architecture are constructed from these materials and are subject to traditional cycles of repair and conservation has also played a part in this trend.

36 Ibid.
38 [http://culture.coe.fr/Infocentre/txt/eng/ercm8113.htm](http://culture.coe.fr/Infocentre/txt/eng/ercm8113.htm)
40 [www.icomos.org/docs/guidelines_for_education.html](http://www.icomos.org/docs/guidelines_for_education.html)
• The expansion of nominations or protection briefs to cover whole settlements, historic areas, and cultural landscapes where too narrow a conception of preservation would be impossible. Here too there is a need for traditional crafts skills to restore the built heritage and to perpetuate the traditional building characteristics of the area.

• The expansion of definitions to incorporate other philosophies of conservation and concepts of heritage, which stress the continuity of the craft rather than the eternity of the artefact. Again, this is fuelled partly by contact with other parts of the world.
B.2 How can Knowledge, Know-how and Skills be Conserved?

If crafts are to be valued as intangible heritage, the know-how involved in practising a craft must itself be the object of conservation/protection. This poses the question of how best to pass on tacit knowledge in changing circumstances, where traditional methods of learning may be threatened or disrupted.

In practice, the conservation of craft processes often appears to be the means to an end. There are a great variety of different aims and approaches, which place varying emphasis on conservation and economic potential. The result of training may be a craftsman specialised in one craft or a conservation craftsman with a knowledge of many techniques and an understanding of conservation issues.

This section therefore attempts to illustrate recent initiatives which involve the conservation of crafts through the transmission of skills. While it is arranged according to type of structure, it also attempts to display differences in scale, specialisation, and aims.

B.2.b Training Centres

A number of training centres were set up from the 1960s onwards offering courses of varying length in craft processes. The stress is predominantly on the built heritage, responding to needs in the field of restoration and conservation. Most offer instruction in a variety of skills. The following centres are only a small sample. Other notable schools include those in Serpa in Portugal, Avignon in France, and Fulda in Germany.

San Servolo, Venice, Italy.
The centre was founded in 1977, with the aim of organising training courses for European craftsmen and involving them in architectural safeguarding. The impetus was a recognition that skilled craftsmen were coming to the end of their careers and ensure their skills were passed on. The Centre’s training would consist of a ‘new synthesis of skills’, leading to the formation of ‘conservation craftsmen’. ‘As many of the finer-subdivisions of the crafts were the product of a historic demand that has died out or been superseded, there is no point in maintaining an extreme degree of craft specialisation in name. In fact the conservation craftsman has to be a different sort of craftsman from the past.’41 The students, who had already reached a basic standard in their craft, would be provided with theoretical training in architectural history, conservation concepts, and management as well as practical training in small groups. The centre has evolved over time and, among its other functions, now organises two kinds of courses, one of three months in various conservation techniques, and the other lasting two weeks and designed to teach specific crafts and traditional techniques.

West Dean College, England.
West Dean College was established in 1964, when Edward James donated a large part of his estate ‘to realise his vision of preserving and teaching the arts in their widest sense.’ The foundation is a registered educational charitable trust. As well as running fulltime postgraduate diploma courses in the conservation and restoration of historic artefacts, the college offers diplomas in tapestry weaving and in the making of early stringed musical instruments. The Tapestry Studio, which operates as a commercial workshop currently employing 7 people, was opened in 1976. Year-round short courses of one to five days are offered in the arts and crafts, including wood and metal work, textiles, ceramics, tasselmaking, and gilding.42

The Nordic Centre for Preservation of the Crafts, Raadvad, Denmark.
The Centre was founded in 1986 in response to the scarcity of craftsmen capable of maintaining and restoring the country’s listed and otherwise protected buildings. As well as pursuing research, it offers further training in traditional building methods and crafts related to building preservation. Craftsmen include masons, stucco workers, carpenters and wood turners, thatchers, blacksmiths, gold and silversmiths, chasers, painters and sign writers. There are also a number of workshops on site, which act as commercial concerns and provide basic training to apprentices. The centre also aims to encourage crafts and craftsmanship within new buildings. The Nordic Centre is a private foundation, thus named because initially all the Nordic countries expressed an interest in setting up a joint centre. Since then national centres have been set up in Sweden and Norway, so the Centre is essentially Danish with an interest in pan-Nordic co-operation.43

B.2.b Site-based workshops
Historic buildings and complexes where continuous maintenance (or even continued construction) is necessary offer valuable training opportunities in architectural crafts. This approach appears to be particularly common with religious complexes. For example, a number of cathedrals run their own workshops, such as York and Salisbury, and L’Oeuvre Notre-Dame of Strasbourg,44 tapping a long tradition which dates back to the medieval mason’s lodge of the Middle Ages. Modern-day cathedral workshops combine conservation aims with social ones, and may be on a business or charitable footing.

