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Museums without Walls:

The Museology of Georges Henri Rivière

by

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This thesis explores important aspects of the debates and practices that since the First World War have both extended the meaning of museums and museology, and renovated what was seen by many as a stagnated 19th century model of museum policy and communication. For the purpose of illustrating the manifold nature of these debates this thesis examines the life and work of French museologist and innovator of modern French ethnographical practice, Georges Henri Rivière (1897 – 1985).

It draws on the conceptual distinction made in some international museum literature between museology and museums. This distinction stems from the different assumptions introduced by two long term projects of cultural development: the 18th century projects of enlightenment and the 20th century promotion of an anthropological conception of culture. The former is closely related to the European system of fine art understood as a system of promotion and popularization of the arts. The latter is part of the efforts of the human and social sciences to insert museums in the society they serve and/or to give a democratic representation to the variety of cultures existing in a society at large.

The consequence was the development, in the course of the 20th Century, of two often opposing managerial policies and cultures, one inwards looking, aiming at modernization and professionalization of internal museum functions, the other focusing on closing the relationship of museology and its natural and social environment. The first was essentially administrative and scholar-based, and has thrived with the adoption of a culture of mass consumption and multiplied its functions according to an ever-dominant division of labour. The second is proactive and externally driven, a policy and managerial culture aiming at the management of processes and resources, and at the identifications and development of the living cultures existing in a society.

In this line of thought this research explores the museology of Rivet-Rivière's Musée-Laboratoire as part of a national project of cultural development aiming at changing the relationship of French citizens to their material culture and heritage. As the museological embodiment of the myth of primitivism, Rivet-Rivière's 'structural museology' was shaped by the convergence of avant-garde movements in contemporary arts with the object-based ethnology of Marcel Mauss. It eventually led not only to Rivière's most famous concept, the *Ecomusée,* but also to a 'museology without walls' and to the diversification and multiplication of local museological practices by which every activity existing in a territory could be given museographical expression.

As cultural activist, Rivière was at the crossroads of major events and personalities of his time, and his museological talent was placed at the service of their concerns and expectations, particularly through his long involvement with the UNESCO-linked International Council of Museums (ICOM). Furthermore, his privileged positions in the culture of its time made him a significant witness, not just of the debate about museums, but of 20th century French cultural life.

SPECIAL NOTE: TRANSLATIONS

The great majority of both the published and manuscript texts and of the interviews cited in this thesis were in French. Unless otherwise stated or referenced, all the translations are those of the author.

Table of Contents

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAM: American Association of Museums

ADPL: Association for the Development of Public Libraries

APAM: Association Populaire des Amis des Musées

ATP: Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires (Trocadéro)

CLAJ. Centre Laïc des Auberges de la Jeunesse (Secular Youth Hostel Centre)

CNRS: Centre National des Recherche Scientifique (the French national research organization)

DATAR: Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale (French Ministry for regional planning and development)

DATP: Département des Arts et Traditions Populaires

DMF: Direction des Musées de France

ICOM: International Council of Museums

ICOM GHR Archive: Archives of Georges Henri Rivière held at ICOM Documentation Centre

ICOFOM: International Committee for Museology of ICOM

INSEE: Institut National de Statistiques et Etudes Economiques ((French) National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies)

LFAJ: French League of Youth Hostels

LMJ: Loisirs Musicaux de la Jeunesse

MA: The Museum Association (United Kingdom)

MAAO: Musée des Arts d'Afrique et d'Oœnanie

MET: Musée d' Ethnologie du Trocadéro

MNATP: Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires (Bois de Boulogne)

MNATP GHR Archives: Archives of Georges Henri Rivière held at the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires

MNES: Muséologie Nouvelle et Expérimentation Sociale (French national organization for new museology)

MINOM: Mouvement pour Un Nouvelle Muséologie (International Movement for a New Museology)

RCP: Recherche Cooperative sur Programme

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

For more than a century museum culture has faced criticism and pressure to renovate. Traditional modes of collecting, displaying and documenting have being modernized and professional guidelines on outreach and cooperation have given to museums a new life. Similarly, a closer understanding of the nature of the museum's public, together with the use of new technologies, have transformed the processes of cultural transmission through museums. As such, museums have not only multiplied and diversified, but the very concept of museology has taken an epistemological dimension that goes beyond the science or skill of acquiring, keeping and displaying collections.

A view on the present day museum scene shows us the extraordinary growth of museological activity. The opportunity to experience the symbolic significance of the material traces left by natural and human activity is not reduced to one specific museology but through a palimpsest of past and present museologies, reflecting alternative world views, modes of classification and variety of displays. Some originated centuries ago and their collections, once thought to be terminally ill, have been reinterpreted according to contemporary cultural perceptions. Others, following present day 'exhibition and collecting impulse', have collected and displayed formerly ignored aspects of everyday life.

Thus the natural world can be experienced in the Museum of Natural Science in Paris either through a 19th century comparative and morphological view or from its biodiversity and sustainability in the state-of-the art 'Great Gallery of evolution'. It can be also be experienced in zoos, aquariums, arboretums, botanical gardens and natural reserves. Art and technology can be experienced not only through aesthetic and scientific masterpieces, but as a living experience in artist workshops, galleries, discovery centres and industrial factories. Streets, boulevards, buildings, harbours and the homes of great names and celebrities are being restored as noble symbols of the past. The vernacular and the object of everyday life have achieved the status of objects of symbolic significance. Skills and technologies involved in the crafts and trades are demonstrated to the public. Football clubs, religious sects and manufacturing business have their own museum of identity and even fictional characters such as Tintin and Sherlock Homes have found their way into successful museums.

Though the expansion of museological activity is a multinational and interconnected phenomenon, its motivations and chronology differ depending on national circumstances. In the 19th century the Scandinavian countries and Germany adopted local history and the material culture of everyday life as signs of national identity. The early expansion of 'material civilization' in the United States also produced an early interest on the nature of museum artefacts. In spite of these developments, French Republican Museology in the first quarter of the 20th century remained a museology of the 'universal' masterpiece in the domain of arts and technical invention. Objects of daily life had no place in the pantheon of museum objects.

This research intends to explore how a museology of everyday life found its way into the French Republican enlightenment conception of culture.

MUSEUMS AND MUSEOLOGY

In contrast to the assumption that museums are permanent institutions, a number of commentators have pointed out the historical tendency of museums to close down according to an evolutionary cycle of birth, development, decline and death.

According to Varine, a museum should only exist as long as the population that created it survives: theoretically the museum (or a particular museology) is bound to disappear at the same time as the cultural context that created it (Varine, 1975).

It is perhaps the distinction made in museological forums between museology and museums that gives a theoretical perspective to these views. Every way of life, philosophy or scientific discipline has the potential to generate a specific museology. Each museology is a process by which a group or a community becomes aware through its material culture of the historical significance of its natural and cultural environment. It is initially a project of research and acquisition based on a particular object-based relation to historical reality. As the museological process runs its course, the enthusiastic urge to collect seems to be followed by an 'accumulation fatigue', and after a period of bulimia comes inevitably a period of public disinterest (Boylan 1997). The end products are museums with their administrative culture and symbolic references that tend to be inadequate for later generations or modes of thinking. They become unsustainable, and their dissolution can only be prevented by private or state sponsoring, or by a policy of reinterpretation of collections supported by the state-of-the-art critical museology.

The relevance of this distinction between museology and museums for the present thesis is that it allows setting apart the process of creation of a museological project from the managerial culture prevalent in the museum sector. As some authors have described it, museology is not any more about the 'hows' but about the 'whys': Why such a group or community starts to be interested in particular types of artefacts, for what purpose, according to which interpretative paradigm or process of cultural transmission. (Teather, 1984).

Thus the discovery of Greek and Roman antiquities in the Renaissance triggered the infatuation with Greek and Roman classic texts. This nostalgic search of the past generated a living scholar culture that favoured the search for the golden origins through the translation of Greek and Latin texts and the unearthing of material remains of the Classical period. The Renaissance man, provided with new philosophical ideas and attitudes, found in the display of collections a true archaeology of knowledge. Objects were interpreted according to the Renaissance idea that the microcosm mirrored the macrocosm in a cascade of neoplatonic esoteric correspondences. Collections became 'secondary to the knowledge that they unveiled' (Rivière, 1991, p.189) and objects synonymous with what Pomian has described as 'semiophores', observable witnesses of a forgotten time and tangible evidence for a reconstructed memory (Pomian, 1987). When the neo-classical revival lost its attraction these collections and their buildings became the depositories of masterpieces of the past.

The philological and editorial work done by humanists also triggered the development of natural history. The discovery by European explorers of far-off lands prompted the curiosity for the odd and the different. Collecting natural objects for the purpose of 'possessing nature' in a small space became a widespread private practice, and the first repositories of technology, ethnographical curiosities and natural wonders (Findlen, 1994). However, most of these eventually lost their relevance and became 'magazin-de-bric-et-brac' in which chaotic accumulation overtook its original significance.

The ideals of the French Revolution produced a different museology by reinterpreting and expanding the existing collections for the sake of the shaping of a new citizenship (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Boylan, 1992, 1996). As part of the system of Fine Arts, these were opened to the general public for education and as symbols of excellence and national prestige (Sherman, 1989).

The independence of Scandinavian countries, supported by what we could call the 'ideology of folklore', developed a museology that gave priority to everyday material culture as a symbol of national identity. Inspired by the displays of International World and Trade Exhibitions, it produced an open-air museology that made the rural vernacular prestigious witnesses of National Heritage.

The approval by the American Congress of the Yellowstone Park Act in 1872 has been considered as the foundational document of the idea of the National Park. Like the foundational legislation passed by the French Assembly during the revolutionary period, the Yellowstone Act launched a new museology by which the natural beauty of primeval America was to become a 'vital centre' of experience of American identity:

'If wilderness is a state of the land, wildness is the human relationship with that land…without wildness we could not retain nor understand where we came from and therefore only have an incomplete picture of where we were going.' (Heacox, 2001, p.101).

With the expansion of roads, railways, and public and private transport, this museology with its recreation areas, scenic rivers, national lakeshores, parkways and urban preserves triggered the early development of mass tourism management (Runte, 1979).

THE MUSÉE LABORATOIRE

In this line of thought this research intends to explore the museology of Rivet-Rivière's Musée-Laboratoire as the museological embodiment of the Myth of Primitivism. In contrast with the 18th Century museology understood as a system of promotion and popularization of Fine Arts, Rivet-Rivière's 'structural museology' was part of the efforts of the human and social sciences to give a democratic representation to the variety of cultures by diversifying the nature of collections. This diversification of collections led eventually to the multiplication of local museological practices by which every activity existing in a territory could be given museographical expression.

Why the Musée-Laboratoire? I have approached this concept as a modernist project of cultural change that encapsulates many of the transformations and challenges that museology has undergone in the last hundred years. First, when proposed in 1927 by Paul Rivet, the Musée-Laboratoire incorporated the

state-of-the-art experiences and international guidelines in matter of acquisition, research and display of collections. Second, it was a 'living' museology specific to France and the reflection of the concerns, ideas and assumptions of the society of its time. As such, this thesis considers the museology of Rivière as part of what could be called an 'intellectual and political crusade' intended to change the perception of the French citizen of its own history and cultural heritage. The term 'museology' is understood in this thesis as a process by which the individual and society become aware through 'objects' of the historical and symbolic significance of their natural and social environment. Finally, it is argued that the Musée-Laboratoire had from the beginning an open wall dimension which evolved in the 1970s into an open-air museology (Ecomuseums) and subsequently, following cultural and administrative changes, developed into the present day territorial 'museology of identity' as part of a global understanding of a science of heritage.

In researching and illustrating the complex nature of present day understanding of museology and its managerial cultures, the life and work of French museologist and cultural activist Georges Henri Rivière (1897 – 1985) has been taken as the framework.

Why George Henri Rivière? As a creature of a new generation of political leaders created by the French Third Republic (1870 – 1940) Rivière stood at the crossroads of a number of cultural milieux that, traditionally, at best ignored each other, or at worst looked down upon one another. A polymath accomplished as a musician, antiquarian, cultural activist, anthropologist and folklore specialist, he brought to museology the unlikely convergence of artists, collectors, dealers and antiquarians, aristocrats, philosophers, academics, social researchers and avant-garde experimentation. He made his own the ideals of the Durkheimian School of sociology and the history of the Annales of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch.

As Assistant Director in the Museum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro in Paris (from 1928 to 1937) and as Director of the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaire (Museum of Arts and Popular Traditions) from 1937 to 1967 he realized and implemented the concept of the Rivet-Rivière Laboratory which he and Paul Rivet (1876 – 1958) had developed, and within which he tried to apply the principle of structuralist anthropology to museum interpretation and management.

As the first Director of the UNESCO-based International Council of Museums (ICOM) from 1947 to his official retirement in 1967, he not only represented the concerns of museum professionals and undertook the modernization of museums according to the standards of its day, but also had a leading influence on the development of museum theory and practice.

THE ORIGINS AND MOTIVATION OF THIS THESIS

Fig 1: Georges Henri Rivière (right) and Paul Perrot in the Smithsonian Institution

Lecture, 1978

This thesis has its origins in my long discussions with Professor Patrick Boylan in relation to his interest in the life and work of Georges Henri Rivière, whom he got to know well and worked with during the last decade of Rivière's life. Among other things, Boylan served from 1976 to 1980 on the UNESCO planning and editorial Working Party that was guiding Rivière's last project, his proposed six-volume UNESCO's Treatise of Museology, which Rivière planned to be the summation of his life's work[1] (See Boylan, 2010, Appendix II).

My own interest was motivated by my five years' work in Chiltern Open-Air Museum (UK) (1993-1998) during which I visited open-air museums in western and eastern Europe. In particular it was triggered by Rivière's unpublished public lecture *Recent interdisciplinary experiences in France in Museums, Parks and Ecomuseums* (Rivière , 1978) given in 1978 at the Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC, and surviving in a little-known unpublished videotape. In this lecture of almost two hours, delivered in a mixture of English and French with the assistance of the Smithsonian's French-born Assistant Secretary, Paul Perrot, Rivière displayed all his French charm and offered a reflection on and synthesis of his long career. As a significant source for Rivière's own assessment of his work, I have transcribed the text of this lecture and made it available for the first time as Appendix I of this thesis.

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[1] Boylan had also worked with Rivière within the International Council of Museums (ICOM), particularly, from 1977, as Secretary and later Chairperson of the ICOM International Committee for the Training of Personnel, on which Rivière represented the ICOM Executive Council and Secretariat as ICOM's Permanent Adviser, following his retirement as the Director from 1947 to 1967. In 1979 Boylan also organized Rivière's last extended visit to England, during which he saw examples of current community- and environmentally-orientated museum developments such as those of the Leicestershire County Museum and Arts Service, as well as the developing Ironbridge Gorge Museum complex in Shropshire.

In the light of my interest in the subject, Boylan suggested that it was perhaps time to enquire into the claims and realities surrounding Rivière's most famous initiatives, and in particular the Ecomuseum concept, linked also to the managerial practices promoted by his chosen successor as Director of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), Hugues Varine (b. 1935).

RESEARCH-RELATED LITERATURE

I soon realized the significant amount of research already undertaken on the life and work of Rivière and his most important projects. The collective volume *La muséologie selon Georges Henri Rivière* (Association des Amis de Georges Henri Rivière, 1989), published by the Friends of Georges Henri Rivière with thirty contributors including figures such as Jean Jamin, Pascal Ory, Yvonne Oddon, Jean-Yves Veillard, Jean Claude Duclos, Andrea Hauenchild, André Desvallées and Hugues Varine, is still a key reference book on Georges Henri Rivière's museology and his time. The introductory chapter *Georges Henri Rivière, un homme dans le siècle* (Leroux-Dhuys, 1989), written by his nephew Jean François Leroux-Dhuys, was a rich source of biographical information, and his list of Rivière's publications, though far from complete, is a good bibliographical document.

I have built on the extensive research of Laurent Mucchielli's published as *La découverte du social: naissance de la sociologie en France* (1870-1914) (Mucchielli, 1998), which has explored the various schools of thinking that, during the Third Republic, reached positions of academic relevance (Clark, 1973) and converged in what he described as the 'Discovery of the Social' (Mucchielli, 1997, 1998).

The cultural framework of Rivière's activities during the crucial years of the 1930s Popular Front has been exhaustively explored by Pascal Ory in his *La belle illusion, Culture et politique sous le signe du Front populaire, 1935-1938* (Ory, 1990). Together with his *Les intellectuels en France de l'affaire Dreyfus a nos jours* (Ory, 1992) and Jean Jamin's *Le Musée d'ethnographie en 1930: l'ethnologie comme science et comme politique* (Jamin, 1989), it constitutes an essential reference to the understanding of the thrust of a generation of cultural activists. Their influence in the institutional framework of museums in France has been studied by Frederic Peyrouzère in his *Le Musée en partage, Etat et Musée sous le Ministère Jean Zay* (1936-1939) (Peyrouzère, 1999).

The crucial debates of the inter-war years on the nature of national identity in a divided France, and their influence on the world of international exhibitions, have been treated by Herman Lebovic in his *True France: the wars over cultural identity 1900-1945* (Lebovic, 1992) and Shanny Peer in her *France on display, Peasants, provincials and Folklore in the 1937 Paris World's Fair* (Peer, 1998), while James Herbert's *Paris 1937, Worlds on Exhibition* (Herbert, 1998) focused on Rivière's often perceived ambiguous understanding of the polarity between objects of art and documents of science - one of the leading factors in the policy of collection, acquisition and management of Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire. Rivière's activity during the Vichy period following the fall of France in 1940 has been documented by Christian Faure's *Le Projet culturel de Vichy, Folklore et revolution nationale, 1940-1944* (Faure, 1989).

Taking advantage of hindsight, Benoit de l'Estoile in his *Le goût des Autres, de l'exposition coloniale aux arts premiers* (de l'Estoile, 2007) has produced a state-of-the art historical evaluation of the ideas and expectations of French anthropology and its museums, from its beginnings in the 1930s to the opening in 2006 of the present day Musée du Quai Branly.

The epistemological assumptions of the museology of Rivière have largely been treated by a number of seminal publications. Jean Jamin's *Objets trouvés des paradis perdus: à propos de la Mission Dakar-Djibouti*, (Jamin, 1982) and *Les objets ethnographiques sont-ils des choses perdues?* (Jamin, 1985), are essential input on the cultural theory behind the anthropology of the Museum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro. Isaac Chiva's *Entre livre et Musée, émergence d'une ethnologie en France* (Chiva, 1987a) together with the group of essays *Ethnologies en miroir* (Chiva & Jeggle, 1987) pointed out the complex philosophical considerations and dense cultural context in which the museology of Rivière was generated.

The close interdisciplinary relations between the Durkheimian School of Sociology, the Revue de Synthèse and the School of the Annales was explored in the Acts of the Colloque organized by the 'Centre International de Synthèse' and published by Agnes Biard, Dominique Bourel and Eric Brian as *Henri Berr et la culture du XX sièle, Histoire, science et philosophie* (Biard, Bourel & Brian, 1997). In the same line Valerie Dupont in her *Le discours anthropologique dans l'art des années 1920-1930 en France à travers l'exemple des Cahiers d'Art* (Dupont, 2000) documented the convergence of arts, science and politics of which Rivière was part. James Clifford's *On ethnological surrealism* (Cliffford, 1981) and his *The Predicament of Culture, 20th Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Clifford, 1994) are first-hand documents of a post-modern interpretation of the collecting and research methods put in place by Rivière, Leenardt (Clifford, 1982), Leiris (Clifford, 1994b) and Griaule (Clifford, 1994c) in the Museum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro during the 1930s.

Alongside the above-mentioned Leroux-Dhuys' biographical survey (Leroux-Dhuys, 1989), other aspects of Georges Henri Rivière's life and times have specifically been treated by German museologist, Nina Gorgus, in her PhD thesis published in French as *Le magicien des vitrines* (Gorgus, 2003) and by anthropologist Martine Segalen in her *Vie d'un Musée, 1937-2005* (Segalen, 2005). Gorgus focused in particular on the nature of folklore in the inter-war years and highlighted Rivière's German associations, while Segalen in her history of the MNATP gives a thoroughly documented and thrilling first-hand account of the ideas and personality of Rivière. A wealth of biographical details and assumptions about Rivière can also be found in the research of architect Wilbert Gonzalez-Llovera's *Histoire critique du Musée d'ethnographie, des origines jusqu'au Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires* (Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002).

Finally, an interpretation of the notion of Ecomuseums has been treated from an Anglo-Saxon perspective by Peter Davis in his *Ecomuseums: a Sense of Place* (Davis, 1999). More critical, and supported by fieldwork research and interviews, is Andrea Hauenschild's *Claims and Reality of the New Museology: Case Studies in Canada, the United States and Mexico* (Hauenschild, 1988), based on her PhD study in which she shed some light on some of the too often glossed-over shortcomings in the policy, organization and management of the first generation of Ecomuseums.

Also relevant to the creation and management of museum community projects is the set of articles in Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Karp & Lavine, 1992). Octave Debary's *La fin du Creusot ou L'art d'accumuler les restes* (Debary, 2002) describes the internal dynamics put in place by its originators in the creation of the Ecomusée du Creusot Monteau-les Mines. The shortcomings of Varine's approach to interpretation were explored in Serge Chaumier's *Des Musées en quête d'identité: Economusée versus technomusée* (Chaumier, 2003). Finally, though by no means least, Elsa Chevalier's *Le Musée de Bretagne, un Musée face a son histoire* (Chevalier, 2001) is also revealing of the claims and reality of the managerial practices used by Rivière with particular reference to his involvement in the regional museum in Rennes.

PRIMARY SOURCES AND INTERVIEWS WITH KEY WITNESSES

Having reviewed the key published sources I saw the need to dig more deeply into what might have been regarded as somewhat ephemeral, such as his contributions to 1920s and 1930s conference reports, interviews, magazines and journals. Equally, or even more important, some of his associates, students and participants in his many projects, seminars and conferences were still available. Therefore one of my early priorities in the research was to seek interviews and encounters with some of Rivière's most significant collaborators.

First among these was André Desvallées, an anthropologist and career curator in the French Ministry of Culture, who in retirement was granted the 'Emeritus' title of Conservateur Général Honoraire du Patrimoine by the decree of the French State. Desvallées was for a long time Rivière's closest collaborator in the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires (MNATP) in the Bois du Boulogne, Paris, and later the Director of the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. Desvallées worked equally closely with Rivière in his university teaching and other work for over two decades, and was for example in 1977 a founder member with his mentor of the *International Committee for Museology of the International Council of Museums* (ICOM-ICOFOM). Desvallées was also a key figure in the setting up of formal structures for the 'new museology' movement, particularly the radical French association *Muséologie Nouvelle et Expérimentation Social* (MNES) in 1982, and the global *Mouvement International pour Un Nouvelle Muséologie* (MINOM) in 1985, the year of Rivière's death.

Desvallées has always been most generous with his time, advance and other assistance, and in encouraging me in my research. He first informed me about aspects of Rivière's personality, and then, while walking through Rivière's Cultural Galleries of the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires (MNATP) before these were finally dismantled, he introduced me to concepts such as the ethno-technology of Leroi-Gourhan and to Desvallées' own conception of 'expology' or the art or displaying objects. We also reviewed Desvallées' own editorial policy in selecting the texts he had included in his two volumes of *Vagues: une anthologie de la nouvelle muséologie* (Desvallées & Wasserman & de Bary, 1992; 1994) which he edited for MNES.

At an early stage in my research I also met Hugues de Varine Bohan (b. 1935), for years Rivière's deputy as Director of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and his eventual successor, and one of the most active exponents of the so-called 'community museology'. From the beginning he made me

understand what he thought was the radical difference between his museology of development and Rivière's Ecomusée. Varine's interactive bottom-up approach to the management of cultural projects with a major emphasis on community involvement seemed to be at odds with the top down management approach that had been actually practised by Rivière in his work as a State Curator and Museum Director (Varine, 1995, 2002). He advised me to visit, amongst others, the Cultural Parks of the Maestrazgo in the Autonomous Community of Aragon, Spain, and the Ecomuseum of Matadouro in Rio de Janeiro, which he thought at the time to be two good examples of his concept of a community museology (Varine, 2002). His continuing support and advice following the initial contact has been extremely valuable.

The Canadian museologist Pierre Mayrand (1934-2011), a key figure in MINOM, gave me an extensive input on the history and philosophy of the movement and introduced me to his conception of 'territorial museologies' (Mayrand, 1999, 2000, 2001). At the time retired from some of his former projects and obligations, he described his experience of museology according to Bernard Vachon's *Le développement local: réintroduire l'humain dans la logique de développement* (Vachon, 1993). Going beyond the original idea of the Ecomuseum, Vachon's approach conveys to the management of cultural development a global scope in the choices of actors and means that contributed to my understanding of community museology.

The core of my documentary research was carried out in Paris in the Rivière Archives in ICOM-UNESCO and the Rivière Archives of the MNATP. I have also used the archive material published in the First Series of *Gradhiva, Revue d'histoire et d'archives de l'anthropologie* (1986-2003) which constitutes today a most valuable attempt to explore the foundations of fifty years of French ethnology. Founded by Jean Jamin and Michel Leiris, this Revue published the vital correspondence of Rivière with Paul Rivet, Leiris, Bataille etc (Rivière, 1929, 1932, 1932b, 1933, 1936b) together with unique archive documents, field notes, instructions, final reports on research missions and photographic records that shed an essential light on the history and the assumptions of the anthropology of the Musée de l'Homme (Jamin, 1987).

Rivière first came to notice in the 1920s with his contributions to the independent review *Cahiers d'Art*, directed by the arts critics Christian Zervos and E.Teriades assisted by the young Rivière, with musico-ethnologist André Schaeffner, art historian Georges Salles, art dealers Charles Vignier and Charles Ratton amongst its key collaborators. Critically important in the development of Rivière's thought was the short-lived review *Documents: Doctrines, Archéologie, Beaux-Arts, Ethnographie* published between 1929 and 1930, funded by the art dealer and collector Georges Wildenstein (1892–1963) with Georges Bataille, Carl Einstein and Georges Henri Rivière as joint editing directors. *Documents* is today considered the think tank for the new museum that Rivet and Rivière were putting in place (Jamin, 1998). I consider *Documents* as central to the understanding of not only Rivière's approach to culture and museology, but also an essential key for the understanding of a wider context, what has being described as 'a truly political consequence of an ethic of literature' (Lévy, 1991, p.123).

The appointment of Rivière as Assistant Director of the Museum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro, alongside Professor Paul Rivet, and the rise to influence and power of the Popular Front of the mid- to late-1930s resulted in a wholehearted commitment of Rivière to the cultural policies promoted by the young socialist Minister of Education, Jean Zay (1904-1944).

The independent weekly periodical *Vendredi*, published during the years of the Popular Front (1937-1938), is the best source to follow the ideas behind an alternative ruralism and the activities of the 'Groupe Savoir', the 'Association Populaire des Amis des Musées' (APAM), the plan to establish multi-purpose "Maisons de la Culture" across the country (re-launched by De Gaulle's culture minister, André Malraux, in the 1960s) and even the Youth Hostel movement, with which Rivière was closely associated. The periodical *Musées Vivants*, the organ of the APAM, and the *Folklore Paysan*, the official organ of the national Chambers of Agriculture, are also important sources that throw light on aspects of Rivière's emerging museology.

For the museography (particularly exhibition policy and practice) of the Inter-War period, I have referred extensively to the International Enquiry on the Modernization and Reform of Public Galleries, the report of which was published by Pierre d'Espezel et Georges Hilaire as *Musées* (d'Espezel & Hilaire, 1931). Also important are the proceedings of an International Conference on the subject held in Madrid, which was published by the Paris-based International Museum Office of the League of Nations (the forerunner of ICOM) as *Muséographie, Architecture et Aménagement des Musées d'Arts*, (International Museums Office, 1934). Also relevant to the state-of-the-art museography of the period is the special issue of *L'Amour del'Art*, on *La Muséographie a l'Exposition internationale*, (Bazin et al, 1937) with contributions by Germain Bazin, René Hughes, Louis Cheronnet and Georges Henri Rivière. Other key sources are the International Museum Office's revue *Mouséion* (1928-1945) – continued as UNESCO's *Museum*, edited for a long time by Rivière, now *Museum International* - while in the UK the Museum Association's *Museums Journal* carried much relevant international news through the 1930s.

For Rivière's museology and museography of the earlier post-war period (1947-1967), the editorials in *Nouvelles de l'ICOM/ICOM New*s, largely written by him as ICOM Director (though often unsigned) and in UNESCO's *Museum*, which Rivière edited on his own or jointly throughout the period, are a good guide to museographical developments in the spirit of Rivière. Over a longer period of time the volumes of Proceedings of ICOM General Conferences of ICOM from 1947, and the annual conference proceedings and the *Museological Working Papers* of the *International Committee of Museology* (ICOFOM) from 1977 are also of relevance in identifying the strength of the museological concerns of the day.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This thesis intends to be an exploratory interpretation of the changes that the practice and nature of museology underwent in the course of the 20th Century by exploring the origins and evolution of the Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire.

For that purpose, and in the framework of the life of French museologist Georges Henri Rivière, it identifies the internal cultural processes and international museum experiences that motivated the creation of Museums of ethnology in 20th Century France.

It is presented as part of the ideology of primitivism understood as a politically driven response aiming at changing the perception of French citizens to their natural, geographical and historical heritage.

It intends to be a contribution to understand the path of the French system of Fine Arts to material culture, that is, the intellectual changes the system had to undergo to accept ethnic art and everyday objects as symbolic reference of National identity.

Finally this research tries to evaluate to what extent these cultural changes have transformed the nature of museology in that country.

RESEARCH THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

This thesis implicitly takes as a framework a number of theoretical assumptions that inform its scope, structure and narrative.

Assumption 1: The term museology is understood in this thesis not only as the ethics, science or practice of collecting, preserving, researching and exhibiting objects of cultural significance, but as a process by which the individual and society become aware through 'objects' of the historical and symbolic significance of their natural and social environment. The term 'objects' is understood as the totality of artefacts in a culture, 'the universe of objects used by humans to cope with the physical world, to facilitate social intercourse, and to create symbolic meaning' (Schlereth, 1982, p.3). These can be objects of everyday life, such as furniture, dwellings, roads and cities, or major work in the history of arts, or the 'intangible culture' embodied in the body gesture, skills, belief system, values, attitudes, ideas and assumptions of a particular community or society. (Schlereth, 1982).

Assumption 2: I have taken into account the suggestions given by some authors on the epistemological dimensions of the Musée-Laboratoire (Jamin, 1982, 1985; Clifford, 1981; Chiva, 1987a). I understand by epistemological structure the set of ideas, beliefs, theories, memories and visual associations by which individuals and societies make sense of their social and natural environment. On a more functional level, it implies the set of skills, knowhow, accepted practices, technologies and institutions by which individuals make the social and material environment a sense of place.

This thesis has approached the notion of an 'epistemological structure' as a socially or historically constructed frame of knowledge being shaped by events, ideas, motivations and the objectives of a specific society or group. In the words of Jean Jamin, the Musée de l'Homme long term cultural objective ' intended to have an influence in society by confirming certain values and rejecting others by creating new criteria for rationality and different foundations of truth' (Jamin, 1989, p.114). Isac Chiva, for many years another close research associate, has asked himself how it was possible that ethnological research could have been taken over by philosophical speculations and political motives and from its beginnings associated itself to 'ideologies, to systems of beliefs and to pseudo-scientific methods of demonstration' (Chiva, 1992, p.17).

As such, epistemological structures are partly considered 'intentional' frameworks of knowledge, whether conscious or unconscious, and understood in this thesis assuming Edward Tiryakian's phenomenological

approach to Durkheim's understanding of social change (Tiryakian, 1965)[2]. In this sense I use the term 'phenomenological' in a very broad sense as pertaining to the subjective or 'inner' aspect of social reality, and as an elucidation of the subjective meaning of social situations and social structures.

Assumption 3: I have adopted the model of 'strategic development and tactics' proposed by Bruno Latour as a framework of interpretation of how epistemological structures are created or changed (Latour, 1989; Latour & Polanco, 1990).

Latour used the term 'translation' to describe the process of convincing, creating common expectations, transforming views and redirecting courses of action (Latour, 1989). This process of translation consists of adding two apparently different interests to one single course of action. Thus the project manager or the cultural activist 'recruits' or 'invites the potential' of every possible actor that may contribute to strengthen the acceptance, prestige and authority of the project. The people recruited bring their own ideas, expectations and resources. Then comes a phase of reinterpretation of objectives (translation) in which everyone agrees to abandon for a time their initial interest for the sake of allowing a manoeuvring space for the development of objectives. This phase of reinterpretation is not the betrayal of interests but a 'bracketing' of objectives that allows the transformation of initial ideas and motivations into new objectives, and eventually to the fusion of contradictory interests into a totally new perception: displacement of objectives and invention of new objectives (see Latour & Polanco, 1990).

This process must be understood as a managerial technique or skill, open to chance and circumstances, depending on the existence of widely shared collective concerns, rather than the product of predefined planning.

Why Latour's model? I have approached the life and work of George Henri Rivière, together with his Musée-Laboratoire, as a re-enactment of the Maussian notion of 'total social fact', that is, as the museological crystallization of the perceptions and ideas of many cultural activists and reformers. As such, it can be considered as a collective cultural biography in which ideas and motivations are widely shared beyond personal differences and individual formulations. Concerns such as the deterioration of community bonds, the belief in the beneficial effects of the collective and the unconscious or the faith in the power of scientific knowledge, were shared by artist, social scientist, sociologist, historian and politician of every persuasion. These concerns were however articulated through ideas belonging to specific disciplines which did not always have the same meaning. (Tiryakian, 1979; Biard, Bourel & Brian, 1997; Dupont, 2000). It is at this point that Latour's notion of 'translation' takes its whole potential. According to Latour, ideas and motivations can be 'reinterpreted' and brought together by a process of 'rapprochement' and an induced 'retournement du regard'. Artistic 'creative spontaneity' could be associated with primordial or primitive creativity; the permanence of history of the 'grande durée' could be associated with perceived permanence of ethnic self or the slow pace of traditional way of life. The notion of 'collective effervescences' as articulated by the Durkheimian sociology could be

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[2] For a more recent and wide-ranging publicationon the phenomenological approach to social change, see Tiryakian, Edward A., 2009, *For Durkheim : Essays in Historical and Cultural Sociology*, USA, Duke University.

associated with the seasonal fêtes, festivals and celebrations of the annual calendar; the Durkhemian sacred time with the Bergsonian 'Élan Vital', the rites of passage in 'primitive' societies with the 'Ages of Man' in traditional societies. Cartesian introspection was substituted by a phenomenology of trace (Ginzburg, 1990); geography, history and sociology were interpreted through symptoms, objects understood as 'witnesses'. Finally, the interest for objects that arguably started in artistic avant-garde was reinforced with the importance given to material culture by the Scandinavian and German folklorist, the Institute of Ethnology of Paris (Mauss) and the historical sciences favoured by Lucien Febre Febvre and Max Bloch.

All these elements did not come together naturally but were re-enacted in fierce ideological battles and conflicts of personality. What gives Rivière's work its interest is that he facilitated the convergence of all these affinities and kept them together for some time.

RESEARCH NARRATIVE AND METHODOLOGY

I have deliberately avoided a critical narrative, as in my view such an approach is a powerful tool in the process of deconstruction of established socio-cultural meanings, but is inadequate to explain its creation. While the critical discourse aims to unveil 'half-truths' for the sake of producing alternative interpretations, the creation of socio-cultural structures is based on 'half-lies' for the sake of furthering their development and consolidation. While the critical discourse is analytical, the phenomenological approach is descriptive before new cultural perceptions generate a critical perspective. In contrast with the Enlightenment understanding of museology, I share the view of some commentators that museology is today to be understood as closer to 'politics' than to the display of academic knowledge (Sherman, 1991; Karp & Lavine, 1992).

I have also kept the language I found in archive documents to show the often existing gap between new ideas and the conscious or unconscious cultural prejudices embedded in the language. This interaction is particularly enlightening when the dynamics of the cultural discourse is re-enacted in intellectual circles considered representative of the most radical progressive thinking. The same people who were redefining the meaning of word such as the 'formless' (Bataille, 1929d), Métaphore' (Leiris, 1929) and 'materialism' (Bataille, 1929c) in their 'critical dictionnary' (Bataille et al,1995) were informally, and even formally, using the patronising and culturally derogative language of their adversaries. The discourse and the language are eloquent 'documents' by themselves and have in my view no need of further comment.

 The descriptive approach is also pertinent due to the amount of misunderstanding existing on open wall museology in general and the very notion of the Ecomuseum in particular. A literature on 'new museology' has developed though the years, based on the articles and interviews given to the press by its promoters (see 'Misunderstanding and confusions' below). However, the Ecomuseums idea seems to have being understood either as Scandinavian open-air museums *in situ* or as a revolutionary institution threatening the notion of museums. The very notion of open wall museology seems to be foreign not only to the general public but to professionals of the cultural sector.

I have taken the view that the open wall dimensions of museology could be illustrated by reconstructing the cultural motivations of the Musée-Laboratoire in the framework of a wider understanding of the notion of museology.

THE IDEOLOGY OF PRIMITIVISM

As such, this thesis has explored the multiple 'subjectivities' that contributed to change the existing 'ideology of primitivism' that shaped the collective system of beliefs of the French Republic (Paul-Lévy, 1986). According to this ideology, whatever their respective achievements, cultures are not morally and intellectually interchangeable. The achievements of Western Civilization in the domains of social welfare, science and technology largely surpass the greatness of past civilizations. Against the above ideology, a generation of cultural militants was set up to construct the so-called 'Myth of Primitivism', the search for primitive modes of social cohesion that would help to understand the nature of 'Total Man' and in turn would cast some light on present day 'divided' Man ' (Mauss, 1924). According to Lévi-Strauss, an understanding of a theoretical primitive society would throw some light on present day social reality:

'The study of savages allows us to create a theoretical model of human society, which does not correspond to any observable reality, but with the aid of which we may succeed in distinguishing between what is primordial and what is artificial in man's present nature, and in obtaining a good knowledge of a state which no longer exists, which has perhaps never existed, and which will probably never exist in the future, but of which it is essential to have a sound conception in order to pass valid judgement on our present state' (Lévi-Strauss, 1973, p.394).

In contrast with the avant-garde perspective often given to primitivism (Goldwater, 1938 , Laude, 1968, Goldwater, Rubin, 1984; Price, 1989; Torgovnick, 1991, Gombrich, 2000), I have however stressed the lesser known contribution of the social sciences (Maussian ethnology, history of the Annales) with its phenomenology of trace (Bloch, 1931; Roupnell, 1932; Dion, 1934) and its questioning the origins and forms of the human self (Mauss, 1938; Dumont, 1983), the nature of memory (Halbwachs, 1925; Gurvitch, 1964), folklore (Rivet & Rivière; Rivière, 1947) and collective representations (Durkheim & Mauss, 1902). It also found expression in the 'ideology of the return to the land' (see Chapter 8) and in a widespread dissatisfaction with existing cultural academicism. It put in question the very nature of National Cultural Heritage and encouraged the multiplication of 'elementary museums' (Rivière, 1937d).

It was considered part of the need of starting a process of 'cultural action' to change the perceptions on ethnicity, interpretation of history, human geography, landscape and material heritage (Mucchielli, 1998). Empirical modes of observation were proposed to overcome what was perceived as excessive emphasis on abstract and ideological patterns of thinking. Every aspect of life was considered to be a potential 'laboratory' in which reality was to be reinterpreted according to new ideas.

An educational ethos developed that saw in the 'open wall' experience of natural and historical heritage a necessary complement to the creation and dissemination of a new cultural anthropology. This 'open wall' experience was promoted by the National Curriculum with a new human geography that encouraged not only return to the land but return to the province. The polarity between urban and rural ways of life was given a nolstalgic revival, with renewed interest for material culture and traditional skills and technologies.

Alongside these concerns and projects, Georges Henri Rivière's very own contradictory personality is also considered in this thesis as part of the museology of the Musée-Laboratoire.

MODEL OF CULTURAL CHANGE

I have implicitly adopted Leroi-Gourhan's model of cultural change (Leroi-Gourhan, 1964) to understand the process of adaptation of the individuals and societies to their natural and social environment. In his view, every society is shaped by an a socially internal milieu inserted in its turn into an external milieu. The internal milieu was defined by Leroi-Gourhan as the complex set of mental traditions that 'constitute the intellectual capital of a defined group in each moment of time' (Leroi-Gourhan, 1964, p.334). This milieu would explain the way a group or community understands the world and the way it interacts, through technical skills and inventions, with its natural and social environment. It is however in constant interaction with ideas and inventions produced by other societies, with which it borrows and lends new solutions. This borrowing is selective and pragmatically driven, and in traditional societies largely unconscious. The strength and vitality of a society, its ultimate success or failure, consists in finding a successful flow between the internal and the external environment. In this framework the Management of Cultural change at institutional, national or community level depends on the interaction of ideas and perceptions existing in the internal milieu, and allowing enough permeability for a pertinent input of external borrowing.

Following the above framework, the museology put in place by Rivière has been interpreted in this research as a dialogue between the internal cultural perceptions and the ideas and museological practices existing in the international world at large. Thus Chapter 3 describes the choices, affinities and confirmations of beliefs that Rivière found in his trip to Western foreign countries. Chapter 4 describes the state-of-the-art practices he witnessed in professional international conferences in the 1930s. Chapters 5 and 6 explore the internal milieu, the core of the philosophical, political and cultural concerns that shaped the collective mentality of the France of the Third Republic.

EVENTS AS MOTOR OF CHANGE

All these subjectivities and experimental solutions changed through the years. To explain the dynamics of change I have given priority to the 'histoire événentielle' (See Structure of the Thesis, Diagram 1).

The Rivet-Rivière's Musée-Laboratoire is presented in this thesis as the outcome, in the sense of Foucault, of a discursive formation produced by discursive events (Foucault, 1980)[3]. It evaluates the successes or shortcomings of the cultural project of the Musée-Laboratoire not by a critical analysis of internal inconsistencies but by referring to the changing assumptions and events usually generated outside the project itself. Thus, after the Second World War and the loss of Colonial territories, the initial

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[3] Foucault would define the 'eventualization' of human understanding as 'the connections, meetings, affirmations, negations, the 'jeux de forces' and the strategies that, in a particular moment, create what will afterwards work as universally accepted evidence (Foucault, 1980, p.23).

open wall dimension of the Musée de l'Homme was reduced in scope and meaning. The MNATP in Paris became the headquarters of regional museums and a venue for temporary exhibitions.

It will only be thirty years later, with the so-called Second French Revolution and the gradual adoption of decentralized modes of State governance, that the conditions for an open wall museology in the form of Ecomuseums were created. However, by then new trends in anthropological research had made the 'laboratory' dimension of the Musée-Laboratoire increasingly obsolete.

Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology is today but a cultural curiosity whose methodological validity has severely been put in doubt (Harris,1979; Fabian, 1983; Héritier-Augé, 1992b). Though Leroi-Gourhan's empirical ethno-technology is still today relevant as a framework of interpretation for traditional technology, its interest escapes the attention of the general public and is limited to professional archaeologists and material culture technologists. Beyond its cultural significance and its importance in understanding later development in cultural theory, the object-based Maussian ethnology is today a cultural curiosity.

From a museological point of view, whatever the methodological or interpretative strengths or shortcomings of the research, conservation, documentation and display, the defining criteria for its sustainability are not the professional criteria of peers and critics but the available resources and its acceptance by the public or community. When ideas and practices of interpretation lose their public resonance, new assumptions and initiatives are produced to substitute or complement them. Thus, at the level of human resources, the object-based ethnology of the Musée-Laboratoire was not abandoned because of its obvious methodological shortcomings (see chapter 11) but because of its lack of public resonance and the lack of interest for objects and museums of new generations of researchers. Rivière's often problematic modes of promoting the development and independence of local museums in the heavily centralized French administration lost part of their relevance when the central government chose to reorganize the administration of the territory and start a process of decentralization.

It is my view that the contribution of market forces in the cultural sector, often at odds with the philosophically minded French cultural establishment, gave to Rivière's understanding of a museology without walls a reality that was never thought possible during his lifetime (see chapter 12).

CHRONOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The museological career of Rivière extends for nearly half a century. However not all these years are equally significant to an understanding of his Musée-Laboratoire. In my view, his activities in the inter-war years shed the most significant light on the background and dimensions of his museology. These were also the years in which Rivière established his prestige and professional authority. After 1945 his experience was put at the service of two main projects: saving for the future the material culture of rural France and implementing the modernization of museums along the lines proposed in the inter-war years by the Museum professional organizations. I have considered the latter to have being well covered by Martine Segalen (2005) and by Baghli, Boylan and Herreman (1998).

It was only after his retirement in 1968 that some of his ideas on 'museology without walls' found a new opportunity to be implemented. This thesis considers Ecomuseums of Identity an articulation of intentions and unfulfilled past projects which have their origin in the inter-war years. I have not followed a strict chronological narrative; most chapters concentrate on the events and experiences of the 1930s. Only chapters 9, 10 and 12 concentrate on the events after 1968.

CONTRADICTORY NATURE OF SOURCES

Various authors have pointed out the difficulties that a researcher has to confront when facing museological literature. Many recommendations on modernization and professionalization, plus theories on the nature, history and development of the institutions, seem to be based on perhaps often repeated casual opinions rather than primary evidence and considered analysis, as has been pointed out by Teather (1984), Sherman (1989) and Orosz (1990), to give just three very different examples. The result can be a repetitious and contradictory literature, presented by practitioners and commentators as state-of-the-art thinking and aiming at solving the chronic managerial shortcomings of these institutions, but in fact lacking proper rigour and critical judgement. As Teather argued in her methodological consideration on the sources of museological literature, critics and commentators have the tendency to 'select a number of observable elements about museums, present them as their empirical database, and then structure a theory around that basis' (Teather, 1984, p.2). Sherman distinguished three categories of opinions: the anecdotal, the schematic and the contextual. By far the largest are the anecdotal, which he described as political cultures which are 'a mix of personalities, petty concerns, and grand issues all against a fairly distant backdrop of prevailing ideas' (Sherman, 1991, p.2). Though providing essential information about certain signposts of museum development, these sources leave unexamined its connection to larger issues.

Orosz, in his research on the trends of American museology, seems to reach similar conclusions: most published accounts of the early days of museum in pre- and early post-revolutionary America presented by the later 19th century fathers of modern American museology have proved to be mostly based 'on hearsay and sweeping assumption rather than fact' (Orosz, 1990, p.2-3), while the same researcher found over and over again that the major authors who had established the widely accepted American accounts of the history of museums 'scarcely consulted secondary sources, not to say primary evidence.' The outcome is a historical perception based on unproven evidence repeated and elaborated by successive generations, and a narrative that greatly exaggerates the importance of those same later 19th century museum professionals and their new institutions, to the serious detriment of pioneering developments of the 18th to earlier 19th Centuries.

There is little doubt that similar criticisms could be made of other accounts and assumptions about the history of museums and museology in other parts of the world. Much of the professional literature published often amounts to no more than a declaration of intentions and recommendations. Often the meaning of terms such as education, development or staff training mean different things to different people: the same person may even hold or express contradictory views on the same matter. Without a 'coherent body of analysis that binds them all together' the general impression produced by museum periodical literature has been described as 'superficial, often utopian self righteous or negative in tone,

with cyclical return to subjects every ten or twenty years' (Teather, 1984; see also Sherman, 1991, Stan, 1993, for similar sentiments).

MISUNDERSTANDING AND CONFUSIONS

The best example of this kind of literature is the body of museological writing published in the context of what has been called 'new museologies'. According to the originators of the *nouvelle museologie,* amongst its objectives was to transform an academic-centred and administrative culture into a managerial culture in which concern with living processes takes priority over objects and established institutions. How can the insertion of museums into their society or community be improved? How can the epistemological and managerial gap existing between professionals and the population be overcome?

Desvallées, in his compilation of articles publish as *Vagues: Une Anthologie de la nouvelle muséologie* (Desvallées ,1992, 1994), has distinguished two modes of achieving this goal: the improvements in the technology and practices of communication, and the so-called Community Museology. In the first place he pointed out a 'new museography' understood as the modernization of the modes of display and interpretation. *Vagues* also shows an amount of critical museology that puts in question the philosophical assumptions of an Enlightenment understanding of culture (Cameron, 1968; Adotevi, 1971; Deloche, 1973; Thevoz, 1984; Prakash & Shaman, 1987; Weil, 1990).

 Finally, drawing from the professional collaboration of Rivière and Varine in the creation and popularization of the notion of 'Ecomusée', Rivière's concept of Ecomuseum of identity (Rivière, 1973, 1975, 1978) is presented by Desvallées alongside Varine's Ecomuseums of development (Hardoy, 1974; Kinard, 1971, 1985; Varine, 1969, 1978, 1979). However, as we shall see, both types of 'ecomuseologies' have different understanding of core concepts such as the public, the community, the tourism and the nature of development (see Chapter 10).

Some authors (e.g. Desvallées, 1990 & Boylan, 1990) have expressed alarm about the way in which the 'Anglo-Saxon' world has appropriated and used 'new museology' in a way that shows a fundamental misunderstanding of what was being proposed by the '*nouvelle muséologie*' movement.[4] Davis has recently commented on this cross-Channel confusion about new museology versus *nouvelle muséologie*, arguing that Vergo's The New Museology of 1991 focused almost exclusively on the presentation of museum objects, with the implication that the primary concern of new museology is the development of new theories, critical approaches and techniques to enable museums to communicate their collections more effectively to their visitors. The result has been that, in the English speaking world, what is probably better translated as 'community museology' because of its emphasis on sustainable community development, has largely been forgotten or subsumed in an all-embracing shorthand for a complex set of post-modern approaches to museum practice (Davis, 2008).

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[4] In his introduction to *Vagues I* MNES and MINOM founder member André Désvallées (1990) attacks in strident terms the way in which the English were, in his view, misusing the phrase 'new museology,' saying that, with a few exceptions (notably Kenneth Hudson and Patrick Boylan), ' the Battle of Hastings is not yet over'!

CONTRADICTORY NATURE OF RIVIÈRE'S PERSONALITY

To the contradictory nature of the sources must be added the contradictory nature of Rivière's personality. The literature consulted depicted him as a staunch Republican with deep respect for the culture of the aristocracy, a man who dedicated the bulk of his professional years to modernization of museums, although he spent all his life thinking how museology could be conceived without museums. Alfred Métraux described him as a man of distinction fascinated by the vulgar, a man of action whose passion was ethnological research, a poetic and literary mind attracted by scientific precision, admirer of the modern way of life but an expert in traditional folklore (Métraux, 1978). All those who knew him described him in terms similar to those of Pascal Ory (2003) as a 'person with great intelligence and charm, a man of highly refined aesthetic sensibility, a catalogue of contradictions, an entrepreneur of genius and the most fascinating witness of his time' (Ory, 2003, unpublished).

This research, aiming at exploring the genesis and evolution of a museology for cultural change, has deliberately stressed the personality of Rivière as motivator, as 'project manager' to which the exploitation of positive perceptions, the highlighting of past successes and the reinterpreting of past failures are essential aspects. Based on my talks with those who came to know him, my conclusion on Rivière's personality largely coincides with Gonzalez-Llovera's view of Rivière as a talented 'creator of new meanings' (Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002) and Nina Gorgus's final suggestion that Rivière's biographical profile could become paradigmatic for future generations to describe the personality of a museologist, put at the service of a continuously changing understanding of museology (Gorgus, 2003).

ORIGINALITY AND SCOPE OF THE THESIS

What does the present thesis contribute to the above-mentioned research literature, and in what extent have they informed its objectives, structure and content?

To answer that question I suggest dividing them into two types: first, the research covering specific periods of the cultural policies put in place during the Third Republic, and second, the research work in which Rivière's biographical data and life were being used to described some aspects of his museology.

In the first group and in order of publication are Christian Faure's *Le Projet culturel de Vichy, Folklore et révolution nationale, 1940-1944* (1989) ; Herman Lebovic's *True France: the wars over cultural identity 1900-1945* (1992) ; Pascal Ory & Jean François Sirinelli's *Les intellectuels en France de l'affaire Dreyfus a nos jours* (1992) ; Pascal Ory's *La Belle Illusion: Culture et Politique sous le signe du Front populaire, 1935-1938* (1993); Shanny Peer's *France on display, Peasants, provincials and Folklore in the 1937 Paris World's Fair* (1998) ; Frédéric Peyrouzère's *Le musée en partage, Etat et Musée sous le ministère Jean Zay (1936-1939)* (1999) and Elsa Chevalier's *Le Musée de Bretagne, un musée face a son histoire*, (2001).

Christian Faure (Faure, 1989) and Pascal Ory (Ory, 1992, 1993) are central to our subject matter as they both depicted Rivière as a 'cultural activist' in two apparently self-excluding cultural and political milieux: the progressive policy for cultural development as promoted by the 'Rassemblement' of political parties

and cultural associations that converged in the left wing government of the Popular Front (1936 -1938), and the conservative policy of ' return to the land' promoted by the Regime of the General Pétain in the years of German occupation (1940-1945) . Both were politically motivated programmes for cultural change that intended to re-direct the approach of French citizens to their natural and cultural environment.

Ory's books (Ory, 1992, 1993), with their plethora of names, political and cultural organizations, newspapers, programmes and manifestoes, can be read as a collective socio-cultural biography of the Popular Front, arguably the event of 'collective effervescence' that inspired a cultural programme considered to be the inspiration for French cultural policies in the following decades. Ory highlighted the importance of the International Museum Office (IMO) and the central role that museology took in these years as part of this programme. The name of Rivière comes into focus with his activities in the various musical associations (LMJ), the Youth Hostels movements (CLAJ, LFAJ, Groupe Savoirs), the Popular Association of Friends of Museums (APAM), the 1937 'First National Conference of Museography' and the 1937 Van Gogh exhibition which he described in detail as two major events.

The research of Frédéric Peyrouzère (Peyrouzère, 1999) documents and analyses the projects of modernization of museums put in place by the radical socialist Minister of Education Jean Zay. Peyrouzère presents this project in the context of the generational change that took place in the cultural leadership of the 1930s and emphasizes their collective determination. It was Jean Zay who approved the creation of the ATP and, under the advice of Rivière, proposed to link museums and folklore to other forms of leisure, such as Youth Hostels and popular tourism. I have further researched this point to illustrate an early example of a 'general museology' without wall (see chapter 7).

In contrast with the committed activist of the left presented by Pascal Ory and Frédéric Peyrouzère, Faure's research (Faure, 1989) showed Rivière working in close association with the various folklore or regionalist groups, using a language and giving to folklore a meaning very close to the Vichy's Doctrine of National Revolution. Faure illustrated the strong affinities existing between the left and the right on the 'war over cultural identity' described by Lebovic as the 'True France' (Lebovic, 1992). Faure's publication, profusely documented with propaganda posters and iconographical design, convincingly demonstrated the visual similarities of the folklore promoted by the Regime of Vichy and the museography displayed by Rivière in the 1970s in cultural gallery of the new MNATP. Though Rivière was cleared of any collaboration (see Trials and Tribulations, Chapter 2) Faure's book re-opened the debate and unveiled existing painful sensitivities that cast a permanent shadow on the history of the ATP.

Herman Lebovic (Lebovic, 1992) explored the politics of identity as re-enacted in the 1931 Paris Colonial Exhibition and in the 1937 Paris World's Fair. The first was an exercise intended to symbolically assimilate the varieties of people and cultures of the French Colonial Empire as an essential part of the identity and mission of France. In contrast, the 1937 World's Fair intended to integrate in the image of France the excluded peasant and proletarian population in the metropolis. To highlight the difference in approaches , Lebovic examined the politics of heritage and the conservative anthropological theory of Louis Marin (1871-1960) followed by the progressive anthropology of the Institute of Ethnology of Paris as represented by George Henri Rivière. The contribution of Lebovic's analysis to the present thesis is that it

made me aware of the importance given by the leaders of the Third Republic to the inclusion of any kind of ethnic and cultural alterity in the invention of a new 'true' identity of modern France.

Shanny Peers's (Peers, 1998) extensive research on popular culture, as exhibited in the 1937 Paris World's Fair, draws attention to the ' vogue du populaire' that in the 1930s attracted support from all sides of the political spectrum, from reactionary nationalists such as Maurice Barrés and Charles Mauras, to monarchists, republicans, radicals, socialists and communists. Peers described the 'poetics and the politics' of two apparently incompatible interpretations of folklore by analyzing the museology of two exhibits put in place in the Fair, the 'regional centre' and the 'rural centre'. The first represented the narrative of the soul of 'Eternal France' while the second proposed a narrative in which progress and modern way of life were made compatible with rural traditional life. The position of Rivière was unambiguous but contradictory. Theoretically, and at heart, Rivière always supported an 'evolutive' conception of folklore. He would do so through his career. In reality, and also through his career, Rivière favoured the language, the iconography and themes of the 'true France', in which the identity of France was fixed in time, and traditional ways of life were assumed to be 'more authentic' with a clear nostalgia for their disappearance. The ideology of 'return to the land' supported by General Pétain might not have been shared by Rivière, but he contributed to the creation of its image and museography, a museography that would leave its mark in the cultural galleries of the ATP as late as 1975.

From a different perspective, but reaching similar conclusions, Elsa Chevalier's research (2001) unveils the claims and realities behind the genesis, evolution and final reorganization of the Musée de Bretagne in Rennes, an institution partly considered as the brainchild of Rivière. Her research was supported by archive administrative letters, official reports, and minutes of internal meeting and views of the actors involved in the Musée de Bretagne. Beyond its intrinsic historical interest, this research gave me a concrete insight into Rivière's modes of management, not as freethinker activist but as agent of the museum administration of the State and Director of the MNATP, the so-called headquarters of decentralization. It also furthered my realization of the importance of the inter-war years for the understanding of the museological solutions recommended by Rivière all through his long career.

Some of the above sources are today important research landmarks of social and cultural history of the France of the Third Republic. Their importance in the production of the present thesis, beyond the profusion of information they supplied, is that they illustrated the collective nature of the programme of cultural change put in place by successive governments, and the role of cultural activists in a heavily regulated society.

They became important sources in my research when a personal communication of Hughes de Varine, Rivière's successor at the head of ICOM, gave me a revealing insight on his personality and triggered my narrative and approach. Varine described him as a 'genius' by which he meant his 'ability to bring together ideas and situations which apparently had nothing to do with one another' (Varine, 1998, pers. comm.). Beyond political and cultural loyalties and personal magnetism, as a cultural activist deeply rooted in the mindset of his time, this 'collateral thinking' might have being a refreshing influence in many of the social happenings, conferences, workshops and projects that he organized or sponsored, and might explain his ascendancy over his contemporaries.

BIOGRAPHICAL PUBLICATIONS

In the second group of related literature, Rivière's personal and professional biography is researched as a background narrative to describe some aspects of his museology. Thus, in order of publication: Wilbert Gonzalez-Llovera's *Histoire critique du Musée d'ethnographie, des origines jusqu'au Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires* (Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002) ; Nina Gorgus's *Le magicien des vitrines* (Gorgus, 2003) ; and Martine Segalen's *Vie d'un Musée, 1937-2005* (Segalen, 2005).

Gonzalez-Llovera's (2002) research presented a wealth of anecdotal details on what he called Rivière's 'friendships and power networks' in which he is depicted alongside Michel Leiris, Marcel Griaule and George Bataille as an imaginative innovator who contributed to changing the anthropological perception of museums of ethnology in the inter-war years. Gonzalez-Llovera explores in his thesis the political motivations that shaped the architecture of museums in France, and in particular the Palais Chaillot in the Trocadéro and the new site of the ATP in the Bois de Boulogne. As an architect by profession, Gonzalez-Llovera highlights the administrative difficulties architects (and by extension any professional working for the public sector) might encounter in the implementation of their ideas and projects. According to Gonzalez-Llovera the brilliant creative inter-war years were soon to be paralysed by the 'invisible' and 'discretional' power of successive administrations. Thus the lack of transparency and accountability of French administration amounted, according to the author, to official irresponsibility in matters of architecture of public museums.

The most accessible account for the general public of Georges Henri Rivière's life and museology was the PhD thesis of German museologist Nina Gorgus, published in French as *Le magicien des vitrines* (Gorgus, 2003). Against the background of her early life and international trips, Nina Gorgus analysed the importance folklore took in France in the inter-war years, and the genesis and development of the museography of the MNATP which she eloquently described as the 'museography of the nylon strings'. Her research on Rivière's Franco-German connections was enlightening, as well as her considerations on the international similarities existing in the display and presentation of collections[5].

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[5] The first chapter of Gorgus's *Le magicien des vitrines* describes Rivière's activities in the Paris of the 1920s and raises a number of questions: how did he see his future before his appointment to the Museum of Ethnology of Paris? Which experiences were significant to his future career? What role did Surrealism play? Chapter 2 deals with the MET and the museum strategies put in place by Rivière. Chapter 3 gives an insight into the international museum environment, questions possible sources of inspiration, and traces the trips Rivière undertook in the 1930s in Europe, the Soviet Union and North America. Chapter 4 explores the possible models that might have inspired the displays put in place by Rivière in the 1937 Paris World's Fair, together with the political-cultural vindications of the government of the Popular Front. Chapter 5 deals with Rivière under German occupation and Vichy: what was his relationship with the new siege of power? How did this relationship influence the ATP? Chapter 6 breaks with the chronological framework of the research and tries to understand his approach to ethnological objects and discipline by analyzing some of Rivière's most representative writings. This analysis paves the way to chapter 7, in which the conceptual framework of Rivière's museological practices is presented. In contrast chapter 8 describes Rivière's activities at national level in the 1950s and 60s, such as his commitment with regional museums like the Wine Museum in Beaune and the ATP Enquiries in the Auvergnes and the Chatillonnais. Chapter 9 shows how Rivière expanded his museology around the world in the framework of the various groups and organizations put in place by ICOM. Chapter 10 explores in detail Rivière's relationships with Germany in the 1930s. Chapter 11 draws the general lines of his Ecomuseum concept and discusses its present day relevance. Chapter 12 finally deals with the controversies surrounding the ATP and the future of Social History museums (Musées de société).

What does the present research add to Gorgus's interpretation? First, it has given a central role to Rivière's allegiance to the concerns of Durkheimian school of Sociology and the interpretative impulse given to the history by the school of the Annales, which was only mentioned by Gorgus.

Second, Gorgus's analysis of Rivière's conception of folklore was approached from the perspective of traditional folklore studies. I have given Rivière's understanding of folklore a further dimension and associated it with a post-modern approach to mass culture. Popular culture is understood in this thesis not only as a modernized object-based science of folklore, but as a cultural theory shaped by an early understanding of the mechanism of creation and transmission of the growing culture of mass consumption. I have highlighted this understanding by re-examining the literature and languages used in the Revue *Documents* (1929-1930) and by the various avant-garde movements close to Rivière (see Chapter 3). The importance this literature has taken in recent years, and its influence in the genesis of present day cultural studies, justified this review.

In connection to the Jamin-Clifford debate on the relations between ethnology and surrealism in the inter-war years (Jamin, 1982), I agree with Gorgus and Gonzalez-Llovera on the interpretation held by James Clifford (Clifford, 1981; Rubin, 1984; Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002; Gorgus, 2003). Whatever the methodological differences between ethnology and Surrealism, the 'affinities' between the 'modern of the tribal' (Rubin, 1984) are more than a 'misunderstanding' or an 'error of interpretation' (Jamin, 1982). These 'elective affinities' (Gorgus, 2003) are considered in this thesis as important contributors to the process of transition from a museology that gives priority to collections to a museology that emphasizes the core importance of the public.

Gorgus's perception of the personality of Rivière and her final evaluation of his museological ideas and practices largely coincide with the perception conveyed by earlier and later researchers. (Lebovic, 1992; Peer, 1998; Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002; Segalen, 2005). She describes Rivière as a man of action, a 'mediator' who gave much importance to personal networks and relied heavily on informal communication. His immersion in different social environment and his ability to operate in multiple social spheres are evidence of an intellectual confidence that 'explains his open attitude to new ideas and contacts' (Gorgus, 2002, p.16). Gorgus coincides with Peer in her perception that Rivière's personality, ideas and practice were shaped by his experiences in the inter-war years, which remained largely unchanged through his long career.

I have extensively used Martine Segalen's *Vie d'un musée,* (1938-2005) (Segalen, 2005), in my view the most thoroughly documented and revealing work on the life and work of Rivière. Her purpose was to reconstruct the genesis, development and final closure of the MNATP. She gave special focus to the notion of museological programmes and to principles of research and display, described and analysed in details his temporary exhibitions and narrated the problems and successes the ATP had to undergo through the years of its existence. She also presented a documented critique of the methodological shortcomings and the rapid process of obsolescence his ideas and policies underwent.

The above publications have contributed to complement, expand or confirm archive material, particularly biographical details such as overseas trip dates, personal contacts and relationships. Their conclusions were mostly written in the period in which the crisis of Rivière's projects was being analysed in a long trail of audits, workshops and reports intended to redefine them as cultural projects. The eventual outcome was their dismantling and reorganization (Musées et sociétés, 1991, Collardelle, 2002). As such, this thesis does not intend to present major changes on the critical diagnosis preserved in the above literature. I have gathered them in chapter 12 as 'the curse of the maison Rivière'.

I have however taken the view that the above critical literature partly explained why Rivière's museological activities never became stable permanent institutions in the French administrative system of Museums, rather than enlightening the process by which Rivière engineered his Musée-Laboratoire. They implicitly assumed a museology aimed at creating permanent institutions, rather than a museology of processes by which a community or society become aware of its natural and cultural heritage.

I have also reconsidered some apparently problematic notions of his Ecomuseum concept such as Rivière's metaphor of the mirrror and management practices (see Chapter 10).

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis has two major parts, each concentrating on various aspects of Rivière's museology. The first part is essentially descriptive, in accordance with the phenomenological discourse. It aims to present the circumstance and ideas that shaped the museology of the Musée-Laboratoire. After introducing George Henri Rivière's biographical details and career in Chapter 2, this research explores in Chapter 3 the complex environment of ideas and interests that shaped his conception of popular culture. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the international influences that shaped Rivière's life and work as cultural activist . Chapter 6 explores the internal milieu or socio-cultural background of the various trends that converged in the formation of Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire. Both external and internal contributions lead to the museography of the Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire as described in Chapter 7.

However, as militant in a national project aiming at changing the relationship of French citizens to their cultural and natural heritage, Rivière's museological activities went beyond the strict walls of a museum.

Part 2 discusses the gap existing between claims and realities of Rivière's Musée-Laboratoire and explores his open wall museology.
Chapter 8 reflects on Rivière's open wall museological experiences in the inter-war years.
Chapter 9 looks at the modes of collecting, documenting and interpreting Rivière's Ecomuseology.
Chapter 10 explores some of the strands of present day museology, making a distinction between Rivière's Museology of Identity and Varine's Museology of Development, and takes into consideration their different approaches to management.
In the framework of present day discussions on the Nature of museology, Chapter 12 explores what I consider the fulfilment of Rivière's open wall museology, its diversification and multiplication into territorial museologies.

Internal Milieu
Chapter 6

Events 1

Events 2

Museology of
Development
Chapter 10

Musée-Laboratoire
Chapter 7

MNATP

Museology without
walls
Chapters 8 & 9

External Milieu
Chapters 4 & 5

Museology of Identity
Chapter 10

Events 3

Territorial
Museologies
Chapters 12
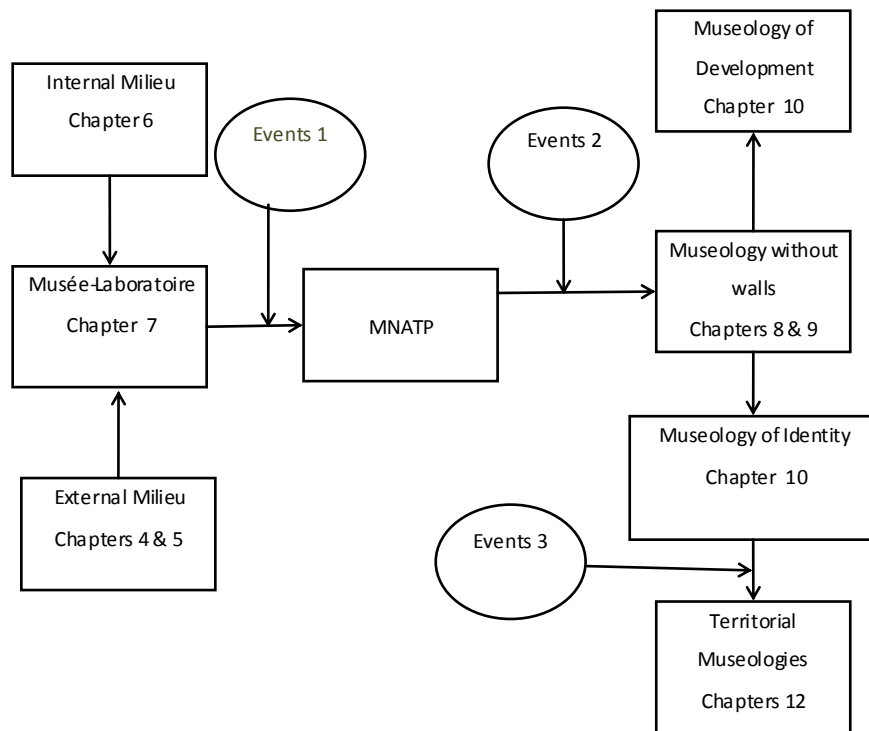
Diagram 1: Structure of the Thesis: The interaction between the external international milieu and internal cultural concerns and expectations generated a project of modernization and cultural changes and a museology without walls. The scope of these projects evolved through the years as a consequence of Events 1,2 & 3 which lead either to the obsolescence of the Musée-Laboratoire or evolved into present day heritage museology.

Events 1: The Second World War and decolonization reduced the open wall dimensions of the Musée-Laboratoire. MNATP in Paris became the central headquarters of regional museums and local research.

Events 2: The so-called Second French Revolution, changes in the trends of anthropological research and the administration of the state. The proliferation of the Patrimony Associations led to the creation of a Museology of Identity and a Museology of Development.

Events 3: Adoption of the federal or decentralized modes of State governance, expansion of Material Civilization, Hegemony of Business culture and the introduction of market forces in the cultural sector led to the 'territorial museologies'.

THESIS OUTLINE

Rivière's biographical details are presented in chapter 2 'Who was Georges Henri Rivière?' by highlighting his personal connection with the various sectors of society that contributed with their ideas, concerns and motivations to the shaping of the museology of the Musée-Laboratoire. This approach intends to show how the 'translation' of widely felt interests and expectations, which originated outside the strict limits of the museum world, converged in the cultural ethnology of the Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire.

Chapter 3, 'Rivière's Conception of Popular Culture', explores the polarities of Rivière's understanding of popular culture in the inter-war years. The merging of theoretical considerations regarding the nature of folklore amongst traditionalists, ethnologists and artistic avant-garde are an illustration of how ideas and perceptions can be 'translated' in the sense of Latour, in an overall theory of culture. To do so, this chapter presents two apparently confronted theories on the nature and modes of transmission of popular culture. On the one hand, Rivière favoured the understanding of popular culture as disappearing rural folklore and traditional way of life, threatened by the urbanization and industrialization. It assumed as a theoretical hypothesis the existence of homogeneous societies with a culture and technology shaped by geography, climate, biological inheritance and cultural transmission. On the other, using philosophical language and cultural translations of the artistic avant garde, he assumed popular culture as a process of continuous interaction in a heterogeneous social and cultural environment. These two assumptions are purely theoretical and could represent the two poles between which all forms of human identity fluctuate; both extremes are given an interpretation through the cultural anthropogenesis of Leroi-Gourhan.

Chapter 4, 'International Museological Environment', illustrates the 'external milieu' of Rivière's museology. It shows his first direct experience of the international museum world in which he often found confirmation of some of his personal reflections, and identified possible solutions pertinent to France. Thus, together with the discovery of museography of open-air museums in Scandinavian countries, he appreciated the priority given to material culture in the historical identity of these nations. In the USA, he found a way of life already steeped in 'material civilization', discovered the museology of National Parks and confirmed the practice of production of temporary exhibitions as a mode reaching a wider public. In Germany, with its strong federal tradition, he valued the museography of local museums and living strength of the Heimat by which local heritage and history was promoted and embellished by the local population. In the same way, the museography and collective enthusiasm that transformed museums in the Soviet Union as instruments of popular education confirmed his practice of using museological display as a tool for change.

Chapter 5, 'International Modernization of Museums', intends to show the international developments in museum practice which led to their displaying the 1937 First National Exhibition of museology in Paris, organized by Georges Henri Rivière and René Hughes. This exhibition was widely perceived in its time as a state-of-the-art presentation of the various practices that, in different part of the world, were implementing some of the recommendations given in various international forums and journals.

The international museological culture described in chapters 3 and 4 contributed to the creation of the general framework of Rivière's museography. However, to understand his museology I have considered it important to review the catalogues of obsessions, beliefs and expectations shared by the many culturally active members of the French Society that contributed to articulate the 'Myth of Primitivism'.

Chapter 6, 'The Myth of Primitivism as Project of Cultural Regeneration', reviews what Leroi Gourhan described as the 'internal milieu' of the French Third Republic, that is the set of representations that shaped a collective perception of events. It interprets Rivet-Rivière Musée-laboratoire as a project of cultural change that adds a true epistemological dimension to the notion of Musée-laboratoire. It implied an object-based anthropology of culture as articulated by the new human sciences of human geography, sociology and ethnology.

Chapter 7, 'The Museography of the Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire', concentrates on the analysis of the structural museography of Rivet-Rivière Musée-laboratoire. It is presented as a response to the international museographical concerns described in chapter 4 and 5, and the assumptions of the Durkheimian School of Sociology as analysed in chapter 6.

Chapter 8, 'Museums Without Walls: Exhibitions and Holidays For All', intends to illustrate the open wall dimension of Rivière's cultural activity in 1937 World's Fair as a significant aspect of his future open wall museology. It first presents the theoretical foundations of the so-called 'art de la fête' to which Rivière is known to have contributed. It is illustrated by the description of how 'free paid annual holidays' were put at the service of a project of cultural development aiming to change the approach of the French to their natural and historical heritage outside the museum institutions as then known.

Chapter 9, 'From Open-Air Museums To Ecomuseology', presents Rivière's 'evolutive Ecomuseum concept' as another example of 'museology without walls' as it was implemented in the years after 1968. A growing cultural malaise and important socio-political changes led to a strong criticism of the nature of thirty years of museum modernization. I have approached the Ecomuseum concept as an evolution of the open-air dimension of the Musée-Laboratoire. It explores the various strands converging in the Ecomuseum concept from an object-based museology of the Musée-Laboratoire to the community-based open-air museums.

Chapter 10, 'Ecomuseums and the New Museology Movement', explores the place of Rivière's Ecomuseum projects in the context of the various strands of the New Museology movement. It reviews the nature of Rivière's museology of identity from the claims and management philosophy of the community museology of development.

Chapter 11,'The Curse of The House Of Rivière', elaborates on the process of 'accelerated obsolescence' that the museology of Rivière underwent after his death. It gathers the arguments presented by commentators and museum professionals in journals and reviews, and in the long list of enquiries, workshops and reports that preceded the reorganization and dismantling of his most celebrated projects.

Against the background of the debates on the nature of museology, Chapter 12, 'The fulfilment of Rivière's museology', explores and illustrates present day museological practices. They cover the different aspects of Rivière's museology, that is, the modernization of past museological projects, the diversification and multiplication of present day museology, together with the fulfilment of his museology without walls. In my view, the so-called 'territorial museologies' represent not his community museology to which Rivière's name is sometimes associated, but a wider understanding of his museology of identity.

CHAPTER 2: WHO WAS GEORGES HENRI RIVIÈRE?

Contents: Rivière's life and cultural background of George Henri Rivière. Biographical details are presented in this chapter by highlighting his personal connection with the various sectors of society that contributed, with their ideas, interests, concerns and motivations, to the shaping of the museology of the Musée-Laboratoire.
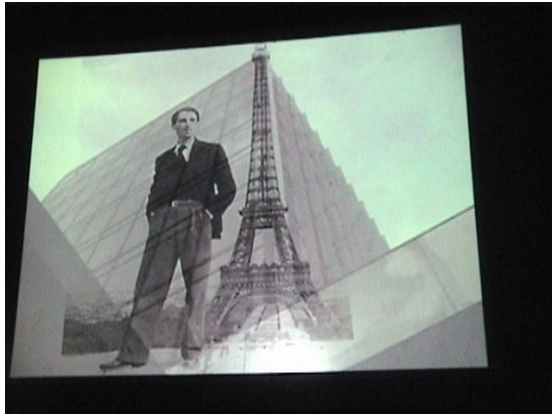
Fig. 2: Georges Henri Rivière (1987-1985) (MNATP Archives)

INTRODUCTION

Georges Henri Rivière is generally known as a talented French museologist whose professional activity spread over fifty years, and whose name and prestige survive today amongst his friends, colleagues and students of museology. His near-legendary life spread over such a wide range of fields and activities that the sources for any biography are fragmented across a multitude of anecdotes, spread through personal letters, interviews, recollections, memoirs, and in many obituaries and other homages scattered through periodicals, journals, reviews and archives.

Those who knew him all described him in terms similar to those of Pascal Ory (2003) as a 'person with great intelligence and charm, a man of highly refined aesthetic sensibility, a catalogue of contradictions, an entrepreneur of genius and the most fascinating witness of his time.' Recent publications depict him as a pioneering international folklorist (Gorgus, 2003), as a progressive activist and the avant-garde man in the museum world (Lebovic, 1992). His personality led him, through chance and circumstances, to bring to the museum world the interests, aspirations and sensibilities widely shared by ethnologists, dealers, collectors, art critics and museum curators.

Though Rivière is widely considered a man of action who avoided becoming personally involved in the many complex theoretical debates that were so important to French intellectuals through the 20th century, his personal and professional environment stood at the crossroads of most innovative artistic and intellectual initiatives of his time, a period that James Clifford described as a moment in which 'ethnography had not lost its novelty and surrealism was not yet a close province of modern art and

literature' (Clifford, 1981, p.118).   Rivière's lifelong effort to find a unifying museological practice that put together the awareness of scientific and scholar knowledge with popular understanding is encapsulated in the so-called 'Myth of Primitivism' in which the widespread political, cultural and epistemological crisis of the Third Republic invested its dreams and expectations.

As a museologist, Rivière is remembered for his years as Assistant Director of the Musée de Ethnographie du Trocadéro (1928-1937) and as Director of the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires (MNATP) in Paris from 1937 to 1968, Acting Director of the whole of the Musée de l'Homme during the German occupation of Paris, and as the first Director and lifelong inspirer of the International Council of Museums (ICOM). He was above all the embodiment of the 20th century French cultural militant, and as such is today recognized as a significant figure in the intellectual and cultural history of France, far beyond his professional work in museums and museology. Alongside Paul Langevin, André Ullmann, André Viollis, Jean Giono, Michel Leiris, Paul Rivet, Yvonne Oddon and other militants of his generation, his name and biography are included in such key reference manuals as Jacques Juliard & Michel Winock's *Dictionnaire des intellectuels français* (Juliard & Winock, 1996) and Géneviève Poujol & Madelaine Romer's *Dictionnaire biographique des militants, XIX-XX Siècles: de l' éducation populaire a l'action culturelle* (Poujol & Romer, 1996).

GEORGES HENRI RIVIÈRE: THE EARLY YEARS

Georges Henri Rivière was born on the 5th of June 1897 in Montmartre, the son of Jules Rivière, a 'fonctionnaire' (civil servant) working in the management of public parks and garden of the City of Paris, and of Marguerite Dacheaux, a country girl from Picardie. The early death of his father in 1912 seemed to have changed the circumstances of his life and of his younger sister Thérèse Rivière, who had been born in 1901. From the elegant bourgeois buildings of the rue Danrémont in lower Montmartre, the family moved to the more working class and bohemian rue Lepic, facing the famous Moulin de la Gallette. From this moment the life of the young Rivière was going to be shaped by a number of influences which are essential for the understanding of his personality and future career. As he recalled many years later 'From my childhood I have been torn between the city and the country' (Rivière, 1979). Initially, there was the bourgeois Parisian environment of his father and the artistic and bohemian environment of his uncle, Henri Rivière, noted painter and engraver, collector and creator of the shadow theatre at the almost mythical literary Cabaret 'Le Chat Noir'.

His mothers's rural background led him to spend his summer school holidays in the little family farm in the Beauvaisis and Sanseree plateau area of Picardie. This rural connection, together with the short visits to his uncle's farm in Saint-Briac in Brittany, was to give Georges Henri a living first-hand experience and sensibility of the dying civilization of rural France that would prove essential in his future ethnological career. 'Every year I joined, as seasonal worker, the harvest in a humble farm in Vaux, in the north of l'Oise. As they drove through fields and pastures, the cart drivers taught me to identify the various plants and explained the landscape' (Rivière, 1979, np).

THE CULTURE OF THE SPECTACLE
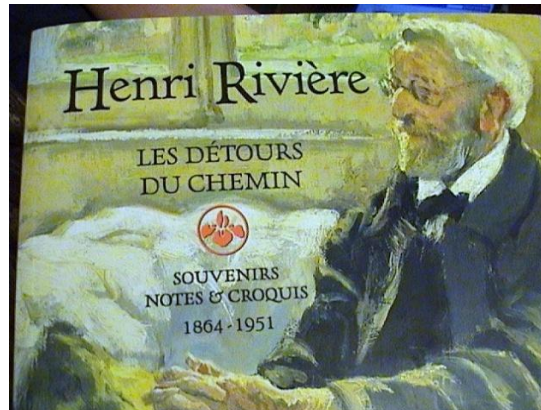
Fig 3: Recent edition of the Memoirs of Henri Rivière (1864-1951)

To understand Rivière's quintessential psychology as the cultural animator, it is important to highlight the 'genealogical' importance and influence of 'Le Chat Noir' as the mother of all avant-garde cabarets of the 20th century.[6] His uncle, the theatre designer, water colourist and engraver Henri Rivière (1864 – 1951), who supported and mentored his young nephew following his brother's death, had been closely associated with Le Chat Noir for many years, and at the same time had a deep moral and artistic influence on his nephew, Georges Henri Rivière.

Le Chat Noir has often being considered 'part of the history of the art movements of our times' (Mauclair, 1922, p.146), the place where 'the new French aesthetics was forged' (Gash, 1917, p.166), and 'where writing became performance and the distinctions between higher and lower culture broke down' (Haggerty, 1984, p.56).

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[6] *Le Chat Noir* had been created in 1881 by Rodolphe Salis (1852–1897) and was arguably the world's first artistic cabaret to achieve international fame. It was for some decades the centre of Bohemian Paris and a haunt of leading *chansonniers,* writers and others, including for example the poets and writers Georges Auriol and Paul Dival, and the composer Claude Debussy. Its novelty and extraordinary popularity, the mystique with which it was invested, and the legend that grew up about it, launched a fashion which before long extended to the whole of Europe, (Segel, 1987). The model of the *Chat Noir* cabaret bar soon spread to Berlin, Barcelona, Vienna, St Petersburg and Zurich, and eventually was duplicated within Paris with the Futurist, Dadaist and Surrealist movements.

RELIGIOUS VOCATION AND UNACHIEVED CAREER AS A CLASSICAL MUSICIAN
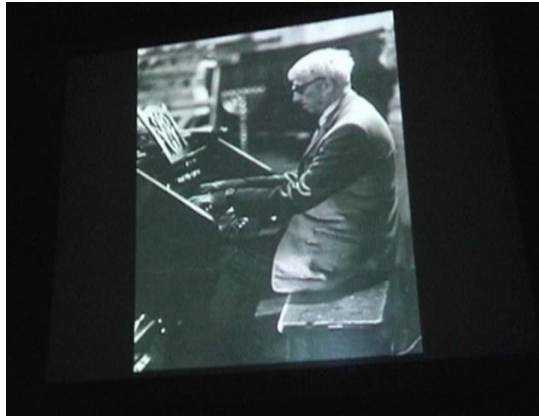
Fig 4: Georges Henri Rivière at the organ. MNATP Archives

In his research on the Paris intellectuals at the turn of the Century, Alexandre Tristan Riley has branded their educational reform movement as the 'Reinvention of the Sacred'. The religious background of Rivière, and his subsequent conversion into the secularism of the Durkheimian School of Sociology, made him particularly receptive to the project of that generation of 'doing sacredness otherwise' (Riley, 2010). As Rivière would recall in a recorded interview in relation to his teenage years, 'my temptation to become a priest was very deep as I was at the time very pious.' His religious inclinations came to an end in 1917 when walking through the fields: 'In a crossroad facing Saint-Martin aux Bois the intense blue heavens suddenly became what the English call sky.' That experience made him a 'man without religion but with great respect for religion' (see Rivière & al, 1984).