St. Mary’s Cathedral Workshop Ltd, Edinburgh
The workshop was established in 1987 with two objectives: ‘to extend education and training to young unemployed people in the craftsmanship required to maintain and restore the built heritage; and to develop and use these skills in the restoration and protection of the fabric of St. Mary’s Cathedral’. There are eight apprentices working under two master masons. Their four-year apprenticeship earns them a Scottish Vocational Qualification and their subsequent employment record is excellent. The cathedral has to raise half the costs of running the workshop, which has charitable status, and one of the suggested methods of donating is to sponsor an apprentice for part of all of his or her time at the cathedral.45

St. John the Divine, New York
Begun in 1892, the cathedral is still far from completion. Work continues in solid stone and provides training opportunities in masonry techniques. In 1979 the Dean, aware of the need both to secure the cathedral’s continued construction and to fulfil its social obligations, began The Stonewater Institute with master masons from Europe and young people from the neighbourhood who wanted to learn a trade. In 1990 the programme was put on a successful business footing as Cathedral Stoneworks, which works on other building and restoration projects as well, ploughing a third of the profits back to the cathedral building and job-training programme. Methods combine modern and traditional techniques and tools. The business currently employs sixty people, about a

43 B. Rud & T. Olesen, ‘Soon a training centre in Denmark’, A Future for Our Past, IX, 1981, p. 9;
45 www.cathedral.net/uk/scotland/edinburgh/ep/actw.htm
third of whom come from Harlem and the Bronx, and trains recruits on the job. There has also been an apprentice-exchange programme with the Cathedral of Saint-Jean Baptiste, Lyons.\(^{46}\)

**B.2.c Firms**

Some firms continue to run an apprenticeship system.

**Mowlem, Rattee and Kett, United Kingdom**

This firm specialises in the restoration of Grade I Listed Buildings and runs three-year apprenticeships in stone masonry, carpentry, and brickwork. Skills taught involve hand-finishing as well as the use of machines. Recruits are generally school leavers aged from 16 to 18, their youth seen by the firm as enabling a respectful relationship with the master craftsman. They are paid a low wage, and for formal qualifications are sent on City and Guilds Courses. Apprentices are taken on according to requirement and generally stay on in the firm after qualification.\(^{47}\)

**B.2.d Networks, Associations and Guilds**

There are numerous associations which deal with training in crafts, whether on a regional, national or international level. Some deal with a number of crafts, while others focus on one in particular. Some are the heirs to the guilds which flourished during the Middle Ages in Europe and beyond, and continue to control standards within the craft. Many organise courses, but some continue to run an apprenticeship system.

**Dry Stone Walling Association of Great Britain**

This association works to improve knowledge and understanding of dry stone walling, to ensure the best craftsmanship of the past is preserved and that the craft has a thriving future. To this end it offers courses and a craftsman certification scheme, currently the only national, tiered, practical skills certification scheme in the country.

**Les Compagnons du Devoir, France.**

This craft association offers training in various crafts (e.g. carpentry, cabinet making, masonry, farriery) based on three main principles: the active pursuit of the craft; permanent contact with practitioners; and a programme called the Tour de France lasting three to five years or more, which consists of evening and Saturday classes in advanced technique. To this end the association runs various *Maisons de Compagnonage* throughout France, each capable of welcoming thirty to 120 young workmen, and have set up halts abroad too (Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Italy). They see themselves as having a significant social function, fostering a sense of community and contributing to the self-development of the *compagnons* as much as to the development of their technical skills. Their classes are pursued alongside a day-time job in the relevant craft, with many companies taking on the young *compagnons* as apprentices.\(^{48}\)

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\(^{47}\) Telephone conversation with Steve Cassidy of Mowlem, Rattee and Kett on June 21st.

B.2.e Projects and Programmes:
These deal with training on a larger scale and may address both conservation and social issues such as unemployment. In Europe and America, the stress seems to be on crafts connected with the built heritage. In the developing world, projects concentrate on the movable objects which can be sold in either local, regional or global economy.

SUPPORT, Thailand
The Foundation for the Promotion of Supplementary Occupations and Techniques (SUPPORT) was established in 1976 with the objective of providing rural Thai women with equipment, materials and training in cottage industries. It promotes traditional crafts, including ikat silk in the northeast and yan lipao, basketry using a strong indigenous vine, in the south. Most of the materials are indigenous to the areas where the projects have been set up. Products are marketed in Thailand and abroad.49

Empresa Jovem (Enterprise Youth), Maputo, Mozambique
The Empresa Jovem project was set up by UNESCO, UNDP and the Mozambican Authorities in response to the situation of youth in a country where 45% of the population is under 15. The legacy of civil war includes demobilised child soldiers, orphans and refugees, most of whom lack the basic tools of education. The aim of the project is to provide young people with ‘marketable survival skills’ that will enable them to ‘create their own employment opportunities within the informal sector’. Training in craft skills such as carpentry and weaving is combined with a non-formal education comprising functional literacy, numeracy, and basic accounting.50

Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios Workshop School and the Apprenticeship Centres, Spain
The Escuelas Taller programme was set up in 1985 in response to the high level of unemployment in Spain, particularly among the young, with industries unable to absorb the available labour. Constituted as a state-run employment-training programme, its aim is to employ youths in restoration projects related to the natural and cultural heritage. To this end, numerous schools were founded, providing both theoretical and practical/on-site experience. Students are expected to acquire knowledge and skills of a variety of trades such as stone masonry and forging, thereby receiving a comprehensive training which will allow them to tackle a range of conservation and restoration projects. Supplementary education is provided for those who have not yet completed their early secondary schooling. The Casas de Oficios were created as a means of creating employment in depressed urban areas, and focus on the learning of a single trade over a year. In 1990 there were 643 Escuelas Taller and 283 Casas de Oficios, with 51,604 students currently involved.51

B.2.f National Living Treasures
In some countries the transfer of craft know-how is achieved through conferring the status of ‘living national treasure’ on outstandingly skilled individuals. The financial support and status attendant on the award carries with it the obligation to pass on the skills to the next generation through apprenticeships and other forms of training. Such schemes generally encompass all activities defined as intangible heritage, and not purely crafts.