If his religious vocation was temporary, his musical disposition lasted all his life. The cries and voices of street vendors, mendicants and tradesman he heard as a child in rue Lepic, and on the slopes of Montmartre, became one of his permanent memories. This was still a Montmartre in which streets were living entities, with many popular characters living in the steep narrow streets: 'Montmartre and Pigalle were the perfect example of urban traditional life with its mixture of living community and craftsmanship' (Leroux-Dhuy, 1989, p.11). At the bottom of the Butte de Montmartre was the travelling fair of Boulevard Clichy, the circus and entertainments of the Gaumont Palace in the Place Clichy, and the places of informal sociability such as café-theatres and cabarets litteraire. As the late Rivière was to recall:

'In my youth before 1914 I used to hear the stallholders of the "quat'saisons" in the rue Lepic singing their cries of trade: "Mussels, we have mussels!, Pimpernel for the little birds!, spring water cress for a healthy body!" Weren't they in a way true street songs, and the street their natural theatre?' (Rivière, 1976, p.171.)

Clement Janekin's descriptive music of 'Les cris de Paris' was to become one of his favourite compositions which he even asked to be played at his memorial ceremony after his death (Leroux-Dhuy, 1989).

After passing his baccalaureate examination in 1915, he studied music with two of the most important Parisian musicians of the time, the organ with Eugène Gigout (1844 – 1925) and harmony and composition with Marcel Samuel-Rousseau (1882 – 1955).[7] In 1916, though still a teenager, Rivière was appointed as 'Maitre de Chapelle' i.e. Director of Music and Organist in the very prestigious church of Saint-Louis-en-l'Ile, adjacent to the cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris.

Koechlin taught the equality of all kinds of music, reconciling classical music, with its ancient, medieval and renaissance traditions and techniques, with the new modernist and postmodernist musical languages of modality, tonality, polytonality and atonality. He was to remain an important influence on Rivière, who was regarded for some years as a young prodigy within this world of avant-garde music, frequenting gatherings of Les Six, and establishing lifelong friendships with its members and his contemporaries, particularly Darius Milhaud (1892 – 1974), Georges Auric (1899 – 1983) and François Poulenc (1899 – 1963). (Leroux-Dhuys, 1989, p.14).

It was at this time that Rivière composed the only substantial work that shows his classical training: a '*Petite cantate sur des vers de Jean Racine*' for four voices, organ and string quintet, dated July/October 1925 and dedicated to Mr and Mrs Jacques Paul, cousins of his friend Georges Salles. This was played for their marriage, in the Foundation Treilles for Rivière's 80th birthday, and again at the Memorial Ceremony held at the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires on 26 November 1985, as requested in his will. (Leroux-Dhuys, 1989, p.14). He also composed an operetta named 'Loup-florentain' with Tristan Bernard, the manuscript of which is now lost: 'I regret it because there was terrific stuff in it' (Rivière et al, 1984).

He composed an unrecorded number of light songs for cabarets and other performances, including the Folies-Bergères, some of which were made popular by Josephine Baker, such as his 'Josephine, Josephine'. However, these were not published under his name and are largely untraceable.

Rivière always remained a musician at heart, taking pride of his 'improvisations' at the piano and often using musical metaphors. His museological career was even compared to the work of an orchestra director (Rivière, 1979). The late Rivière would confide to his friend and patron Anne Gruner Schlumberger:

'I am a failed musician. Walking through the streets I have often thought to myself "who will ever know what kind of music you have heard in your walk?" ' (Gruner Schlumberger, 1989, p.7).

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[7] Eugène Gigout (1844 – 1925), organist, composer and former student of Camille Saint-Saëns; Marcel Samuel-Rousseau (1882 – 1955) composer, Professor at the Paris Conservatoire, Director of the Paris Opera from 1941 to 1945.

AMERICANS IN PARIS: THE RECEPTION OF JAZZ AND MASS CULTURE

Fig 5: Scenes of Night Life as depicted in the revue Documents (1929-1930)

After serving in the First World War, Rivière had joined the Parisian 'grand monde' of the rich, talented and famous. As librarian of the antiquarian Charles Vignier and superintendent of the private collection of David David-Weil, he became part of the world of critics, antiquarians, art dealers and publishers centred on Georges Salles, David-Henri Kahnweiler, Georges Wilderstein, Charles Ratton, Christian Zervos and the writer and publisher 'E.Teriades'. Rivière's attractive personality contributed to keeping him in good terms with the various surrealist movements at odds with each other that centred around André Breton. As a student of the composer of Charles Koechling, and as pianist at the renowned cabaret-bar Boeuf-sur-le-Toit, Rivière quickly became accepted within the circles of Jean Cocteau and Le Six.[8]

As pianist at the famous cabaret-restaurant 'Le Boeuf sur le toit', he shared the collective effervescence and the artistic improvisation of the emerging jazz age (Sach, 1939, 1965). The entrepreneurial show business approach adopted by the growing American cinema and music hall industries must also have had an impact on Rivière: these new industries gave priority to colour and light, music and scenography. The personality of Rivière will be later compared in this respect to the Russian ballet, music and art entrepreneur Diaghelev. (Ory, 2003).

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[8] Le Boeuf sur le Toit, founded in 1921 and haunt of most of the radical Parisian intellectuals and musicians of the 1920s and 1930s, including for example Jean Cocteau, Poulenc, Milhaud and the artist and theatre designer Raoul Dufy. Its pioneering of jazz improvisation in France led musicians of the time to use the term 'Faire le Boeuf' as the French translation for the American 'jam session.' The cabaret was named after Milhaud's controversial surrealist ballet of 1920. (Rivière et al,1984).

Fig 6: Georges Henri Rivière & Josephine Baker[9]

The débuts of Josephine Baker and Louis Douglas at the Théatre des Champs Elysées in Paris , and the spectacular performances of the Chocolate Kiddies , were organized as tours, and were forerunners of present-day blockbuster exhibitions. As noted above, Rivière wrote songs for Josephine Baker and, like most of his generation, became infatuated with her sensuality, glamour and personal freedom. Like the Belgian singer Yvonne Georges[10] before her, Josephine Baker's public persona and success shaped the fantasies of women and men alike, and became a reference point in fashion, mores, women's emancipation and political militancy. (Archer-Straw, 2000, Martin, 1995; Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002.)

Rivière's musical background made him instrumental in the reception of modern music in France. As we we shall see, he used his understanding of American Jazz as a metaphor to understand the formation of popular culture. In a society that gave priority to reading as a mode of cultural transmission, Rivière enthusiastically supported the reception of mass culture as represented in music, moving image and modes of advertising, effectively contributing to the 20th Century debate on the nature of High and Low Culture.

In 1929 Rivière organized with great success the publicity campaign of the American revue 'Lew Leslie's Black Birds' at the Moulin Rouge. In 1930 the showing of King Vidor's film 'Hallelujah' was applauded by Leiris as the event of the year, though the showing of the film 'The Fox Movietime Follies' there was not very successful, owing to xenophobia of the public and the snobbishness of the intellectuals who looked down on 'the popular, the cheap eroticism, the extremely plain sentimentality, the catchy song and the

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[9] *Georges Henri Rivière met Josephine Baker through his friend Jacques Fray, who asked him to write for her the song 'Josephine, Josephine.' The song was never registered in Rivière's name: the record credits attributed the words to "Louis Lemarchand et Georges Henri" and the music to "Louis Fray" (Rivière& all, 1984b).*

[10] The Belgian singer Yvonne George (1897-1930), emancipated, openly lesbian, has often been perceived as the most accomplished example of modern liberated woman, part of the social environment of the time. Rivière met her in 1924 and wrote for her the very successful 'Qu'allais-tu faire a la Madeleine?' with music by Georges Rivière and words by Jules Laforge. Clement Doucet registered it in his name during the war. (Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002)

absolute lack of ideas', according to Schaeffner (1929). Rivière celebrated this influx of the popular vulgar sentimentality:

'I welcome with the most sincere satisfaction the opening of the Cinema of the Pantheon that specializes in English speaking films. In a pleasant and comfortable theatre, all those of us who despise European film directors and the avant-garde little chapels will be able to see and listen to excellent talkies, for the greatest pleasure of my expatriate friends as well as for my own. Unfortunately, I have been told, we shall miss 'Hallelujah' for practical reasons. We hope nevertheless to be able to see films devoid of prejudice such as 'Paramount on Parade' and 'The King of Jazz' (Rivière, 1930, p. 306).

It was in this atmosphere of pro-American fashion that the difficult cultural reception of mass culture in France took place (Perloff, 1991, Rigby, 1991, Tournès, 1997; 2000).

NEGROPHILIA AND INVERTED RACIAL PREJUDICE

Archer-Straw has explored the ambiguities and racial complexities of the craze for everything black that pervaded the intellectual and cultural milieu of 1920s Paris (Archer-Straw, 2000). Black music and dance associated with African cultures became, for a whole generation, a shared cultural fantasy that reversed the usual racist polarites. The leading art dealer René Gimpel, after having lunch with Georges Henri Rivière, Marcel Griaule[11] and Michel Leiris, reflected in his Diary entry of the 12th of March 1934 on their single-minded Americophilia:

'These people all have some professional distortion. Griaule considers it's time for the white man to crossbreed with the Negro, on the grounds that mulattos are on the whole more intelligent than whites. Rivière declares that the Frenchman is characterized by his ugliness, which he attributes to unwholesome, overspicy fare with too much butter and too many sauces. The American diet is more wholesome. Griaule agreed and affirmed that the great quantity of phosphate that the American absorbs gives him his solid framework' (Gimpel, 1986).

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[11] Marcel Griaule (1898-1956) was destined for an engineering career when he attended the lectures of Marcel Mauss and Marcel Cohen which triggered his ethnological career. In 1927 he obtained a degree at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales. He collaborated with Rivière and Bataille in the Revue Documents (1929-1930). Between 1928 and 1933 he participated in large scale ethnographical missions, including the Dakar-Djibouti Mission which started his lifelong association with the Dogon. Griaule pioneered the use of aerial photography and put in practice the teamwork recording of ethnographical collection (Griaule, 1933; 3953). His study on Dogon masks remains one of the fundamental works on the topic. The evolution from a purely descriptive study of the Dogon masks to an increasingly complex symbolic interpretation has been treated by (Doquet, 1999). His interpretation of a Dogon Cosmology has being severely criticized by Anglo-Saxon anthropology (Lettens, 1971; Van Beek, 1991; Clifford, 1994b, 1994c).

DEALERS AND ANTIQUARIANS AS AVANT-GARDE MILITANTS

Fig 7: Henri Rivière (uncle) and Jules Rivière (father) in Henri's apartment in Paris

Alongside his own artistic production, Henri Rivière was also a keen collector of images and drawings, medicinal boxes and Japanese ceramics, and bronzes from China, Persia, Ancient Egypt and Classical Greece. It was at his Sunday lunch in 20 Boulevard Clichy, in which scholars, connoisseurs, book editors, dealers and antiquarian would regularly gather, that the young Rivière was to be initiated into the world of art critics, dealers and antiquarians. Amongst them, Georges Henri became familiar with the painter Degas, the archivist Pierre d'Espezel, the art dealer Leonce Rosenberg, the antiquarians Raymond Koechlin, Francois Pocetton and Charles Vignier, and, most important in Rivière's museological career, the future Director of the Louvre and future President of ICOM, Georges Salles[12]. It was also there that he was to be taught what he himself called the cult of the object, and introduced to the 'primitivist' conception of art. (Leroux-Dhuys, 1989). Rivière was later to see his early exposure to this artistic and antiquarian milieu as the beginning of his aesthetical education, his initiation in the cult of objects that strengthen his natural inclination for objects and collections:

'As far back as I can remember I have always loved objects. As a child I exhibited small examples in the shelves of my room. As a teenager my mind was divided between two societies: the peasant world of my maternal family, where during my holidays I spontaneously discovered popular art, and from my father's side, as nephew of the painter and collector Henri Rivière, my initiation into the cult of objects. As a young man, I was introduced by Jean Cassou to Baroque art, by Lise Deharme and Jean Lurcat to the surrealist object, and by Georges Salles to pre-Colombian, African and Oceanic objects, then as an adult, as superintendent of a great private collection, in my half kingdom of the Musée de l'Homme and later in my own kingdoms of the MATP and the International Council of Museums' (Rivière, 1970c, p.181).

This aesthetic culture was not only the concern of artist and collectors, but was shared by members of every liberal profession, including civil servants, police chiefs, notaries, lawyers, government ministers,

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[12] George Salles (1889-1966), art historian, was one of Rivière's lifelong friends and arguably the most influencial in directing his museological carreer. Grandson of French Engineer Gustav Eiffel, his book *Le Regard* (1939) evokes the gallery of colourful characters that gathered on Sundays in the Parisian apartment of Henri Rivière in 20 Boulevard Clichy. He was to become curator of the Department of Asiatic Arts in the Louvre, Director of the Musée Guimet, Director of the Louvre, Director of the Musées de France and President of ICOM. He recommended Rivière for his nomination as Director of ICOM.

couturiers, dentists, singers, comedians, theatre directors, businessmen, psychologists, actors, couturiers such as Paul Poiret and Jacques Doucet, interior designers such as André Groult, Pierre Chareau, and ballet impresarios such as Diaghilev and Rolf de Mare. (Gee, 1981). They all became active in the discovery of new talents and of the lost or non-understood masterpiece ('beau ignore'), acquiring and exposing the masterpieces of past and contemporary cultures in their art galleries and in the 'privacy' of their own private collections. Without losing their commercial sense, dealers such as Kahnweiller, Rosenberg, Paul Guillaume, Charles Ratton, Vignier, David-Weil and Wilderstein all considered themselves part of the painting movements they contributed to discovering.

Malcom Gee, in his study of art market in the Paris of this period, has given us a good description of the background and attitudes to business of the activist involved in modern art. At one extreme were men who came directly from the financial and commercial background, and who tended to apply its principles as directly as possible to painting. Mouradian and Van Leer, who came from the cotton trade and opened a gallery in Rue de la Seine in 1925, are representative of this category. At the other extreme there were men such as the writer Charles Vildrac, and André Breto, whose interest in painting was primarily a cultural one. The latter was involved with the Galerie Surréaliste in 1926-28 and bought and sold paintings privately throughout the twenties as a way of augmenting his income. The 'complete' dealer would be a synthesis of the business type and the writer type: hard-headed in financial transaction but at the same time able to understand and appreciate new painting quickly and correctly, and to convert this understanding into 'cultural propaganda' in either writing or merely verbal form: several dealers in Paris during this period came close to this model. (Gee, 1981, p.42-43).

A CULTURE OF JOURNALS AND REVUES

Antiquarians, dealers and critics also contributed to the growing interest in modern and 'primitive' art by a wide range of newspapers, reviews, magazines, exhibition catalogues, specialized periodicals, 'little revues' that, with the wealth of photographs and enlightened criticism, acted as true resonance boxes of daily life in cabarets, music halls, galleries and museums.

The word 'museum' had been used intermittently from the 18th century in the title of volumes of illustratrated magazines. Chantal Georgel has spoken of a 'printed museum' (Georgel, 1994) when commenting about the proliferation of the printed 'family museum' that flourished in the 19th century, with reproductions and documentation of all sorts of objects of art and curiosities. The 'magazin' as a space in which unexhibited objects were stored, worked as the perfect metaphor for the printed accumulation and display of objects and ideas.[13] In this line of thought, André Malraux (1965) would develop the notion of 'Imaginary Museum' as a printed museum in which the collection of reproductions of works of art from all cultures, assembled according to personal choices, would create a true 'museum of museums'.

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[13] Between 1806 and 1914 more than seventy newspapers, journals and albums carried the word 'museum' in their title…these 'museums' were expected to be genuine museums which 'would allow each reader to complete a collection of, say, painting masterpieces, lithographies, illustrations of all kinds of things…accompanied with a moralising message designed to instil in families respect for traditional mores, commitment to the laws of honor, duty and virtue' (Georgel, 1994, p.116). In addition to the seventy printed as 'museum,' there were at least seventy-four periodicals called '*magasin*.' They all adopted and competed with the methods of displays and design of commerce, the bazaar and the department store.

CAHIERS D'ART AND THE REVUE DOCUMENTS
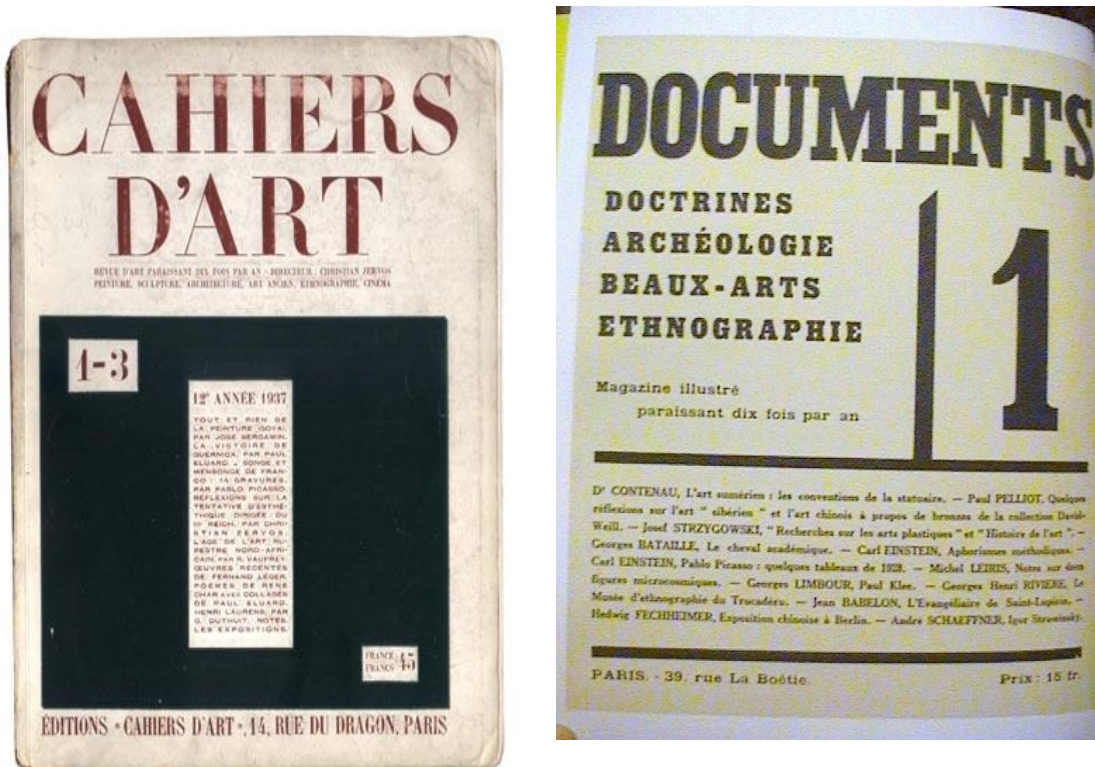
Fig 8: Cahiers d'art (1926-1960) and first issue of Revue Documents (1929-1930)

Much of Rivière's activities between the years 1927 and 1930 fall in the tradition of the 19th century illustrated 'printed museums', first from 1927-1928 with Christian Zervos and 'E. Teriades' (= Stratis Elefthéridias, 1889 – 1983) in the avant-garde art journal '*Cahiers d'Art*' and between 1929 and 1930 in the revue '*Documents: doctrine, ethnology, Archéologie, Beaux-Arts' ethnologie, Archeologie, Beaux-Arts, Varietées*' with Georges Bataille and Carl Einstein. These publications are today being seen as essential for a critical re-evaluation of the creation, promotion and dissemination of avant-garde ideas and attitudes of the period. Published in close relationship with the world of artists, art dealers, art galleries, international exhibitions, and museums, *Cahier d'Arts* and *Documents* also belong to the tradition of the avant-garde magazines aiming not so much at information and edification, but at provocation, at challenging and seeking to break traditional attitudes and inherited mental classifications.

In its effort to break the hierarchy between high art and crafts and everyday objects, the 'Cahiers d'Art' regularly published the most recent archaeological discoveries in sculpture, architecture, terracotta, ceramic and jewellery from the Far East, Asia Minor, Middle East, Pre-Colombian America, Africa and Oceania. The sense of fascination with which these findings were presented was only matched by the sense of expectation produced by the creations of a Picasso, Gris, Kandinsky, Leger, Lurçat, Mason, Brake or Klee, while the different avant-garde movements in painting, architecture, theatre, music, dance and cinema were all analysed.

Like *Cahiers d'Art*, the Revue *Documents* introduced new findings on Bulgarian, Byzantine, Chinese, Celtic, Greek, Greco-Celtic, Hittite, Roman, Scandinavian, Siberian and Sumerian archaeology and arts. These archaelogical expressions of art were presented alongside recent work of Arp, Bauchant, Braque, Dali, Giacometti, Klee, Masson, Miro, Picasso, Roux, etc, and the latest ethnographical and folklore research and acquisition from Africa, America, Europe and Oceania. Popular forms of culture like jazz, variétés, circus, street life, cinema and popular comics were shown in the same footing as contemporary theatre and avant garde fine art and musical creations. All were incorporated and displayed according to what it was believed they all had in common: living expressions or witness of a primordial activity, an activity often disguised but always existent from the very beginnings of humanity. This primordial creativity was the common denominator that put on the same footing 'superior' and 'inferior' cultural forms and knowledge, breaking the distinctions between popular and higher cultures.

In 1968, recalling episodes of his career at the Huxley Memorial Lecture in London, Rivière commented on his involvement in the Revue *Documents* to illustrate the conjunction of science and culture in the France of that time:

Documents appeared under the patronage of the collector Georges Wildenstein with the writer Georges Bataille as editor in chief and myself to do the work. Such writers such as Michel Leiris and Robert Desnos appeared in its columns, side by side with scholars such as Paul Rivet, Paul Pelliot and Erland Nordenskiold. In its illustrations could be seen side by side a Zapotec urn and a scene from the Folies Bergères, or a distribution map of the porter's yoke, and a cover from a copy of Pieds nickels...' Such was the encounter of two realms: the realm of science which had long been developed by students of Africa, America and Oceania, and the aesthetic which had been discovered first by cubism and then by surrealism: realms that had as a common factor their non-classical nature. This enjoyed the support of a great man: Marcel Mauss. (Rivière, 1968b).

Fig 9: George Bataille[14] (1897-1962) and Carl Einstein[15] (1885-1940)

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[14] Georges Bataille (1897-1962) has being described as numismatist, scholar, pornographer, social critic and idiosyncratic philosopher (Ades & Baker, 2006) and, in the words of Foucault, 'an important part of our present time' whose literary work will be for a long time placed with 'what is still to be done, what is still to be thought and what is still to be said' (Foucault, 1994, p.25). In the 1920s, alongside poet Max Jacob, painter Andre Masson, writers Michel Leiris and Robert Desnos, he was part of the surrealist group of 45 Rue Blomet, and in the 1930s he was the leading inspirer of such publications as Acéphale (Bataille & al,1995) and the talking group Collège de Sociologie (Hollier,1995). Significantly, Bataille's career as a writer started with his article *L'Amérique disparue* (Bataille, 1928) for the occasion of the 1928 pre-Colombian exhibition that triggered Rivière's museological career. Bataille's contribution to comtemporary thought is today best known through his articles in the Review *Documents: Doctrines, Archéologie, Beaux-Arts, Ethnographie (1928-1929)* funded by George Wildenstein, and made possible by the leading role Rivière held amongst the heterogeneous group of antiquarian, art critics, surrealist dissidents, ethnologists and sponsors. (Leiris, 1988; Lecoq, 1985). Foucault's expectations about Bataille and the importance of the Revue Documents have been partly vindicated with a flow of publications and exhibitions that have taken place in the last twenty years. *Documents* is today considered as the revue where the first ideas of a sociology of alterity were formulated in its philosophical-literary form (Richman, 1982; Clifford, 1988; Thompson,1995; Hollier,1995; Bois & Krauss,1997). The originality of *Documents* was first pointed out by James Clifford in his groundbreaking *On ethnological surrealism* (1981), published for the French public as *Ethnologie, polyphonie, collage* (Clifford, 1982). In it, Clifford explored the relation between ethnography, literature and art in 20th century France, and put *Documents* at the centre of post-modern anthropological analysis. In 1983, Rosalind Krauss's study 'No More Play' (Krauss, 1983) on Giacometti would bear fruit with the opening of the Exhibition 'Formless' (1997) at the Centre Pompidou in Paris. The influence of the primitivism ideology on some of Giacometti's sculptures pointed at the complex personal and intellectual complicities existing amongst Bataille, Breton, Masson, Desnos, Artaud, Queneau, Leiris, Métraux, and their deep commitment to the ethnographical theory of Marcel Mauss. The exhibition and catalogue was such a success that in 1991 Gradhiva reprinted in two fascimiles the complete set of *Documents* issued between 1929-1930 (Jamin, 1991). In the same line of thought, this search for the nature of alterity in the avant-garde milieu surrounding *Documents* was explored in Sidra Stich's exhibition *Anxious Visions:Surrealist Art*, 1990, at the University Art Museum in Berkeley, California (Stitch, 1990; Brenson,1990) and in the 1992 colloque organized by the European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Warwick (Thomson, 1995). In 1993 the colloque *Bataille après tout* was organized at the Musée des Beau-Arts d'Orléans as part of the exhibition 'Masson-Bataille' (Hollier, 1995). Finally, the 2006 exhibition *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and Documents* at the Hayward Gallery in London gave evidence of the cultural interest Bataille and *Documents* still hold (Ades & Baker, 2006)

[15] Carl Einstein (1885-1940) has being described as a German poet, art historian and militant combatant in the Spanish Civil War. Nephew of the famous physicist Albert Einstein, he committed suicide in 1940 to avoid Nazi persecution. Carl Einstein belongs to the tradition of Austro-Hungarian art theoreticians of the end of the 19th century, solidly formed in the Berlin reflexion about art unknown in the Paris circles. Through friends such as Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Clara Malraux, Michel Leiris and Georges Henri Rivière, he became a mediator between the French and the German culture by giving conferences, translating and collaborating in articles and revues to make known French Literature and art, and cubism in particular. See Lilian Meffre,'Carl Einstein et la problématique des avant-gardes dans les arts plastiques,' 1989, Études et Document, Peter Lang, Berne.

Though officially Rivière was only part of the editorial panel of Document, he is today thought to be one of the main motivators of the innovative line followed by the revue, along with Georges Bataille and Carl Einstein, (Lecoq, 1985).

Documents has been considered to be the 'think tank for the new museum that Rivet and Rivière were putting in place' (Jamin, 1998), a museum that became in the mind of Rivière 'not so much a place of freedom but of liberation, a place where objects were to be set free from the "tyranny of taste and the masterpiece" and where order was always counterbalanced with disorder, form with non-form' (Jamin, 1998, p.67). As might be expected when he was appointed to the Musée de l'Homme, Rivière's task was to benefit the museum by taking advantage of the current 'primitivist' craze:

'Following our first poets, artists and musicians, gradually the elites are directing their attention to the primitive arts ...a taste that is aesthetically validating such objects as the manniquis of Malicolo, the Ivories of the Congo and the masks of Vancouver, and relegating to the appreciation of ladies of the capitals of Vezelay and the Hellenistic marbles' (Rivière, 1929, pp.54-58).

THE TURNING POINT OF THE PARIS PRE-COLOMBIAN EXHIBITION OF 1928

LES
ARTS ANCIENS
DE
L'AMÉRIQUE

EXPOSITION ORGANISÉE AU
MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS
PALAIS DU LOUVRE — PAVILLON DE MARSAN
MAI-JUIN 1928

PARIS
LES ÉDITIONS G. VAN OEST
1928
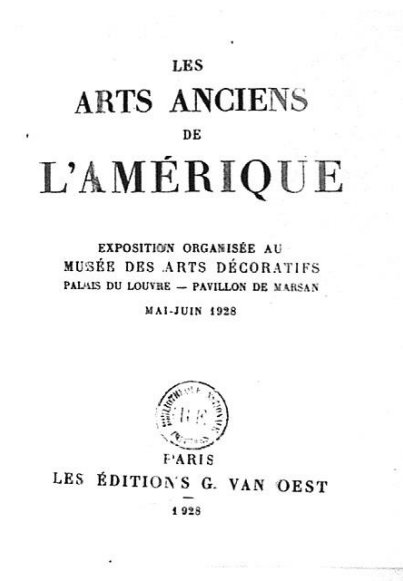
Fig 10: The Pre-Colombian Exhibition (1928)[16]

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[16] *Collection of essays published for the occasion of the 1928 Pre-Colombian Exhibition with texts by Jean Babelon, Georges Bataille, Alfred Métraux, Paul Morand, Paul Rivet and Georges Salles, illustrated with a selection of photographic reproductions by Georges Henri Rivière. (Babelon et al, 1930).*

Rivière's involvement in the museum world began with the major 1928 Pre-Colombian exhibition 'Les Arts Anciens de l'Amérique' held at the Pavillon Marsan of the Museum of Decorative Arts, Paris. As he himself put it: 'What really was the cause of my entering in the museum world was the story of the Pre-Colombian exhibition' (Rivière et al, 1984)[17]. This date is also considered today as the founding event of French ethnology (Laurière, 1999, 2003). It brought together some of the individuals who were to constitute the framework of the professional and scientific life of Rivière: notably the ethnologist Alfred Métraux[18], the museologist and art critic Georges Salles, the poet and ethnographer Michel Leiris[19], the musicologist André Schaeffner[20], the philosopher Georges Bataille and the expert on American ethnology and culture, Paul Rivet.[21]

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[17] There are a number of accounts of Rivière's role in the seminal events of 1928, though often with variations in the details. Christian Zervos, editor of *Cahiers d'Art,* nominated Rivière to write an article on Pre-Colombian art and advised him to visit the Museum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro for this purpose. Extremely excited by the wonderful pieces of Pre-Colombian art in the Museum, Rivière reported to Zervos that it was not an article that was needed but a whole exhibition. This suggestion in turn triggered Rivière to use his already well-known social skills to pull together at short notice a network of intellectual, human and financial resources. These included his personal friends and acquaintances together with national and international institutions into a single project, which he carried through with extensive publicity in journals, magazines, lectures and 'happenings.' In one of many accounts, Rivière described the sequence of events: 'Bataille the famous writer, who was a very close friend of mine, told me, "I know an archivist like me, named Métraux, you should go and see him. If you want to make an exhibition of Pre-Colombian art you must at least know something about the matter." I saw Métraux and paid a visit to Louis Metman, curator of the Museum of Decorative Arts. The latter thought the idea was bound to be a failure. He was ready to help me but I needed a financial guarantee. I then went to see my friend David David-Weil, to whom I had been for a certain time the superintendent of his state and collections. He said "If that is what you want, go for it. How much money do you need?" "I do not know," I said. With the promise of a cheque I went back to Metman, who agreed to lend the Pavilion Marsan as a venue for the exhibition.' (Rivière *et al,* 1984).

[18] Alfred Métraux (1902-1963) was one of the world's highest authorities on South American Indians. He was an influential teacher, a tireless field researcher, a productive writer, an efficient administrator, and an imaginative planner of social projects. A disciple of Marcel Mauss and Paul Rivet, he brought South American Indian Cultures to light, solved the mystery of Eastern Island, made voodoo known to the world and, after the Second World War, he contributed to define the United Nation stand against racism (Barkan, 1988). His pilot project in the Valley of Marbial in Haiti was the foundation stone of a new paradigm of development which would set the guidelines of UNESCO in the next thirty years, and would shape concepts such as 'suitable technology' and 'sustainable development.' Launched in 1947 by John Bowers, first director of the department of Education of UNESCO, it intended to use the contribution of anthropologists to unveil the difficulties that populations might encounter in harmonizing their traditional needs with the new opportunities created by technological changes (Brelet, 1995; Laurière, 2005). In 1950 Métraux became a permanent member of UNESCO's Department of Social Science. At UNESCO he was responsible for the participation of anthropologists in many research projects around the world, aiming at translating anthropological theory and knowledge into action. His diaries, published after his death as *Itinéraires 1 (1935-1953) Carnet de notes et Journaux de voyage*, 1987, give a good insight into his life in Paris, during which, according to his biographer, he seemed to be fascinated by the presence, charm and personality of Rivière. His comments on the many public personalities he met through the years explains the efforts made by Rivière to block its publication (see Métraux files at the MNATP GHR Archives).

[19] Michel Leiris (1901-1990) was born in Paris and developed from early in life a keen interest in jazz and literature. Under the inspiration of Max Jacob (1876-1944) and George Bataille (1897-1962) he was to grow as a poet, writer, ethnographer and lifelong part of the Musée de l'Homme staff. He was part of the surrealist group of 45 Rue Blomet but he soon fell out with André Breton and became part of the splinter surrealist group that formed part of the editorial staff of the Revue *Documents*. In 1937 he founded, with Roger Callois (1913-1978) and George Bataille, the short-lived Collège de Sociologie which intended to produce science of Man in radical opposition to the trends of modern scientific sociology. A supporter and close friend of Picasso and Jean-Paul Sartre, he married Louise Godon, the stepdaughter of art dealer Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler (1884-1979). He was a personal friend of George Henri Rivière (Armel, 1997; Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002) and was recruited by the Musée de l'Homme as secretary-archivist for the occasion of the Dakar-Djibouti ethnographical Mission. In the same way as Lévi-Strauss's personal account of his experience in the Brazilian Jungle (Lévi-Strauss, 1973), Leiris's *L'Afriques fantôme* (1934) has been considered as a sort of 'confession d'un enfant du siècle' which went beyond the personal account and became a open heart expression of the ideology of 'primitivism' shared by a whole generation of ethnologists (Clifford, 1994; Shelton, 1995).

[20] André Schaeffner (1895-1980) ethnologist and musicologist. His career was closely associated with Rivière's and the ethno-musicology of the Musée de l'Homme. In 1926 he wrote an (at the time) innovative study on jazz (Schaeffner, 1926) and was recommended by Rivière to organize what would become the Department of ethno-musicology of the Musée de l'Homme. He was part of the Dakar-Djibouti Mission in which he recorded dances, music and ceremonies, and developed a system of classification of instruments that would become part of the ethno-musicology of the Musée-Laboratoire.

Though the most extensive contribution to the exhibition came from the collections of the Museum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro, Rivière managed to get loans from The Museum of Anthropology of Mexico, and from museums in Berlin, Stockholm and Goteborg, as well as the collaboration of the main collector-dealers in Paris, such as Charles Ratton and Charles Vignier, private collectors such as André Breton and Roland Tual, of Marcel Mauss, Paul Haviland, and members of the Américanist society Raoul d'Harcourt and Crequi-Monford.

Pierre d'Espezel published for the occasion a special issue of 'Cahiers de la République des Lettres, des Science et des Arts' (1930). This collection of essays included texts by Jean Babelon, Georges Bataille, Alfred Métraux, Paul Morand, Francois Poncetton, Paul Rivet, and J.H. Rosny. In addition there were opinion pieces by François Carnot, President of the Union of Decorative Arts and founder of the Fragonard Museum in Grasse; the collector and specialist in Islamic Art Raymond Koechlin; and the future Director of the Louvre and one of the founding fathers of ICOM, Georges Salles. Including also representative texts written by some of the 16th century Spanish of the Conquest of the Americas, the issue was illustrated with photographic reproductions 'chosen with solid science and taste' by Rivière. (Babelon et al,1930). The exhibition was a tremendous success amongst artists, art lovers, collectors and art dealers.

Many years later, the leading anthropologist and philosopher of his generation, Claude Lévi-Strauss was to honour the memory of his friend Rivière by commenting on his role in the creation and continuing character of French anthropology as follows:

'Rivière, together with Michel Leiris and André Schaeffner, was one to which French ethnology owes its initial form: art as much as science, thoroughly attentive to both what has been created today and to what survives from the past, unwilling to be isolated, listening to all the resonances that are continuously born in the plastic arts, music, knowledge and poetry, with equal attention to details and to poetic imagination' (Lévi-Strauss, 1986).

APPOINTMENT AS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR AT THE MET

The success of the Pre-Colombian exhibition lead Professor Paul Rivet (1976 – 1958) to reconsider his planned appointment of his Assistant Director to the then-called Museum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro (MET). Rivet had recently been confirmed as Professor of Anthropology of the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris, and as a condition of this appointment he asked to have attached to his professorial duties the Directorship of the Muséum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro (Rivet & Rivière, 1931b). Rivet initially thought of appointing as Assistant Director the professor of philosophy Georges Henri Luquet, promoter in France of the theory of the non-utilitarian origins of art (Laurière, 2003). The first meeting between the former military doctor, by then renowned for his Americanist theories or the origin and development of Man and culture, and the largely still unknown and academically unqualified cabaret musician and socialite Georges Henri Rivière could not be more paradoxical. Rivière always remembered the dark stairs and building that led him to Rivet's office in rue Buffon within the Jardin de Plantes.

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[21] Paul Rivet (1876-1958) was trained as a physician, He took part in the Second French Geodesic Mission to Ecuador (1901). He proposed a theory according to which South America was populated by settlers from Australia and Melanesia. Founder of the Musée de l'Homme, he was also the founder of the Comité de vigilance des intellectuels antifascistes in 1934.

'I saw him and he said, "It took you a long time. Where did you do your thesis? I am an Americanist but I have not read your thesis." I answered, "Thesis? There is no thesis, sir, I am a simple bachelier." "Never mind," said the professor, "I will be in charge of the scientific side and you will do some management. Keep organising exhibitions like this one… I am offering you the position of sub-director of the Musée d'ethnology du Trocadéro. I want a quick answer, I give you 48 hours. You must be aware that the position I am offering you is usually only offered to doctors in sciences." Two days later I was reorganizing the Oceanic rooms with the famous Pasteur Maurice Leenhard' (Rivière & al, 1984, np).

Rivet's highly unorthodox decision is today considered in museological and anthropological circles as one of the most courageous and successful appointments. A position that traditionally would have been offered to a young, highly qualified specialist and researcher in a relevant academic discipline was given instead to a part-time pianist, part-time antiquarian and mostly unpaid editor, admittedly one with entrepreneurial flair. As Rivière said of himself:

'I never knew what I really wanted to do... I got married because I was asked, I got the job at the Trocadéro because I was asked and never became a serious musician because it meant making a choice…So when my friends recommended me for ICOM it also came as a surprise, but I always said, after all, why not?' (Rivière et al, 1984).

Rivière's appointment initiated a policy of popularization of anthropology far beyond the Trocodéro through high profile, well advertised, temporary exhibitions, focused particularly on the spectrum of views that shaped the Myth of Primitivism. Rivière also played a central role in the organization of the French Dakar-Djibouti Mission (1931-1933), the first of a series of successive research and collecting trips organized by the Musée de l'Homme under the direction of Marcel Griaule. This mission was followed by ground-breaking exhibitions which opened in quick succession: the '*Exposition du materiel de la Mission Dakar-Djibouti*' (April - May 1931); '*Peau-Rouges d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*' (May - June 1931), '*Exposition Ethnographique des Colonies françaises*' (from May 1931), '*Exposition des bronzes et ivoires du Royaume du Bénin*' (June – July 1932), '*Arts des Incas*' (June – October 1933), '*Exposition de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*' (also in 1933) and '*Exposition du Sahara*' (May - October 1934).

All this activity was to reinforce in France an 'anthropological sensitivity' (Stoking 1986) and the 'reciprocity of perception' (Tiryakian 1979) that gave a 'scientific' status to the growing perception of the 'affinities of the modern and the tribal' (Rubin, 1984). Objects brought to light by palaeontology, archaeology and ethnology were to be gradually collected, interpreted and reconstructed as historical documents and intended to act as an 'inspiration for the future instauration of a lost social totality' (Tiryakian, 1979).

THE ETHNOLOGIST AS ENTREPRENEUR

In a letter to Jacques Soustelle on the occasion of the publication of the 1975 report on the state of scientific research in France (Soustelle, 1975) Rivière included a catalogue of his own achievements in the field, saying:

'I had an influence on the recruitment of people of quality such as yourself and Leroi-Gourhan, André Schaeffner, Marcel Griaule. I contributed in the conception, organization, implementation and dissemination of the great ethnological missions… responsible for the laboratory associated to the CNRS [the French national council for scientific research]. I have recruited patrons and sponsors of the calibre of David and Pierre David Weil, Viconte de Noailles, Georges Wildenstein. I suggested the name of the 'Musée de L'Homme' from the original idea of 'Temple of Man' of our Doctor Paul Rivet… I have been the first initiator of the ATP [Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires]… [the] avant-garde of contemporary museology' (Rivière, 1975).

These perhaps somewhat random perceptions convey the variety of influences that Rivière brought into what, in the 1930s, came to be called the Rivet-Rivière Musée-laboratoire.

From her reading of Rivière's correspondence in the MNATP archives, Segalen has characterized his method of inspiring and motivating as a 'blend of convincing explanations' and the 'raising of expectations' (Segalen, 2005). He used motivational themes such as the promotion of folklore, leisure, tourism, or national interest and pride to recruit new sponsors and supporters. First he was constantly lobbing the various political groups and the different levels of public administration that might have had any influence on the approval or funding of the various phases of his projects. Thus when the architectural design of the museum in the Bois de Boulogne was ready, Rivière lobbied the key persons across government, including those in the Direction of Architecture of Civil Buildings and National Palaces, the Direction of Fine Arts, the Ministries of both National Education and Finance, as well as the Direction of Museums of France, etc. He also used liberally a network of friends and acquaintances to find and reinforce support in high places.

Marcel Maget, in his introduction to his 'Guide sur les Comportement Culturels' (Maget, 1953) referred to the variety of interests and groups that museums of anthropology should address. The text can today be read as significant in the merging of 'sensibilities of the times' that contributed to the birth of 20th century ethnology in France:

'The need to escape to other people and far off lands, or to the countryside, where the old good time or the illusory stability of a golden age is in striking contrast with the senseless activity of modern times; the aesthetical attraction for the exotic or the rustic; the ethical or political intentions of the various traditionalism and regionalisms; the metaphysical vertigo and the obsession of finding real humanity in its essence; the attachment to the memory and way of life of the ancestors. There were finally all the various forms of snobbery for the unusual and rare: in the modernist evenings, the return of the members of an expedition was as welcome event as a psychoanalytic session' (Maget, 1953, xxi).

THE DAKAR-DJIBOUTI ETHNOLOGICAL MISSION

Fig 11: Members of the Dakar-Djibouti (1930)[22]

Organized by the Institute of Ethnology and the National Museums of Natural Sciences, the Dakar-Djibouti Mission initiated the series of field expeditions organized by Marcel Griaule in the 1930s. They were all intended to be an extensive research, aiming at collecting objects of interest destined to the MET. The Dakar-Djibouti Mission crossed the Senegal, Sudan, Ivory Coast, High-Volta, Niger, Dahomey, Chad, Cameroon, Belgian Congo, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Abyssinia and the coast of Somalia. The funding of this expedition was an occasion for Rivière to show his organizational skills:

'to launch the Mission Dakar-Djibouti, parliament passed a special law and a gala boxing programme took place at the Cirque d'Hiver with the boxer Al Brown…intended to supply the expedition with funds…A combination of productive modishness and scientific policies went hand in hand to promote ethnology and primitive art' (Rivière, 1968b, p.18).