49 www.sunsite.anu.edu.au/thailand/thai_monarchy/queen.html
Japan

The initiative of national living treasures, as it has come to be known, was started in Japan in 1950. By 1994, there were nine categories of the applied arts, comprising 39 specific skills. The cultural properties protected by this scheme are not the people themselves but the skills they possess, and living national treasures are officially known as “hoji-sha (holders) or hoji-dantai (holding bodies).

Cherokee Living Treasures

This award scheme was begun in 1988 to honour Cherokee artisans who have practised and perfected the technique of a craft considered to be a part of the traditional Cherokee culture. One of the criteria for selection is participation in educational presentations.

France

In 1994, the Minister of Culture elevated 20 craftsmen and women to the rank of ‘Maitres d’Art’. This new distinction recognises outstanding skill and knowledge, and requires the recipient to pass these on to future generations.

B.2.g Observations and Questions

These training structures combine different approaches and aims and can be located on a variety of sliding scales.

Method

Apprenticeship / Workplace ------ School.

The different training methods are not mutually exclusive.

• Note the combination of firm-based apprenticeships with outside formal qualifications at an educational institution in the case of Mowlem, Rattee and Kent.
• Another example is the placement of young Compagnons in firms, while they continue to pursue evening classes at the Maisons de Compagnonnage.

Should this approach be encouraged?

Authenticity of Method

Traditional ----- Innovative

Some systems are more sensitive to the intangible qualities and dimensions of crafts.

• The apprenticeship system helps maintain the traditional relationship between master/mentor and pupil characteristic of the learning process. The renewal and support of the apprenticeship system as part of formal training is a need perceived by many practising craftsmen.

• The guild and workshop systems help cultivate the social dimension of training in and practising a craft, and ensures a traditional continuity between training and work.

Should authenticity be encouraged in the learning process or is it necessary to innovate to take account of changing circumstances?

Aims

Conservation of the Built Heritage ---- Conservation of Crafts Processes

Conservation ----- Social and Economic Development.

The different aims are not necessarily mutually exclusive, although the authenticity of the crafts taught may not be a consideration in development schemes. Should those involved in crafts training work toward a greater convergence of aims, or is an element of specialisation necessary?

52 www.unesco.org/culture/heritage/intangible/treasures/html_eng/method.shtml
53 N. Inaba, Brief notes on the formal system for the protection of cultural heritage in Japan, 2 May 2001.
54 www.unesco.org/culture/heritage/intangible/treasures/html_eng/method.shtml
55 I am grateful to Katrinna Similä for this suggestion.
B.3 How can authenticity be conserved?

B.3.a Criteria
What are the various aspects of crafts in which authenticity can be sought? What are the assets and limitations of laying down criteria regarding both process and product? What happens where conservation values clash with those of development, ecology, or safety?

Learning process
• If authenticity attaches to traditional long-term training systems such as family/clan instruction or apprenticeship, do training centres and courses compromise this?
• Formal institutions and qualifications allow a certain parity between various forms of education. However, do they restrict the flow of knowledge by not recognising informal instruction?
• What happens where the traditional early start does not accord with children’s rights, such as the right not to work before a certain age, and the right to an education conceived of as basic literacy and numeracy.

Production process
• Does the product have to be essentially hand-made? Can tools be used?
• Might restrictions limit economic viability and thus endanger the craft?
• If a labour-intensive production methods are enforced, there is a danger that child and bonded labour could be used to cut down the cost.

Materials
• Do the materials themselves have to be traditional, natural, indigenous, traditionally produced?
• What if traditionally produced materials are no longer available?
• What happens if the use of materials is discouraged for environmental conservation reasons such as hardwood, peat, coral or ivory? Although sustainable use may be possible in a traditional economic context or in limited restoration projects, it may be difficult if commercial viability is sought in a wider market economy.
• What is the case if traditional materials are revealed to be damaging to the health of the craftsman, as is the case with lead glazes used in low temperature pottery fired in wood kilns.57

Design
• What flexibility is to be allowed in the sphere of designs?
• Do criteria in this area limit creativity?

People and Place
• Given the significance of crafts for cultural/social identity and religious feeling, how important is it that they are indigenous to the area and carried out by traditional groups?
• What are the implications of women’s and children’s rights and equal opportunities legislation.

Questions
Given the different areas in which authenticity can be sought, the authenticity profile of any one craft practised in any part of the world today is likely to be complex. It may therefore be helpful to think of crafts as located somewhere along a number of sliding scales of authenticity in these various areas.58

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58 I am grateful to Katriina Similä for this suggestion.
B.3.b **Who is involved in defining and controlling authenticity?**
 Various bodies are involved in establishing both tangible and intangible qualities.

- National heritage protection policies on intangible heritage often include definitions of what constitutes an authentic craft, producing criteria for materials, processes, and design.