On the night of the fight Marcel Griaule introduced world bantamweight champion and civil activist against racial discrimination Al Brown, flanked by four museum guards in uniform. For the late Leiris, what was important in the discovery of the ethnic other in the 1920s is that alterity was met 'halfway-

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[22] *From left to right, André Schaeffner, unknown, Georges Henri Rivière, Michel Leiris, Outomsky, Marcel Griaule, Eric Lutten, Jean Mouffle, Gaston Louis Roux and Marcel Larget (Gradhiva, 1984, no 1)*

house' in the cultural space Leiris called 'metissage' (mixed race): 'the other that is not completely the other, but the other that turns up at home. If Josephine Baker had been fully black she would have never being accepted. She was just black enough' (Haggerty, 1984, p.35).

The process of the discovery of the other was thus perceived as a gnoseological process that fills the gap existing between the unknown and the inhospitable. In this way, anthroplogist Alfred Metraux still remembered the years 1924, 1925, 1926 as the years in which, through art, his scientific career in ethnological field research started:

'Suddenly and somehow, exotic people came to confirm the existence of aspirations that had no place in our civilization. The first expression of this was the awakening of interest for exotic arts, first African arts, then of pre-Colombian America. I must say that this attitude was due to both naivety and prejudice. However, this intitial interest was later canalized into science' (Bing, 1964, p.21).

A CULTURE OF RESEARCH

In 1920s Paris, people from all walks of life - artists (e.g. Surrealist Bureau, College of Sociology), critics such as Christian Zervos and Carl Einstein, sociologists of the Durkheimnian school of sociology, geographers and historians such as Henri Berr (1878-1956) and Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch (1886-1944) , folklorists as André Varagnac (1894-1983), the biologist Alexis Carrel (1873-1944) - set out to establish 'laboratoires', workshops, study groups and research centres. They were all driven by their search for a new understanding of culture according to a 'true', 'authentic' and 'total' nature of man. Thus a diversity of groups with similar concerns appeared. From October 1924 to 1925 the Bureau de Recherches surréaliste (Bureau of Surrealist Research) held a daily meeting aiming, in words of Antonin Artaud (1896-1948), at 'the reclassification of life' (Gale, 1997, p.226). During 1922-1924 the writers Roland Tual, Georges Limbour, Michel Leiris, and the painters André Masson and Joan Miro had started a similar group at 45 rue Blomet. They discussed Lautreamont and the Marquis de Sade, Fyodor Dostoyevsky and Friedrich Nietsche, and Max Jacob and Juan Gris were influential presences (Gale, 1997, p.227). Similarly, the group of Marcel Duhamel, Jacques and Pierre Prevert and Yves Tanguy gathered at the rue du Chateau (Gale, 1997, p.226). Rivière managed to keep on speaking terms with all these often violently bickering groups. According to Leroux-Dhuys (1989) he was even present for the notorious disruption by Breton's group of the premiere of the ballet Mercure that had reunited Léonide Massine (1896-1979), Erik Satie (1866-1925) and Pablo Picasso (1881-1973).

The foremost illustration of this convergence of artistic and intellectual avant-gardes is the group of writers, intellectuals and professors of the Collège of Sociologie (1937-1939) that gathered every fourth night to examine all areas of social community and to define possible structures not based on individualism, totalitarianism or what they saw as the feeble cohesion of democracies. The main contributions to these reunions were by George Bataille, Roger Caillois (1913-1978) , Michel Leiris, Alexandre Kojève (1902-1968), Pierre Klossowski (1905-2001), Jules Monnerot (1909-1995), Anatole Lewinski. They were attended by intellectuals such as Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980), Walter Benjamin (1892-1940), Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) and the young Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009). Their goals expressed the sentiments of a generation seeking social adhesion of a different order: i) to investigate the nature of primitive social structures and transferring its findings to modern social formations ; ii) the creation among those engaged of a 'moral community' different from those that unite scholars; iii) to set

the foundations of a 'sacred sociology' based on the permanent 'active presence' of the sacred in contemporary social phenomena. (Richman, 1995).

The spirit of debate, experimentation and collaboration adopted by '*L' Année sociologique'* inspired many similar projects such as the '*Revue de Synthèse*' of Henri Berr, or the '*Encyclopédie française*' of Lucien Febvre to be 'laboratories' of 'scientific discrimination' in which efforts were directed to producing 'total' and 'scientific' synthesis. Lucien Febre regarded his *Encyclopédie française* not as a dictionary but as an 'inventory' of the achievements of 'civilization' (Febvre, 1937). The encyclopedia was associated with the 'laboratory' of the 'Commission des recherches collectives' under the direction of André Varagnac, which planned a fifteen year research programme based on 'permanent network of informers' (Varagnac, 1935, p.302-305). The Commission started 'enquiries at national level on the modes of harvesting, the traditional village fires, the evolution of the village forge, popular traditional cooking and the means of transport in the countryside' (Chiva, 1987b, p.14).

Alexis Carrel researched on human biology (Carrel, 1935) in his Foundation for the Study of Human Issue, with its emphasis on biology and demography, which permanently left its mark on the demographer Jean Sutter and ethnologist and Director of the Musée de l'Homme Robert Gestain, and was to influence some lines of research of the Rivet-Rivière Musée-laboratoire. (see Chiva, 1987a).

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND RAPID DOMINANCE OF THE GALLERIE D'ART

The inter-war years also witnessed the rapid decline of Salon as the centre of the market for art and antiquities, and their replacement by the gallery and the art auction. The state-sponsored traditional salon and its early 20th century 'progressive' rival salons gave way to the dealers exhibiting and promoting their own newly discovered artists on their own premises – the galerie. It was this triumph of the 'independent painting' which inaugurated an era of permanent stylistic innovation with the disintegration of the consensus on artistic appreciation of the Salon jury, and the emergence of a new hierarchy of taste. (Gee, 1987).

THE ARISTOCRATIC CONNECTION
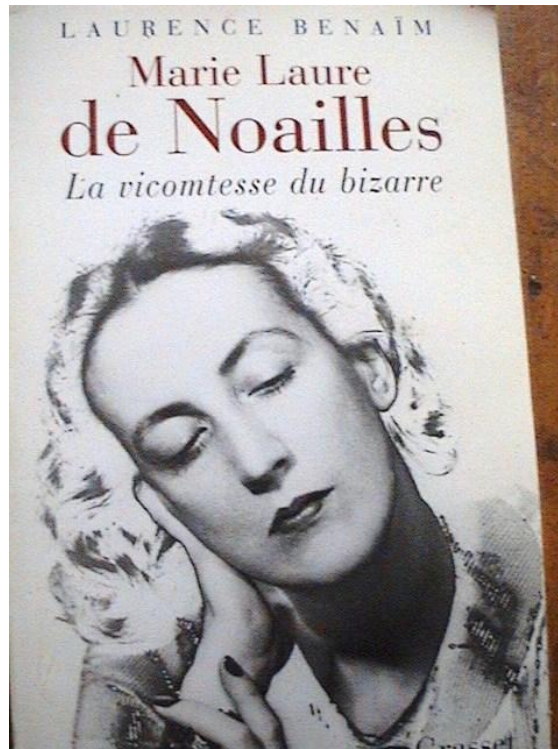
Fig 12: the Viscountess de Noaille, (1902-1970)[23]

   When asked how he got involved in the world of aristocracy he explained: 'It was [through] Georges Salles, the grandson of Gustav Eiffel. He introduced me to the Marquis de Polignac, husband of Nina de Polignac, the Princess Edmonde de Polignac' (Rivière & Dumay & Tarta, 1984b). These aristocratic contacts quickly led the young Rivière into the salons of the grand Parisian house and country chateaux of figures such as the Count and Countess de Beaumont, the Rochefoucaults, the Ravignacs and the Vicomte de Noailles and his wife Marie Laure. Within this social life, the elegant, entertaining and urbane Rivière thrived, as he did within the world of wealthy collectors and art dealers such as the Kahnweillers, Rosenbergs, David Weills and Wildensteins. They all shared the taste for discovery and innovation, and for direct patronage.

It was with Charles and Marie Laure de Noailles that Rivière developed a life-long personal relationship (Benaim, 2001). The salon of the extravagant Marie Laure, described by her biographer as the result of cross-breeding a dynasty of German bankers and French aristocracy, was to become, between 1924 and 1932, the centre of the Parisian artistic community, especially Surrealist. Charles, Vicomte de Noailles,

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[23] *Rivière's close relations with the Viscount and the Viscountess de Noaille, as described in this recent biography (Benaim, 2001) is a good example of his personal connections with a number of aristocratic and other wealthy and influential patrons and sponsors of the arts.*

was responsible for the first public showing in 1929 of the short Surrealist film *Le Chien Andalou* by Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dali, and the following year of the *l'Age d'Or,* again by Buñuel, with Max Ernst as one of the actors. Luis Buñuel often referred in his memoirs and recollections to his meeting with Rivière in the house of the Charles de Noailles.

In his study of the art market in the 1930s, Paris Gee explores the possible reasons why these turned towards the avant-garde, in contrast with most other members of their social group who, despite their considerable fortunes, were not known for innovation, artistic or otherwise. With some exceptions the majority of these patrons of the avant-garde were all rebelling against their family background. In the case of Beaumont and the Noailles, their homosexuality was also an important link to others within the avant-garde artistic world of the day. Rivière's own generally well-concealed homosexual tendencies, and particularly his long relationship with the writer and ethnologist Michel Leiris, has recently been discussed in some detail in the thesis of Jesus Gonzalez-Llovera (Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002; see also Lebovic, 1992). On the other hand, their attitude towards painting derived from their aristocratic outlook. They were bred to incarnate certain cultural values, and as a result they possessed great confidence in their ability to make and maintain decisions concerning 'Culture'. As Gee has commented 'They were psychologically prepared to create new values, since there was no external discipline which they were trained to accept' (Gee, 1987, p.190). This explains, in Gee's opinion, the importance to them of intermediaries such as Cocteau or Rivière.

PERCEIVED AMBIGUITIES IN RIVIÈRE'S POLITICAL LOYALTIES

The nature of Rivière's political loyalties have often been commented on, and became in his lifetime the origin of painful experiences. Nina Gorgous talks of his intellectual confusion (salade intellectuelle) in assessing the differences between National-Socialism and Communist Parties. In his first visit to Berlin he was invited equally to communist meetings and to Nazi rallies and celebrations, and both were apparently praised by him with equal enthusiasm. In the labour unrest that lead to the strikes of the construction workers building the Palais Chaillot for the Exhibition of 1937 (and afterwards the new Musée de l'Homme) he apparently joined the pickets, showing the communist clenched fist. Lebovic talks of Rivière as 'politically naïve' with 'premature post-modern' attitudes that led him to put results above means and loyalties. Though Rivière was a deeply committed actor in the politics of cultural change of the Third Republic, and active promoter of the most extreme artistic and human sciences avant-garde (Picasso, Bataille), his show business and art dealer background, 'seemed to have led him to treat political engagement as one more social gambit or aesthetic coup' (Lebovic,1992, p.155).

In this sense and with hindsight there is no wonder he provoked very contradictory impressions on people with committed political party affiliations. In the words of Lebovic, 'His career reveals no signs of resistance to any authority' (Lebovic, 1992, p.188). Operationally, he accepted the world of state power as he found it, whether of the Popular Front (Ory, 1994), the German Occupation and Vichy (Faure, 1989) or of de Gaulle; instead his priority among political movements seems to have been 'benefiting as much as possible from each to further his concerns' (Lebovic, 1992, p.188).

However, Rivière's fascination for the regimes he found in Germany and the Soviet Union might be better understood from a widespread attitude to politics and culture in the Europe of the first part of the 20th century; what we could describe as the call to the community. As we shall see, the priority given to the fête, the places of solidarity, carnivals, ceremonies, festivals and periodical celebrations so important to the folklorists in the creation of meaning, was given a theoretical justification by the history of the Annales and the Durkheimian school of sociology; both communists and fascists threw spectacular shows and parties.

TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS

During the war Rivière remained in Paris, taking on the role of Acting Director of the Musée de l'Homme after Rivet went into exile in Latin America. Outside Paris, he knew how to make the best of the Vichy Regime's interest in peasant values and the traditional civilizations. From his position of director of the Directorate of Arts et Traditions Populaires, he managed to maintain the so-called chantier intellectuel (intellectual work) based at the Museum by implementing during the war ethnographical missions on rural architecture and material culture. These chantiers were designed as part of the measures put in place by the Vichy Commissariat a la lutte contre le chômage (Commission for the fight against unemployment). In practice, the chantiers also became a cover for intellectuals, young graduates and members of the Resistance, and as a means to prevent them from being arrested or sent to Germany to contribute to the war effort. As the late Rivière would recall, 'These officially stood as fonctionnaire though they were not. We recruited them to avoid them being deported by the Nazis' (Rivière, 1978, Appendix I, p.266).

As the Germans occupied Paris, next door to his own museum in the main Musée de l'Homme the group of ethnologists and museum professionals grouped around Boris Vilde and Anatole Lewinsky was starting France's first resistance group against the German occupation. The events, described in Martin Blumenson's *The Vilde Affair, Beginnings of the French Resistance* (Blumenson, 1977) are considered today amongst the heroic actions of the war, a symbol of intellectual freedom and fight for Liberty that touched the patriotism of all French under occupation. Though the whole Musée de l'Homme group of nine was betrayed and sentenced to death, the three women were instead deported to German concentration camps and survived the war. These included the Museum's Chief Librarian, Yvonne Oddon (1902-1982), who survived the war and became a close associate of Rivière in the International Council of Museums (ICOM). The other survivors were the museum anthropologists Agnès Humbert (1894 – 1963) and Germaine Tillion (1907-2008); all three were awarded the Legion of Honour. After the war in 1948 these and all the other heroes of the Resistance were honoured and remembered at the Palais Chaillot itself, where the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

However, Rivière's perceived political ambiguity during the Occupation led him to be accused of being a German collaborator by one of his closest colleagues in the Museum, André Varagnac. Though the allegations that Rivière collaborated with the Vichy Regime were proved to be unfounded, the style, language and imaginary used by Rivière in his wartime article '*Le folklore paysan: note de doctrine et d'action*' in particular (Rivière, 1942) is still considered by some as close to the Vichy doctrine of National

Revolution: 'The concepts and words of Rivière's article were a reference to Marshall Petain's slogan "The soil never lies" ' (Faure, 1989, p.3).

Although this philosophy of return to the land was not a monopoly of the Right, as it was in line with 1930s ruralist alternative of the Left, as represented by the journal *Vendredi* and the Rural Centre in the 1937 exhibition (Peer, 1998), the Trocadéro ATP, and by association Rivière, never totally managed to dissociate himself from the image of Vichy. The accusation left Rivière with a deep sense of injustice for the rest of his life.[24]

Alongside these public upheavals, Rivière also had to endure personal distress. His sister, Thérèse Rivière (1901-1970), five years his junior, had become part of the Museum of Ethnography staff and grew into a promising ethnologist. Recruited in 1928 as a 'technical assistant', she became an essential part of the everyday administration of the museum. It is recorded that it was she who first introduced the typewriter to the Museum, put in place the accession and registration forms and procedures for new collections and photographic material, diligently cleaned and restored every object in the museum and assisted her brother in the organization of temporary exibitions. After studying with Marcel Mauss in the Institute of Ethnology of Paris, she and Germaine Tilliom were granted two years' sponsorships by the Rockefeller Foundation for a field work mission in Algeria. Though the mission aimed at a better knowledge of local popular beliefs and technology for the purpose of improving colonial administration, the object-based twist given by Mauss to ethnology meant there was also a focus on the acquisition of objects as well. Therese Rivière brought back from her mission 812 objects which were thoroughly documented and eventually displayed in the 1943 Musée de l'Homme exhibition Aures (Tillion, 2000). The material of this mission (which also includes her fieldwork notebooks, linguistic questionnaires, drawings and photographs) are now in the collections of the new Musée du quai Branly, Paris. Unfortunately Thérèse developed signs of psychiatric unbalance and was to end her life in mental institutions, to the great distress of her brother.[25]

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[24] Lebovic has recorded a description of the events at the museum that preceded his accusation to the Commission d'Epuration des Beaux-Arts as collaborator: 'Because of the unsettled situation, Rivière decided as of 19 August 1944 to remain at the museum day and night. The afternoon of the 21 August the ATP and the muse de l'Homme were occupied by the resistance group Lewisky-Vilde (Front National), made up of staff of the two museums. Guy Pison, an architect and head of the 'chantier' or rural architecture, assumed the leadership of the ATP contingent, while the musicologist Andre Schaeffner led the other museum's group… On Friday the 25 August, the Lewitzky-Vilde group at the ATP invited Rivière to join them at an 'intimate gathering' to celebrate what Marcel Maget called in his report 'the victory of the Paris Uprising.' On the 28th, in the heat of the Liberation, Rivière received a phone call informing him that he had been charged with collaboration. The next day the Director of the National Museums appointed Maget and Pison to run things,,and asked both Rivière and Varagnac to leave the museum until further notice. On the 14 March 1945, having being suspended from his post for nearly eight months while the investigation was held, Rivière received a letter of recall. Nothing had been found to merit prosecution of the case, the enquiry had decided 'to close the file' and Rivière was restored to his post. Varagnac soon left the museum to head an archaeological project of his own.' (Lebovic,1992, p.184.)

[25] Métraux has left us a first-hand description of this family tragedy: 'She [Thérèse] showed the first sign of derangement in her stay with the Berbers in Northern Africa, where she started to be bossy, judgemental and even inciting them to revolt. The inhabitants in the mountains were very loyal to her, and whenever they visited Paris came to see her brother to enquire about her. In the political upheavals of the 1930s she might be seen in the street carrying a gun and a brandishing a sword, and even succeeded to be sent to the Spanish Civil War in 1939. After periods of emotional exaltation came moments of depression. The day her mother died, her behaviour became volatile and she directed her anger at her brother. She accused him of stealing her belongings, hiding her silver with the neighbours and complained to all her brothers' friends. One day she persecuted him with a pair of scissors.' (Métraux, 1978, p.514).

Rivière's final retirement in 1968 as Director of the MNATP was going to be another of his most painful disappointments. Though, according to French public administration rules, he was reaching the official age of compulsory retirement, Rivière expected that the all-powerful Minister of Culture André Malraux[26] would make an exception and allow him to remain in his post for the final inauguration of the new site of his Museum in the Bois de Boulogne – the project he had been planning and leading for over thirty years. Though Malraux was lobbied by powerful intellectuals and other figures in support of allowing Rivière to remain in his post, he was unceremoniously put into retirement, and only allowed to work as consultant in the final displays of the uncompleted Cultural and Scientific Galleries. Rivière attributed Malraux's decision to his falling out with the Minister, whom he considered his lifelong friend, over the very idea of Musée-laboratoire. By 1967 object-based ethnological research was regarded by Malraux and others as discredited and new approaches to anthropological research had become established as part of university curricula. The approval of the Ministry of Higher Education and Research to build substantial accommodation above the new museum for the ethnological and anthropological research programmes and staff, or move the association of the CNRS (National Council of Scientific Research) seems to have been viewed by Malraux as an abuse of national resources. In Rivière's words:

'He was furious. "Your laboratory is a joke" he said. "Your experts [who had been lobbying Malraux, much to his annoyance] are but pedants. If you want to make a successful museum you must do what you used to do: have all your Duchess friends sweeping your rooms." He ordered my retirement the very day I turned seventy.' (Rivière & All, 1984).

The final tragedy of Rivière, and one which weighed heavily on him in his final years, was that his planned final synthesis and self-critical review of his own work, the proposed five volume *Traité de Muséologie*, to be published by UNESCO in both French and English editions, was suddenly abandoned in 1980 by UNESCO (see Boylan 2010, Appendix II).

DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF MUSEUMS (1948-1965)

After the war, the creation of an International Council of Museums (ICOM) was proposed by Chauncey Jerome Hamlin[27] to take over the work started by the International Museum Office. George Salles, at the

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[26] André Malraux (1901-1976), writer, art amateur, cultural activist and key Government Minister of the Vth Republic, was born in Paris in 73 rue Damrémont, coincidentally the same street of the northern slope of Montmartre in which George Henri Rivière was born (Rivière was born 10 rue Damrémont - Madsen,1976). Sharing the literary ambitions of many members of his generation, Malraux soon joined the Parisian artistic and literary avant-gardes. According to the late Rivière, his acquaintance with Malraux started in the 20s when he became one of the young promising writers to published in the art and literary editoral projects of Daniel Kahnweiler. His book 'Lunes de papier,' 1921, with illustrations by Fernand Leger, was one of the 'beau livres' produced by the Galerie Simon that launched the practice of bringing together writers, poets and painters. (Rivière, 1984b). In the 1930s both Malraux and Rivière were committed activists of the policy of popularization of culture of the Popular Front. It was in the context of the Maison de la Culture in Paris that Malraux started to experiment in the years 1935-36 with ideas of exhibitions made with 'reproductions' that eventually grew into his 'musée imaginaire' (Ory, 1993). In 1959 he was appointed Minister of Cultural Affairs by General De Gaulle, and he re-launched the idea of Maisons de la culture as part of the policy of cultural decentralization of the Vth Republic. These 'modern cathedrals' of culture were to facilitate the access of every sector of the population to the masterpieces of humanity. Malraux's aesthetic theories promoted the direct experience of art that would allow us to conceive the history of humanity not as a historical sequence but as a 'presence,' an experience revealing the universality and the particularity of human excellence (Zarader, 1988). Beyond their differences of views, both men can be considered as 'compagnons de voyage' of a generation of cultural activists. (Juliard & Winock, 1996).

[27] Chauncey Jerome Hamlin, (1981-1963), Director of the Buffalo Science Museum and influential member of the American Association of Museums.

time Director of the Musée de France, enthusiatically supported the idea and agreed to invite the world's museum directors to an international Constitutional Assembly at the Louvre in November 1946.

George Henri Rivière's personal abilities and successful museological career in the 1930s recommended him for appointment as First Director of ICOM in 1948 , a position he would hold until 1965, after which he became Permanent Advisor until his death in 1985. In this period Rivière became the leading force in shaping the Organization, fostering international cooperation, setting up National and International Committees, colloquiums and General Conferences. The words of George Salles at the 1948 First General Assembly are descriptive of Rivière's future contribution:

'After conversing for a week with people from the same profession whose different temperaments show a wide diversity of origins, each one of us , suddenly…took a comparative look…freed ourselves from our varied educational backgrounds and brought the point of view from different parts of the world closer' (Baghli, Boylan & Herreman, 1998, p.16).

Arguably, Hugues de Varine once commented that 'without Rivière ICOM would have probably remained a more or less enclosed club of art museum directors of the Northern Hemisphere... with him, the ICOM Council was opened to the 'Total Man' (a tout l'Homme) and to every man' (Varine, 1989, p.75).

The Official history of ICOM highlights the central role of the triennial General Assemblies in the management, policies and organization of ICOM 'bringing a breath of new life into its structures with their constant attention to the changing strategic role of museums' (Baghli, Boylan & Herreman, 1998, p.11). They would contribute to promoting and implementing a global museum modernization along the lines suggested by Professional Associations of Museums and the guidelines set by the International Museum Office in the revue Mouseion in the years 1927-1939. (see Chapter 5).

The tasks of inventorying museum objects, the creation of national museums directory, and the encouragement of loans and international exchanges became a priority, as well as issues of conservation and restoration of cultural property (ICCROM) and its protection in case of armed conflicts. Such themes as the educational role of museums, exhibitions' techniques, regulation on excavations and conservation of archaeological collections became main concerns in ICOM. Considerations on the nature of the public and advances in audio-visual technologies transformed the nature and practice of museums.

To implement the proposals, at the First General Conference of 1948 in Paris a number of permanent international committees were set up as 'Specialized Groups':

Science museums and planetaria, museums of history of science and technology; Museums of natural history, zoological gardens, aquaria and botanical gardens and educational activities in National Parks and nature reserves; Museums of ethnography, including folk art and open-air museums; Museums of archaeology and history and historical sites; Museums of art and applied art; Children's museums and activities concerning children in museums; Museums of Industry; Museum personnel, Training, Status and Exchange; Museum techniques; Museum legislation and administration; Publicity (Baghli, Boylan & Herreman, 1998, p.16).

Many other 'committees' were created through the years : in particular, in 1968, the International Committee for the Training of Personnel (ICTOP). Raymond Singleton, the Director of Museum Studies, University of Leicester (UK) was the first Chairman. Georges-Henri Rivière, the first Director of ICOM, and Yvonne Oddon, previously Head of the UNESCO-ICOM Documentation Centre, established the ICOM Unite de Formation (Training Unit). A programme of museology or museum studies was put in place by the Training Unit a UNESCO/ICOM "Programme Type" (Model Programme). It became known as the 'ICOM Basic Syllabus For Museum Studies' drawing on existing best international practice.

The debates on museums and the nature of museology and professionalization were given renewed importance with the creation in 1977 of the International Committee of Museology (ICOFOM) by ICOM. This Committee soon became an international think tank that, through the years, brought together, in annual meetings, conferences, workshops, exhibitions, publications and resolutions , many of the pro-active actors of the museum world. They attempted to articulate some theoretical bases on the nature, purpose and place in society of the new science of museology, with the further aim of contributing to defining the profile, training and background of museum professionals (ICTOP) .

THE LATE YEARS

By the time of his retirement in 1965 as Director of the MNATP, only a number of old friends, colleagues and students at home recognized the name of George Henri Rivière and/or remembered his days of glory in the 1930s. As we shall see, in spite of the admiration his displays still produced in professional museum circles, the Art and Popular Traditions of France never totally recovered from its association to the Regime of Vichy.

It would be the prestige achieved in his international career that would bring him back to the attention of the French public in the later 1960s. Rivière managed again to recycle himself with the project of establishment of National and Regional Natural Parks and with his association to the *Nouvelle Muséologie* articulated by his successor as Director of ICOM, Hugues de Varine. They both coined the notion of 'Ecomuseum' which was internationally presented by Rivière as an example of the most accomplished museology. As we shall see, though acclaimed by many, this view was not shared by many of his collaborators, particularly Hugues de Varine.

However, the psychological portrait evoked by Segalen of the late George Henri Rivière, though only reflecting his feelings about the difficulties he encountered in the fulfilment of his lifelong project (the saving of the material remains of traditional rural France), might provide the sad aftermath to a brilliant career:

'The image of aging man, overcome by a deep feeling of bitterness, turned sour and worn out by obstacles. His organizational plans lay down with an almost obsessional precision, revealed an increasingly morbid fixation on details to the point of making any normal functioning impossible. His feelings also showed his belief to be "misunderstood" by what he called the "higher authorities" ' (Segalen, 2005, p.182).

CHAPTER 3: RIVIÈRE`S CONCEPTION OF POPULAR CULTURE

Contents and Objectives: The details of Rivière's life have shown him as a contradictory personality: staunch defender of the avant-gardes but with strong conservative views, committed to a project of cultural change without however fully understand the meaning of political and social loyalties, advocating the importance of a traditional folklore but orbiting around intellectually and academically minded milieux. His personality had a direct incidence on his museology, and is particularly relevant in his conception of popular culture. This chapter intends to explore the 'translations' of contradictory ideas and perceptions on the nature of National Identity. They managed, however, to support widely shared cultural concerns such as a better understanding of the nature of the popular mind, the ideals of the new social sciences to create a 'scientific' interpretation of folkore and the politically motivated modernization of the rural world, the renovation of community life and the development of tourism.

The following points are explored:

Mechanism of formation and transmission of popular culture as elaborated by the artistic avant-garde.

Traditional way of life and the nature of folklore as perceived in conservative literature.

Folkore as promotion of commercial tourism: two confronted perceptions of National Identity.

INTRODUCTION

In discussing the development of Rivière's understanding of popular culture heritage it is important to highlight the low intellectual status of folklore in the French Republican tradition. Traditionally, folklore was understood as the compound of popular beliefs and practices belonging to a pre-Enlightenment ordering of the world, and dismissed as part of the 'errors and confusions' that characterized the superstitious understanding of reality. In his discussion of these issues in his course at the Ecole du Louvre (Rivière, 1938), he cited as examples of such viewpoints Thomas Brown's *Enquiry into Vulgar and Common Errors* (1646) and Jean Baptiste Thiers's *Traités des Superstitions* (1777). Despite this widely held view, each nation in Europe tended to adopt radically different attitudes towards the importance and function of folklore within culture and the wider society. The Romantic tradition of Germanic and Scandinavian countries placed folklore at the centre of national identity, whereas the French Jacobin tradition saw old popular wisdom and local languages as a serious threat to national unity and its ideals of an enlightened national citizenship (Deloche and Leniaud, 1989).

However, romantic historiography in France, starting from Thierry, Barante, Ballanche, Fauriel and Michelet, was committed to reforming the manner in which history was written, in which the 'spontaneity and feelings of the masses of men' (Thierry, 1834) would take the lead over the history of kings and legislators. What Ballanche termed 'the voice of primitive traditions and the power of primordial language' (Ballanche, 1830) could still, he argued, be heard in rural population. As Michelet put it, 'your children, like the peasant of Brittany and the Pyrenees, continually speak the language of the Bible and of the Iliad'

(Michelet, 1846). For Michelet, this return to the past in order to resurrect the 'living logic' and the 'natural genius' of France was an important duty of the historian.

The growing reaction against Cartesian abstraction and rationality (Rearick, 1974; Thiesse, 1997), the Maussian search of elementary structures and the creation of an ethnological discourse put in place by the primitivist ideology were all going to give to the romantic tradition a new perspective.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL TRANSLATIONS: FROM FOLKLORE TO PRIMITIVE

A distinction was often made between popular culture in so-called complex societies and the beliefs and practices of tribal groups. Saintyves defined folklore as 'the science of traditional culture in the popular classes of civilized countries' (Saintyves 1935, p. 40). Accordingly, it was argued that there was no place for folklore in primitive people with only 'elementary' culture. There was folklore in Europe, in China and India, where advanced knowledge and popular belief coexisted.

In spite of this distinction, it was agreed between Rivet and Rivière to use the popular hunger for everything primitive to compare the primitive of far-off lands with the rural, traditional way of life still existing in a modern France. The Rivet-Rivière report of 16th of April 1931 to the Minister of Public Instruction, *Rapport sur le projet d'un musée de folklore français* (Rivet & Rivière, 1931), proposed the creation of a museum of French folklore which would give a new epistemological status to folklore. By equating the popular with the 'primitive' (vernacular = primitive = exotic) (Chiva & Jeggle, 1987, p.12) both notions were 'museologically thought together and in the same way' (Jamin, 1985, p.53).

FOLKLORE AS POPULAR CULTURE

We can distinguish in Rivière and colleagues two levels of understanding of popular culture, based on two theoretical formulations. On the one hand, popular culture was understood as folklore, as 'the customs, manners, traditions and beliefs, belonging to a former stage of civilization, that survived in an advanced society' (Rivet,1938 p.26). Authors such as Paul Saintyves (1870-1935), Paul Sebillot (1843-1918), Arnold van Gennep (1863-1957) and Paul Delarue (1880-1956) had all made their life mission to record different aspects of the old folklore of France. In spite of their ideological and methodological differences, they all found their space or made their contribution to the interpretation of folklore displayed by Rivière in the ATP (See Fabvre, 1993). This line of thinking was subsequently to be developed by Rivière's Assistant Andre Varagnac in his career as scientific 'folklorist' (Varagnac, 1948; 1954).[28]

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[28] According to Varagnac, traditional societies had preserved from Neolithic times a similar common civilization he called archeo-civilization (Varagnac, 1948). On this basis, folklore was archaic cultural elements (faits de civilization), existing in traditional society, that have their origin in 'Old, very old forces, so prodigiously ancient that they have, for us moderns, the value of eternity,' (Varagnac & Lepage-Nedvey, 1939, p.17). This old wisdom, according to Varagnac, was inevitably bound to disappear with the appearance of industrialization and the expansion of scientific knowledge. According to Rivière, this approach to folklore, which could also be found in the Soviet Union, was very different from the American popular culture:

'It consisted of archaic ways of life of populations long settled, which is promoted by the Soviet cultural policy by supporting the systematic recording of indigenous tongues, orally transmitted until up to now but the object today of a thorough written codification made by experts' (Rivière, 1947, p.4).

In contrast with rural folklore, Rivière's concept of the 'new science of Man' shifted the notion of folklore to living popular culture, whether this might be the culture of everyday life or the culture of mass consumption. Accordingly, to Rivière and his generation, 'living folklore' was in a permanent process of adaptation and self-transformation.

In his introductory lessons to folklore at the École du Louvre in the late 1930s, Rivière defined the culture of folklore as 'collective beliefs and practices without theory' (Rivière, 1938, p.15). According to this view, folklore was not the cultural life of pre-industrial and pre-enlightened rural population, but the human way of apprehending the world, a culture shaped by the merging of the rational and irrational beliefs, and the conscious and unconscious expectation existing in any way of life. The perception of the world of the rural peasant, the factory worker, or the most educated sectors of the population is, he argued, always shaped to different degrees by rational activities, unproven belief, and not yet realized expectations. Every world view and practice, whether held by individuals, communities or institutions, is but a blend of old and new, outdated and innovative elements.
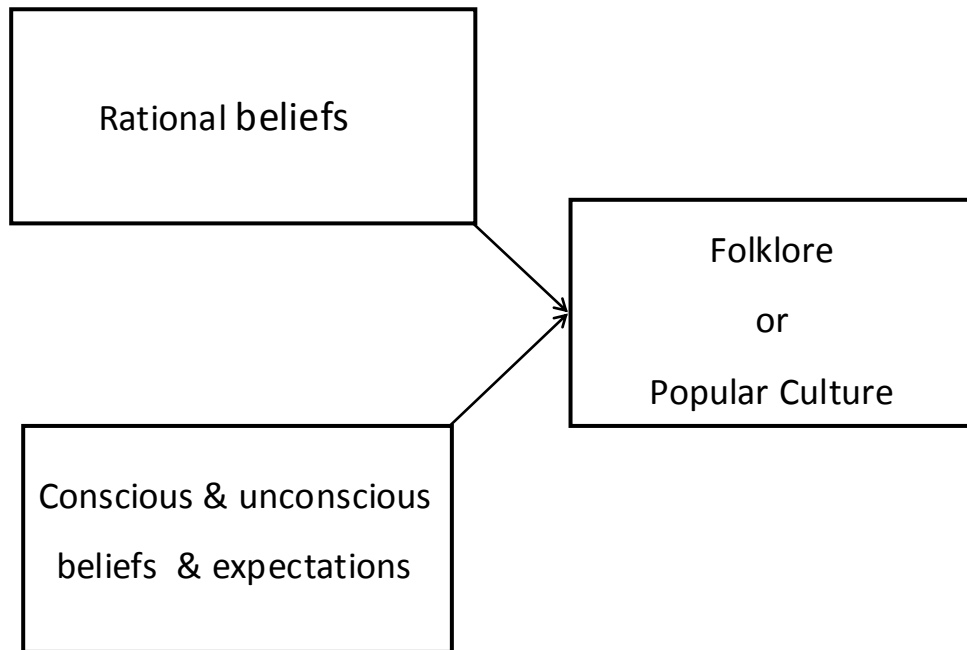
Diagram 2: Nature of Popular Culture

HIGH VERSUS LOW: THE FORMLESS

The subject of popular culture was given an avant-garde provocative language by Bataille, Leiris and Griaule in their contributions to the 'Critical Dictionary' in the journal Document during 1929 and 1930 (Bataille, Leiris, Griaulle et al, 1995). Bataille contrasted the validated and established rationality with a universe full of possibilities of significance he called the 'formless' (Bataille, 1929). According to this view the 'world of form' has historically enforced the prevailing taste, rules and standards in dress, music or painting, administrative legality and managerial rationality. This kind of thinking, it was argued, reduced

reality to 'hardly more than a metaphor' (Leiris, 1929, p.170), and forced the universe to 'fit into a mathematical frock coat' (Bataille, 1929d, p.382). This tradition, arguably traceable back to Plato and culminating in Descartes, Hume, Kant, Hegel and Husserl, was described by Bataille as 'metaphysical scaffolding' (Bataille, 1929b) or a 'senile idealism' by which things become intelligible (Bataille, 1929c). It was time, according to Bataille, to substitute the game of transposition and metaphor into an epistemology of the formless. Against the Socratic tradition, Bataille vindicated the Presocratic tradition of Heraclitus, which saw the relations with the world in terms of a contextual perception and understanding. Bataille came to call this latter tradition 'base materialism' which he defined as 'external and foreign to ideal human aspirations, and refusing to allow itself to be reduced to the great ontological machines resulting from these aspirations' (Bataille, 1930c, p.2). As Georges Didi-Huberman has recently commented, such a formless world was a world in which 'things are thought in term of processes instead of results, in term of changing relationships instead of fixed status' (Didi-Huberman, 1995, p.115).

Elaborating on this distinction between a symbolic world created by reference to a constructed theoretical thinking and a world managed according to contextual thinking, Foucault talked of the space of utopias and the space of heterotopias (Foucault, 1984). The space of utopias is the world perceived and produced by the sciences and philosophies, 'places without location' - abstract spaces living in a sort of vacuum devoid of sensorial reality. These spaces tend to have simplified modes of management and a reductive and homogeneous vision of society. In contrast, the heterotopias are real spaces: 'the space of our first perceptions, the space of our dreams, those of our desires, the space of our time and our history' (Foucault, 1984, p.755). Like Bataille's science of heterology, Foucault proposed the creation of the science of heterotopias, aiming at 'reading' the multiple spaces existing in a society. This new science would produce modes of management that would take into account the real concerns and realities existing in a heterogeneous society.

CONCEPTUAL TRANSLATION: FOLKLORE AS SEMIOTIC COLLAGE

It has been remarked that the whole approach to anthropology of Rivière, Schaeffner and Leiris and Lévi-Strauss had a musical inspiration (see Stocking, 1986) centred around the notion of surplus of meaning associated with what Godelier has described as the 'big-bang of significances' (Godelier 1996, see particularly pages 153-164). Whilst in their original context, objects are part of a coherent set which give them functional relevance and 'organic' meaning when moved:

'They become an indefinable debris which can then participate in the formation of a new type of identity: the former objects become signs in other models of intelligibility. The logic works like a kaleidoscope, an instrument that also contains bits and pieces by means of which structural patterns are realized. They can no longer be considered entities in their own right' (Lévi-Strauss 1967, p.36).

Dance, music and improvisation became a true expression of primordial activity and a framework to interpret artefacts devoid of their former function. The polysemic nature of music was put forward by André Schaeffner as a metaphor to describe the nature of popular understanding and communication:

'Infinitely more than words, music has the ability to give many contradictory answers to our questions and to our most opposite needs…. 'In this sense we could say that with music the idea of signified is not valid any more. Any musical expression has in its very nature the ability to free itself from its original

meaning… what touches us from the music of composers such as Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Poulenc, Auric or Mozart is that they recycle by emptying of their original significance the tunes that had their suggestive power in another context….The unconscious nature of music, whether these might be liturgical or folklorical, is the ability to ignore the meaning we want to attach to it' (Schaeffner, 1927, pp. 10 - 13).

It is perhaps Milhaus's ballet *Le Boeuf-sur-le-Toit* (1920) that encapsulated the convergence of chance and decontextualization characteristic of the aesthetic of collage prevalent in the avant-gardes; Milhaud composed it by merging folk songs, tangos, maxixes, sambas and Portuguese fados in a 'cheerful, unpretentious divertissement' (Milhaud 1995, p.87). Initially intended as accompaniment to a Chaplin silent film 'Le Boeuf sur le Toit' was turned by Cocteau into a ballet-pantomine in which action took place in a bar in America during the prohibition. The testimony of Jean Wierner, jazz pianist and colleague of Rivière in the times of his many appearances at the Boeuf-sur-le-Toit cabaret-restaurant, is significant:

'A true musician is the one who borrows from life and makes music with it, he who makes something new with what he hears and sees. I do not believe in inspiration: I rather trust a particular state of mind inclined to creation shaped by circumstances and the daily harmonies of life' (Wierner 1928, p.40).

In the same sense, the art of Georges Auric, according to Schaeffner, was close to the circus and the music hall and consisted of 'a game of references to other music, a sign to the sentimentality and poetry of the most accepted tunes' (Schaeffner, 1927, p. 68). Like the Cubists, he borrowed and inserted pieces of ready-made reality in his plastic imagination, or took that reality as a starting point for something different.

From this point of view, Rivière's concept of folklore is better understood with present day cultural and semiotic studies than from 19th century folklore epistemology.

THE SURREALIST OBJECT

The surrealist effect of surprise by decontextualization is today part of everyday life and language, from commercials to comic strips. It was also part of Rivière's experimentation in his journal *Documents*. It has been described by Clifford as

'An aesthetic that values fragments, curious collections, unexpected juxtapositions; that works to provoke the manifestation of extraordinary realities from the domain of the erotic, the exotic and the unconscious' (Clifford,1981, p.118).

We can see in *Documents* a rehearsal of an aesthetic of collage, the presentation of objects and ideas by the method of rapprochement that Rivière used throughout his career as museologist. Images were displayed aiming at 'bringing together disparate elements selected arbitrarily to revert to an infinite series of latent possibilities' (Breton,1936, p.279). The overall discourse of texts and images was intended to be a destructive experience that would tear the individual out of himself and induce a creative process of reconstruction.

FOLKLORE AS COLLECTIVELY TRANSMITTED TECHNOLOGY

Alongside the processes of both intellectual and physical collage, Rivière's notion of popular culture also gave a strong emphasis to inherited skills and practices. Following Mauss's guidelines on the importance of technology, Rivière, in his courses on folklore from the late 1930s, recommended the study of the history of traditional crafts as the best way to understand the 'main lines of its evolution and… the various trends that converged in present day folklore' (Rivière, 1938, p.2). The bibliography he recommended to his students at the École du Louvre shows this by his inclusion of Olivier de Barres's *Traité de l'agriculture* (de Barres, 1600) and Duhamel du Monceau's *Traités des pêches, des rivière et des étangs* (Duhamel du Monceau, 1709), together with the rural knowhow and material culture described and profusely illustrated in the drawings of the *Encyclopédie* originally compiled by Diderot and d'Alembert. These books were, according to Rivière, 'obligatory references whenever we want to know anything of an old agriculture methods' (Rivière, 1938, p.2). In his comments on traditional technology Rivière distinguished between technical inventions based on calculation, design and craftsmanship, and those based on traditionally transmitted knowhow:

'Today the manufacture of an object of our everyday life is the product of analysis and calculations made according to the laws of the physical world. It was not like that in former times… The whole system was based on three principles, a long term empirical knowledge of resistance of materials, the practices of manual and mechanical knowhow, and the very conservative habits of the consumers' (Rivière, 1938, p.16).

The craftsman, in his view, 'has not thought through the whole process but implemented his skills with greater or less success out of "spontaneous naivety," the obscure talents and disposition of which he is barely aware' (Rivière, 1938, p.17).