**Japan** Typical criteria for ceramics might involve the use of local clay, a traditional technique rather than the use of an electric turntable, and traditional patterns. However the arrangement and development of these patterns is left to the artistic licence of the maker to encourage creativity

**Cherokee Nation** In the Cherokee programme of national living treasures, emphasis is given to those crafts produced in ‘the traditional manner using native materials.’ ‘In certain circumstances special equipment in producing crafts is allowed, such as tools for cutting, clamping and sanding in making shell jewellery, knife making, bows… The use of sewing machines is permitted for traditional clothing, such as tear dresses, ribbon shirts and pucker-toe moccasins.\(^{59}\)

- Some crafts guilds and associations are active in standard setting.
- The authenticity of certain craft products is defined in and protected by internationally recognised trademarks.

**Harris Tweed** This textile, which takes its name from the island of Harris in the Outer Hebrides, is identified by a distinctive trademark - the gold crossed orb. The trademark was introduced when competitors from the mainland set up industrial looms and testifies that the cloth concerned has been ‘hand woven by the islanders at their homes in the Outer Hebrides and made of pure virgin wool dyed and spun in the Hebrides’.\(^{60}\) Originally the wool also had to be produced on the islands, but when demand outstripped their capacity, the use of wool from other parts of Scotland was permitted.\(^{61}\)

B.4.c **‘The confining myth of authenticity’**?\(^{62}\)
 Although some parts of the world possess craft traditions which date back millennia, it is misleading to think of crafts generally as existing in ethnographic timelessness. In many places they have evolved over the centuries. Such changes reflect the unique history of the culture in question and need not be seen as a pollutant factor. They are quickly absorbed into ideas of ‘tradition’ or ‘custom’, flexible concepts which have been considered by anthropologists and sociologists as part of the way in which perceptions of the past function as an explanation and justification of the present situation.\(^{63}\) The degree and nature of change differ from place to place.

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59 [www.cherokee.org/Phoenix/XXIVno4_Fall2000/ArtCulturePage.asp?ID=1](http://www.cherokee.org/Phoenix/XXIVno4_Fall2000/ArtCulturePage.asp?ID=1)
60 [www.harristweedshop.com](http://www.harristweedshop.com)
61 [www.rampantscotland.com/know/blknow_tweed.htm](http://www.rampantscotland.com/know/blknow_tweed.htm)
• In some cases whole crafts have been transplanted. For example, crochet was introduced into Goa by Portuguese missionaries, while Batik was introduced into India by Ravindranath Tagore.  

• In others cases, the materials, design, or function of the product has changed over time. This might be to respond to changing social and religious circumstances, different resources, or new markets. For example, what are thought of as traditionally South American crafts show the influence of the Spanish Conquest as much as they reflect pre-Hispanic indigenous traditions.

Persian carpets have a long history of metamorphosis and adaptation to circumstances, with the earliest known surviving example dating back to around the fifth century BC. By the seventh century AD they had become famous in court circles throughout the region, while after the Arabic conquest, they were used as prayer mats and Quranic verses began to be incorporated into their designs. Secular carpets also became a major industry and were produced for export, being highly prized in European courts.

• In other cases the economic significance of the craft has altered. Generally, this tends to move from home to commercial production as the culture in question enters a market economy. However, conversely, there are examples of crafts which were once practiced commercially, and which now are pursued purely as hobbies. Here the motivation for the craft is driven by pleasure rather than need.

Questions Given this history of change regarding at least some crafts, do restrictive criteria run the risk of stifling their natural vitality? Is it indeed their potential to adapt which secures the survival of crafts? Or are authenticity criteria a necessary response to a period of unparalleled change, which enable ‘traditional’ crafts to compete by identifying and valuing them appropriately?

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64 www.goasudharop.org/gs_handicrafts.htm
B.4 How can creativity be conserved?

B.4.a Authenticity and Creativity
The component of individual creativity in crafts varies according to the cultural context. However, although a crucial aspect of the learning process is to absorb and master inherited know-how and traditional methods, in many cultures this is seen as the necessary foundation for personal creativity. In this context, creativity and innovation may be seen as testimonies of skill.

Timbuktu, Mali Craftsmen involved in the annual reconstruction and repair of the mosques have traditionally made changes and innovations in order to leave a trace of their contribution, and as proof of their skill. Photographic evidence testifies to changes in form, dimensions and decoration over time.66

There is a danger that restrictive criteria might limit creativity if they do not allow sufficient flexibility for the creative input of the craftsman concerned.

B.4.b How can creativity be encouraged?
Given that learning process of crafts involves mastering tradition before innovation, it is fitting that the past be used as inspiration for the present.

• Documentation. The experience of CRATerre in Guyane has been that involvement of craftsmen in the documentation of the built heritage enables the evolution of the craft.

• Museums. Museums can act as sources of inspiration for craftsmen, as was the original conception of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

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C Conditions for Conserving the Intangible

C.1 What are the threats posed to the survival of crafts?