The French School of Sociology, with its emphasis on 'elementary structures' and traditional body skills and gestures, had set its task, he argued, to unveil the mechanisms involved in traditional technology (Rivière, 1938).

EVOLUTIVE DEFINITION OF CULTURE

It was in his *Role du Folklore dans la reconstruction rurale* (Rivière, 1947) that Rivière best described his view of the process of formation of popular culture. Contrary to the view that folklore was the culture of the pre-industrial, popular mind, he drew from the experience of the USA, where the modern phenomenon of folklore was thriving in the form of jazz:

'We are bound to ask if further developments of the industrial revolution will not bring the total disappearance of folklore: are industralization and folklore compatible? It is in the most advanced civilization of all, the United States, that we see evolving in a expectacular way this modern phenomenon of folklore that we call the jazz' (Rivière, 1947, p.4).

Using jazz as an example again, Rivière went on explaining the genesis of popular culture as follows:

'It received from the start various currents of African rythms, Christian church songs, Scottish songs, Debussian harmonies etc. It uses and revolutionizes instruments as varied as the archaic maraca, the classical trumpet and violin, and as recent as the piano and the saxophone. It recruits its best composer among white composers, often Jews from central Europe such as Gershwin, and its best performers amongst blacks. An outcome both of the most evolved capitalism and of primitivism, it is promoted by the former through publications, theatre, sound recording, radio and the cinema and it feeds on the latter by using the forces of the unconscions. Jazz is both loyal to tradition and subject to fashion. It gives place to improvisation on a larger scale than it ever had in the old 'comedia dell'arte'. It has gripped more by 'contagion' than by its promotion by the school or conservatoire. It is, together with mechanization, the more original character of the new American civilization at the precise moment it is conquering the youth of the world' (Rivière, 1947, p.4).

Two decades later, when asked about the effects of the mass popularization of foreign songs, such as the music of Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, he warned against the temptation of falling in a narrow cultural protectionism:

'What would be the streets of Paris if a ministry of cultural affairs in the 17th century had ruled out any innovation? It is the same with music. An example is the jazz and 'pop' music. Jazz is a movement that stems at the same time from traditional Europe, archaic Africa and Indian-American. The whites contributed with their melodic system, their harmony and rhythm, from their side the blacks and Indians brought the extraordinary vitality of their percussion and their superior sense of rhythm. So it is in the cotton plantations that the Christianized slaves created their own 'plantation songs' and their dramatic religious 'gospel' which they sung in their short time of leisure. It is likewise that in New Orleans in the heart of Louisiana, this music was introduced in the night clubs. Commercialization, development of the disc, the radio and television has given to the phenomenon giant dimensions. What is important is that this art survives, that it is associated to dance, that it induces anyone who hear it to move and sing. This music has conquered the youth of the world. In Bretagne we can often see in the traditional night fêtes of Bretagne young people adding to the sounds of their traditional biniou and their bombarde, the sound of jazz instruments. We also see a sort of 'pop' music inserting itself in the music tradition of Britanny. The same phenomenon can be witnessed in other parts of France: Occitany, Basque country, French Catalogne, Alsace as well as in England, Scotland, Algeria and Japan' (Rivière,1976, p.176).

THE CULT OF THE OBJECT AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MUSEUMS

Central to the Maussian approach to culture was the assumption that every human activity has a material embodiment in objects, body skills or institutions. In his conversations with Charbonnier, Lévi-Strauss conveyed his concerns about the future of the modernist revolution in painting. While initially it was a beneficial break up from the authority, the system of Fine Art - a rebellion against perspectivism and a naturalistic conception of painting - had become a runaway universe of sign, Baudrillard's 'simulacre' of reality. The painting of Picasso had fallen into the trap of becoming a 'pseudo-language, a caricature of a language that does not reach the level of a signifier of something' (Charbonnier. 1961, p.149). Lévi-Strauss warned against the dangers of transferring to a significant level that which does not exist anymore in that level in pure state: 'An object that is not signifying is promoted to the level of signification' (Charbonnier. 1961, p.150). As an antidote, Lévi-Strauss strongly recommended good knowledge of material culture and a thorough understanding of the way artefacts are produced, which was, according to him, 'the best way to prevent falling into sociological and semiotic verbiage':

'The first thing the student must know is that it is not possible to talk about symbolism or about the significant function of such and such an object without making sure what they are and how they have been made' (Lévi-Strauss, 1987, p. 205).

His admiration for Breton's 'infallible eye for the objects' could have been applied to Rivière's antiquarian background: 'he never allowed anything to come between himself and the object' (Eridon, 1991. p. 41).

It was this fascination for and preoccupation with objects that characterized the early years of the French school of anthropology. The Marcel Mauss lectures on ethnology, the ethno-technology of André Leroi-Gourhan, the musicology of André Schaeffner and the symbolic structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss have all one thing in common: the fascination with objects. As Rivière was to say of Lévi-Strauss 'they all loved objects' (Rivière, 1970c). In contrast with Boas and the American cultural anthropologists of the same generation, French 20th century ethnologists saw in the material expression of human activity the best documents for the understanding of the nature of man. Marcel Mauss defined himself as 'if not an armchair ethnologist, at any rate a museum ethnographer' (Mauss, 1938, p.67). The educational importance for anthropologists of having daily close contact with ethnological objects as part of their professional development was stressed by Lévi-Strauss:

'Anthropological museums are an extension of the field work. In them he comes in close contact with objects: a spirit of humility is inculcated in him by all the small tasks (unpacking, cleaning, maintenance etc) he has to perform. He develops a keen sense of the concrete through the classification, identification and analysis of the objects in the various collections. Through objects he establishes indirect contact with the native environment: texture, form and, in many cases, smells contribute to make him familiar with distant forms of life and activities. Finally, he acquires for the various externalizations of the human genius that respect which cannot fail to be inspired in him by the constant interaction with apparently insignificant objects' (Lévi-Strauss, 1954, p.376).

Similarly Georges Henri Rivière and his sister Thérèse had a lifelong association with objects. According to Germaine Tillion, their most constant ambition was to make the Musée de l'Homme the best museum in the world. Writing about Therèse Rivière, she said:

'There was no single object in the museum underground reserves that she had not cleaned, measured, restored or drawn with talent, and even put cleverly to good use. Parisian by birth, Thérèse had never moved [before 1933] beyond the Place du Trocadéro where she worked and the rue Montmartre where she lived' (Tillion, 2000, p.17).

ESSENTIALIST LITERATURE ON ART

The above representation of popular culture as articulated by the artistic avant-garde must be contrasted with the view of another set of literature frequently quoted by Rivière, and which he himself contributed to consolidate with his museology. In this literature, we can perceive ideas and solutions orbiting around a strong 'essentialist' understanding of the origins of art, rural culture, race and history.
Rivière's contributions to *Cahiers d'Art* and to the Revue *Documents* cast some light on the philosophical affinities of some of his friends and collaborators. Under the direction of Christian Zervos and E.Teriades, Hans Muhlestein was asked to contribute with a series of articles that gave cosmogonical dimension to the creative impulse. The articles intended to be an eclectic view of the state-of the-art understanding on the 'origins of culture' and the 'essence' or Art:[29] 'What were the real origins of art in time? Where were its sources to be found beyond its historical manifestations?' (Muhlestein, 1930, p.61). According to a number of paleo-anthropological hypotheses, the creation of art and religion was the product of a

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[29] Hans Muhlestein draws from a variety of philosophical and theosophical authors such as Simmel, Bergson, Scheller and Nietzsche; cosmogony of the Austrian Engineer and Astronomer Hans Horbiger and the lunar astronomer Philipp Flauth; the African explorer Leo Froebenius, the pre-historian l'Abbe Breuil and the German paleontologist Edgar Daque, supporter of a pre-diluvian humanity. See Cahiers d'Arts, 1930, nos 2,3,5,6).

primordial 'state of mind', a state of mind existing 'in the deep night of time and in the depths of Man' (Muhlestein, 1930, p.66).[30] This state of mind, it was claimed, had survived under the rationality of present-day man: 'It is our great and inalienable heritage coming from the primitive times' (Muhlestein, 1930, p.62).

Fig 13: 'Evolutive definition of jazz' written by the late Rivière in the 'Jazz Revue' (1983).

His 'evolutive definition of jazz' characterized the nature of popular cultures:

'We could say jazz comes originally from the Deep South. However there are as many birth places of jazz as existing countries; it appears whenever a minority group becomes creative under an hegemonic culture. The outcome is a 'cultural hot-spot' that borrows influences from the hegemonic society and from its own ancestral tradition. These cultures are evolutive in time and variable in space. They are the defensive and offensive weapons of social identity. They are the eternal survivors, the product of untraceable and uncountable love encounters, the Darwinist of the musical world, cruel devourers of close cousins and distant relatives. Everywhere, jazz is the outcome of the mixing of the genes of the traveller with the genes of the resident. These casual marriages, made of love, leave behind beautiful and strong children that will, in their turn, mix and multiply and create new species. Jazz is a music asking for participation of action and thinking, springing from the deepest layer of our being, they are the artery and the blood of the physical and cultural body…the music of life. It's not possible to listen to it without the urge to play it, sing it or dance to it. If freely performed it offers anyone who understands it a taste of creativity. In spite of being continuously broadcasted by a increasingly sophisticated media it never loses its soul. Either as syncope, rag, new Orleans, bebop, cool, free jazz or anything past or yet to

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[30] According to the philosophy of Edgar Dake, 'Man is a Ur-phenomenon, a embryonic primordial form of slow development that has survived through time from falling into animality. Man does not descend from monkey, it is the monkeys that are a degenerate descent of the form of man!' See Hans Muhlestein, *Des origines de l'art et la culture: doctrine biologique nouvelles d'Edgar Daque* in Cahiers d'Arts, 1930, pp. 532-536).

come... it adapts successfully to the imposed constraint of modern societies and is today reaching back to some of the original ancestral countries' (Rivière, 1983).

In the same way, according to Dadaist activist Tristan Tzara, pre-Colombian Mexican art 'comes to us from a mysterious great antiquity in which social and religious life meet' (Tzara, 1952, p.303). The ideology of primitivism as interpreted by the artistic avant-gardes believed that this so-called cultural atavism was still active today, not as a dark force but as a refreshing primordial activity in the achievements of contemporary artist and scientist.

ESSENTIALIST LITERATURE ON HISTORY

This essentialist perception of the paleo-origins of art and culture was further supported by an extensive literature claiming an organicist philosophy of history and geography. Following Michelet's metaphor that 'France was a person', it assumed that the 'identity' of France had been fixed from time immemorial by history and the soil. In this context the theories of Gaston Roupnel on *History and Destiny* (Roupnel, 1943) are particularly significant, not only because Rivière quoted him in early texts such as *La France paysanne* (Rivière, 1941), but for the inspiration it later provided to Fernand Braudel's structural theories on long-term and short-term history.[31]

According to Roupnel, history seems to have three superimposed narratives. The most solid elements are at the base, the less significant and most transitory appear in the surface. At the top is the day-to-day historical life, history subjected to contingency of events. Under that surface, according to Roupnell, evolves quieter forces, forces that unite men, forces that shape the framework of societies, shape their structures and regulate their functions. It is however at a deeper level, based on the oldest human remembrances and memories, that the deep currents by which the past has unfolded are to be found and that might help to realize the present and the future (Roupnell, 1943).

Roupnel's interpretation of history assumed that human life was but a prolongation of vegetation and animal life. In the same way as nature constructs the animal kingdom, history is a dark and silent god that, with the solemn gravity of a plutonian divinity, determines the outcome of humanity:

'It is that final humanity, determined from the beginning, that each historical event prepares and that every human life works to construct. History determines us all... multiplies its masses, constructs its societies, organizes its people, develops its systems and empires with the quiet premeditation of the big tree in a forest that produces the multitude of cells that constitute its bark, roots and leaves' (Roupnel, 1942, p.354).

Roupnell's historic determinism was in accordance with an existing literature in which the influence of the geographic naturalism of the School of Geography of Vidal de la Blache was paramount. For Vidal de la Blache, the telluric influence of the soil was the most permanent aspect that influences human identity:

'The history of a nation is inseparable from the place it dwells, the relationship between the soil and Man has in France an authentic and permanent ancient character' (Vidal de la Blache, 1903, p.3).

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[31] On the influence of Gaston Roupnel on Fernand Braudel see Giulianna Gemelli, 1995, 'Fernand Braudel,' Paris, Edition Odile Jacob, p.76 and p.87.

The power and the virtues of the soil were to be the best antidotes to overcome the agitation brought by economic and industrial development:

'Economic revolutions imprint on the human soul an extraordinary amount of restlessness. They awake a crowd of desires, new ambitions, inspire regrets in some and unachievable dreams in others. But that confusion must not make us forget the essence of things. It is the sustained study of what is more permanent in the geography of France that should be our more trusted guide' (Vidal de la Blache, 1903, p 386).

ESSENTIALIST LITERATURE ON THE PEASANT RACE

Alongside the literature on the permanent aspects of history, there was also a literature of glorification of the peasant ancestral soul and the physical bond that unites it to the land. Thus Emanuel Labat, *La Terre, la race, l'école*, (1919); François Mauriac, *La Province*, (1926) identify distinctive psychological traits of the French peasant and sing the moral calibre of the peasant soul.

René Martial, *Les Métis: Études nouvelles sur les migrations, le mélange racial, le croisement des espèces, le renouveau de la race française et la révision de la loi familial*, (Martial, 1942) introduced the new science of anthropo-biology and defined the notion of 'final product race' (Race-résultat), an anthropo-biological notion that would shape French anthropological research until the 1960s. The peasant race was the result of successful interbreeding and had its own 'milieu intérieur' with specific 'termo-genetic' aptitudes which determined, according to Porak, 'its metabolism, body temperature and courage' (Porak, 1943, p.13). According to Rivière, the 'race-resultat' as represented by French peasants was 'the most striking proof of the principle that the mixing of races brought together by chance in the same land produce a better result than a single race' (Rivière, 1941, p.31).

In this line of thinking Rivière thought it convenient to quote in his *La France Paysanne* (Rivière, 1941) from the official presentation of the French pavilion at the 1939 International Exhibition in New York:

'In France it is the peasant that holds the secret of the race. Living in close communion with the plough, the meadow, the trees and the animals, it is he who has the deepest and most direct understanding of the race' (Rivière, 1940, p.32).

ESSENTIALIST LITERATURE ON RURAL CULTURE

The philosophical assumptions of the permanence of the peasant race were matched by the assumption of the slow pace of rural life and culture. For Roupnel, rural life was the outcome of two opposite but complementary activities; one was what he described as 'the lonely and silent daily constant effort, the courage and strength invested in every hour and day, day by day, season by season' (Roupnel, 1932, p.326). The other activity was what he called 'the life of the group'. While daily duties are lonely and silent concerns, life in the community is a self contained universe, 'a small and tightly knitted world, a small humanity, pressed together and condensed in a stretch of soil' (Roupnel, 1932, p.327).

In similar tones, Rivière described how France had received from his peasants three main traits: 'They have shaped its soil, they have formed the soul of its children, and they have ordered the work and their

days' (Rivière, 1941, p.29). This sense of permanence of peasant life was reflected in the 'porticos of our cathedrals' where, under the images of kings and saints, 'we can see the work in the fields of our distant ancestors' (Rivière, 1941, p.19).

Rivière, in his detailed description of local languages, vernacular architecture, rural tools, dances, music instruments and arts and crafts, depicted with nostalgia a society in which working and leisure time were not split (Rivière, 1941). Rural work was implemented according to the cycle of the days and the seasons. The calendar of the year went from seasons of intense activities (May to Saint-John) to the winter quieter season. Winter was the season of the late evenings, which was the winter version of the summer fête: While in the summer it was the time of intense activity, and festivals and fetes were public and concerned the whole community, the winter meant a slowing down of activities. Evenings either in the stable, the kitchen or the communal room became the elementary place of rural sociability. It was the time to listen to the memories of war by old soldiers, stories of ghosts and fiction stories intended for the education of children. Exceptionally there were the communal reading of a newspaper, games, songs, dances and the tasting of chestnuts. (Farcy, 1995). This image of rural culture and life presented in a melancholic mood will become the brand of Rivière's museological displays.

EXTERNALIZATION OF MEMORY: FROM NATURE TO CULTURE

It will be the historical anthropology of Andre Leroi-Gourhan that will give to these two apparently contradictory and politically confronted views of experiencing culture an object-based legitimacy.

Central in Leroi Gourhan's anthropological thinking, and a fundamental feature of the human condition, is the notion of exteriorization of memory. While memory in animals is based in instinct, with the appearance of language and graphism new patterns of behaviour are inserted in human memory. (Leroi-Gourhan, 1965).

With this assumption in mind, Leroi Gourhan constructed a history of collective memory from traditional societies to modern societies as a process of liberation from oral memory into writing memory.

In traditional or ethnic societies, knowledge is inherited and is part and parcel of the community way of life. In these communities, memories are still formed within the narrow channels pre-specialized by genes, natural environment and transmitted body of knowledge. Knowhow, practices and memories are orally shared or celebrated in the calendar year and in moral episodes of daily life. This still non-written language is 'an emotional language, part of general biological origins and part of a very specific code of symbols' (Leroi-Gourhan, 1965, p.207).

Leroi Gourhan described the development of writing as a process by which more and more human activities were recorded. First they were only accounts: records of debts, series of dynasties, oracles. As the systems of notation became more efficient, the keeping of records spread to deeper strata of knowledge. Agriculture cropped up in poems whose main subjects were the seasons, and cosmic space was identified with palaces and temples. Mathematics and music, emerging at the same time as medicine, were the first scientific subjects to be recorded.

What distinguishes human memory from animal memory is the degree of choices:

'The animal's experience uses a small keyboard that has been tuned in advance, leaving practically no room to personal variants, whereas human beings have a large keyboard at their disposal and can assimilate and embroider upon the many series of programmes handed down to them by society' (Leroi-Gourhan, 1993, p.260).

While Man in traditional societies had in common with animals their adaptation to the physical environment out of physical necessity, today adaptation is based on purely symbolic references, and intelligence is understood in the ability of producing symbolic chains. (Gourhan, 1965).

THE PRESENT-DAY RELEVANCE OF THESE CONCEPTS

Though not often recognized as such, Leroi-Gourhan's cultural anthropology has left its mark beyond its direct application in ethno-technology. His concept of externalization and liberation of memory have had a guiding influence on the desconstructivist analysis of French philosopher Jacques Derrida and a supportive theory that justifies the biological foundations of post-modernist analysis[32].

The growing interest in the work of George Bataille has brought about a new perspective on the importance of the revue *Documents: Doctrines, Archeologie, Beaux-Arts, Ethnographie* (1928-1929). It is today considered as the revue where the first ideas of a sociology of alterity were formulated in its philosophical-literary form (Richman, 1982; Clifford, 1988; Thompson, 1995; Hollier, 1995; Bois & Krauss, 1997). As Junger Habermas put it, Bataille intended to develop a concept of culture not based on the reinterpretation and accumulation of old material, but focusing on those elements that evaded 'the methodological grasp of philosophical or scientific rationality and resisted assimilation to the everyday routines and form of bourgeois life' (Habermas 1984, p.79).

The originality of *Documents* was first pointed out by James Clifford in his groundbreaking *On Ethnological Surrealism* (1981), published for the French public as *Ethnologie, Polyphonie, Collage* (Clifford, 1982). In it, Clifford explored the relation between ethnography, literature and art in 20th century France and put *Documents* at the centre of post-modern anthropological analysis. In 1983 Rosalind Krauss's study *No More Play* (Krauss, 1983) on Giacometti would bear fruit with the opening of the Exhibition *Formless* (1997) at the Centre Pompidou in Paris. The exhibition and catalogue was such a success that in 1991 Gradhiva reprinted in two fascimiles the complete set of *Documents* issued between 1929-1930 (Jamin, 1991). In the same line of thought, this search for the nature of alterity in the avant-garde milieu surrounding *Documents* was explored in Sidra Stich's exhibition *Anxious Visions: Surrealist Art*, 1990, at the University Art Museum in Berkeley, California (Stitch, 1990; Brenson, 1990) and in the 1992 colloque organized by the European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Warwick (Thomson. 1995). In 1993 the colloque Bataille après tout was organized at the Musée des Beau-Arts d'Orléans as part of the exhibition *Masson-Bataille* (Hollier, 1995). Finally, the 2006 exhibition *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and Documents* at the Hayward Gallery in London gave evidence of the cultural interest Bataille and *Documents* still hold (Ades & Baker, 2006).

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[32] see Jacques Derrida 'Of Grammatology' 1997, Baltimore & London, Johns Hopkins University Press.

CONCLUSIONS

The rehabilitation of popular culture was central in transforming the cultural perceptions of the French intellectual establishment. Rivière's views of popular culture are reflections of the existing contradictory positions. They seem to have oscillated between essentialist views on the culture of traditional societies and the views of the avant-garde literature on the formation and transmission of culture. Both views were given a theoretical framework by Leroi-Gourhan. His theory of culture has had a significant influence on the subsequent generation of post-structuralist philosophers. However, as we shall see, in spite of Rivière's wholehearted support of the avant-garde and his understanding of culture as a constant interaction of ideas and experiences, this did not have an impact on the way he understood communication in his Musée-Laboratoire. The traditional life he depicted in his museum displays reflected, by and large, a traditional conception of folkore and an essentialist understanding of culture. It will only be with the administrative decentralization and the new hegemony of business orientated culture in the 1980s that the 'reverse hierarchy' in the mode of museum communication will be made a reality (see chapter 12).

CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL MUSEOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

Contents and Objectives: 20th Century museology was partly shaped by a number of museological traditions. The objective of this chapter is the examination of the international museum and heritage scene in the inter-war years, as experienced by Rivière in his fact-finding missions around the Western World. It explores the following points:

Analysis of the Anglo-American museological tradition in French literature and Rivière's experiences in his first trips to America.
Analysis of the Scandinavian tradition of Open-Air Museums.
Analysis of the Museum and heritage German federal tradition.
Analysis of the museological changes in the Soviet Union.

INTRODUCTION

Paul Rivet's courage in appointing a cultural entrepreneur to what was supposed to be an academic post, in what was then called the Musée d'ethnologie du Trocadéro (MET), would prove to be a forward-looking decision. Rivière's imaginative nature and good connections made him the ideal person for the modernization and promotion of what was, at the time, a declining institution. Chronic lack of funds and personnel, unsuitable premises for storage and conservation, plus more than imperfect documentation records had converted the old exhibition building into a true 'magasin de bric-a-brac'.

After his appointment, Rivière started his lifelong travelling around the world. These visits were strongly recommended by national and international museum organizations as a mean of sharing and disseminating ongoing museological experiences. Thus Frank Pick at the 1938 MA Belfast Conference recommended the 'visit to Continental museums and particularly those of the Northern countries' (Pick, 1938, p.290). Years later, Paul Rivet would comment on his decision to send his assistant travelling as part of his fact-finding and networking policy: 'having gathered the courage to start from scratch, we have profited and been extensively inspired by the experience of other countries' (Rivet & Rivière, 1935, p.520). For this purpose, according to Rivet: 'Between 1928 and 1935, Rivière went to study the organization of museums in Sweden (Goteborg and Stockholm), Belgium (Tervueren and Brussels), The Netherlands (Amsterdam, Leiden), Great Britain (London, Oxford, Cambridge, etc), Germany (Berlin, Cologne, Dresden, Munich, Hambourg, etc), Switzerland (Basel, Berne, Neuchatel) and the United States (Washington, New York, Cambridge, Philadelphia etc)' (Rivet & Rivière, 1935, p.520).

Rivière's trips put him in contact with a variety of museum traditions and museological experiences and practices. His correspondence and later comments are evidence of his concerns for what was lacking in the museum culture in France, including the absence of modern art collections in French museums, the exemplary museography of the growing number of open-air museums in Scandinavian countries, the experience of local social history museums in Germany, the popularization of culture for the masses in the Soviet Union, and the heritage preservation and interpretation of the natural environment in the National Parks in the United States.

RIVIÈRE AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADITION

French reactions to the processes of globalization, information and standardization of 'modernity' as represented by the American way of life, have often produced ambiguous and contradictory attitudes swinging between waves of infatuation to periods of acute rejection (Bosquet, 1969; Allen, 1979; Lacorne, 1990; Kuisel, 1993). Rivière often used the mythological image of the two-faced Janus to describe his perception of the USA: one face reflecting the fulfilment and hopes of humanity, while the other evoked every fear and imaginable rejection. In a letter to Jacques Soustelle he praised his visit to the United States with expressions such as: 'Amazing country, this Janus, you find there everything, the best and the worst' (Rivière, 1975).[33]

The almost simultaneous success of the Americophobic Georges Duhamel's *America the Menace: Scenes from the Life of the Future* (Duhamel, 1931) or the Americophile André Siegfried's *America comes to an Age* (Siegfried, 1930) have being explained as part of this contradictory French dialogue between the accepted national self and the rejected other. On the one side, French national identity was associated to community, peasant race, culture and civilization, and was opposed to American mass culture of: 'Sunday drives in the new car, mindless Hollywood movies and mass spectator sports' (Kuisel, 1993, p.12). On the other hand, the United States was perceived as a 'tremendous reservoir of energy and initiative', a 'country of a superior quality' to the old 'economically and intellectually bankrupt' Europe (Kristeva et al, 1977, pp. 4-11). According to this latter view, America (i.e. the United States) was the fulfilment of the ideal of the French Revolution and 'a living witness of the crucial "hic et nunc" of the anthropological adventure' (Morin, 1970, p.250).

AMERICAN MUSEUM LITERATURE IN FRANCE

Before his first trips to the USA, Rivière must have already been acquainted with some of the literature on American museums available in France. When invested as Honorary Fellow of the Smithsonian Institution half a century later, Rivière would recall the unheated offices of the Museum of the Trocadéro, where only the warmth supplied by the glow of the Smithsonian collections gave him a bean of hope (Rivière, 1978). The nature of American museum culture was already known in professional circles in France through articles such as the 1909 series of articles of Louis Réau's *Museums in America* (Reau, 1909), or through the presentations of John Cotton Dana, Mary Abbot and Edward Dummond Libbey at the International Congress of History of Art held in Paris in 1921.[34] Closer to the start of Rivière's museological career were the 1929 contributions to the new Internatonal Museums Office journal *Mouséion* by John Cotton Dana (1929), Charles Faben Kelley (1929) and Ralf Clifton Smith (1929).

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[33] Letter from Jacques Soustelle '...c'est bien d'être allé au EU, étonnant pays, ce Janus, on trouvé tout, du pire au meilleur.' (See George Henri Rivière, 'echanges avex J. Soustelle a propos de son rapport 'ethnologie et anthropologie' (1975)' in ATP GHR Archive).

[34] John Cotton Dana (1856-1929) of the Newarke Museum, Mary Abbot, Head of Education Services in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and Edward Dummond Libbey (1840-1925) President of the Toledo of Ohio Museum and Patron of George Stevens, husband of Nina Spalding Stevens.

This literature was part of the ongoing international debate amongst professionals on the function of modern museums in the 20th century, and on the nature of its modernization. The American experience underlined a number of concerns which were totally alien to European tradition. In contrast with the French Republican notion of museums as places of citizenship, or the UK's Victorian idea of museums as places of improvement and antidotes to the relaxation and drinking of public houses, Reau observed that the main originality of American museums was their focus on popular culture (Reau, 1909). This analysis, based on the writings of Benjamin Yves Gilman (1852-1933), Secretary of the Boston Museum, stressed the importance of making museums true democratic institutions, as the American church and school had been in the past. On the same lines, in 1921 Dana developed the idea of 'living museum' in which the nature of the museum collection was the best way to improve the relationship between museums and the community: 'Objects in a museum should cover all the areas of life from the arts and crafts, industries, pure and applied sciences, to the simple manufacture of goods' (Dana, 1921).

RIVIÈRE'S FIRST TRIP TO AMERICA

Rivière's first direct experience of the American museum environment coincided with his short-lived marriage to the American cultural activist and museum professional Nina Spalding Stevens (1877-1959). The ceremony took place in the 16th Arrondissement, Paris, on 29 January 1929 and the couple travelled to New York in the liner 'Paris' for their honeymoon. According to the written reports held in the Rivière Archives in the Musée de l'Homme, on this first visit to the United States he visited the Museum of Natural History in New York, the Peabody Museum, the University of Harvard, the Museum of Anthropology, Chicago, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington and the Museum of Indian American in Pennsylvania (Gorgus, 2003). These museums epitomized the work and the spirit of the pioneers of the 19th century museum movement in America. While in France the initial cultural initiative approved by the Constitutive Assembly in the Revolutionary years of the end of the 18th century gradually succumbed into long periods of lethargy, the American museum movement after the Civil War (1861 – 1865) had already developed the two contradictory approaches still important today in museum criticism: the priority of the collection versus the priority of the public (Orosz, 1990).

The first-hand acquaintance with the work and spirit of the pioneers of the museum movement in America, with its many years of museum criticism, must have given him an enriching perspective on the practice of his newly-acquired profession. The trip to the States must have also have made him aware of the growing importance that cultural heritage and tourism was going to have in the 20th century. Cultural tourism, considered in Europe a matter of enlightened minorities, was for the first time being thought through, in the language of his time, 'for the benefit of the masses' as in the popular museums of the major cities and the opening up of the natural and cultural heritage of the National Parks.

Increasingly, American museums were not limited to masterpieces and objects of art, but extended their collections to all areas of human activity. The typological tradition started to be displaced by its contextualization in the natural and social environment. The 'encyclopedia' notion of permanent display was being overtaken by the practice of mounting temporary exhibitions, which were proving to be the best means to catch the attention and interest of the public.

Though these practices were far from being universally applied, they represented a welcome innovative approach in a growing number of these institutions. In his contribution to the d' Ezepiel and Hilaire enquiry, Fiske Kimbal, Director of the Museum of Art in Philadelphia, had listed, in addition to the Museums of New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and Washington, the new museums and galleries of Worcester, Providence, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, Detroit, Minneapolis, Saint-Louis, Kansas City and Los Angeles, (Kimbal, 1931, p.45).

Beyond the important inspiration that American museums may have had on Rivière and his time, the most immediate benefits of Rivière's trip to the United State were to establish a network of friends, acquaintances and colleagues of his new wife, many of whom had important positions in American cultural life, such as Blake-More Godwin and Otto Wittman of the Toledo (Ohio) Museum, and Chauncey J. Hamlin, President of the Science Museum, Buffalo (New York), already an important member of the American Association of Museums and the future founder and first President of ICOM (Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002, p.502).

WHO WAS NINA SPALDING STEVENS?

At the time of their marriage in 1929, Nina Spalding Stevens was the widow of George Stevens, who had recently died in 1927. He has been described as 'poet, amateur astronomer, painter, story teller and journalist' and was reputed by his contemporaries to be 'the best beloved man in Toledo' (www.toledocitypaper.com). Nina Spalding herself had been educated at the School of Applied Design for Women and the Art Students League in New York. The Museum of Art of Toledo was founded in 1901 by a group of artists including George Stevens, and quickly became a centre of life and activity under the leadership of the Stevenses. According to their biographer:

'The Stevenses threw themselves into building community support for the museum, encouraging newspapers to write articles about the museum and its art, speaking to civic groups, and developing programmes with schools.The museum started without a permanent collection as a venue for temporary exhibitions and daily talks and hands-on sessions on drawing and photography.' (www.toledocitypaper.com).

The biography written by Nina of her husband George Stevens is the best introduction to their understanding of the social mission of art museums, a vision that was only to become a reality in the rest of the Western world in the late 1960s. An art museum, according to Georges Spalding, was to provide new perspectives to the 'minds and hands' of 'ordinary people with no predilections for the arts':

'The minds that conceive the design of things in use, the pots, the kettles, the bottles, up to the furniture, the facades, fences, boulevards, parks and city plans' (Spalding Stevens, 1944, p.13).

Soon the Women's Art Club, the Art Students' Guild and the Camera Club held weekly workshop in the museum. In her anecdotal and intimate style, Nina Spalding described in her biography the everyday life in the Museum of Art of Toledo of Ohio: 'All that day, groups of children kept on coming for music

lectures, for lessons in colour and design, for art history, for educational motion picture' (Spalding Stevens, 1944, p.12). The Stevenses were also keen on the wonders of nature in the spectacularity of the American National Parks, as revealed by Nina Spalding in her story of a journey to the Grand Canyon of Arizona (Spalding Stevens, 1911).

INDEPENDENT STATUS AND SYSTEM OF TRUSTEES

Rivière's alert mind could not fail to notice the stark differences existing between the American and French systems of museums. From a French point of view, the American museum model could be described as 'decentralized', an entity whose independence and self-reliance defines its legal structure, organization, hierarchy of powers, modes of funding and social insertion. According to Rivière 'while in France, public museums are one of the gains of the Revolution, in the United States, the War of Independence allowed the flowering of public collections created and managed by private organizations and local communities' (Rivière, 1991, p.194). The very different legal status was attributed by Rivière to two different traditions:

In Europe, except for the United Kingdom, the tendency is for museums to be owned and run by the State. In America the system of patrons and trustees is the basis of museum management, though powerful museum associations control their influence. (Rivière, 1989, p.58).

'Though not every American museum met the progressive criteria of a talented minority, most museums Rivière visited in his first trip seem to have been those which were the outcome of half a century of socially aware innovation. In his courses of museology he liked to highlight the founding dates of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (1890) and the American Museum of Natural History (1871), which he considered two major events in the history of the institution of museums. 'They were the beginning of a new period, characterized by enlightened patrons, belonging to an Association and with a Council of Trustees' (Rivière, 1989, p.55).

MULTIPLICITY OF ACTORS AND SOCIAL INSERTION

In its first year of publication, the organ of the International Museums Office of the League of Nations Mouséion published a series of articles to introduce its European public to the American museum system. Coleman highlighted the importance of the complex system of motivations and the multiplicity of actors converging in American museums. The success of American museums, according to Coleman (1927), was partly due to the amount and diversity of their resources, with both private donations and public funding: 'This puts the museum trustees in the necessity of continuously looking for new sources of funding.' Continuing, he attributed the greater civic orientation of the American museum to its administrative regime administered by a Committee of Trustees:

'Each Trustee is at the same time a businessman and a citizen who assumes his responsibilities to the community. At the top is the Board of Trustees, responsible for drawing up and enforcing the museum mission statement, and made up of volunteers chosen by their peers, for their knowledge, expertise and social standing. They are the permanent 'owner' of the museum on behalf of the public. The Board delegates to paid professional staff the daily matters and the implementation of the mission statement. The museum director and museum staff are recruited from professionals with the pertinent knowledge or skills: art historians, scientists, conservation experts, teachers, accountants, funding experts, public

relations, and communication and publicity officers. Assisting the museum professional staff are Committees for every area of the administration (finances, acquisition, development, programmes, special events). They also set up policy guidelines and facilitate the monitoring of the decisions made and carried out by the museum staff. Alongside the permanent staff an extensive number of volunteers offer their services to the museum, either individually or/and through contributions though groups of friends. The benefits of this type of organization and management on the creation of strong bonds between the museums and the community have often been pointed out' (Coleman, 1927).

AMERICAN PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS

The long and complex relationship between American philanthropic foundations and the development of European social sciences has being extensively researched (Arnove, 1980; Bermann, 1983; Mazon, 1988; Gemelli, 1998; Tournès, 2002). With the formation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1910, these cultural relations were institutionalized and became part of the diplomacy of ideas of the US foreign policy (Ninkovich, 1981). The international promotion of 20th century modernization of museums by the Carnegie Foundation around the world, notably in the United Kingdom, was particularly important. In the UK Carnegie commissioned a series of expert reports with guidelines and recommendations, including those of Miers (1928) on British provincial museums, and Lowe (1928) on the lessons to be learned from recent American museum developments, particularly in educational services in museums. In the following years Carnegie began to provide grants for both museum renewal and improvement and for the training of professional and technical staff through the Museums Association's new Museums Diploma training scheme.

In the same way, the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations started to support the social sciences by granting fellowships to young researchers with the hope to constitute an 'elite' that would support their ideals to improve 'the progress and well-being of humanity according to democratic principles. One aim was to help institutional and political changes in European countries that might immunize them against Communism' (Drouard, 1996, p.7). In the 1930s the Rockefeller Foundation sponsored research projects in Paris for the *Centre de documentation sociale* and the *Institutes of Ethnology, Geography and Comparative Law*. Amongst the research projects sponsored were the *Enquiry of rural dwelling* directed by Albert Demangeon (1872-1940); the Enquiries on Rural Folklore, Harvest Rites, the Art of the Blacksmith, and on popular cooking directed by Lucien Febvre and his assistant Varagnac between 1935 and 1940. Over the same period, Rockefeller also funded the various international missions and research work carried out through the Institute of Ethnology by Marcel Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl[35] and Paul Rivet.

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[35] Lucien Lévy Bruhl (1857-1939), professor of modern history and philosophy at the Sorbonne. The 'evolutive' nature of his thinking and the issues he choose to highlight epitomised the philosophical and epistemological concerns of his generation. In his book 'La Morale et la science des moeurs,' 1903, he set out to overcome abstract and universal conceptions of morality and focused on the different moralities that shaped the behaviour of men in different societies. In a similar manner that Emile Durkeim concentrated on elementary forms of societies to set the foundations of his sociology, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl concentrated on modes of thinking of archaic or primitive societies to construct his theory of mentalities. In a succession of groundbreaking books 'Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures,' 1910, 'La mentalite primitive,' 1922, 'L'Ame primitive,' 1927, he initially started by attributing to 'primitive mentality' a pre-logic and mystic character, impervious to logical contradictions and based on the principle of participation, that made it different in nature from the intellectual rationalizationof present day societies. In his following books 'Le Surnaturel et la Nature dans la mentalite primitive,' 1931, 'La Mythologie primitive', 1935, 'L'Experience Mystique st les Symboles chez les primitives,' 1938, he nuanced his views and came to distinguish both rational logic and affective participation as two complementary approaches to knowledge, part of the 'permanent structures of human nature' existing in every human being and in every society. What the study of archaic

Research funding was also granted to Marcel Griaule, André Leroi-Gourhan, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Curt Sach, Jacques Soustelle, Germaine Tillon and Thérése Rivière. (Mazon, 1988, p.55).

'PREHISTORY' OF THE IDEA OF THE ECOMUSÉE

After his first trip to the United States in 1929, Rivière returned in 1939, representing France as Joint Commissioner at the 1939 World Fair in New York (Rivière, 1938e). This visit to New York seemed to have triggered his long reflection on the best way to approach the activity of nature and the traces of human activity. Much later he recalled his visit to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where his interest was caught by a series of dioramas illustrating successive periods of human occupation of the same territory in the State of New York: 'I consider this synthesis of geographical, social and cultural facts, starting in geological times and ending in the present day, as the origin of my concept of Ecomusée' (Rivière, 1978). He was to elaborate on this in one of his many unpublished papers: 'Since then, two notions in relation to museums started to grow in my mind: the interpretation of a given territory around the notions of time and space showing the inter-relationship of man and nature' (Rivière, 1978b).

AMERICAN NATIONAL PARKS

The trend of thought triggered by the dioramas in the New York Museum of Natural History would be taken a further step with the already long-established American idea of the National Park:

As Rivière recalled 'The museographical presentation of the evolution of a territory in the State of New York, and the parckological experiences I have witnessed in the USA, helped me to improve these notions of natural and human space and time' (Rivière, 1978, np).

Between the years 1950 and 1953, as Director of ICOM, Rivière further elaborated on this notion in a series of editorials published in *ICOM News* aiming at the development of integrated museums of natural and human history, in which the relation of man and nature from geological time was to be framed by periods.

In his notes, held in the G.H. Rivière Archives in the MNATP, for the special issue 'Museums and the Environment' (Rivière 1973b) for the UNESCO journal *Museum*, Rivière put forward the Yellowstone National Park and the King's Mountain National Park as privileged institutions that protected the geological and zoological wealth of these sites and favoured the interpretation of the environment.[36] The idea behind the American National Park movement may have seemed to Rivière to be an accomplished fulfilment of many of the solutions that the France of the Third Republic was trying to put into practice: a new attitude to the land, acquaintance with rural France, and the tourist development of the country.

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societies shows is the importance of an aspect of human thinking that has been obliterated in civilization in which pure intellectual thinking prevails. The evolution of his thinking became clear with the publication of his diaries. In this context the purpose of cognitive anthropology is to give to the human mind the possibility of confronting 'radical alterity,' that is, the possibility of acquiring 'habits' of knowledge that lay beyond the aspects of reality provided by his own society. (Affergan, 1987, 1991; Keck, 2000).

[36] See Dossier 'Musee et Environment: Mr Trivich', ATP Archives, Box 84.

INTERPRETATION AND NATIONAL PARKS

Rather than the conservation and tourist management of vast areas of unspoilt natural areas, Rivière's permanent interest in global cognitive synthesis and 'total realities' must have found a strong affinity with Tilden's principle by which interpretation should involve both specialized knowledge and 'subjective' understanding . The new techniques of interpretation, developed in National Parks in the United States and Canada as means to increase visitor's awareness, understanding and appreciation of the natural environment, were articulated in Freeman Tilden's classic book *Interpreting our Heritage* (Tilden, 1957). These principles of interpretation involved the creation of visitor centres, trailside museums and diverse activities such as guides, actors, games, signs, story telling, slide shows and films.

The interpretation centres not only provided the more practical needs of the visitor but 'must have as its main concern to explain the significance of a landscape, natural site or monument, and foster an understanding and awareness of how the area has changed and why it looks as it does today' (Rivière, 1978b). It was also to act as a link to a site, to provide orientation and an overview, to encourage visitors to widen their experience through other activities such as self-guided trails.

THE LIGHT OF THE NORTH: THE SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE

Rivière's connection with Scandinavian and Baltic museums and particularly with open-air museology was key in the formation of many aspects of his notion of heritage and museographical presentations. Throughout his life, Rivière would recall what he called the 'beam of light coming from the North': 'It was in 1929 with my visit to the Museum of general ethnography in Goteborg, at the dawn of my museum career, that I first experienced this beam of light' (Rivière, 1978c, p.2). As he reported in a letter to Paul Rivet: 'The honesty and scrupulous cleanliness of Scandinavians museums, with not a trace of the insects so frequent in Paris museums, is one of many examples to follow.' After long hours in the Goteborg museum with director Erland Nordenskiold, he praised the 'marvels of sciences and of patience' on display: 'I must confess I have never seen anything alike in the many museums I have visited. Such ingeniosity at small cost is more efficient than all the splendours that can often be seen. It is an excellent lesson to learn' (Rivière, 1929d, p.22). In 1937 Rivière invited the Nordiska Museet to display the exhibition 'The Folklore in Sweden' in the premises of the Musée de l'Homme, which he presented as an example to follow by the future museum of ethnology of France. After Goteborg, Rivière spent three days in Stockholm where he visited the Nordiska Museet and the Open-Air Museum at Skansen founded in 1891 by Artur Hazelius and Sigurd Erixon.[37]

In 1936 he was sent on a fact-finding mission to Denmark by the director of Beaux-Arts Georges Huisman, where he visited the Frielands Open-air museum in Sorgenfri and the National Museum of Denmark. Rivière later remarked 'Sorgenfri and the peasant culture rooms in the National Museum of

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[37] For more on the relationship between the Scandinavian folklore of Erixon and the Arts et Traditions Populaires of Rivière see Rogan, Bjarne, 2008, *Une alliance fragile*, Sigurd Erixon, George Henri Rivière et l'erhnologie européenne d'avant-guerre, *Ethnologie française*, vol 38, no 4, 2008, pp.701-710.

Copenhagen are among the places which inspired me and I still remember as the most enduring of my

National and International experience' (Rivière, 1979, p.3). According to Rivière Sorgenfri was:

'The master of the master in the art of relocating buildings… With an appointed permanent architect, there is no Open-air museum in the world with better knowledge to dismount, repair, rebuild a building, wood log by wood log, tile after tile, brick by brick, mullion by mullion' (Rivière, 1978c, p.6).[38]

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[38] Marc Maure has been particularly interested in the continuing Scandinavian influences on Rivière and the wider museum world. See Marc Maure, *La naissance des musées d'ethnographie dans les pays scandinaves* (1870-1904), and Marc Maure, *Nation, paysan et musée*, On-line URL: http://terrain.revues.org/document3065.html, *Terrain, no. 20, July 2005*.

UNDER THE SPELL OF HAZELIUS: FOLKLORE AND MATERIAL CULTURE AS NATIONAL IDENTITY
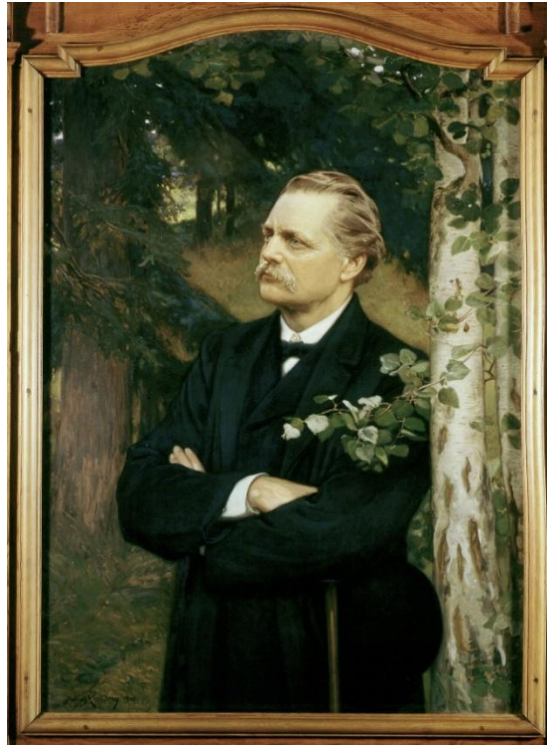
Fig 14: Artur Hazelius (1833-1901)

Swedish scholar and folklorist, creator and inspirer of of the open-air museum movement

What Rivière came across in his trips to Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark and Holland was fifty years of development of ethnographical museology, as represented by the ideals of Swedish museologist Artur Hazelius. While in France, Fine Art museums and heritage had become the foundation of a new cultural identity (Poulot, 1997), in Scandinavian countries national identity, as manifested in its material culture, was promoted by museums of ethnography. As Maure has commented: 'In these countries, in contrast with other European countries, it is traditional rural culture that had a bonding role in the formation of their national identities' (Maure, 1993). By 1938 Rivière was already recommending his students in the École du Louvre to visit the folklore museums in Tartu, Riga, Tallinn, Oslo, Helsinki, 'whose creation preceded the independence of these nations' (Rivière, 1938, p.8).

The fascination this kind of museology had on Rivière was shared in part by his whole generation. Museological articles, enquiries and reports published in the 20s and 30s show the international prestige of Scandinavian museography. The need to promote regional and local ethnographical museums on the lines of its open-air museology was amongst the recommendations made by the journal *Mouséion* on the

multiplication and modernization of museums (Destrée, 1928).[39] After the International Conference of Popular Arts and Ethnography held in Prague in October 1928, Mouséion also published a description of existing museums of popular arts. Their spatial arrangements and innovative methods of displaying, storage and techniques of lightning were praised by the Museums Association of Great Britain in 1938 (Stendall, 1938).

In France it would be the historian Marc Bloch who expressed best the perception of Scandinavian folklore and phenomenon of open-air museums. In tune with the prevalent conception of the Primitivist ideology, and after a trip through Norway, Denmark and Sweden Bloch wrote in 1930:

'The deep, almost heathen, sense for nature, that in these countries, under its Christian and protestant layer, often appears as a survival of old ages… is not in these countries the product of romanticism… Almost everywhere, ancient peasant customs have survived, with an authenticity and a purity that we could not find in France, not even in Bretagne and the Massif Central. Tradition there is not only not far off, but still alive, with its own technology and ancestral decoration, ready to be fixed for posterity in a museum' (Bloch, 1930, p.251).

What was new in Hazelius's efforts from the 1880s onwards had been the inclusion, in his collecting, of object-based collections of rural material culture. While the romantic folklore tradition in most European countries concentrated mainly on the recording of oral culture embedded in folktales and sayings, Hazelius also included the collection of 'old costumes, furniture, furnishing, tools, paintings, music, dances, so that the culture they represented could be preserved, studied and understood' (Alexander, 1995, p. 233). Along with his colleagues in the Pan-Scandinavian movement, he started collecting materials and studying the oral cultures of Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden. He included in the concept of folk not only the rural, but: 'the urban, the noble, the merchant and the professional man, the craft workers and the peasant' (Alexander, 1995, p.233). Hazelius opened his holdings to the public on October 1873 as the 'Museum of Scandinavian Ethnography'.

THE NORDISKA MUSEET AND SKANSEN OPEN-AIR MUSEUM

Visiting Paris for the 1889 World Exhibition, Hazelius had been inspired by what was to become common practice in these kinds of World Exhibitions: the display of replicas of vernacular dwellings and the presence of the African and Oriental natives performing their daily domestic tasks. The experience seemed to have given Hazelius the idea of expanding his collection of objects and start collecting rural dwellings. Back in Stockholm, he decided to reorganize his 'Museum of Scandinavian Ethnography' and create instead two complementary museums, an indoors museum - the Nordiska Museet - and an outdoor site called 'Skansen' which would act a section of the former. The Nordiska Museet, of which the permanent building was completed and opened in 1907, presented the Scandinavian collection in the splendour of Hazelius's former exhibition skills, and in what proved so be groundbreaking display:

'Twenty one rooms devoted to peasant life in Sweden, seven rooms to Finland, Denmark, Schleswig, Lapland and Greenland, Five rooms and storerooms gathering the crafts produced by corporations and

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[39] The significance of Mouséion, particularly in its first decade, was stressed by Albert S. Henraux in his introduction to the Musées et Expositions section of the 1937 Paris Exposition Internationale: 'In 1926 the Institute of Intellectual Cooperaton started the publication of the revue Mouseion… It is to this date we can trace back the official birth of the science of Museography with its rules and laws.'

guilds; twenty rooms focusing on the material culture of higher classes of society.' (Alexander, 1995, p.247).

The open-air museum 'Skansen' opened to the public in 1891, and its success in terms of number of visitors was immediate. The collection of objects classified and exhibited in cases and in an enclosed environment was superseded by open spaces that intended to interpret the collection in its original context.

CLASSIFICATION OF OPEN-AIR MUSEUMS

Rivière, in his classification of Open-air museums, described their evolution from a bare collection of buildings to centres of environmental conservation and regeneration. The initial idea was just the displacement of disused buildings to a chosen site without giving particular attention to matching styles or periods or reproducing the original natural environment they came from. This was the case of the traditional buildings originally removed to Skansen:

'Placed around the tract in no meaningful order, not arranged by province or constituting a true village. The interior was furnished and decorated with great respect for authenticity. The exterior setting, while composed of native plants, did not try to reproduce exactly the crops and gardens that would have been found on the original sites' (Alexander, 1995, p.251).

This first generation of Open-air museums were formally described by Rivière as 'type A': the 'offspring of conventional landscaping culture: pretty and attractive in the best of cases, unrealistic at its worst' (Rivière, 1978b, p.4). These arrangements were considered suitable to present regional or national collections of dwellings in relatively small spaces. The ethical requirement of this practice was never to touch or interfere on an active farm or building, never to destroy something that was part of the agricultural life of the locality (Rivière, 1978b, p.3). Such collections of buildings with their appropriate furniture and equipment correspond to the definition of Open-air museums published by ICOM News in 1957:

a) Museums open to the public

b) Composed, as a rule, of elements of popular and pre-industrial architecture: the dwelling of farmers, shepherds, fishermen, craftsmen, shopkeepers and labourers, with their outhouses, places of business, shops and, in general, a variety of examples of rural, urban, secular, ecclesiastic, private or public architecture of this kind. (ICOM News, 1957).

This definition covers the first generation of folk museums. However, the expansion of industrial archaeology all over the Western world since the 1970s was not taken into account: site museums of industrial history which began to emerge in the 1960s and 1970s, such as Ironbridge in England and Le Creusot- Montceau-les mines in France, are not covered by this definition.[40]

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[40] The 1957 definition of Open-air museums considered future developments: 'Will eventually consist of examples of architecture, which has not been possible to preserve in situ, along with architectural examples dating from the industrial era. The open-air museum normally also provide facilities for the education and amenities of the visitor' (ICOM News, 1957).

However, the open-air museum philosophy, with its emphasis on buildings and material culture, was overtaken by Rivière's concerns on the natural environment. Rivière's 'Type B Open-air museums' were those created in situ and with their original geological, climatic, botanic, zoological and environmental conditions. This was reflected in the conclusions of the ICOM-supported 'Museum and the Environment' symposium of 1972, sponsored by the French Ministry of the Environment. The aim of an Open-air museum would be:

- To bring about an inter-disciplinary study of that natural environment in all its aspects of heritage, and of cultural and natural development, stressing the transformations of the systems and relationships that constitute the environment;

- Establishing documentation concerning that environment, either created by the museum or borrowed from other useful sources, but accessible to all;

- To establish an acquisition policy for typological series and an ecological collection of objects and specimens representative of that environment;

- To communicate to the public the cultural assets thus collected directly in the form of permanent, temporary or travelling exhibitions or through 'kits' completed if necessary by audio-visual means, so as to present the environment in time and space, and to promote active participation on the part of those touched by the exhibitions, indirectly through written or verbal texts, radio or television and other mass media;

- To encourage the population of that environment to react to all these museum activities, and to assist in the continuous development of that environment;

- To give these various activities the widest possible scope within the museum premises, with the public, and outside the museum premises through contact with the local people. (ICOM News, vol. 25, 1972, p.174-6).

This kind of project was considered by Rivière altogether more complex than the mere reconstitution of buildings. Their preservation was interdisciplinary and multi-professional, involving the conservation or restoration of the original landscape, vernacular flora and fauna. Because of their potentially large sites they also need much more careful planning, with a close evaluation of their suitability, representativeness and distribution.

LIVING HISTORY & LIVE INTERPRETATION

From the beginning of his work in the late 19th century, Hazelius encouraged the live interpretation of the past ways of life and skills. Guides and caretakers wore period costumes and domestic crafts were demonstrated in the buildings, reproducing the sounds, skills and aromas of traditional trades, e.g. baking, spinning, weaving, needlework, candle and soap making, cheese production and other activities. Several restaurants were set up and served traditional Swedish food; folk music enlivened the old houses; open-air theatre was performed in the summer; seasonal festivities marked moments of history, such as the national traditional festivals of Walpurgis Night (April 30) and Midsummer Eve (June 23); and, before Christmas, 'Boys were clothed in white with illuminated candles' (Alexander, 1992, p.252). As Rivière recalled from his visits to Open-air museums:

'We can see in them [the new living history museums] old mills, craftsmen's workshops and a real church in which anyone can get married. Women in regional costumes look after the houses and its furnished interiors, and spin and weave in front of the public. A family of Lapps brings to life a nomad camp.

Nearby a zoo and a restaurant that offers gastronomic specialities from the different Swedish provinces' (Rivière, 1936, p.64).

These kinds of activities have often being criticized by social and political commentators as inclined to present too beautiful, too neat and clean a picture of the past, to romanticize its great personages and important happenings and to appeal too much to the nostalgia of the present day visitor. They often omitted or played down the ugly features of the age they presented, the grinding hard work, pervading poverty, injustice of serfdom, slavery of working class and the ravages of diseases. They also had the problem of freezing a moment or a short time period of the past, of failing to show the development and the flow of history. (Alexander, 1995).

Back in 1944 he had doubts about turning the population into a tourist attraction: 'What cannot be sustained is to turn peasants and their way of life into a zoo just to please the traveller and to promote tourism' (Rivière & Maget, 1944, p.7). With the years, however, there was a clear change in Rivière's attitude toward the recreation of an idyllic view of peasant society. By 1978, Rivière's reservations about presenting an idyllic view of peasant society and highlighting the aesthetic criteria over the harshness of everyday rural life were not so strict: 'Today, better informed on the condition of development of National Museum of Denmark, I start to doubt the legitimacy of these criticisms' (Rivière, 1978c, p.7). His concerns on the priority to be given to a realistic representation of social and economic condition gave way to museographical sound practices. Having witnessed many examples of live interpretation, Rivière seemed to be impressed by the attention to details in reconstruction of interiors, the realism of the re-enactment of techniques and crafts, and the professional competence of performances of historical events. The costumes used were, however, not to be originals, which were to be kept and preserved as museum objects. (Rivière, 1978c).

RE-ENACTMENT OF PAST TECHNOLOGIES

As dedicated followers of Marcel Mauss, Rivière and his generation tried all their lives to find a museological framework for the conservation and re-enactment of traditional gestures as represented in dancing, songs, institutional rituals, craftsmen's skills and technological knowhow, which were disappearing at a faster rate than the objects and ceremonies they produced. In the search for a 'structural museology' Rivière highlighted two domains: a symbolic domain in which the formal comparisons of object would find their universal meaning (Lévi-Strauss, 1975) and the phenomenology of gesture and movement that found their expression in the ethno-musicology of André Schaeffner and the ethno-technology of André Leroi-Gourhan (Schaeffner, 1936; Leroi-Gourhan, 1936, 1943, 1945, 1964).

While the systematic accumulation of objects, proposed by Lévi-Strauss, seemed to find its home in the storerooms and displays of a traditional museum, Open-air museums offered a perfect framework for a museology of gesture in which these activities could be re-enacted:

'Technical activities such as field cultivation, animal stock breeding, forge activities, pottering turning, spin and weaving, bread making and baking recommendable? Yes, absolutely, if we take into consideration the success of these sorts of animation, especially on the young' (Rivière, 1978, p.5).

WILD AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS

From the beginning Skansen contained a zoo. Hazelius stocked his open-air museum not only with domestic animals, goats, cattle, sheep, reindeer, geese, ducks, chickens and the like, but with cages and enclosures with wild animals such as elks, bears, lynxes, wolves, storks, representing the Swedish fauna (Alexander, 1995, p.252). The presence of poultry and domestic animals such as cows, sheep and horses would be incorporated by Rivière in his open-air museum museography as a form of protection of endangered races' domestic animals. Following the example of the Danish Natural Parks, Rivière recommended using 'the appropriate methods to attract wild local and migratory birds, such as open giant cages that avoid the sense of captivity, and set up alongside trails and bird observation posts' (Rivière, 1978, p.6).

When, in the 1970s, the museography of Open-air museums was adapted in France to serve the concept of the Ecomusée, Rivière argued that wild and domestic life were to be part of their policy of environmental conservation and breed production. Thus, in the Ecomuseum of the Island of the Ouessant, a programme to save the threatened traditional local sheep was one of one of the missions of the Ecomuseum which soon became a genetic bank of certain species. In the same way, in the Ecomusée des Landes, endangered species of sheep which had been very important for the economy of the country became part of the overall museological programme, and a genetic site was presented as a museological 'antenna'. A programme for the protection of chicken and poultry was organized, with the assistance of scientific organizations such as the *National Centre for Scientific Research* and the *National Agronomic Institute*. (Rivière, 1976b). (See also Rivière, 1978, Appendix I).

VISITORS AND INTERPRETATIVE CENTRES, OUTDOOR TRAILS AND PATHS

In 1978 Rivière's described the new visitor centre of the Danish National Museum's Sorgenfri Open-air museum, founded in 1897, as a good example of what he considered a state-of-the-art museography, introducing with texts, maps, graphics and models of the various dwellings and outbuildings to be seen in the open-air visit. Commenting on recent developments, he wrote:

'Open-air museums, parks and Ecomuseums set up interpretation centres in which the systematic exhibitions of agro-pastoral, crafts, domestic or ritual objects are presented alongside the living activities performed in the open air. Others go even further, and in one single building display the whole evolution in which the synchronic presentation of the territory is given a diachronic approach: the visitor can follow the whole evolution of the territory from geological times' (Rivière, 1978b, p.6-8).

Trails and paths were to be laid out, signposted with environmentally friendly information boards and complemented with the distribution leaflets.

DIFFICULTIES OF IMPORTING THESE IDEAS TO FRANCE

According to Rivière, Huisman sent him in 1936 to Sorgenfri in a fact-finding mission to study the possibility of 'creating a similar institution in France, in the Park of Chambord, in the heart of the Loire

country.' Rivière seemed to have soon realized the difficulties of importing the Scandinavian Open-air museum idea to France. As Marc Bloch had remarked before, 'Everywhere in Scandinavia (except Denmark) vernacular dwellings are in wood: to dismount them and reconstruct it is not such a difficult task' (Bloch, 1930, p.251). Most vernacular buildings of Scandinavia and the Baltic were well preserved in the dry cold climate, and comparatively easy to remove. In contrast, in France rural architecture is made of extremely diverse materials coming from the locality: stone, brick, earth and straw walls, etc. To dismantle, transport and reconstruct many of these kinds of materials could not be considered. In addition, the extreme number of existing types and styles across France made the idea of national Open-air museum impracticable. Rivière's recommendation at the end of his 1936 mission to Denmark was that 'the idea would not be suitable for France' (Rivière, 1978c, p.3). Instead he seemed to have started to work on the idea of a 'Museum of Popular and Traditonal Art' which was to become the MNATP, and which he envisaged serving as a synthesis and headquarters for a network of regional Open-air museums across France:

'I have thought of creating in Paris a museum of synthesis, a centre with a programme of activities complementary to those of regional museums: each one must develop according to its own methods, its topography, its resources and genius. For this synthesis we will get inspiration on the example of the Museum of the Walloon Life and the Museum of Rhenania. This museum of synthesis will have a documentation centre that will direct the specialist to the provinces' (Rivière, 1936, p.68 - 69).

DUAL ORGANIZATIONS

Although the idea of moving French rural buildings was judged by Rivière impracticable, what seems to have caught his early attention was Hazelius's concept of the complementary role and organization of the outdoor and the indoor sections of folk museums. In Stockholm, the Nordiska Museet provided proper processing, storage and conservation of objects, broad service to scholars, and scientific research and publication, while Skansen, its outdoor counterpart, stressed popular education, with much reliance on sensory perception. (Alexander, 1995, p. 249).

In the National Museum of Copenhagen, Rivière 'admired the rich collection of objects, the room interiors wisely selected, dismounted and reconstructed' (Rivière, 1978c, p.7). In the Frilands open-air museum in Sorgenfri (1897) he admired the collection of farmsteads, cottages, rural dwellings and farm outbuildings which had been brought from their original sites and equipped with traditional furniture, utensils and implements. As Rivière later remarked, both museums complemented each other:

'The two projects are in fact one, which like twin mirrors reflect one another to infinity... the rooms in display in the National Museum of Copenhagen presented the material culture of the dwellings in Sorgenfri… these rooms have been reconstituted with rescued household interiors, costumes, representative objects of traditional hunting and fishing techniques, customs and changing ways of life' (Rivière, 1978c, p.3).

RIVIÈRE AND THE GERMAN WORLD

The German cultural scene seemed to hold a strong attraction on Rivière. He first went to Germany in Christmas 1931, apparently escorting the Minister for the Colonies Paul Reynaud on his so-called 'tourist trip' to Berlin. Encouraged by his Parisian connections (e.g. David David-Weil, Georges Wildenstein and

Henry Kahnweiller), Rivière became close to certain financial circles, such as Alfred Flechtheim and the banker Baron Eduard Freiherr von der Heydt. Flechtein was the representative of Henry Kahnweiller in Germany and 'the mediator in the loans given to the MET through the von der Heydt Bank' (Gorgus, 2003; Gonzalez Lovera, 2002). The Baron von der Heydt was active in Amsterdam and London, and a keen collector of both modern painting and Chinese, African and Indian objects. Both men shared many interests, and soon Rivière was invited to the magnificent von der Heydt mansion in the Dutch city of Zaandvoort. According to Nina Gorgus, the baron's inclinations could be considered 'neo-conservative' and his relations with National Socialism 'ambiguous'. In this social setting, Rivière wrote to a Parisian friend Vera Bour reporting his fascination for the German oligarchy:

'I am surrounded here by a very interesting and varied company. German Barons, formal and polite diplomats, art critics and artists from Germany and Holland, bankers and Royal highnesses... I also have long political conversations with diplomats who are inviting me to Berlin in August. Do not worry, I am not turning into a Hitlerian [this line was followed by a sketch of the Nazi swastika] and my German is improving' (Rivière, 1932).

Baron von der Heydt also entertained in his Swiss 'Monte Verita' mansion in Ascona, where a string of thinkers and artists could be seen: most of the members of the Bauhaus; members of the Dada movement; the psychiatrists Otto Gross and Karl Jung; painters; artists; anarchists such as Leon Trotsky; Ernst Frick and Isadora Duncan (Gonzalez-Llovera, 2002, p.551). After a trip to Ascona in 1933, where he appreciated the wonderful collections of his guest, Rivière described to Rivet the naturist and open-air activities in which people were 'lightly dressed' (Rivière, 1933).

However, besides the close personal connections that Rivière held with financial, aristocratic and museological circles, there were in Germany a number of cultural traditions that were close to his cultural concerns.

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND FOLKLORE

'In the beginning was Napoleon, then it was Heimat' (Nipperday, 1983, p.11).

We have already seen Rivière's perception of the role of folklore in the struggle for independence in many countries from the Baltic to the Balkans. Nowhere was this truer than in Germany, where a reaction against the Napoleonic experience - the almost untranslatable noton of 'Heimat' - gave to the local territory and folklore a major importance as key building blocks of German identity. According to Rivière, in Germany folklore became a key support vindicating 'the mysterious forces of the Germanic race' (Rivière, 1938, p.8). Whatever mysterious forces Rivière had in mind, philosophically and historically the notion of 'Heimat' could not be more antagonistic to the Jacobin notion of the 'citizens' in the French tradition. (In his Essai sur l'Individualisme, Louis Dumont (1983) contrasted the German idea of national identity based on Herder and Fichte with the French concept based on the Jacobin tradition.) This opposition to the French tradition is well encapsulated by the important distinction made in Germany between 'culture' and 'civilization'. For the German provincial bourgeoisie, the history evoked by the word 'civilization' was 'political history, the history of power and "life according to the history of thinking," and as such was considered as suspect' (Roth, 1989, p.133). In contrast, the history represented by

'culture' was regarded in Germany as the history of the ways of life, with its language, skills and gestures, including in culture traditional activities such as knitting, eating, etc. (Gosselin, 1988, p.200).

While the true citizen of the French Republic was encouraged to leave behind all sense of local belonging and develop a national identity based on the progress of human spirit, in Germany the reinforcement of the local, community, history and language, was to be promoted as one of the many ways of being a German. As Applegate expressed it 'Had France not existed, the Heimat movement may well have had to be invented' (Applegate, 1990, p.87), or as Rivière put it 'we owe to Germany the reference to folklore in supporting the patriotic vindication of every contested or conquering nationality' (Rivière, 1938, p.8).

FOLKLORE AND GERMAN PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITIONS

Along with the political motivation, folklore in Germany had a strong social, philosophical and epistemological character, reaching beyond the character of 'soil and blood' imprinted on it by National Socialist anthropology. As Applegate commented, 'Folklore for the inhabitants of Rhenania (the Rhineland) became the repository of a widespread longing, not for the life of the farmer, peasant, or medieval artisan, but for a non alienated, undivided life' (Applegate, 1990, p.86). In the words of Nicole Belmont the interest in folklore must be seen in reference to the 'Germanic fixation with the "original" and the "primitive" inbuilt in the prefix "ur" ' (Belmont, 1973). From Goethe in his search of the Ur-phenomenon in colours, flora and fauna, to Herder's notion of 'spirit of the people' through to Nietzsche's Dionysian creativity of the Ur-Mench, the notion of primordial creativity had a direct incidence on the romantic apprehension of reality, and on notions of leadership and management of human affairs. The popularity of Nietzsche with the French artistic avant-garde and the writings of Bataille in the journal *Documents* which Rivière co-edited, drew a direct connection with this philosophical tradition.

The community of concern about the nature of human relations existing between the French and German school of sociology also needs to be stressed. Both schools of thought assumed the existence of a prior homogeneous society that has been subverted by urbanization, industrialization and division of labour. The long debate about the proper relation between locality and nation, the universal and the local that shaped the notion of Heimat, ran in parallel with concerns about the nature of human relations in both the prevailing French and German schools of sociology. Tonnies's (1887) distinction between community and society (Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft) are parallel notions to Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity. These came to be identified as not two stages with a unilinear and dichotomising historical development, but rather, in the words of Applegate, 'the two poles between which all forms of human association could fluctuate' (Applegate, 1990, p.6).

THE BAUHAUS MOVEMENT

The romantic tradition in folklore was not the only German affinity in Rivière's museology. The work of the German creative avant-garde, and particularly the Bauhaus experiences in the domain of object design, spatial innovation in architecture and exhibition must also be considered. The Bauhaus was celebrated in Paris as 'the only school of modern art that reflects in every sense the spirit of our time' (Grohmann, 1930, p.273). The 'metaphysical architecture' of the German Pavilion in the 1928 Barcelona

Exhibition in its 'simplicity and enlightened use of means and intentions' represented 'the true spirit of the new Germany, a Germany that was opened to 'every current that have access to our hearts' (Rubio Tuduri, 1929, p. 410). The prestige accorded to the Bauhaus in the Parisian circles was not, according again to Cahiers d'Art, because of the presence of the leading contemporary artists in Germany, or because of the scope and fertility of its research, but because of the existence in all of them of 'a common idea bonding art to life in a harmonious and indivisible whole in a way the world has never seen before' (Grohmann, 1930, p.274).

THE HEIMAT MOVEMENT AND THE MANAGEMENT OF LOCAL HERITAGE

To further understand Rivière's sympathy for the Heimat movement, we should focus on the management of the local heritage practised by the movement in the different German Federal states. The origins of the movement can be traced to the second half of the 19th century, though it expanded and multiplied in the first two decades preceding the First World War. Its popularity and dynamism are a reflection of an early awareness in Germany of the importance of global heritage. The existence in Germany of a well-grounded and decentralized municipal power was in stark contrast with the provincial poverty and lack of interest for the everyday local of 19th Century France (Ory, 1996). Applegate (1990) regards the Heimat movement as the outcome of an unprecedented proliferation of provincial cultural associations that merged into the common goal of finding new forms of celebrating local heritage. For years, botanical and zoological associations had been recording local flora and fauna, historical societies focusing on the revival of past songs, dances and costumes, while folklore enthusiasts promoted interest in all branches of folklore, from dialects to all forms of poetry and popular tales.

Groups of local citizens called 'Verschönerungsvereine' (literally 'beautification societies') started concentrating on restoring landscapes and historic ruins; nature was filled with paths, huts and castle ruins to reinforce the love for the land and its history. Besides strengthening civic pride, the aim of these societies was to improve the reputation and recreational facilities of the area, with a beneficial influence on local business, especially in areas of declining economic prosperity. To counteract the perceived negative moral influence of the modern city, members of folk societies started to produce a variety of simple styles of dress and dance, along with songs and traditional fables from the various parts of the region. At the core of their preoccupation was to find signs of collective identity. Historical pages, with recollections, memories and anecdoctes referring to local sites, artefacts and famous people, appeared as supplements to many local newspapers. Distinctive regional costume of the peasantry and small towns that had not been worn since the 18th century appeared, and the historical association members hoped that their revival would induce 'the upper levels of society' to rally around their view that 'patriotic' clothing was the best antidote to the reductive character of modern fashion. (Applegate, 1990).

The concerns of the Heimat movement were not only historical or archaeological but also aimed to improve community life. There were social evenings in which members would sing local songs, dress up in local costumes, sample local wines and listen to readings in local dialect. More revealing still were the historical parades involving elaborate costumes and parade floats, typically chronologically chaotic rather than in a conventional historical narrative, telling the history of the community or region. Parades were strung together focusing on the most evocative and colourful moments from the region's past as a series

of evocative portraits, evoking an idealized story of the past, in which the egalitarian mixing of kings and peasants tried to re-enact a lost harmony among all classes.

THE HEIMATMUSEUM

The Heimat Movement found in the local museum (Heimatmuseum) the fullest expression of these historical concerns, and from German unification in 1871 to the World War in 1914 they multiplied by the thousand across Germany. This 'modern museum', according to Albert Becker (1915), 'should be a people's school, opened to every man. Our museums, from being the creations of a private, aristocratic places of pure learning, have today become democratic institutions.' Becker recommended that through the museum people should follow a clear path in the display of collections 'from natural history to everyday life and cultural history, then to economic and political, military and juridical history' (Becker, 1915, p.24). In contrast with museums of the past, objects were not collected on their own merit, but instead were to help make tangible what the German anthropologist Adolph Bastian called 'logoi spermatikoi', 'pregnant thoughts' or 'thought-seeds' which, though never directly observable, were deducible from the plethora of folk ideas, and enabled all individuals and communities to solve their problems. (Keeping, 1893).

The Heimatmuseums were thus to be understood as an expression of that inner impulse that the Heimat considered to be the foundation of life and the human self. According to Lehmann, these museums, which continued to be developed as part of the National Socialist agenda, aimed at displaying an inner and moral concept embracing the totality of the soil and the totality of man. They were to introduce the visitor to the inner vision of his environment, of its milieu, so he could come to intimately understand man, the land and its economy. (Lehmann, 1935).

The Heimatmuseum used not just original objects, but equally casts and reproductions, maps and relevant documentation to explain concepts of geography, economy, ethnicity, race, the formation and the influence of the soil. In contrast, genuine objects including historic castles, archaeological sites and the natural wonders, etc, when possible were to be left in their original setting; instead, through the creation of maps, trails etc, these should be made physically accessible to the day-trippers, who need no longer depend solely on museums to become acquainted with the region as a whole. (Becker, 1915). In accordance with the Federal nature of German government, these museums were independent from any outside interference and funded by the local population. Thus the Heimatmuseum in Neustadt was a project of the Chamber of Commerce, a minister, and a teacher, and according to the major 'in conjunction with the entire citizenry of our town' (Applegate, 1990, p.93).

MUSEOGRAPHY IN GERMANY

From 1933 the Heimatmuseums were quickly brought under the control of the Nazi party and its local administration. For example, the Haus der Rhenischen Heimat (Heimat Museum of the people of the ancient princedom of Renania - part of the modern Rheinland-Pfalz) was inaugurated by Joseph Goebbels in 1936 and conceived specifically as a site for political propaganda, teaching the official history as understood by the National Socialist movement. Klersch (1936) introduced the new Rhenischen

Heimatmuseum to the professional in the leading international journal *Mouséion*. Ethnography and history were presented together in five sections: historical and political evolution; the Church; the towns and the bourgeoisie; the rural population; and the economy and its workers. From a museographical point of view, the exhibition made extensive use of copies, reproductions and models in combination with original objects, charts, maps and statistics.

The next year replicas of some of its rooms were displayed within the section 'Museography' in the Palais de Tokyo at the 1937 Universal Exhibition in Paris, where they were widely seen as the way forward in museographical presentation, and responding to the most modern rules of publicity and promotion. In his revue on the 1937 Exhibition on museography, Rivière praised in particular the 'Musée du Pays rhenan' as 'a grandiose synthesis of the Rhenania, from the State and its principles to the humble peasant, passing through the lords, clericals, bourgeois and craftsmen' (Rivière, 1937f).

Rivière's interest in contemporary local German museum developments was essentially museographical – about the approach to museum interpretation and communication - rather than ideological.

Thus for the occasion Rivière presented, in the Rural Centre, the 'Musée de Terroir' (Local Museum) of Romenay-en-Bresse, using similar museographical techniques to its German counterpart in Rhenania. The exhibit, presented in the French press as 'sensational novelty', prompted a German visitor to the Fair to point out that its inspiration was the Hauss der Rheinishchen Heimat and confirming, in his view, the influence of the German experience in local museum on French museography. (Gorgus, 2003).

RIVIÈRE, THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS CULTURAL POLICY

It is often difficult to understand the fascination that a whole generation of Frenchmen had for the Soviet Union without reference to the French Revolution and foundational myths of the 'culture des sans-culottes': the myth of the revolution as Promethean gesture by which the shortcoming of the past are overcome by a sudden and violent break that inaugurates a new era of hope and progress, and the belief that progress flows naturally through the oppressed of this world under the leadership of the intellectual and political left. (See, for example, Aron, 1957). In the inter-war years, the leaders of the Russian Revolution were frequently twinned with the iconic names of the French Revolution: Lenin with Robespierre, Trotsky with Danton, etc. The view that history was flowing through the actions of the Russian Bolsheviks was often an underlying belief for a whole generation of French intellectuals. The philosopher Emmanuel Levina illustrated this Hegelian idolatry of history as reference and as necessity to create transcendental meaning in writing:

'When I left Russia in 1920, I felt that I was leaving the place where history was been written...I was heading for comfort, to a life made of everyday things, a charming life where thing pass normally, but history was in the making back there' (Lévy, 1991, p. 105).

After the journey that led him from Cologne, Berlin, Kaunas, Rifa, Tallinn, Helsinki and Leningrad, Rivière described to Rivet his empathetic impressions about the world unfolding to his eyes:

'As you had predicted, no need to tell you that I have been seduced by the USSR beyond any word. I am not only referring to its museums that are human, substantial and fertile, but to its social conception and way of life. I would not say I have chosen, this was done for me by other people, but I can say I have understood' (Rivière, 1936b, p.26).

In similar terms, years before, his enthusiasm for German Communism had led him to write from Berlin (6 January 1932) 'on the growing necessity to my eyes, for our society to walk towards communism' (Rivière, 1932). Rivière's historical assumption of the 1930s would be reasserted fifty years later in the importance he gave to the Soviet model in his lessons on museology in the University of Paris VI:

'The year 1917, year of the October Revolution, is a crucial date in the history of the world. The socialist world is going to be organized in the Euro-Asiatic space of the old Empire of the Tsars, facing the capitalistic world, which little by little will be dominated by the United States' (Rivière, 1989, p.57).

As he confided in his correspondence with Rivet, Rivière seemed to have found in the Soviet Union the ideal museum:

'What a joy to find here the museums I have dreamed and finding developed in a precise language the theories I have been sketching these last few months: my themes on accumulation, selection and synthesis I have the pleasure of finding' (Rivière, 1936, p.26).

In Leningrad he gave a presentation at the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences where his idea of synthesis as the outcome of an historical process of accumulation, classification, selection and synthesis was appreciated: 'The Academy of Sciences that asked me to publish my ideas' (Rivière, 1936, p.26).

Like the cultural programme put into place by the French Revolutionaries, the initial programme of the Rusian Revolution was full of hope and enlightened expectations. The artistic patrimony of the nation became property of the State. As Rivière put it:

'In 1917 a "College" was instituted by Lenin for museums and the protection of monuments of art and antiquities. In the new Soviet Union this meant the take over of museums by the State...which is still today one of the organizational principles in that country' (Rivière, 1989, p.61).

A complete reorganization of art schools was made, and the traditional bureaucracy, which had controlled art education, was abolished and replaced by the Nakrompros (an abbreviation of People's Commissariat of Enlightenment). The presence of the Proletkult network (abbreviation for Proletarian Culture) and the formation of Inkhuk (abbreviation of institute of Artistic Culture) afforded the artists unprecedented opportunities to wield administrative and bureaucratic power and to propagate personal beliefs. (Bowlt, 1972, p.47). As Bernard-Henry Lévy has commented, a regime that initially had Chagall as Minister of Fine Arts was bound to be a dream become true for the café and teaching culture of the French intelligentsia. (Lévy, 1991).

One of the consequences of the expropriation of the property of Russian emigrées was the transfer to the museums of the Soviet Union of vast collections of modern and contemporary painting, totally absent at the time from French public collections. Thus the Pushkin Museum of Art in Moscow had the most extensive collection of avant-garde painters, an 'extraordinary wealth of Cézanne, Renoir, Gauguin, Van

Gogh and Matisse, each of them in their own individual rooms' (Antal, 1932), while Cahiers d'art referred to:

'The most admirable set of paintings by Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Gris, Leger, Chagall, Derrain etc. If today we want to have a precise idea of what that French movement meant before 1914 it is to Moscow you must go' (Cahiers d'Art, 1930, p.338).

This presence of work of living artists, not only in Soviet Museums but also in many other countries except France, was seen as a complete vindication of Rivière and his generation of museum professionals:

'Why does France, which in the last half a century has produced or attracted the best painters and sculptors in the world, not have a museum of contemporary art? The museums of London, Stockholm, Goteborg, Berlin, Cologne, Hamburg, Breslau, Prague, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia not only have Corots, Courbets, Degas and Daumiers but a remarkable selection of the living painters of the School of Paris. The United States, Russia, Germany, England, Sweden and Czechoslovakia have works of the best of these painters which form a documentary collection that will be impossible to find in France' (Cahiers d'Art, 1930, p.337).

MUSEOGRAPHY IN THE SOVIET UNION

As we have seen, Rivière's museography was associated by German observers to the methods developed by the heimatmuseums. In France, however, conservative critics identified these methods as directly imported from the Soviet Union.[41] Rivière often used this identification with the methods of display in the Soviet Union to promote his projects with the Popular Front decision makers. According to Rivière's correspondence, what seemed to have caught his attention in the Soviet museums was the interpretation of themes and discourse, which conformed to his idea of synthesis. In 1930 Mouséion published an article on the 'new directions' in Soviet museums, explaining how museums had their mission redefined and their collections reorganized. As Pierre Gaudibert has pointed out, the new ideas for the 'montage' of permanent and temporary displays were presented by Lenin's partner, V.N. Kroupskaia in her article 'The museum in the front of class struggle and the Soviet reconstruction' published in Pravda, 24 December 1934. The display intended to bring together painting, sculpture and any other artistic practice of one period (graphics, stamped-prints, applied arts, decoration, architecture and even music and literature) into the global synthesis. Each object-witness was inserted in the historical conditions of production and class struggle (Gaudibert, 1978).[42]

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[41] The 'directed' or politically motivated character of Soviet museology was shared by German, Italian 'directed' modes of displaying and coincides with the 'educational role of museum in modern societies' promoted by the Popular Front. Thus, in the words of Rene Hughes, the visitor must not be left alone. The display must 'allure him, seduce him, and force and direct his/her actions' (Hughes, 1937, p.778). Against the accusations of 'propaganda,' French museologists made the distinction between informing and teaching. In practice the distinction was not clear cut; information implied a selection of facts which in itself was a 'directed' discourse shaped by the ideological paradigm of science. Beyond its 'scientific' ideology, the very project of modernization of ethnological museums aimed at re-educating the citizen in the values of equality and justice of Westen humanism. The promotion of local museums, as we shall see, would be tailored to the specific modes of decentralization promoted by French Jacobine ideology and later by the business priorities imposed by market economy.

[42] A new strategy was adopted by the totality of communist parties from 1926-38. In the Soviet Union it was through detention and persecution 'and Soviet museums will end up being the solemn and educational temples.' After the Revolution the mission of education and conservation was initially given to artists (notably Lounacharsky), but by the end of the 1920s artists had been removed and replaced by critics and sociologists of art, and the policy was disseminated by a museum staff close to the Soviet Proletkult.(Gaudibert, 1978, p.17).

The display of the collection at the State Hermitage in Leningrad epitomized the exhibition techniques of presenting objects of art to the greater public. Reorganized between 1930 and 1934, the displays of the Hermitage could be regarded as examples of the 'great mutation' (Rivière, 1987, p.61) that historical interpretation underwent in Soviet museums. As described by Theodor Schmit , Director of the Art Institute of Leningrad:

'Collections displayed in museums since the October Revolution aimed to place the works of art in the environment where they were created and in which they became most eloquent and instructive, to use them as propaganda, to explain the evolution of the artistic styles through the events of the class struggle … this is what we want and we intend to do' (Schmit, 1931, p.220).

Following the principle of the period rooms popularized in Germany by Bode, paintings were displayed alongside sculpture, engravings, drawings, porcelains, weapons, tapestry and fabrics.

The aim was to show how works of art are born from the relationship of production and the ideology of class, and include in this context all the forms of art. The sequence of rooms in the Hermitage was ordered chronologically from the 16th to 20th Centuries, with scenes of everyday life illustrated with paintings, drawings and objects of decorative arts. Paintings were divided to illustrate the formation and advancements of the various social classes. The rooms introducing each new period had introductory boards showing the most important dates of economic history, with statistics of production alongside the relationships between economy and ideology. Often in each room there was a short and clear explanation explaining the artistic ideology. Further detailed explanation was given in the catalogue. To help to understand the style in its totality and through all its manifestations, pictures were exposed with sculptures, stamps, drawings and decorative art objects, porcelains, weapons, tissues, tapisseries, etc and architecture with photography.

EDUCATION AND LOCAL MUSEUMS

Alongside these changes in display, the purpose and mission of the new Soviet museums as published by Mouséion in 1930 also coincided with the Republican idea of education as a preliminary step to citizens' identity:

'We are in the presence of a global movement that aims, in the first place, at making museums educational tools in the presentation of contemporary world and then to make of collections a living, dynamic and empathic organism in the service of humanity' (Mouséion, 1930, p.159).

Museums were thus to be 'living organisms' accessible to the masses, and flexible and powerful instruments of education (Mouséion, 1930, p.150). Rivière reflected on these new directions:

'What is important in these transformations is less the presentational style than the philosophical spirit and orientation of museology. A new museum has been created, with "vocation populaire," attached to the expression of socialist values' (Rivière, 1989, p.61).