C.1.a Economic: industrialisation and globalisation.
• Large-scale, industrialised enterprises cut out labour-intensive crafts and small-scale businesses. The people who previously bought craft products can now buy cheaper, industrially-produced items. These tend to be uniform and lack the local quality of craft products.
• While many industrial products are purchased out of a desire for modernity, there is also the possibility that industrial products may mimic craft products, producing seemingly ‘authentic’ products at cheaper prices.
• The financial strain affects both the tangible and the intangible aspects of crafts. The learning process comes under threat as it becomes more difficult to finance apprenticeships, and those who might have trained in craft processes seek other jobs, often in towns or as migrant labour, thus breaking the chain of transmission.
• It may become more difficult to afford city-centre rents, thus removing the traditional spatial element as well as lessening easy contact with buyers.
• Craft practitioners may have to buy industrially-produced materials. There is a desire to start to industrialise or mechanise elements of the crafts process itself in order to compete. Quality and variety may suffer as workers respond to the pressure to produce more goods.

C.1.b Social: urbanisation, population movement and displacement.
• Where people who have traditionally lived a nomadic or rural lifestyle become urbanised, certain products and building styles are no longer necessary.
• Materials may be no longer easily available after displacement to towns or other counties, whether animal, vegetable or mineral products.
• Where contact is lost with the older generation, a crucial link in the chain of transmission is broken.
• Where historic centres are gradually becoming moribund, as residents move to the suburbs, the traditional role and function of crafts are threatened.

Kuwait ‘Weaving amongst the nomadic Bedouin of Arabia was an integral part of their life, essential for their nomadic existence. The Bait al Shaar or ‘tent of goat’s hair’ was their abode: it was woven so that it could be wrapped into a large camel saddlebag ensuring the mobility of the tribe’…’The rapid urbanisation of the Bedouin and their settlement in government allocated housing has diminished the need for a mobile abode or Bait al Shaar, consequently removing the raison d’etre of the traditional craft of Bedouin weaving. The product around which the craft evolved historically had become obsolete.’67

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C.1.c Political: enforced modernisation and oppression of minorities.

- Legislation against the use of various craft products, often distinctive items of clothing, on the part of the government, either because of a conscious attempt at modernisation of lifestyle or to crush the identity of particular group makes certain products redundant.
- There may also be fear to practise traditional crafts or use craft products because it marks one out as member of oppressed minority.
- The destruction of historic buildings and their replacement by modern buildings, such as in Romania under Ceausescu, contributes to the redundancy of the building crafts.

| Turkey and Iran | The wearing of the felt fez was outlawed by the Turkish government at the time of Attatürk, and can now only be worn by tourists and the Mevlana Dervishes. In Iran, when the Shah attempted to impose a sedentary way of life on the nomadic tribes of Luristan and Kurdistan in the 1920s and 1930s, wearing of the felt coat known as the _kepenek_ was forbidden because they symbolised a nomadic existence.\(^6\) This has substantially contributed to the demise of the craft traditions connected with their production. |

C.1.d Educational: low status of crafts and manual skill

- In the West, where education prioritises verbal and numerical skills, manual skills as vocational training are perceived as being only for those who fail at school.

| United Kingdom | “There is no place in our general education system to value people who are talented with their hands. Little value is put on teaching rigorous standards of excellence in making skills”.\(^7\) |

- When incorporated into the mainstream educational system, crafts teaching often lacks credibility and fails to recognise the peculiarities of crafts as a learning process.

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C.2 What are successful strategies to counter threats?

Attention is primarily focused on finding ways of making crafts economically viable. This is particularly the case in the developing world, where craft skills may not yet have been lost.

C.2.a Marketing This applies primarily to movable craft products.

Luxury market In the west some crafts are not greatly at risk. A small but constant stream of participants produce goods for a niche market, selling luxury goods to an informed and critical clientele at high prices. Examples of such products include quality clothes, shoes and accessories, and riding and sporting equipment such as guns and saddles. There is the possibility that other crafts can tap into this market.

Thailand Royal promotion of Thai ikat silk ‘mudmee’, once relatively unknown outside the region where it is produced, has made it one of the most fashionable dress materials in Thailand. It has also entered the international luxury market, featuring in a collection by the French designer Pierre Balmain.70

Tourist Market An expanding tourism industry can be exploited in favour of crafts, by encouraging tourists (both national and international) to purchase products typical of the country, region or city as souvenirs of their visit. It possesses the potential for direct contact between craftsman and consumer, and may aid the estimation of the product in the country of origin.

- The tourist market bears the advantage that producers do not have to deal with growing transport costs, and they may be able to sell to the consumers directly.

Venetian Glass The Murano glass workers have successfully exploited Venice’s status as a tourist destination. Brochures promote the craft as unique and traditional and advertise trips to the island where the workshops and a number of shops are located.

- The experience of seeing craftsman in action may encourage observers to purchase their goods as well as increasing their knowledge of and respect for the craft skill in question. In other words the consumers are purchasing a package, which includes the making and maker as well as the product.

Studio Visits in America ‘Obtained without the help of an intermediary, the studio purchase is unquestionably authentic. Whereas the commercial venue usually obscures the maker behind the object, the studio visit responds to the need for verification. Buyers can witness the process of the object’s creation. In fact, glass blowers have lamented that they cannot sell the molten glass object because a buyer will often request the ‘one on the pipe’.71

- This type of marketing can help maintain the geographical and cultural specificity of crafts.

Japanese crafts / folk art are characterised by a high degree of localism. ‘Even today, each prefecture and nearly every town has its meibutsu (famous local product) which Japanese travellers bring home as obligatory omiyage (souvenir gifts).’

However, the international tourist market is both essentially seasonal and particularly sensitive to international events.

Global marketing The internet and to a lesser extent catalogues allow global marketing, without the need for going through middlemen and retailers. This minimises the potential for producers to be exploited and allows them a higher return on their efforts.

Goa Sudharop. This organisation advertises traditional and contemporary Goan crafts for sale on its web site, making it possible for village artisans to sell their products direct to customers overseas. Information is given on the history of the various crafts and the techniques involved.

C.2.b Financial subsidies While most of these are aimed directly at small businesses and self-employed craftsmen, some help craftsmen indirectly by enabling others to afford expensive, high-quality craftsmanship.

- Interest free loans and grants to set up a business.
- The funding of apprenticeships, which helps maintain a traditional learning process.

Crafts Consultative Committee, Scotland. The Committee’s Crafts Training Scheme was first established in 1968, and by the mid 1980s attracted a budget of £15,000 including EEC support. To enable and encourage an established and skilled craftsman to take on a trainee for a three-year period, a grant is made towards the wages and other expenses incurred during the first two years of employment.

- Subsidised rents which enable craftsmen to stay in their traditional locations such as city centres, thus preserving their direct contact with consumers and ensuring the continuity and vitality of city centres.

- Grants for those prepared to make traditional repairs to their buildings.

Collyweston Slating Since 1979 joint grants of up to 50% have been offered by the Civic Trust, and Peterborough and Cambridgeshire County Councils to encourage owners to reslate their buildings with Collyweston slate. This slate, in use since Roman times, is both mined and laid in a distinctive manner. Although the aim is to maintain the character of buildings and areas already slated in this style, it also offers support to craftsmen using traditional dressing and slating skills.

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73 [www.goasudharop.org/gs_handicrafts.htm](http://www.goasudharop.org/gs_handicrafts.htm)
C.2.c Co-operatives. These tackle a number of problems faced by craftsmen
- The problem of the rising prices of raw materials can be countered by buying materials in bulk.
- The goods can be marketed together, thus offsetting the price of transport to market and beyond.

C.2.d Legislation. Governmental legislation can define standards of authenticity, thus protecting crafts products from competition from imitative industrial products. In the case of the built heritage it can also enforce the employment of traditional local techniques.

- The identification of authenticity criteria for use in marketing has been successfully developed with regards to food products characteristic of a particular region and produced by a skilled and often manual process. However, despite notable exceptions such as Harris Tweed, such labelling is slower to be applied to crafts and is notable by its absence from British and European standards.

- Legislation which stipulates that building and building repairs shall be carried out in traditional styles and with traditional methods and materials creates a market for certain craft skills, such as thatching or pargeting in the United Kingdom.
C.3 **What are the implications of intervention?**

Even the decision to preserve crafts subtly alters their significance. ‘The culture is no longer some-thing to be lived unselfconsci ously, but has become something to be consciously spoken of and revalued’.75 It is important to acknowledge that even well-meaning promotion of may affect the nature of both the process and the product, and to be aware of the way in which crafts are changing, and adapting to changing circumstances.

C.3.a **National promotion** Crafts can be harnessed to and promoted as part of differing ideologies, including social and political.

- The national promotion of regional craft products may well fail to take account of local specificity. Where training is nationalised there is an even greater risk of loosing local characteristics.
- National promotion of crafts by certain regimes may associate them with ideologies, which later render the crafts unpalatable. This is particularly the case in communist and post communist Eastern Europe.
- Does the singling out of various individuals as living national treasures create an elite which threatens the community based practising of crafts?

C.3.b **Promotion through trade** Efforts to market crafts more widely or more effectively may compromise aspects of both process and product.76

**Change in Meaning & Loss of Function**

- Where certain craft products have traditionally been produced for personal and family consumption as part of seasonal work, or possess a religious significance, their production for sale radically alters their meaning and that of their creation.
- Even where products are traditionally produced for sale, they are likely to have been produced to be used. This functionality may be lost through sale, as they become item for display only. This is more likely to happen with certain products than with others, for example wooden items and ceramics, than with carpets and textiles, but even here the nature of the function may be changed.

**Change in Design**

- Once the process becomes commercialised there is great pressure to cater for the market. Designs may change in response to perceived demands, whether simplified for greater ease of production or changed to cater to different aesthetic preferences. There may even be a deliberate cross-fertilisation of ideas and designs on the part of middlemen.
- Where objects once had a religious significance they may even be deliberately changed to avoid desecration.
- The entire product may change, for example, embroidery once used to decorate Ethiopian dresses for special religious occasions is now used on cushions and table ware. Long-distance buyers can be a comparatively undiscerning audience, especially where the regional quality of crafts products is concerned.

76 I am grateful for Joe King’s contribution to this part of the discussion.
American Trade ‘Interviews revealed that American importers who purchase weavings in a number of places around the Third World are cross-fertilizing designs and materials between ethnic groups in an effort to reach new market niches in the United States. Several importers commented that while Mexican rugs are cheaper than Navajo, Pakistani, and Afghan rugs in the United States market, Dhuri rugs produced in India of cotton/wool blends are cheaper and compete with Zapotec rugs at the lower end of the United States carpet market. These importers acknowledged that they have contracted Indian weavers to produce “Zapotec” rugs made of cotton and cotton/wool blends.” 77

C.3.c Promotion through Tourism

- Tourism offers the opportunity for the consumer to associate a craft with a particular locality they have visited. Yet much depends on their perception of where they have been. For example, tourists visiting Kenya may simply want a souvenir that looks African, rather than one that reflects national or local craft traditions. Even if they do want to purchase a local craft product, they will not necessarily possess the knowledge to do so.
- Where schemes are set up whereby the artisan can be watched at work, and possibly photographed, the practice of the craft becomes a spectacle to be bought.