This was particularly true for local museums. In the Conference of the Department of Museums (Moscow, 1920) it had been decided that the main objective of a local museum was to depict on a scientific basis the locality to which it belonged and to contribute to the restoration of the local economy. In 1921 a Central Bureau for the Study of the Region (TsBK) was created to promote local studies and to coordinate and cooperate with local societies. The priority was the research of local natural resources (air, water, soil, climate, flora, fauna and minerals), together with local art, customs and religion. The local museum was to collect, conserve and study objects that illustrate the history of nature, the history of the ways of living and socio-economic history. It was to be organized to carry out research on its territory and, through exhibitions and publications, contributed to education of the masses according to the Marxist Leninist conception of the world. (Gosselin, 1993, p.50).[43]

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has reviewed the affinities Rivière must have found in his early International trips. The German and Soviet museographical displays visited by Rivière show the existence of a frontline museographical culture in matters of presentation and display, to which Rivière, brought up in an avant-garde milieu of arts critics and collectors, must have felt close affinities. His international trips confirmed and/or strengthened some of his ideas, as well as the use of temporary exhibitions as a means to reach a wider public. The Museum of Art of Toledo of Ohio, to name but one, with its string of temporary exhibitions and continuous hands-on educational activities, must have been a good early example of a museum understood as a forum.

As student of Mauss, with his emphasis on the valorization of objects of everyday life, the importance given to material culture by the Scandinavian folklore tradition as displayed was another affinity Rivière must have not failed to notice.

The open-air museology he experienced in Scandinavian countries and in the American National Park seems to have stayed permanently in his mind. It was, however, not to be adopted in France until the late 1960s, when moves for a reorganization of the administration of the territory started to be considered.

The participation of the population in the German Heimat was an example of community life orbiting around a shared cultural project. However, the Federal nature of German governance made it incompatible with the French system of administration in the 1930s.

The existence of modern art in Soviet and American museums also strengthens Rivière's concern for the urgent need in France of public contemporary collections of art.

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[43] In the summer of 1936 Rivière carried out a six week study mission, visiting twenty-four museums in Leningrad, the nearby Peterhof Palace – the summer residence of Peter the Great - Moscow, Cologne, Berlin, the Baltic Countries, Helsinki, Kracow, Warsaw, Budapest, Vienna and Innsbruck. (Archive of the *Musée de l'Homme: Voyage de Georges Henri Rivière aout-septembre 1936* quoted by Gorgus, 2003).

CHAPTER 5: INTERNATIONAL MODERNIZATION OF MUSEUMS

The radical and internationally-orientated young Rivière was impatient to see the American, Scandinavian, German and Soviet new orientations of museums applied in France. He was also aware of the museum professional culture, developed in the 1920s and 1930s by national and international professional organizations. Peyrouzère, in his study on the French experience in the inter-war years, observed that the main thrust for a change in attitudes in that country was the example of some leading museums in the United States and the activity of the International Museums Office (IMO) created in 1922, which focused on transforming the traditional museum for the general public (Peyrouzère, 1999). By the early 1930s, Rivière had become a regular participant in the conferences, workshops and forums of this period. Their recommendations and guidelines gave a renewed emphasis to education and the development of local museums. The debates on the changing understanding of the nature of the public would become leading concerns in the elaboration of future museological theory. The acquisition policies and methods of display recommended were to become common practice.

This chapter explores the museography exhibited by Rivière in the 1937 First National Exhibition of Museograph in Paris. It focuses on the following points:

Modernization of exhibition design and displays, collection accessioning and acquisition.

Review of the existing concerns for a better understanding of the nature of the public.

Professionalization of museum traditional culture.

INTRODUCTION

20th century museum reform and modernization is often characterized by the ferment of ideas, techniques, procedures and practices drawn from new approaches to education, aesthetics, conservation, storage and the design of displays. It also stresses the necessity of professionalization and the importance of the local and the public dimension of museums.

These concerns need to be understood within the framework of the various cultural developments and changes that, across the 20th century, have influenced the museum sector.

The first of these was the Anglo-American museum movement and the debates in the *Museum Association* (MA) and the *American Association of Museums* (AAM), with their emphasis on the role of local museums, education and the popularization of culture. Van Mensch (2003) has described this as the first museological revolution, between 1870 and 1920.[44] The second was the critical influence of avant-garde aesthetics movements of the period after World War I, reinforced with the culture of design and display promoted through the high profile international World Fairs and Exhibitions of the inter-war years. These ideas and associated museography were promoted and communicated through such professional forums as the 1934 Madrid Conference of Madrid, and the First International Exhibition on Museums of 1937. Together they encapsulated and promoted institutional criticism, new approaches to museum policy and management, and innovative museography.

Finally, in the later 20th century emerged what some authors have termed the 'Second Museological Revolution' (e.g. van Mensch, 1992), characterized by two very different trends and movements. The first has been the introduction and spread of a new management culture, originating primarily in American business, that began to transform a management of production into a management of consumption (e.g. Handy, 1978, Senge, 1990, Drucker, 1999). It stressed the public dimension of museums and their importance in improving local tourism and economy. The second has been the rise, over much the same period, of 'community museology' (promoted by many as '*la nouvelle museologie*'), which stresses the community dimension, with the consequent development of policy and management practices focused on the integration of museums into the local populations. (Varine, 1969, 1991).

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[44] According to van Mensch: 'This period (roughly speaking, between 1880 and 1920) is characterized by the creation of the first national professional organizations (the first being the Museums Association in Great Britain, 1889), the publication of the first professional journals (1878, *Zeitschrift für Museologie und Antiquitätenkunde,* in Germany), the adoption of the first code of ethics (1918, *Grundsätze über das Verhalten der Mitglieder des Deutschen Museumbundes*, in Germany), and the establishment of the first professional training programmes (1882, *École du Louvre*, in France). In the same period, conservation science was institutionalized (1888, Rathgen Forschungslabor in Berlin). Within this context the term "museology" was introduced to identify this emerging professional perspective.' (Van Mensch, 2003.). The Croatian museologist Anton Bauer distinguished two museological revolutions: 'The first revolution in museum was initiated by the publication of *Musées* (Paris, 1931), based upon an enquiry among 41 leading museum authorities. The publication provided the professional perspective for the first international conference of Madrid in 1934. Bauer's second revolution relates to the impact of the student revolt of 1968 on the museum field. (van Mensh, 1992).

MUSEUM PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Through the 20th century, and particularly after the First World War, the dissemination of experiences and practices by national and other museum professional associations and their publications contributed to the creation of an international museological culture. The annual meetings of the Museum Association, founded in the UK in 1889, and its *Museums Journal* launched in 1901, the meetings and publication (*Museum News*) of the American Association of Museums founded in 1892, and of the German Deutscher Museumsbund and its journal *Museumkunde* from 1905, all focused on a number of themes essential to understand the modernization of the museum profession. At museographical level there were concerns on the purpose and status of museums, collection acquisition, interpretation and display. Frequent themes were the policy of promoting local museums, recommendations of cooperation between museums, and the promotion of collaboration between museums and national education.

With hindsight, as illustrated by Orosz in his study on the relationships between curators and culture in America, what encapsulated best the motivation of the 20th century modernization movement were the museological debates around professionalism and democratization. Orosz argues that museum development in the United States can be divided into various phases, though obviously with overlaps: the age of the private society (cabinet of curiosities), between roughly 1740-1780, the age of 'popular' and commercial museums, and self-education through entertainment, 1820-1840, the age of the academic museum focused on research and teaching from around 1840, and the age of the democratic public museum (1870-1920). (Orosz, 1999).[45]

The international promotion of the American museum experience by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust (Lowe, 1928) led in the United Kingdom to the *Report upon the Public Museums and Galleries of the British Isles* (Miers, 1928) to the Carnegie Trustees, and the *Report of the Royal Commission on National Museums* (HMSO, 1929) which the government set up in response to Miers. Taken together, these reports have been considered as the founding *Magna Carta* of the modern museum movement in the UK.[46]

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[45] The age of the academic museum was supported by what Orosz described as 'professional criticism' which saw the future of museums in becoming true professional scientific institutions. According to this view, collections were not intended for popular display but should be for the advancement of science. Professional criticism as its extreme was the line of thought of Newton Horace Winchell, the state geologist of Minnesota. According to Winchell, the purpose of the true museum was 'not to amuse, nor to instruct but…scientific research, long-continued study, profound contemplation' (Winchell, 1891, p.44). This approach to museums as tools of Higher Education was the drive behind the collections established in academies, universities and learned societies. The Trumbull Gallery in Yale University (1832), The Smithsonian Institution (1846) and the Columbian Institute in Washington DC (1816) are some of the illustrious names that fulfil today this conception of museology. This attitude was denounced as elitist and self-centred by what Orosz called 'Democratic criticism' inspired by 'corrupted European Institutions' and generally perceived as unresponsive to the general public, with an entrenched orientation to value collections and providing the rationale for snobbery. The showmanship talent of P.T.Barnum and his American Museum in New York (1841) has often been put forward as representative of a democratic understanding of museology. Barnum seemed to have understood the demand for popular learning and how to blend curiosity, excitement and knowledge. In addition to collections of shells, rocks, minerals and fish, he had performing midgets, fleas, snakes, whales and elephants from Siam. He also displayed wax figures and panoramic scenes, forerunners of diorama: As described by Orosz: 'He invited the public to observe and learn how exotic and strange things actually worked. He openly invited scepticism and debate and was a pioneer in his understanding of the educational and entertainment power of museums' (Orosz, 1999, p.14).

[46] Thus, in his third annual speech to the Museums Association, Sir Henry Miers reminded his audience that: 'the so-called new museum movement in this country was stimulated by the Carnegie Trustees in providing themselves with a Report upon the Public Museums and Galleries of the British Isles, and that a good deal of what has happened since was based upon the statements made in that Report' (Miers, 1931, p, 180).

THE INTERNATIONAL MUSEUMS OFFICE
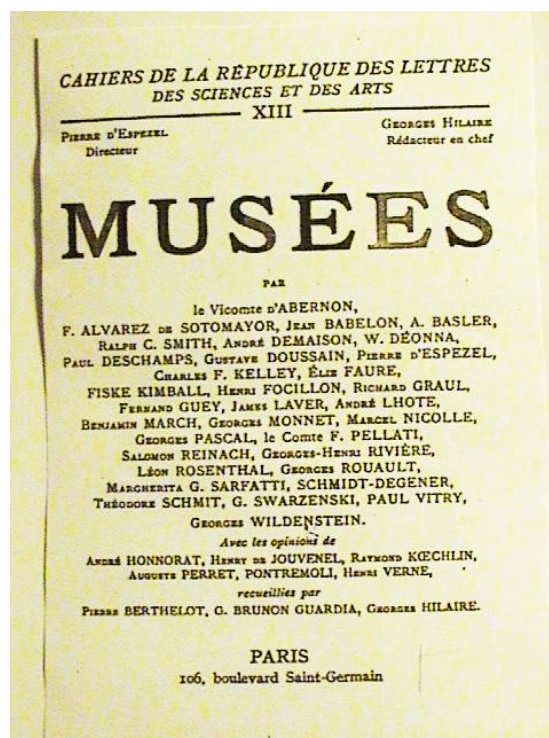
Fig 15: Enquiry on the Modernization and Reform of public galleries, 1931

After 1920 this international museum culture swept through the museum professional world, and found expression in a number of national and international initiatives. First there was the international 'Enquiry on the Modernization and Reform of public galleries' (1931), held amongst museum professionals and published by Pierre d'Espezel and Georges Hilaire, with the title *Musées* (d'Espezel & Hilaire, 1931). It intended to set up a new vocabulary and articulate the 'principles of museology' aiming at making museums useful educational and scientific institutions. This Enquiry gathered together American contributions signed by Fisker Kimbal (1931), Benjamin March (1931) and Clarence S. Stein, while the French contributors included Professor of the Sorbone Henri Focillon (1931), the president of National Museums Raymond Koechlin (1931,) the director of the École du Louvre Henri Verne (Vernes 1931), the collector Georges Wildenstein and Georges Henri Rivière, by then the Assistant Director of the Musée Ethnographique de Trocadéro.

Above all, there was the creation in 1926 of the International Museum Office (IMO). Its main publication, the quarterly *Mouséion* (1926-1945), constitutes today a key source of world experience and an important overview of museum reform during the 1930s in particular. IMO organized the International Conference of Madrid (1934) to discuss the work of experts in the new field of 'general museography'. Its proceedings were published in two volumes under the title *Museographie, Architecture et Aménagement des Musée d'Arts* (Office International des Musées, 1934), which were envisaged as the beginning of a 12-volume *Traité de Muséographie* covering all aspects of museum practice. Considered at the time the logical conclusion of the work accomplished by the International Museum Office (IMO), it

was, according to Ory, 'not a museography in the old 17th century sense of "description of museums" but a new science of their organization and management, its architecture and its animation' (Ory, 1994, p.255). The conference dealt with issues of planning the access, plans and distribution of new museums with considerations on its location and on the possibilities of adaptation of ancient buildings to museum needs.

This was followed the *First National Conference of Museography* held at l' École du Louvre in Paris (1937) and the state-of-the-art displays of *Museums and Exhibitions* put in place by René Hughes and Rivière in the context of the International Exhibition of Arts and Techniques in Paris. According to Edmund Labbé the display tried to present the image 'that museums were not any more simple storehouses, but were instead to be equipped with techniques of holding and keeping the attention of its public' (Labbé, 1937, p.42). The exhibition was seen as innovative for the way in which all the ideas, projects, questions and answers debated in the museum world through the twenties and thirties were presented using the most recent technological achievements. The representations of Germany and Holland were considered particularly significant because of the quality of their contributions, which placed them 'in the avant-garde of those countries that have already adopted the most modern technology in their museums' (Labbé, 1937, p.42). The exhibition had two sections, one dealing with 'theoretical museography' and a second covering 'applied museography'. In the first section the principles of the new science of museography were exposed, and in the second three exhibitions, 'The Life and Work of Van Gogh', 'The theatre in France in the Middle Ages' and 'The Rural Dwelling in France' were intended to represent the practice of the overall philosophy involved in 'scientific museums' and 'art museums' (Labbé, 1937, np).

THE EXHIBITION METHODS OF THE ARTISTIC AVANT-GARDE

The influence on the visual culture of Universal Exhibitions through the second part of the 19th century and the developing display techniques in retailing have often been mentioned in museological literature (MJ, 1939; Stendall, 1938; Bennet, 1995).[47]

This influence became again especially evident from the 1920s. The new aesthetics of the international avant-garde transformed the art of display from a practical craft for commercial events into what has been called 'installation art': 'a new language of form and a new ideological scaffolding for exhibitions, a new frontier of art and mass communication' (Staniszewski, 1998, p.3). Exhibition design developed as a language using the combined effect of visual printing, sound, pictures, paintings, photographs, films, diagrams and charts.

Paris was at the time central to this experimentation: the installations of Surrealist and Dadaist, Soviet Constructivists and Productivists, or the Bauhaus exhibition techniques and spatial design were all presented in Paris in internationally acclaimed events. The interest for ethnic objects and new designs became a sign of an expanding interest for objects of everyday life, while a generation of creative artists, designers and architects created innovative and spectacular displays . Thus Alex Rodchenko's furnished interior of a worker's club was presented in the Soviet Pavilion of the 1925 International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris, while the 'L and T' (Leger and Trager) exhibition method was used in the exhibition *City of Space* (1925) for the Austrian theatre section, (Staniszewski, 1998, p.14).

The art of making displays, whether these were meant for public exhibits or for management of space in private homes, became part of a new way of life. Thus the apartment of Rivière after his marriage was not only decorated by a prestigious interior designer, but also, as part of the spectacle of contemporary life, was the subject of two issues of the revue *Art and Industry* (1930) in which the apartment of the just married Mrs and Mrs Rivière was displayed as an example of modernist elegance, with a portrait of

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[47] At the Vienna World Exhibition of 1873 an international village was constructed which included Hungarian buildings. The experience of this open-air arrangement became particularly fertile in the mind of Swedish museologist Hazelius who realized the benefits of applying the model of the 'habitat group' to ethnograpical museography:

'He developed a series of display techniques that included the historical period room with authentic interior architecture, furniture, and furnishing; the theatrical tableau portraying a dramatic, sentimental story; and the panorama, with costumed mannequins posed before a painted background, with careful attention paid to perspective' (Alexander, 1995, p.245).

In 1878 Hazelius travelled to Paris and exhibited at the Trocadéro Palace a long display of folk costumes and scenes of peasant life from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Estonia, arranged in 'living pictures': 'A panorama of a Lapp encampment with pole hut. Reindeers pulling a sled, two hunters on skis, and a mother and family, the whole set in a snow-covered forest' (Alexander, 1995, p. 254). The success on the general public was immediate and scenes were published in the Parisian '*Journal Illustré.*'
In the same way, at the Universal Exhibition in 1889, a so-called 'Village Indigène' was constructed on the Champs-de-Mars in which the Parisian visitor was invited to see 'primitive people' in their everyday activities and wearing their national costume. Exhibitions of 'tribal people' became part of Universal Exhibitions in Germany and Austria; they included reconstructions of villages from India (1905), Sudan (1909), Africa (1910) and Samoa (1910) at the Dresden Zoo. In Budapest, within the framework of the millennium festivities of 1896 of the Magyar conquest, an 'Ethnographic Village' was exhibited which consisted of 24 houses with original furnishings, plus a wooden church - reproductions from examples selected from various parts of the country. Several of them were the handiwork of local craftsmen. After six months of existence the Ethnographic Village was pulled down, but the idea of an open-air museum was never taken off the agenda, (Nordenson, 1992).

Rivière himself by André Masson exhibited in the sitting room. Similarly, a visit to Paul Guilaume's apartment in Paris was an opportunity for Christian Zervos to enumerate the key elements of the new culture of display: the spontaneous and successful correspondence of the heterogeneous objects (Zervos, 1927). According to Zervos, Guillaume's private collection was displayed in such a manner that next to the work of 'black tribes' were the Picassos, the Matisses, Cézannes, Modiglianies and de Chiricos , so that 'correspondences and peaceful connection between the African sculptures and the colourful works of our most recent civilization were spontaneously made' (Zervos, 1927, p.6).

CONSIDERATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE PUBLIC

A central concern in the debates for exploring museum modernization was the growing awareness of what we now call the 'general public'. Bataille's considerations, in his article *Musées* (1930) in the revue *Document,* reflect the new approach given to this notion by the emerging human and social sciences:

'We have to take into account the fact that galleries and objects of art are no more than a container, the content of which is formed by the visitor....The pictures are only dead surfaces and it is within the crowd that the play takes place...the museum is a colossal mirror in which man contemplates himself' (Bataille, 1930, p. 300).

Although the ideals of the European enlightenment and the French Revolution assumed museums to be institutions open to the general public, the reality was that access was very much conditional and conditioned. The general perception was that their ultimate purpose was to set bourgeois culture and taste as a measure of excellency, and as an example of good taste and good manners. The uninitiated public was induced to 'admiration and respect' and bound to feel inadequate, (Poulot, 1997).

Henri Focillon's contribution to the 1921 Conference on the History of Art, held in Paris, has been considered the founding document on the birth of the modern concept of the museum public:

'Alongside the visitor as historian or the visitor as artist there is the visitor understood as public. Museums are made for the public...and as such, museums must understand the needs of the public. Like music concerts, museums are not there to instruct people about music but for the visitor to enjoy. Museums must be places where intellectual liberalism is experienced' (Focillon, 1921, p.171).

Focillon's contribution was an early realization that museums must start thinking about the expectations of the general public beyond a diligent wish to learn. In a similar manner in the UK, Pick, writing in the *Museums Journal*, saw an urgent need for each museum to clearly define the nature of its public:

'To whom are museums directed? Are they for the people? Are they for the learned and the student? Are they for the children? Are they directed to the consumer or to the producer? Each museum must make one of these choices. Unfortunately, it is obvious that in many local museums no choices are yet been made at all' (Pick, 1938).

The relationship between curators and public was one of the themes discussed in the preliminary reunions held at the various League of Nations organizations and meetings that led to the creation of International Office of Museums in 1922. Henri Focillon referred to the inclination of museum professionals to put in place laboratories of research and conservation: 'Though the importance of this work is obvious to everyone, it is not the intention of the International Museums Office to pursue that

route' (Mouséion, 1927, p.4). Later, at the 1934 Madrid Conference, Hautecoeur, Professor at the École superieure des Beaux-Arts Paris, again pointed to the dangers of this attitude and questioned his audience:

'Are museums today to be scientific institutions aiming at gathering the most complete series possible? Are they to be a tool to make comparisons, a place to bring together statues, objects, or paintings?' (Hautecoeur, 1934, p.18).

Schmidt-Degener, Director of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, complained about the attitudes of many curators used to presenting their collections as a form of knowledge, and who seemed to have no appreciation for the new factors that the visitor as 'spectator' brought to the museum: 'The average psychology', that is, the 'psychology of the general public' and the importance of the unconscious in the shaping of the sensitivity of the human eyes (Schmidt-Degener, 1934).

In the same way, Germain Bazin talked of the 'modern sensibility' of a public strongly influenced by the language of the new media of periodical and reviews and capable to make by themselves 'unexpected association' (rapprochement) and to uncover connections in the most unfamiliar new pictorial languages, (Bazin & Rivière &al, 1937). The new public, according to Schmidt-Degener:

'Understands thing better and quicker than in former times…our parents and grandparents, used to the reading of the long descriptions of Balzac and Dickens, have been followed by our sons and daughters who have learned from films the art of using sight, and to remember a succession of rapid images' (Schmidt-Degener, 1931, p. 20).

What the modern public was asking for were significant and relevant experiences, not the contemplation of great collections collected and presented according to the views of former generations:

'The general public seems to have some subtle organ, a sixth sense, that collectively decides when coming out of an exhibition if there is general satisfaction or frustrating boredom' (Schmidt-Degener, 1931, p.22).

As the Viconte d'Albenon put it: 'The first duty of the museum respresentative is… to protect the healthy and uncomplicated attitude of mind of the general public' (d'Albenon. 1931, p. 40).

GUIDELINES ON COLLECTION, ACQUISITION AND RESEARCH

The display of collections according to the typological tradition was perceived by the general public as monotonous and boring. As Rivière commented, 'Being myself a visitor in a hurry, I would be very happy to see less and less boring rows of darkened canvasses and numbered statues' (Rivière, 1931, p.279).

It was however the dead depository, the sanatorium of 'object d'arts' and the experience of 'dusty cases' that seemed to have horrified most museum visitors and a generation of museum professionals alike. These collections, described by Rivière as 'catacombs in which promiscuous crowds of remains were displayed' (Rivière, 1931), were, according to the *Museums Journal*, 'an affront to intelligence, a disgrace of a civilized country, a stupidity without excuse or explanation' (Pick, 1938, p. 303). The accumulation of objects led to exhibits in which: 'a voluptuous Venus stands alongside a mystical virgin, a satire next to a saint…a boudoir painting next to a painting intended for an altar' (Rivière, 1991, p.207). The 1939 Markham's Report in the UK commented how, as recently as 1934, a Midlands museum accepted such items described as 'Freak Egg of Leghorn', 'Section of Water Pipe and German bomb' and a 'Stuffed Domestic Cat' (Bledisloe, 1939). When Rivière took over his appointment at the Museum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro (MET) he compared its dilapidated displays to a house of bric-a-brac.

Through the 1930s the question in everyone's mind was how could the accumulation of random objects be prevented? How could museums liberate themselves from the slavery of inherited collections and displays? (Gunther, 1934). In workshops and conferences two solutions were proposed. The first was a collections deaccessioning policy linked to a new policy of cooperation, gifts and loans. The second solution was the articulation of clear guidelines on collection acquisition, based on what Pick called a 'governing idea' (Pick, 1938), and Rivière described as 'programme museologique' (museological project) (Rivière, 1938). In this way, it was suggested, a critical outlook would develop and mindless accumulation would be prevented: 'As soon the notion of governing idea is alive, the accession of objects is approached with 'spirit of research' (Bather, 1928, p.153).

COOPERATION & DE-ACCCESSIONING POLICIES

To reduce congestion, the International Museums Office suggested the transfer of collections from larger to smaller museums, and guidelines encouraged national museums to adopt and take under their protection smaller or less well-equipped museums (Mouséion, 1927). The permanent or semi-permanent loan of collections was gradually becoming accepted amongst the major museums institutions, but practically unknown amongst museums of different status and size. Henry Mier, referring to progress, or lack of it, following his 1928 Report, recommended the need for 'each great national institutions to enter in direct relation with those in the provinces by means of loans, advice and personal visits of members of its staff' (Miers,1931, p.180).

Three years later at the 1931 *International Enquiry of Museums* (d'Espezel & Hilaire, 1931), Viscount d'Abernon, Chairman of the UK's recent Royal Commission on the National Museums, presented this as an approved guideline on UK museums:

'We have reached the conclusion that it is really impossible to avoid accumulation, but it could be limited by a policy of mutual loans of works of art, and by making a clear distinction between the needs of the public and those of the scholar' (d'Abernon, 1931, p.37).

Recommendations and guidelines were issued to dispose of unwanted inherited collections. In the Museums Journal, Gunther argued:

'If objects cannot be utilized by any department of the museum, we may have to consider whether their retention is justifiable as an act of pity, and whether this piety of conservation should outweigh the expediency of elimination, especially if they have exchange value' (Gunther, 1934, p. 425).

DISPLAYS AND EXHIBITION DESIGN: THE SYSTEM OF TWO GALLERIES

Another concern of the museum community in the 1930s was how to make a better use of public galleries and how to increase the diversity of the public. To prevent tiredness, two exhibitions practices were proposed. Every museum should have two types of parallel permanent galleries. The first gallery would present objects for the general public in a manner that could be understood by every visitor, while the second gallery would hold the remaining part of the collection with its documentation, and be accessible to the scholar and researcher (Deonna, 1931). In the galleries for the general public, abstract systems of classification were to be avoided or kept to the minimum. Instead, the use of panoramas, groupings, period rooms and dioramas and state-of-the-art lighting was recommended. Displayed collections were to be supported with maps, models and diagrams, while the explanatory text should be reduced to the minimum. Finally, every museum was to put in place an active policy of temporary exhibitions presenting the exhibits according to relevant themes.

The secret was, it was argued, to avoid accumulation of collections: 'Rather too little than too much' (Deonna, 1931, p.34). Objects were to be presented in their best light so as to 'reconcile the time that runs through the centuries with present day needs of the eye and the mind….collections must be exhibits that explain and tell their own story... if the display needed a guide-lecturer, something was missing' (Schmidt-Degener, 1931, p.23).

For art museums to prevent congestion, the notion of 'museographical path' was proposed and debated. Displays and collections were to be divided in two paths: a first path would display significant masterpieces inserted in a narrative accessible to the non-specialist, and a second path would present the remaining collection in series and as documents for an in-depth study of its content.

This idea was apparently traced back to Goethe in 1821 and had been used on a large scale for the first time by the new British Museum (Natural History) from its opening in 1883. It was then taken up again in 1903 by Wilhelm Bode in Berlin, but only adopted in France from the 1930s, following the 1931 International Museums Office Enquiry and Report (d' Espezel & Hilaire,1931). Three years later, the same

approach was supported by Louis Hautecoeurand architect Clarence S. Stein, amongst others, in the Madrid Conference on Museography.

According to Kimball, in the USA the partition of works of art in two types of display was first applied in the Museum of Philadelphia in 1928:

'Wide study rooms have been set up at ground level gathering collections of all kinds that might interest the expert of one particular subject, but not the average visitor. The first floor has been organized for the general public giving special attention to a collection of masterpieces of all periods and countries' (Kimball, 1931, p.46).

To ease the visit of the non-specialist, the widely accepted proposal was 'to offer to the public all but a small part of the collection.' As Schmidt-Degener put it, what was to be avoided was the interpretation of works of art according to specialists: 'Everything that touches too closely the history of art and is after all but a curiosity' (Schmidt-Degener, 1931, p.24). As Hautecoeur explained:

'Collections will be divided in two, one with the masterpieces aiming at the aesthetical enjoyment and edification of the visitor, the other gathering objects that have a documentation value, open on demand of the scholar or student' (Hautecoeur, 1934, p.19).

The visitors to the former would be able to admire the masterpieces without coming out of their visit physically exhausted and mentally burdened. The second category of specialist visitors would have easy access to the documents they needed for their specialist research (Deonna, 1931, p.34). In a scientific museum, the notion of masterpiece was replaced by the type specimen. The model of the Musée de l'Homme constructed for the 1937 Universal Exhibition had selected 'unique' objects presented to the public with the necessary data on their discovery, geographical maps, explaining boards, drawings, facsimiles and photographies to make them intelligible, while in the study gallery, objects were systematically classified with the available scientific documention. (Bazin & Rivière et al, 1937).

For natural science museums, the displays of the new Geological Museum in London were put forward as an example of good exhibition practice and a suitable model, as this had been conceived in such a way that the various geological specimens were related to documentation showing the environment where they came from. (Bazin & Rivière et al, 1937). Rocks were used to illustrate geological principles and were contextualized with photographic images, maps and tables, so as to transform a piece of stone into a vital document. From Britain the geological curator F.J. North described in more detail the method of display of geological material as examples of state-of-the-art exhibition wisdom:

'Our exhibits might be very varied. Here we shall use several specimens to illustrate one particular point, and there a single specimen may throw light upon several principles: one exhibit will be entirely self-contained and another must depend upon others for its full interpretation' (North, 1931, p.10).

REALISTIC DISPLAYS AND OPEN ENDED VISITS

To avoid exhausting strain and monotony, traditional public collections were to be displayed according to the principle of contextualization. In art museums, the accepted practice was the period room and what Bazin and Rivière called mixed type of display or 'realistic exhibit' (Rivière, 1947). The reconstruction of interiors allowed visitors to see the close relationship that once existed amongst the various decorative arts, which 'transported the spirit to the very heart of the masterpieces' (Schmidt-Degener, 1931, p.24). According to Rivière's personal experience, these kinds of reconstruction had reached an admirable degree of perfection in the USA, (Bazin & Rivière et al, 1937; Bazin, 1989). Thus the Museum of Art of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia was an inspired example of this mixed type of display where furniture, decorative arts, sculptures and painting were assembled to recreate the 'atmosphere' of the period (Bazin & Rivière et al, 1937, p.17).The Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1924 had made a detailed reconstitution of thirteen rooms in colonial style, and the Museum of Detroit in 1927 amazed the public by adding to the interiors the reproduction of the original architectonic setting. Thus, at the 1937 exhibition on museology in Paris, a model was presented showing the display of the Museum of Toledo of Ohio in which gothic vaults framed the presentation of tapestry, furniture and sculpture (Bazin & Rivière et al, 1937).

Amongst the limitations of realistic contextualization was the danger of imposing on the visitor a naturalistic perception of reality. Exhibitions were also expected to allow the objects to speak by themselves and to allow for the visitor's interpretation. Accordingly, a modern museum would be the one that would allow plural visits that would satisfy what Bazin described as 'modern sensibility':

'Modern sensibility does not search in the work of art an historical witness, but a personal aesthetic experience of an individualized aesthetic event. As such, the display should disappear behind the work of art. Walls were to be devoid of any decoration and become neutral backgrounds on which paintings are shown. Painting was to be spaced in the walls so that the visitors could see each of them without the interference of the other objects, and according to the requirements of modern painting' (Bazin & Rivière, 1937 et al, p.18-19).

The new Boymans Museum in Rotterdam (opened in 1935) was presented as an example of an art museum that broke away from the period room taste. (Bazin & Rivière et al, 1937). The 'neutralization of the environment' meant for the architect Clarence Stein the adaptation of the architectural grammar to show objects in displays in their best light. Museums and galleries were to be conceived as 'a work of art' in themselves or as 'machines of displaying objects that could accommodate all sorts of spatial languages' (Hautecoeur, 1934).

These two approaches became permanent trends in the 20th century modernization of museums, and in particular in Rivière's museography. The historical or naturalistic approach was considered pedagogical and largely used in permanent exhibitions in the forms of dioramas, period rooms, *unité ecologique* or interiors in open-air museums. The open-ended visit was largely used in museums of modern art and particularly in temporary exhibitions which, instead of displaying objects in their historical framework, allowed them to assert their meaning by reference to surrounding objects, often from the most varied origins and functions. This so-called art of *rapprochement* around certain themes facilitated the

expansion of meaning and historical awareness through experiential associations, and was used by Rivière with inspired museological pertinence. Thus the exhibition of popular puppets *Théatres populaires de marionettes* displayed a Parisian Guignol next to Javanese Wayang theatre, evoking the analogies existing between a children's spectacle and the presentation of old religious myths. Later, in the exhibition of domestic material culture, *Objets domestiques des provinces dans la vie familiale et les art ménagés* (1953-1954), Rivière displayed together 19th century objects with their modern equivalents: for example a kitchen mortar next to an electric blender.

MODERNIZATION OF MUSEUM ARCHITECTURE

The preoccupation with making museums into welcoming spaces went beyond the interior displays, and had also influence on the debates on the shape and layout of museum buildings. Traditional art museum displays, called the 'Napoleonic style' by Kimball, separated painting and sculptures from furniture and objects of arts and crafts. These methods of classification gave birth to the imposing neo-classical buildings and systematic displays that still can be seen in 'Glyptotheks', 'Pinacoteks' or 'National Galleries' worldwide. By the 1920s these buildings were considered to be unsuitable for modern sensibility and a true psychological obstacle for the visitor. Architecture was therefore one of the themes developed in the Conference of Madrid 1934 and the special issue of *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, 1938, with contributions by Henri Verne, Rene Hughes, Georges Henri Rivière and Louis Hautecoeur, (Verne & al, 1938).

The 1937 Paris Exhibition of museography presented the proposed layouts of architects such as Auguste Peret and Clarence S. Stein, and of museologists Hautecoeur, René Hughes and Georges Henri Rivière. All museum designs shown had two alternative paths: one linear, that could be visited by the visitor in a hurry, the other for the visitor with time to spare, circulating around small cabinets off the main circulation. The layout for an art museum proposed by Perret in Mouséion in 1929 had similarly highlighted the masterpieces along a main circuit surrounding a courtyard, with the display of the rest of the collection in galleries off the main circuit. Clarence Stein's proposal in 1937 used a central circular gallery with cabinet for the secondary works to the side, while Hautecoeur proposed a rectangular external circuit displaying the collection for the general public with small study rooms internal to this. Rivière showed the 1937 adopted layout for the Musée de l'Homme: an introductory room followed by galleries for comparative displays, arranged as a main circuit for the general public with secondary rooms for more specialized exhibits.

THE "MUSEUM OF IDEAS": DIFFUSION AND OUTREACH

The radical reinterpretation of display and architectonic space presented in the 1937 Paris Exhibition of museography was matched by similar exhibits of the yet largely unexplored possibilities of using modern mass media to make museums a dynamic part of cultural life. How could potential visitors be attracted? How could the museum visitor be induced first to come back and ultimately to become a regular visitor to the museum? The exhibition presented examples of state-of-the-art posters, city maps and leaflets used in Berlin, Cologne and London to advertise the treasures existing in museums, cathedrals and historical monuments: 'samples of hotel information leaflets for tourists, posters, cards and reproductions of

masterpieces that were at the time hung in hotel rooms, restaurants and public places' (Cheronnet, 1937, p.31).

However, publicity, popularization and education were not considered enough. All these activities were to be bonded in one single action aiming at one single objective: 'To establish a close communication between the masses and museums' (Cheronnet, 1937, p.31). Museums were to be permanently present in daily life through the press, radio and cinema, and through the continuous use of temporary exhibitions. As the United Kingdom's Markham Report had suggested, 'museums of the future were to be considered not as a museum of objects, but a museum of ideas' (Museums Journal,1939, p.477).

By the 1930s the practice of using moving images in the dissemination and popularization of museum collections was rapidly gaining ground. The potential of moving images to 'bring the life and movement of the world' (Museums Journal, 1930, p.334) to the traditional 'tableau vivant' or 'period room' was soon recognized and put into practice. The 1937 Exhibition on Museography, reflecting current international museum literature, commented on how the success of films in the exhibitions of 'Italian Art' and 'Rubens and his time' at the Louvre had prompted other French Museums to start making documentaries of their collections. (Cheronnet, 1937).[48]

INFLUENCE OF RETAILING

Museological literature constantly stresses the importance of shop window dressing in the development of museum renovation (Miers, 1928; Grant, 1928, Pick, 1938; Museum Journal, 1939, Stendall, 1938; Rivière, 1960b). For the Museums Journal, the existence of museums could only be justified if they established a relationship with current life. For that purpose it recommended that attention be paid to the innovative development in 'shop windows, trade exhibitions, and adverts' so as to allow the visitor to 'read the show cases in conjunction with the shop window in town' (Pick, 1938, p.305). According to Miers, displays must appeal to the eye and, for that purpose, museum professionals were encouraged to 'cultivate a taste for spectacular displays' using the example of 'new art of window dressing in shops' (Miers, 1929, p.376). The retail businesses, with their 'ever-changing and often most edifying displays', were considered the crowning glory of modern life, an 'index of the calibre of its people' from which 'we may learn a good deal... not merely what items are available for purchase but on methods of exhibition' (Grant, 1928,p.40). Thus the Markham Report on Museums reported, with photographic views, the difference between a good and bad window case display, highlighting the 'generally forgotten fact of how much museum curators owe to the pioneer work of shop window dressing' (Museums Journal, 1939,

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[48] Other museum-type venues were also used at London's Imperial Institute, where a Christmas programme of films for children was presented on such themes as 'The epic of Everest,' 'Outpost of the Empire,' 'With Captain Scott in the Antartic,' 'The life of the District Officer in Nigeria,' 'Nelson,' 'The history of Electricity,' 'The Making of a Lead Pencil,' 'Denizens of the Garden' and 'Polar Adventures with Shackleton in the Antarctic' (Museums Journal, 1930, p.335). The London public could also visit the Palace Theatre, where the silent 'Hunting Tigers in India' by Commander D.M. Dyott was presented with a live commentary. (Museum Journal, 1930, p.336). A series of 34 films was presented in the lecture room at Belfast Museum, some sessions for children, others for adults, including titles such as 'Animals of Australia,' 'The life of a Plant,' 'Persian Carpet-Making,' 'The Story of Westminster Hall,' 'Prospecting for Gold' and 'Burma Babies' (Museum Journal, 1930, p.335). After the success of the images filmed during an expedition to the Gobi Desert, The American Museum of Natural History was by then already thinking of commercially developing and distributing such documentaries.

p.477). Thanks again to a Carnegie United Kingdom grant, a report on the new methods of display and spatial arrangements in Scandinavian countries was published by the MA in 1938.

New case designs improved both the visual presentation and spatial management, such as alcove case arrangements, accessible storage space behind cases, wall and ceiling hanging screens, reflecting light devices, sloping board shelves, collapsible tables, swinging door frames and iron stands. These were presented as ingenious advanced museum techniques. (Stendall, 1938; Falk, 1948; Rivière, 1960b).

At Gothenburg, the Rosh Museum of Arts and Crafts displayed Contemporary Swedish textiles, ceramics, metalwork and furniture. These were displayed with prices attached as well as an indication of the shops in Gothenburg where the objects could be obtained. (Stendall, 1938).

Innovative city spatial layouts competed with new technology of displays. That was the leading thought of Ferdinand Chanut when he illuminated and decorated the pavement outside the famous Parisian department store, Galerie Lafayette, in such a way that it gave the viewers the impression of an open-air theatre, and made them feel part of the shop window displays. (Marrey, 1979). The success of the 1925 Paris exhibition was attributed to the effort of the 'Grands Magasins' to choose artists with a well-known name for the production of their furniture and objects. Thus the Galerie Lafayette, the Printemps and the Magasins du Louvre each had their own pavilion designed by the workshops of reknown architects and decorated with Hollywood sumptuousness (Andia, 2005, p.26). Leroi Gourhan confessed to having visited with Rivière the displays of the big shopping centres to get ideas for the reorganization of the Arctic section of the Musée de l'Homme in 1932-1933. (Leroi-Gourhan, 1982, p.38). The new displays were to be not only experience in situ but shared and re-experienced through the lavishly illustrated magazines of the period such as *l'Illustration, Le Monde Illustré* and *l'Universelle*, all of which showed the new designs from their best angles and lighting, and contributed to their popularity and to tranforming them into cathedrals of modernity. (Marrey, 1979).

From his position as Director of the MNATP, Rivière became an adviser to local projects across the whole of France. A typical example of the late 1930s was the Forest Museum of Hossegor in the Landes, for which the Curator, Pierre Toulgouat, thought it useful to catch the attention of the passers-by with the 'artistic presentation' of the sections of the museum in boutiques and arcades. The Museum's '*boutique forestière du Splendid*' became at the time an early example of the close relation between access to merchandise and access to exhibits in museums.[49]

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[49] Pierre Toulgouat of the Forest Museum commented at the time: 'I must say that I am just repeating what Georges Henri Rivière has so brilliantly taught us. His theory has been totally proved right: "Why a museum should be a *deficitaire* organization? If it is well planned and entertaining it should be able to attract the crowds. In the same manner that a fair vendor is capable of selling his merchandise though its *jactance*, museum must instruct its visitors without them being aware of it. The *jactance* of the vendor corresponds museographically by mechanical movements, the attractions, the choice of soft colours and the pleasant shift from one window case to another. Everything must be done with flexibility, without jerks, like a swimmer down the rapids…. Publicity management, rather more than museographical management, will contribute, we hope, to awakening the interest of the local Landais and encourage them to come to the inauguration of the Forest Museum.' (Toulgouat, 1939, p.88).

THE PROMOTION OF THE LOCAL MUSEUM

However, the central modernization priority of the International Office of Museums was not so much to update major museums in big cities but 'those more modest of provincial towns' (Mouséion, 1927, p.3). Such museums, according to Rivière, would 'show off the cultural, economic and working activities of the region they represent' (Bazin & Rivière et al, 1937, p.14). The Miers Report (1928) on UK museums presented the findings of the enquiry commissioned by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust on improving the conditions and the role of local and regional museums, and tried to answer the question 'what was the use of museums?' by highlighting both the epistemological strength of the original object and the educational value of relevant and well-displayed collections. According to Miers, the psychology of the average visitor was not shaped by readings and technical diagrams: 'Learning is enlivened and made far more effective if visible objects are brought together for a purpose' (Miers, 1929, p.375-376).

In 1937 Rivière proposed to the Minister of Agriculture, Georges Monnet, and to Joseph Faure, President of the Agricultural Committee at the International Museology Fair, to develop the exhibits of the local museum of Romenay as a representation of an ideal 'Musée de Terroir' (Local Museum) of a French Village. Rivière's description encapsulated the nature and the organizational assumptions of what he thought a local museum should be: 'The exhibition was accommodated in a small space (45 m^2) with modest capital funding, the reception was managed by "the most beautiful girl in the village," framed by a local saying' (Rivière, 1938g, p.12). The museum, in the words of Rivière, intended to be 'charming', facing a square framed by picturesque houses; the rich collection was well documented and exhibited. Anticipating Rivière's community involvement of his concept of the Ecomusée, the museum of Romenay was created with the close collaboration of the whole village; the responsibility of 'the expert from Paris was to enlarge the framework of this small museum and to give it the support of the most competent regional personalities' (Rivière, 1938f).