Studio Visits ‘The consumer first ‘buys’ the craftsperson, his or her life-style, the making process, perhaps a rural setting.’78

C.3.d Promotion through Development

As was mentioned in Section A, crafts have the potential to provide paid employment for vulnerable groups. Schemes may offer training and work opportunities to the handicapped, the unemployed, and women while men are absent through engagement in migrant work.

- Development in this area may upset traditional roles, particularly gender roles.

Mexico Government sponsored co-operatives for female craft workers have given women greater financial autonomy and leadership positions. This has threatened the patriarchal structure of the family, causing some tension. The female leader of a co-operative in Amatenango was murdered.79

- The regional qualities of the work may be lost.

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C.4 What are the Similarities with Other Types of Intangible Cultural Heritage?

C.4.a Threats to Intangible Heritage

Other types of intangible cultural heritage such as languages and the oral tradition, music, dance and theatrical traditions suffer from some similar threats to crafts, although a far greater proportion of them were never carried out for profit and so are not affected in the same way by economic trends.

- Globalisation threatens the diversity of language and entertainment, as isolated communities as exposed to global cultural imperialism.

- The disappearance of traditional ways of life, tending towards a settled urban lifestyle, threatens both the social viability of traditional form of entertainment and modes of transmission.

- The political oppression of some indigenous peoples, such as the Kurds, includes the systematic negation of their languages and cultural traditions.

- The low status of some indigenous languages and cultures within the education system and society in general contributes to their decline.

C.4.b Strategies for Protection

- Documentation. The documentation of disappearing traditions can enable their resurrection at a later date.

- Training. Training initiatives to pass on music, dance and oral skills range from centres to apprenticeship schemes. Threatened languages can be taught as part of the general school curriculum or can be used as the teaching medium itself. National Living Treasures usually deal with the performance arts as much as with the applied arts.

Scottish Storytelling Centre Founded in 1996, the centre is committed to recovering the art of storytelling as a community and a professional activity. This improvised art was traditionally practised both in a domestic setting and by the wandering seanachie or storyteller, and still resides today in the traveller community. The centre fosters the Gaelic, Scots and English oral traditions, consulting tradition bearers and scholars and organising workshops, short courses, skills-sharing and informal apprenticeships.80

- Marketing. Sensitive and informed marketing can encourage both the viability and the transmission of traditional performance arts and music.

Cuban Music Ry Cooder’s trip to record and document Cuban music-making discovered a group of aging musicians who had been influential in conserving and shaping the island’s musical traditions but were currently inactive or out of fashion. This was documented in the film Buona Vista Social Club, which along with the accompanying CDs, introduced the music to an international audience and …

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80 www.storytellingcentre.org.uk; conversation with Mrs Senga Munro, a storyteller in the Scots oral tradition, June 19th.
contributed to a wider renaissance in Cuban music. The octogenarians are currently hits on the international concert circuit, and are unofficially regarded as ‘national treasures.’

- Financial measures such as subsidies for apprenticeships can also encourage the viability and transmission of skills

**C.4.c Implications of Intervention**

These other forms of intangible heritage can also be altered by promotion

- The commercialisation of music, dance, and story-telling traditionally carried out within the community alters their meaning, and may encourage a change in form to conform to the consumer’s expectations, much as crafts change when they go from being a domestic process to a commercial one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceremonial Dances in the Pays Dogon, Mali</th>
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<td>‘The Dogon are … well known for their masked, dance rituals which are held at various traditional intervals to accompany festivals such as the Sigui (every 60 years), the Dama (every few years) and annual harvest festivals. New abbreviated versions of these festivals have been developed for tourists for which the visitor pays both in cash and in kind by providing beer for the troupe. Dances for tourists are only loosely based on the originals with greater floor time given to the more elaborate masks and dramatic choreography with the true meaning of the dance often blurred, especially for the younger dancers.’</td>
</tr>
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</table>

- The codification of music, dance, and oral traditions which are based on improvisation and involve the manipulation of a number of traditional elements can result in simplification and sterility, much as the codification of designs can by failing to recognise the creative use of a number of patterns.

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D Role of Conservation-Restoration Field

D.1 What should be the Nature of Interaction between Craftsmen and the Restoration - Conservation Field?

D.1.a Consultation and Co-operation

Current thought holds it necessary to value the knowledge of craftsmen in an exchange between equals. The participation of the local community and traditional conservators is part of wider process of involving stakeholders in the heritage protection process.

- Knowledge. The contribution of crafts practitioners’ knowledge to the understanding of existing tangible heritage, whether objects in a collection or elements of the built heritage.

| Gourd-carvers | Toby Raphael of the American National Parks Service has been instrumental in bringing traditional gourd-carvers into the museum to share their knowledge with conservators and curators. |

- Techniques. The discovery and documentation of traditional processes (in so far as is possible with tacit knowledge), so as to use appropriate materials and techniques in restoration.

| Kathmandu, Nepal | During the conservation project at the Hanuman Dhoka Palace there was a need to replace telia or oiled bricks, a construction element no longer used in Nepalese architecture whose technique of manufacture was largely forgotten. Unable to find any information, the conservation team carried out a practical brick-making experiment hoping to attract local attention. Their work provoked comments and criticism by two aging craftsmen, who proceeded to demonstrate the correct method. The resultant bricks stood up to comparative tests with the old bricks.83 |

- Participants. The employment of craftsmen on conservation/restoration projects, taking account of traditional groups and occasions. This is an approach typical of CRATerre-EAG and the Africa 2009 Project in particular.

| Kasubi Tombs, Uganda | The various clans had traditionally been responsible for various aspects of preserving the tombs. However, when Uganda became a Republic the site was gazetted under the Monument Act, the Government took over its management, and the clans lost their technical responsibilities. ‘In 1998, a mission was organised by the Africa 2009 programme …[which] pointed out the need to set up a permanent maintenance team and to revive the role of the traditional clans and their associated techniques. As part of this on-site training, several repair works were undertaken on the thatched roofs under the technical responsibility of the Ngeye clan, who started to re-gain recognition’84 |

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D.1.b Training

There is a need not just for training with the object of creating a third profession of conservation craftsman, which has been dealt with in Section B, but also to familiarise craftsmen and conservation professionals with the issues, skills and possibilities on either side.

• Training of craftsmen offering the possibility to gain an understanding of conservation issues.

William Morris Craft Fellowship An expenses-paid six-month training course for a small number of outstanding young British craftsmen concentrating on aspects of the building crafts in relation to historic architecture. ‘Two cardinal themes will run through the course, the philosophy of repair and excellence in craftsmanship’. The scheme is funded by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, the National Trust, the Civic Trust, the Cathedral Advisory Commission and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

Abomey An ICCROM CRATerre-EAG project in 1996 involved the training of nine artisans from nine different royal lines in the conservation and repair of palace structures. At the end of the course the participants declared themselves convinced by the ideas developed during the workshop and prepared to advise their ‘clients’ to put them into practice.

• Training of conservation professionals in craft skills, ranging from the simple use of tools to more specialised training. Even if relatively short term compared to the training of a craftsman, such training can take account of characteristic learning processes.

Apprenticeship in Lacquer Work Susanne Barchalia, after four years of training as a silversmith and a subsequent training in conservation at the Conservation School of the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, underwent a year-long apprenticeship in Japan under an master in traditional lacquer-work, in order to be able to deal with the National Museum of Denmark’s large collection of east Asian lacquer. Her purpose was ‘not to learn lacquer technique from the beginning, but to be taught the basic principles of lacquering in order to apply them in [her] daily work as a conservator’.  

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D.2 How can the Restoration – Conservation Field Interact with Others Involved in the Perpetuation of Crafts?

D.2.a Promotion There is a need for the promotion of the cultural heritage value of crafts in all crafts organisations and training centres, not only those teaching skills useful in restoration.

D.2.b Co-operation There is a need to co-operation with those involved in promoting crafts for other reasons, for example development organisations, rural conservation groups etc., so that the concept of crafts as intangible heritage is recognised in their projects.
E **Sources**

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E.2 List of Web Sites

Cherokee Living National Treasures - [www.cherokee.org/Phoenix/XXIVno4_Fall2000/ArtCulturePage.asp?ID=1](http://www.cherokee.org/Phoenix/XXIVno4_Fall2000/ArtCulturePage.asp?ID=1)


Craft Center - [www.craftscenter.org](http://www.craftscenter.org)

Goa Sudharop - [www.goasudharop.org/gs_handicrafts.htm](http://www.goasudharop.org/gs_handicrafts.htm)

Harris Tweed - [www.harristweedshop.com](http://www.harristweedshop.com)

Harris Tweed - [www.rampantscotland.com/ know/blknow_tweed.htm](http://www.rampantscotland.com/ know/blknow_tweed.htm)
ICOMOS Guidelines - www.icomos.org/docs/guidelines_for_education.html

Living National Treasures - www.ihbc.org.uk/Unesco/intangible.html

Living National Treasures -
www.unesco.org/culture/heritage/intangible/treasures/html_eng/method.shtml

Salisbury Cathedral Works - www.britishcathedrals.org/salisburyrestore2.html

Scottish Storytelling Centre - www.storytellingcentre.org.uk

St. Mary’s Cathedral Workshop -
www.cathedral.net/uk/scotland/edinburgh/ep/actw.htm

Thai Silk - http://sunsite.au.ac.th/thailand/thai_monarchy/queen.html

West Dean College - www.westdean.org.uk

York Minster Works - www.yorkminster.org/works.ht

E.3 Interviews and Conversations

I am most grateful to the following people who talked to me about their experiences of craft work, conservation, and other aspects of intangible heritage.

Yvette Bower, who practices hand-spinning and traditional Hungarian crocheting, and is involved in revitalising hand spinning through re-enactment societies. (8th June)

Paolo Carandini, an independent craftsman working in leather based in Florence. (4th June)

Steve Cassidy, who works in the masonry department of the restoration firm Mowlem, Rattee and Kett. (21st June)

Ciro Castelli, a restorer at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence who trained as a cabinet maker. (11th May 2002)

Senga Munro, a storyteller in the Scots language who is involved with educational projects in schools. (19th June 2002)