Rivière's presentation of the exhibition panels already had the style he was to develop over the following decades. Maps, charts, photographic documents and aerial views showed the various types of landscapes, habitats and dwellings. Pre-historical remains from Neolithic and bronze times, and archaeological findings of Gallo-Roman origin traced the evolution of Romenay through the Middle Ages to the 19th century. The material culture was represented by old agricultural tools, past costumes and parures. Changes in the economy of the countryside from 1886 to 1936 were presented, showing the field system, types of wheat, fertilizers, domestic animals, fairs and markets, and industrialization by showing the arrival of the railways in 1876 and the automobile in 1936. There followed themes as ages of life, games, divertissement, pictures of baptisms and live traditional songs and dances. Predating what would become one of the brands of Rivière's museography, costumes and daily costumes were exhibited without the help of mannequins, in their natural positions with invisible strings and paper fillings. (Rivière, 1938f).

Two years later, the project for the development of these predominantly agricultural museums was presented at the 1939 Exhibition for Social Progress in Lille, which was intended to show the state of the art of social work in the departments of the North and the East of France. Each department contributed

with its own pavilion in a 'Regional Centre'. That of the Department of Oise presented its 'Musée de la Terre' while the Department of Lorraine displayed the important documentation gathered by the Historical Museum of Nancy for its exhibition in the 'Lorrainian village' (Daboval, 1940).

The detailed description of the 1939 exhibition by Daboval can be considered a template for this kind of local museum. It should be based on the assumption that the land becomes a concrete reality in its forests, its mines and its local industries that produce architecture, ceramics, bricks, woods, stones, and tiles. These museums were not aimed at experts, geologists or scholars but were to show the 'infinite resources of the lands' to the workers in the field, and should encourage the pride of peasant population in its traditions, which, according to Daboval, had been 'sources of thriftiness, "abnegation" (self-sacrifice for the wider community interest), physical and moral health' (Daboval, 1940, p.49).

What should be shown? It was envisaged that a technological section would first show general agricultural knowledge in addition to new agricultural technologies. This would gather up topographic and relief maps and charts with detailed geological cross-sections showing the mineral resources under the surface, and the different layers of geological sedimentation: Quaternary, Tertiary, Cretaceous or Jurassic deposits in relation to the opening of mines or wells. A small annexe in this section could show new prehistoric or archaeological discoveries as well as past traditional techniques. There would be a section in which the vegetable kingdom would be presented with its trees and a description of the most common plant diseases. The Animal kingdom section would show past and present species in woods, forests and rivers, how to protect or to control them, with a display showing the legislation on fishing and hunting, the number of protected species and methods of regeneration. (Daboval, 1940).

Another section would show historical migration movements, with the local racial characteristics and types of the present day population, with their body heights, skin colour, individual dispositions such as their austerity, preferred drinks, and staple diet with charts showing school results, number of children, number of teachers, number of schools, with the types and level of certificates, number of illiterates, and a model showing the facilities of an ideal modern rural school. Graphics would detail the main employment and crafts of the regions with old drawings or paintings of past crafts and expertise. Vernacular architecture should be shown in drawings or models with its history, modes and materials of construction together with the new modern types of dwellings. An historical survey of each village would illustrate the types and evolution of field cultivation, with fertilizers used, variety of grains and fertilizers, horticulture and rearing of animals, with photographs of the different races of cows, horses, pigs, sheep, hens, etc. Finally, but not least, it was proposed that annexed to the museum should be a stretch of land to experiment with the cultivation of grain, use of fertilizers etc, and open-air terraces in which agricultural teaching would be given, together with sessions of traditional dancing, and possibly an open-air cinema. (Daboval, 1940).

EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF MUSEUMS

Ever since 1922, when the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations defined museums as 'exceptional instruments of education' and an important tool for the understanding amongst Nations, the successive professional and international organizations have insisted on the close association between primary and secondary education and museums. Referring much later to this post-World War I period, Rivière recalled:

'After the war, in museums of all disciplines, particularly in England and USA, the educational nature was increasingly recognized, with multiplication of "kits" (mini-exhibitions), as instruments of animation and interpretation, prepared and moved by the museums themselves to schools and cultural organizations. This was the beginning of the understanding that activities in museums are as important as its collections' (Rivière, 1975, p.60).

In the UK, the pages of the *Museums Journal* throughout the 20th Century witness these efforts to facilitate the access and outreach to schools. Thus the first circular issued by the Museums Association on its formation in 1889 suggested as a subject of discussion the 'Preparation of small educational loans for circulation among schools'. The first Presidential Address of 1890 referred to the cases circulated since 1884 to sixty Boards and Voluntary Schools by the Liverpool Museum. In 1893 a 'Peripatetic Museum' was suggested, while organized visits of children to museums existed well before the end of last century: 'Hastings and Whitechapel placed their experience before the Museum Association, and at last the Education Code of 1897-98 permitted such visits to counted towards school attendance' (Museum Journal, 1932, p.486). The proposal of extending museum activity to rural areas of the 1928 Miers Report was reinforced by the *Memorandum on the Possibility of Increased Co-operation between Public Museums and Public Educational Institutions,* 1931, published by the Board of Education. This pamphlet gave great importance to the modernization of provincial museums, and gave practical suggestions which, according to the Museum Journal, 'enormously strengthened the hands of those who believed in the educational possibilities of museums' (Museums Journal, 1932, p.386).

Lowe (1928), in his Carnegie UK Trust *Report on American Museum Work*, highlighted the magnitude and excellence of American museum buildings, their amount of space, time, energy and money devoted to the attractive display of the exhibits ('one might almost say spectacular' [Lowe, 1928, p.18]), and their 'unremitting effort to awaken and keep alive the interest of the general public' (Lowe, 1928, p.9). He recommended outdoor study in 'the great outdoor museum where everything is alive' (Lowe, 1928, p.28). These experiences were to be supplemented by contact with the material gathered in museums of science, art, history and industry. Teachers were encouraged to cooperate with local museums to select loan-traveling material. The American experience was to be again taken as a key example in post-World War II UNESCO international seminars on the educational role of museums at Brooklyn, New York in 1952, Athens 1954, and Rio de Janeiro in 1958, (Rivière, 1958c).

THE IMPACT OF THE 1937 VAN GOGH EXHIBITION IN PARIS

One of the most successful museographical expressions of the new educational ethos of museums was the Van Gogh Exhibition held at the new Palais de Tokyo, Paris, in 1937. This is today considered to have launched standard present-day practice for commemorative exhibitions of the life and work of individual artists and their time. The extended publication of the critical views and reactions of the visiting public by the revue *Beaux-Arts* can also be seen as initiating publicity practices which led to those of present-day 'blockbuster' exhibitions.

After some introductory panels documenting the general lines of life and work of Van Gogh, the exhibition showed the paintings in chronological order. At each stage the work of the artist was put in context: self-portraits and main works were next to related paintings, drawings and documents of past masters and contemporaries, and different versions of the works etc, while photographic reproductions were substitutes for absent canvases. Another innovation was the way that the paintings were shown on a pale green background in white frames. The last room, with its eleven canvases, was the biggest and had the most revolutionary displays: maps documented the artist's travels, panels summarising his work in terms of grand themes, (e.g. 'Love of the humble/misery', 'Melancholy and madness' etc). Finally, further panels reconstructed the process of creation of a particular picture using all sorts of preserved documents. (Watt, 1937, Ory, 194, p. 256).

The innovative style of this exhibition did not prevent it being highly controversial. In keeping with the confrontational political divisions of the day, opinions were divided between those who considered the Van Gogh exhibition a museographical revolution and those who considered it an example of excruciating 'pedagogical rendering' imported from the Soviet Union.

For some, the effect of the exhibition was likened to being served a delicious dish with written information of how it was cooked. The supporters of this view insisted that such masterpieces must be presented without indoctrinating explanations and should be understood according to the individual's intelligence and taste. The mixing of school and museum was thought to be an error not to be repeated.

For others 'that was the way to follow' and congratulations were to be given to its organizers: 'It was to the courage of the Jules Vernes, the René Hughes and the Georges Henri Rivières of this world that had made the greatness of France' commented the journal Beaux-Arts. (Beaux-Arts, 1937, p.8).

MODERNIZATION AND PROFESSIONALIZATION IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Parallel with the debates on the idea of the museum itself were debates on the character of museum management and training. Through the 20th century, the professonalization of museum activities showed an increasing division of labour and specialization. From World War I to the 1960s, training was focused on the professionalization of the museum's internal activities, above all curatorial and other collections-related competences and related academic knowledge relating to particular collections. Boylan (e.g. 1987, 1996) has characterized this as an overwhelming focus on the training needs of what he has

characterized as the 'scholar-curator', with far less interest in training and developing other museum staff, such as technical and other non-professional support workers. He argues (Boylan, 2002, 2005 & 2006) that this focus remains dominant in some museums, and indeed in many countries as a whole.

In parallel with this, there has been a corresponding rise in a wide number of professional and technical areas largely new to museums, but reflecting the needs of the 'new museology' responding to the new decentralized management responsibilities and expertise required for all this. In a Smithsonian study Glaser and Zenetou (1996) identified and described in detail more than twenty distinct professional specializations that were by then commonly found in American museums. The decline in the traditional collection-based curatorship and the institutionalization of a function-based organization has been widely discussed over recent years (Teather, 1990; Boylan, 1996, 2002, 2005, 2006; Macdonald, 1996; van Mensch, 2003).

One logical result was the re-casting in June 2000 by ICOM, on the recommendation of ICTOP, of the original Rivière-Oddon ICOM Basic Syllabus for Museum professional Training into the current *ICOM Curricula Guidelines for Professional Development in Museums*, which aims to reflect the very wide range of professionalisms that are now found alongside the traditional 'scholar-curator'. The guidelines give a new focus on both 'competencies' required and a much wider range of 'generic' skills such as project management, marketing, education and communication compared with traditional curatorial and museum management skills. (Boylan, 2002).

CONCLUSIONS

I have considered The First National Exhbition of Museology held in Paris in the context of the 1937 World's Fair a significant event, not only as an illustration of the state-of-the-art museology of the time, but of Rivière's museological displays and practices. Various authors (Peer, 1998; Gorgus, 2003) have pointed out the fact that Rivière's museographical approaches were already totally shaped by 1937 and were to remained unchanged throughout his career.

However, not all the ideas and practices were to be implemented with the same speed and degree of effectiveness. The new methods of display researched by the artistic avant-garde and the retail business were the first to transform museum exhibits. The system of galleries was also soon implemented in various forms and became a central part of the Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire. The adoption of methods of mechanical reproduction such as photo and moving images would gradually become an integral part of museums, as was outreach, access and de-accessioning policies.

As we shall see, it would be only be in the last quarter of the century that the managerial practices drawn from the business sector would contribute to give full potential to the understanding already existing in the inter-war years on the nature of the public. Concerns about the nature of museum professionalization are still being considered in the present-day curricula.

CHAPTER 6: THE MYTH OF PRIMITIVISM AS PROJECT OF CULTURAL REGENERATION

Contents & Objectives: Chapters 4 & 5 have examined the various international museographical trends which contributed to shape the museography of the Rivet-Rivière Musée-laboratoire. They constituted the external museographical milieu in which the museology of Rivière developed. The present chapter explores the 'Myth of Primitivism' undertood as a project of cultural education intended to change the existing 'ideology of primitivism' that shaped the collective system of beliefs of the French Republic (Paul-Lévy, 1986). According to this ideology, the evolution of human societies and cultures follow a linear development from 'elementary' form of socialization to complex societies. The achievements of Western Civilization in the domains of social welfare, science and technology largely surpass the greatness of past civilizations. The Myth of Primitivism reversed this trend of thinking, and assumed that the study of past ways of socialization could contribute to find a solution to present day problems. History became a 'forward and backward looking' symbiotic relationship between the past and the future, presented as a modernist and homogeneous project of progressive, universal and revolutionary overtones (Hiller, 1991, p.87). There was a 'conflation of time and space' (Fabian, 1983) by which 'spatial distance has been conflated by temporal distance so that they appear to us as present visages of our own pasts' (Miller, 1991, p. 56). The remains of the past became archaeological or proto-historical witnesses of a lost primordial world.

The present Chapter reviews the cultural attitudes and national mood that contributed to shaped Musée-laboratoire.The following points are treated:

Socio-cultural perceptions existing with the proclamation of the Third Republic (1870-1945).

Identification of cultural elites that shaped the museology of the 'Myth of Primitivism'.

Identification of the epistemological and methodological approaches of Rivet-Rivière Musée-laboratoire: The guidelines of Marcel Mauss, the ethno-technology of André Leroi-Gourhan and the structural museology of Claude Lévi-Strauss.

INTRODUCTION

As initially conceived in the framework of the reorganization of the Musée d'ethnologie du Trocadéro (MET), the notion of musée-laboratoire could today be described as a politically militant, object-based ethnology, intellectually committed to define a new theoretical basis relating to man, of culture and of society. It was set against the existing 19th century anthropology of crowds and negative perception of national identity and civilization. It took its foundation from the multiple strands of political, cultural and philosophical concerns that converged in the occasion of 1928 pre-Colombian exhibition at the Pavillon Marsan in Paris. Amongst the many individuals involved in this event was the main organizer, the still largely unknown Georges Henri Rivière.

THE MYTH OF PRIMITIVISM

The concept of primitivism is today seen as inextricably linked to the genesis and evolution of Western cultural tradition. The literature surrounding the debates on the nature of primitivism is extensive and heterogenically motivated. It was initially approached by such authors as Goldwater, 1938; Laude, 1968; Gombrich, 2000, as part of the history of art. The subject was given an historical perspective by exhaustive scholar work of Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas in *Primitivism and related ideas in Antiquity* (Lovejoy & Boas, 1935) and George Boas in *Primitivism and related ideas in the Middle Ages* (Boas, 1946, 1997). From literary sources they explored the strands of primitivism and anti-primitivism from pre-Socratic times. The debate was reignited by the 1984 landmark exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art of New York, *Primitivism in 20th Century Art* (Rubin,1984), with its two-volume catalogue edited by William Rubin. The interpretation given to primitivism by the MOMA contributors initiated a long and critical literature on the origins, nature and production of what Susan Hiller branded as 'The Myth of Primitivism' (Clifford, 1994; Price, 1989; Torgovnick, 1991; Barzan & Bush, 1995; Foster, 1996; Camayd-Freixas & Gonzalez, 2000, Archer-Straw, 2000). The present thesis approaches primitivism as the convergence of the above-mentioned artistic primitivism with the search of 'elementary structures' encouraged by the Durkheimian school of Sociology. In the 1930s, in the milieux surounding the Musée de l'Homme, it took the form of what William Rubin called 'conceptual primitivism', an object-based modernist project of cultural development that gathered all the creative impulses and the cultural malaise that haunted the French society of the Third Republic (1871-1940). Because of its strong philosophical motivations, the Durkeimian school of Sociology concentrated on such issues as the origins of classification and memory, the nature of time, the unconscious and the origins of collective beliefs. It used existing ethnographical material to understand the origins of human solidarity and the nature of social cohesion. James Clifford's seminal article on *'ethnological surrealism'* (1981) placed the ethnology of the Musée de l'Homme in the avant-garde context and literary spirit that inspired some of its key protagonists (see also Clifford, 1994b; 1994c).

FACES OF DEGENERATION: AGAINST THE UNCONSCIOUS

The background of the musée-laboratoire understood as a 'laboratory' for both researching and developing new knowledge and displays must be read against the set of concerns, obsessions, beliefs and hopes of the society of the French Third Republic (1870-1945). The events leading to the defeat of Sedan (1870) in the Franco-Prussian War, the popular uprising of the Paris Commune (1871) and the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the country had all created a negative view of national identity. The result was a widespread perception that the various political dispensations adopted after the French Revolution had only led to wars and national humiliation.

In his courses at the Ècole du Louvre Rivière explicitly referred to this moral climate:

'The war 1870-71 marks a new age for the French system of education, an age announced by Renan with the publication of his La réforme intellectuel et morale (1871). In response France began to realize that the reason for the defeat had something to do with the country's neglect of the scientific disciplines' (Rivière, 1938, p. 9).

As Nye (1975) has argued, the very spirit of French culture came to be closely cross-examined: 'the native habit of abstract rationalism was blamed, the claim that the French education with its emphasis on memorizing classical texts discouraged reflection and bred superficial enthusiasm for social revolution' (Nye, 1975, p. 20).

Alongside this state of mind there was also what Isabelle Roudinesco (1982) has described as the 'l'inconscient a la française' - the tendency to over-stress pathological representations of human condition and to focus on extreme cases of collective suggestion, mass hallucinations, pathology of crowds, social degeneration and hereditary diseases. (Nye, 1975; Weber, 1986; Pick, 1989; Barrows, 1990; Van Ginneken, 1992; Mucchielli, 1997). Gustave LeBon claimed, in his *Psychologie des Foules* (1895), that vast sectors of French society were under the influence of atavistic traits of 'primordial sentiments' deeply embedded in the primitive heritage of the race. Darwinian notions of biological pre-selection reinforced feelings of revulsion of masses, identified with alcohol, pornography and dissolution of family ties. As Eugen Weber has commented 'it was not only *fin de siècle* but *fin de race* too', and the popular *Romains de la Decadence* (1866) was read by conservatives, liberals and radicals alike as 'the French de la Decadence' (Weber, 1986).

NEGATIVE PERCEPTION OF MARKET ECONOMY

The Third Republic also showed a growing rejection of the management of society according to the principles of political economy. There was a true crusade against liberalism, which was understood both as a system of political parties and as an economy regulated by market forces. The sign of the time was a true Revolutionary mystique aiming at inducing changes that would lead to 'structural changes' (Kuisel, 1981). The solution proposed was the development of professional farmers' organizations, including syndicates, cooperatives, insurance companies, credit bureaux and other mutual-aids societies. (Peer, 1996). A long literature favoured the empowerment of the independent 'medium size' traditional family farm:[50]

'The family unity is destroyed by organizations of experts, peasant issues are a matter of biology, not of numbers. What is important is that the "man" unit, the "family-farm" unit, the small, medium and large regional unit, the national unit, keep their personality' (Goussaiult, 1943, pp.112).

Thus cooperatives in display at the rural centre in the 1937 World's Fair demonstrated how farmers could collectively pool their resources to purchase expensive new machinery and market their produce in rationalized, cost-effective cooperatives, while still preserving the benefits of independence:

'In the cooperative farm, the rural house is freed of some of its traditional functions, animals and crops have their own buildings, and the existence of a substantial available capital in existence, often beyond

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[50] As primary sources I have used the series of contributions presented in 1943 by Jean Carbonnier, Roger Grand, Georges Henri Rivière, Marcel Maget, Le Corbusier and R. Goussault in the collective work published as *Agriculture et Communauté* (Carbonnier et al, 1943). In particular, Le Corbusier, 'Element modernes d'une communaute villageoise' (Carbonnier et al, 1943, pp.95-106), and Georges Henri Rivière & Marcel Maget, 1944, 'Habitat rural et tradition paysanne,' pp.1-8 in *Journées d 'étude de l'habitat rural 13-17 juin 1944.* Though these publications were published during the occupation years, it is however significant of the approach to folklore and the community of the 1937 Paris World's Fair. (See also Peer, 1998).

the means of an individual economy, makes available the necessary technical improvements' (Rivière & Maget, 1944, p.8).

Market forces and the division of labour were claimed to be the causes of the so-called 'anomia', a state of mind that institutionalized social indifference, cultural confrontation and political incompetence. In this state of affairs the founding fathers of modern European sociology all tried to replace Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' with the notion of 'collective unconscious' which was expected to produce a model of society with 'higher degree of objectification'. The utilitarian self that shaped the 'homo economicus' was to be replaced by the consciousness of the 'homo significant', the new man shaped according to the holistic experience of total social phenomena. (Laval, 2002).

THE SYSTEM OF FINE ART AS SUPPLEMENT OF SOUL

Above all there was the patronage of the centuries-old French system of fine arts by which central government assumes the responsibility of promoting and funding a national cultural policy. It has its origin with the Pre-Revolutionary monarchy that perceived the promotion of the arts as a means of improving the image of the sovereign, both in the country and abroad. It was reinforced by the series of cultural policy laws, directives and policy reports of the initial Revolutionary period, the First Republic and the Napoleonic Empire. (Deloche & Leniaud, 1989).

The system was philosophically based on the Neoclassical assumption that it was possible to improve the moral character of a people by a 'supplement of soul'. In his letters *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* (Schiller, 1974), German poet Friedrich Schiller predicted a future 'ideal state' of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality in which everyone would be given the opportunity to develop their natural inclination to free play (*Spieltrieb*) - the daily interplay with the true, the beautiful and the just (Recht, 1998). The Revolution added a radical reformulation to this ideal of the European Enlightenment. The achievements of the past were to become the aesthetical and moral education of the new citizen. The education intended to break the bonds that individuals and communities had with their past, and to expose them to the political economy of an urban bourgeois society. As described by Michel de Certeau (1973) it generated a 'multiplicity of practices aiming at the management of spaces and populations, and at transforming the intellectual and institutional perception of the social order' (Certeau, 1973, p.xviii).

PATRONAGE AND CULTURAL DESTITUTION

Daniel Sherman, in his detailed research on the system of Fine Arts in France, concluded that the system reduced the country outside Paris to cultural backwaters, with the centre transmitting to the periphery approved standards and choices, rules and recommendations which were willingly accepted and reproduced locally by local officials (Sherman, 1989). The outcome was, in effect, a cultural colonialism by a cultural elite and political class over the rest of the population. Rivière was very aware of the deleterious effect of this system, writing as early as 1937:

'France is a strongly centralized country. Its cultural tools, even more than the manufacturers working for the National defence, are heavily centralized in the Parisian region. In Paris are the great research centres, the great colleges, the great institutes and the great museums. From about 34 million of Frenchmen, only 6 millions benefit from culture. In this situation the State concentrated its efforts in the

creation of art museums, to the detriment of museums of science and technologies. The galleries of the Natural Science Museum in Paris have never been more than scientific storerooms, and the Conservatory of Arts and Crafts but the graveyard of inventors' (Rivière, 1937e, p. 71).

Rivière's international travels, and his contact with the most forward-looking museums and cultural institutions, seems to have given him an exaggerated impression of the bad predicament of museums in France. In his *Nouveau destin des Musées de France* (Rivière, 1937e) he again compared French provincial museums unfavourably: 'Just have a look at Florence, Munich, Gothenburg, Barcelona, Chicago, Edinburgh, Kiev and a hundred other cities' (Rivière, 1937e, p. 71). This perception can be put into perspective if we take into consideration the paralysing effects that juridical and bureaucratic regimes might have in societies. Boylan has attributed much of this to what the Scandinavian writer Aksel Sandemose called the 'Law of Jante'. In the museum context, Boylan argues:

'Staff, sometimes including directors, have no influence on the politics and development of their museum. The social and environmental effects of this lack of freedom have often been the stagnation of political mentalities, lack of interest for community life, exodus of population and environmental degradation' (Boylan, 1997. p.30).

THE PREDICAMENT OF REGIONAL AND LOCAL MUSEUMS

In France, the central control over a system of regional and local bureaucracies came into being after major political upheavals. During the first months of the Revolution, France was subjected to a territorial reorganization based on the principle of total decentralization. The law of the 14th of September 1789 granted the local citizens the right to elect their local representatives, and at first every political representative was elected by the commune (Gasnier, 1992). However, a radical change to this policy of territorial dispensation came about after the secessionist events in the Vendée in 1793. This counter-Revolutionary event gave birth to what later was to be called the 'Jacobin' notion of centralized State power behind the present-day French system of government.

Under this, the local came to be perceived as the antithesis of the national, in sharp opposition to any local political and cultural democracy. An early sign of this shift in policy can be seen in the change in attitude of the Abbé Grégoire, whose 1790 and 1794 proposals to the Revolutionary Assembly Enquiry argued that the French language, at the time not fully spoken in the totality of the territory, should be imposed on the whole population, and that the various regional and local languages (patois) should be left to disappear naturally through the course of history. (de Certeau et al, 1975; Grégoire's texts are reproduced in Deloche & Leniaud, 1989) .

Beyond the historical reasons for these decisions there was also a philosophical dimension. The Jacobin view was that the 'Universal' was a core guideline in the management of society, which carried with it the rule of an abstract conception of history, a linear conception of development and a political economy based on the planning of resources. The history of 'Great Men' and the stories of masterpieces and great invention became synonyms of 'Culture'. In contrast with this hegemonic Jacobin conception, the 'antiquarian view' saw in the local cultures not something in the process of disappearance, but an essential part of local identity, deeply based in the environment and validated by a long existing traditions. (Gasnier, 1992).

THE CALL FOR PRAGMATISM AND EDUCATION IN MUSEUMS

The example of 1845 Museum Act in the UK, and new educational theories based on the 'teaching of things' advocated by John Locke (1632-1704) and promoted by Rousseau and Pestolozzi, recommended the transfer of the British methods of empiricism and observation to France. In the United Kingdom the Museums Act would lead to the establishment of libraries and museums in every town with more than ten thousand inhabitants. The creation of local museums and libraries was based on the strong belief that verbal teachings were to be substituted by experiential learning: things were first read in the library and then seen in the museum. As Chadwick put it: 'Through the inspection of the objects exhibited in the museum, the users of the library could improve their historical, scientific and artistic knowledge' (Chadwick, 1857, pp.17-18). Museums and libraries were to become two complementary organizations, the former storing natural and cultural artefacts and the second gathering a bibliography relevant to the collections. The Report of the Committee of Council on Education (1894-5) gave major importance to the educational value of the 'observation of the object itself':

'Object-Teaching leads the scholar to acquire knowledge by observation and experience, and no instruction is properly so called unless an object is presented to the learner so that the addition of his knowledge may be made through the senses...In Object-Teaching, the chief interest should be focused on the object itself' (quoted by Hooper-Greenhill,1994, p.26).

THE CALL FOR A NEW SENSE OF GEOGRAPHY

In this spirit of moral reform, the French School of geography was founded around 1870, under the leadership of Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918). Vidal de la Blache, driven by the concern to find a new relationship between man and nature, produced what has been described an 'open-air geography' (Dupuy, 1905). The detailed observation of the landscape within geography was strongly encouraged by the national curriculum in local primary and secondary schools (Nora, 1984a; Ozouf, 1984; Thiesse, 1997). In 1911 the Ministry of Instruction created a 'national prize for school monographies' and a 'Society of Local Studies for Public Schools' aimed at 'encouraging the interests for local studies amongst teaching staff and to publish research work on regional history, folklore, geography and philology' (Thiesse, 1997, p.11). Through these initiatives, local teachers joined the traditional literary, artistic and scientific societies or the newly created 'action groups' and started to produce local monographs.

Ernest Lavisse's *Histoire de France: Cours élémentaire* (Lavisse, 1884) became part of the official syllabus for the teaching of French history in schools. His description of the variety of landscapes and climate of the regions of France - what came to be known as *Le petit Lavisse* - became one of the most widely used history texts in schools. In the same manner, Paul Vidal de la Blache 's *Tableau de la geographie de la France* (Vidal de la Blache, 1903) aimed to find new answers to the questions 'What is France?' and how a piece of land became a political space and the home of a nation. According to Vidal de la Blache, the character of a nation is inseparable from the land and climate. They have shaped its social life, its diet, its means of subsistence and its industry. The prolonged and contemplative study of the land and its settlements was the best way to discover the character, customs and tendencies of its people.

In the same pedagogical attitude, the popular Bruno's *Le tour de la France par deux enfants* (Fouillée, 1877) remained compulsory in primary schools as late as the 1950s. This was the story of two school children who set out to discover the provinces of France. The book, aimed at fostering the love of the local, praised Republican values of freedom of thinking, justice and compassion, and familiarized the traveller with the life and world of traditional crafts and the wonders of the Industrial Revolution. Like the old legends of saints allocated to each day, the journey through France took a whole calendar school year.

PROMOTION OF NATIONAL TOURISM

Alongside the pedagogic approach to the regions, The Third Republic witnessed the growing tendency to see the local space in term of consumption of literature, tourism and images (Goujon, 1988). The 'Tour de France' was created in 1890 and soon became an annual framework for promoting the diversity of the many regions of France (Vigarello, 1992) . Thousands of titles of regional literature were produced and tourist guides, such as the *Guide-Joanne* (1880) became widespread. Like modern-day travel literature they gave advice on routes and directions, and highlighted the 'must see' features of each locality (Berto-Lavenir, 1988; Nordman, 1992). The expansion of the road and railway system and the popularization of the bicycle and the car allowed the systematic exploration of local France.

The patrimonization of heritage was however articulated according to the values and significances of local notables. Tourist postcards reflected three main themes: important buildings, monuments and main streets; the various urban local social events and commemorations; and the existing elements of local rural folklore. (Gasnier, 1992; Ripert 1983).

This can be read today as part of the proto-history of mass tourism with its simplified system of sign, and the birth of the 'picturesque' by which the local legend or the local object became a souvenir and the local speciality a memorable gastronomic experience (Ory , 1992; Gassnier, 1992; Corbin, 1995).

EMERGENCE OF NEW CULTURAL ELITES

Following the career promotions of scholars and academics over the previous few decades, the year 1936 saw the electoral triumph of the Popular Front, and with it the convergence of culture and politics in the cultural project of the radical socialist Minister of Education Jean Zay (Ory, 1992). This coincided with the arrival in the museum environment of a new generation of cultural activists that, 'through the vagaries of decease, retirement, or newly created vacancies' (Peyrouzère, 1999), started to take key positions at the top of French national museums (Musées Nationaux) and their associated close supervision of regional and local museums. Key figures of this new generation included Georges Huisman as Director of Fine Arts Director General des Beaux-Arts (Fine Arts) from 1934 to 1940, André Chanson at Versailles from 1933, René Hughes and Germain Bazin at the Louvre from 1937, Georges Henri Rivière and André Varagnac at the Department of Arts and Popular Traditions, also from 1937, and Jean Cassou at the Musée du Luxembourg (1938). These all shared the motivations and aims of the cultural policy of the

Popular Front Ministry of Jean Zay, committed to the 'discovery of the social' (Clark, 1973; Mucchielli, 1998) and to the above spirit of reform and education.

AGAINST FACES OF DEGENERATION: PRIMITIVISM AND PRIMORDIAL CREATIVITY

Against the existing negative anthropology, the new progressive elites aimed at creating a positive science of man from the state-of-the-art research in psychology, history, archaeology, ethnology and linguistics (Mucchielli, 1997). The unconscious, formerly understood as a dark and destructive force, was replaced by the notion of a dynamic unconscious at the core of any possible transformation of man and society. Primordial creativity was perceived to be present in the 'Total Man' whenever there was an interaction with its material and social environment. What Lévi-Strauss later described as 'Pensée Sauvage' was an activity thought to be shared by the 'primitive', the archaic, the popular and avant-gardist manifestations in music, visual and plastic arts.

Ethnology, initially associated with objects of curiosities of non-European origin, and later, under the influence of evolutionary thinking, identified with the degenerated, the archaic and the 'primitive' became, after 1920. the science of the universal primordial creativity:

 'The common universality shared by the peasants of a Brittany village, the scholars and the artists, the "Pensée Sauvage" found with the same dose of primitiveness (primitive ratio) in American-Indians and in the European society' (Poirier, 1968, p.529).

 While manifestos, galleries and art critics celebrated the new plastic and musical creations, the new disciplines of archaeology, ethnology, linguistics and history traced back this primordial creativity to the very beginning of time and considered their 'objects' as sources of knowledge and the most reliable witnesses (see Paulme, 1996). It was assumed that the holistic nature of this primordial creativity produced work of art of a symbolic importance well beyond the conscious motivation of individuals or communities.

This new artistic sensibility allowed the new generations of artists to see in the Ionian and Athenian sculptures of the Archaic period the most solid and refreshing examples of primordial creativity. Both archaic cultures and the work of the latest avant-garde artist were perceived as having something in common: they were both close to man's creative instinct, the creative thrust of the spirit. The publisher and director of Cahiers d'Art Christian Zervos saw in the modern interest for 'primitive' art a true cathartic process by which artistic academicism was successfully put aside to allow other artistic expression to be appreciated: 'It is the concern of our generation to join all the forms of beauty that are devoided of academicism' (Zervos, 1930, p.254). According to Zervos, after the 'intellectual gymnasia' produced by the avant-garde plastic experiments 'we are now in a better position to appreciate the most dynamic manifestations of pre-classic Greek art' (Zervos, 1930, 254) This new artistic sensibility was referred to by Georges Henri Rivière as having had a liberating effect on our understanding of Greek genius: 'By vindicating the contribution of Archaic Greece with its oriental Ionian origins and influences we have given Greek genius a much more open and wider influence' (Rivière, 1927b, p.96).

In a series of articles ranging over provincial Egyptian and Syrian Hellenistic art, encaustic wax paintings of the Roman period from the Fayum (Rivière, 1927c, p.310-312), funerary Sculptures of Palmira (Rivière, 1928, p.12) or on the illustration found in the Gold Goblets of Vaphio, Rivière pointed out the need to further the study and acquaintance of this 'forgotten art to which classic art owes so much' by the publication and public exhibitions of paintings, sculpture, ceramic and orfevrerie (Rivière, 1927c , p.103).

Similarly, commenting on the collection of painted ceramics from Sussa in the Louvre, Rivière asked again 'Why is it that these vases do not have the same prestige as the Greek descendants?' (Rivière, 1927, p.65). This interpretation of human history aligned the infancy of man to the infancy of the individual, the primitive-as-child to the child-as-primitive (Green, 1998, Fineberg 1998). For Tristan Tzara:

'The sensibility of the child is what touches us the deepest. In its powers of interpretation it gathered together primordial and unknown forces. It is a poetic creation and the greatest force of humanity. It cannot be written, but lives instead in the melting pot from which every human social condensation comes. It is a force without method from which the world is being invented and is given its significance' (Tzara, 1929, p. 59).

Rivière, refering to a number of exhibits on the art of the Maros, argued:

'Such an art that does not aim at copying nature, but to restitute her according to a code of signs, is very close to our modern arts (avant-garde). We find in them, in all its primordial freshness, the magical realism that the most representative painters of our century have succeeded to recover. Thus fauves and cubist have renovated Western painting that was on the brink of total adulteration both by academicism and by servile naturalism' (Rivière, 1934, n.p, also Peltier, 1990, p.57-58).

Publications such as *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, (Lévy-Bruhl, 1910); *La mentalité primitive* (Lévy-Bruhl, 1922); *L'Ame primitive* (Lévy-Bruhl, 1927) and the work of Robert Hertz's *La prominence de la main droite, étude sur la polarité religieuse* (Hertz, 1908) provided inspiration to the new generation of cultural activists. Hertz's distinction of the right and left sides of the brain gave physiological grounds for the existence of two categories of thinking. The reductive light of rational thinking had its origin in the right hand, while the logic-threatening sense of the epistemologically heterogeneous was based on the left hemisphere. Thus Henri Focillon's *In Praise of Hands* (Focillon, 1934) linked the left hand, regressively but beneficially, to humankind's philo-genetic history. If the right hand was learned and skilful, and could compete with the machine as well as run it, the left hand retained a primitive and childlike and seemingly more expressive mode of making. (Fineberg, 1998, p.180).

THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF TRACE

Alongside the liberation from artistic naturalism and the authority of the academy, the 'New Age' meant, in the words of Lévi-Strauss, a return to an epistemology of signs (Charbonnier, 1961). The new sciences of signs came to permeate all sectors of society, from literary narrative, avant-garde studios and research workshop that acted as true 'laboratories' of life. The enquiry into the nature of man meant the creation of a science based on the creation of a discourse of conjectures, a research of indexes, signs and symptoms. This phenomenology of the trace, according to Ginsburgs, might have had its origin in the

'Morelian methods' used to identify unsigned paintings in museums. In his efforts to try and distinguish originals from copies, Giovanni Morelli emphasized the importance of observing and documenting clues which show the most involuntary aspects of the artists creativity, such as brush patterns and techniques, earlobes, or fingernails (Ginzburg, 1990).

Museums and the cultural heritage were to become the instruments for a new pedagogy intended to shape a new understanding of national history. Present and past demography, land distribution, domestic animals, roads, modes of cultivation, distribution and location of vernacular dwellings, decorative patterns, modes of transport, and tools and local skills and technology are all permanent structures of any society and, as such, are, in the words of Rivière, 'inserted in the land'. This insertion gives them meaning and significance (son symbolisme fondamental). It is by studying those traces and placing them in the context of their natural environment that we can understand the historical evolution of a human settlement and to extrapolate the finding so as to plan for the future (Rivière, 1966).The 'historicity' of rural villages and territories explains the interest of rural historians in the historical transformations of the landscape. Marc Bloch's *Les Characters originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (Bloch, 1931) and Roger Dion's *Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français* (Dion, 1934) highlighted the social and juridical traces on the structure of the landscape, and the importance of interpreting it according the type of local family structure, administration, local powers and their relations to external regional socio-cultural systems (Chiva, 1958). Gaston Roupnell's *Histoire de la campagne française* (Roupnell, 1932), with its poetical reading of the nature and origins of fields, roads, towns and waterways, brought the approach of semiotics into landscape studies.

AFFAIRE DREYFUSS AND THE BIRTH OF THE INTELLECTUAL

The importance of the Affaire Dreyfus (1894-1906) in the engagement of the intellectuals in 20th century French politics has been extensively studied by Pascal Ory and Jean Francois Sirinelli in *Les intellectuels en France de l'affaire Dreyfus a nos jours* (Ory & Sirinelli, 1992). Jean Jamin has pointed out the influence of this racially motivated miscarriage of justice in the cultural militancy of the founders of the Institute of Ethnology of Paris and its influence on the political humanism of the Musée de l'Homme. Paul Rivet, Rivière and Marcel Griaule all use extensively the metaphor of a judicial enquiry to define their ethnographical work. The Musée de l'Homme became not only a laboratory and an observatory of oppressed cultures, but a 'discipline of vigilance' and of an ethics of conviction in the denunciation of racism, fascism and imperialism. Like the work of a defence attorney, the ethnological experience became a process of rehabilitation of oppressed minority cultures. (Jamin, 1989).

THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY OF PARIS

After Rivière was appointed by Rivet Assistant Director of the Musée d'Ethnologie du Trocadéro in 1928, he followed the course for the Diploma of Ethnology run by the Institute of Ethnology of Paris. It was also the beginning of his close relationship with Marcel Mauss, as he recalled much later: 'I think' he often commented, 'that I was at the time the favourite student. With the excuse of walking back home, we talked through the night …he wanted everything that attracted his interest to have a place in the Museum' (Leroux-Dhuys, 1989, p. 23).

It turned out to be what Rivière called his 'initiation to science' and his single-minded conversion to the Durkheimian ideals implicit in the Institute.[51] The Institute declared objectives were the promotion of anthropological field research and the formation of academic staff. It aimed at creating a new generation of ethnographers by complementing with field work the various anthropologically-related teachings given by centres such as the School of Anthropology of Paris, the Chair of Anthropology at the Natural Science Museum of Paris, the Chair of Religions of Non-Civilized people at the École Practiques des Hautes Etudes, the Chair of Prehistory at the College de France, the Institute of Human Palaeontology, the Colonial School, and the School of Eastern Living Languages. (Lévy-Bruhl, 1926, p. 207).
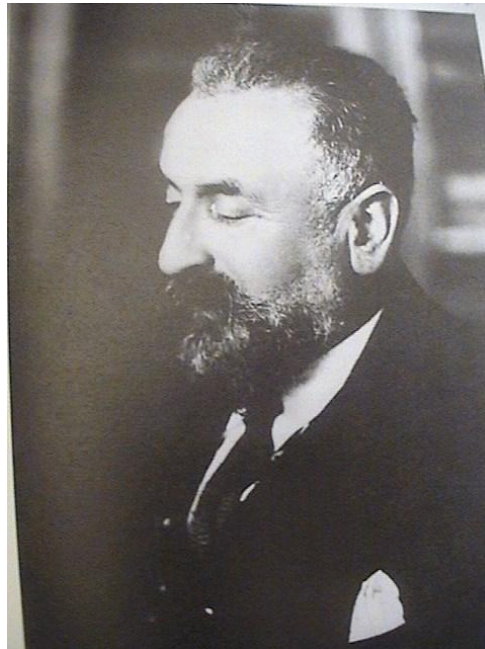
Fig 16: Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) [52]

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[51] The Institute of Ethnology of Paris was created in 1925. 'We find the convergence of three main intellectual schools of thought: The Durkheimian sociologist Marcel Mauss from l' École Practiques des Hautes Études (Mauss), the moral philosopher Lévy-Bruhl from the Sorbonne (Lévy-Bruhl) and the medical anthropologist Paul Rivet from the Museum of Natural Sciences' (Fournier, 1994.) The Institute was going to be shaped by the framework of ideas of its founders, a corpus of ideas that, through the 1930s, would create a cultural discourse essential for the understanding of the epistemological issues underlining French 20th century anthropology. The Institute was inspired by such institutions as the Bureau of American Ethnology in the USA, the Institute of Anthropology at Oxford, the anthrolpological programmes of the Smithsonian Institution and the Royal Anthropological Institute. From the 1934 success of the Cartel of the Left it was supported and subsidized by the Minister of Colonies Edouard Daladier, who felt the need for an ethnological institute controlled by socialist party (SFIO) activists.

[52] Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) is widely recognized to be the father of French 20th Century Ethnology, the master of successive generations of ethnologists, who started their careers and in particular shaped the theoretical framework of Rivet-Rivière. As nephew of Emile Durkheim he inherited the unfinished work of the Année Sociologique and continued the work of his uncle of creating the foundations of a modern sociology using ethnological material. He defined himself as a museum ethnologist. Through his teaching at the École Practique des Hautes Études (1901) and the Institut d'ethnologie of Paris (1926) and at the Collège de France (1931), he delivered not so much a systematic theory but a way of approaching and formulating issues that inspired the comparative museum-based ethnology of Claude Lévi-Strauss (Lévi-Strauss, 1987, 1985) the ethno-technology of André Leroi-Gourhan and the musicology of André Schaeffner. In books such as the *Essai sur le Don* (1925) and *Techniques du corps* (1935) he contructed his ethnology around the notion of total presentation and total social phenomenon. (Gofman,1998; Karsenti, 1998; Schlanger, 1998).

Amongst the Institute's other students we can name, in the 1920s, Georges Dumezil, Marcel Griaule, Alexandre Koré, Alfred Métraux, Georges Henri Rivière, André Varagnac and, in the 1930s, Roger Callois, Germaine Diertelen, Louis Dumont, André Georges Haudricourt, Maurice Leenhardt, Michel Leiris, André Leroi-Gourhan, Anatole Lewitzky, Deborah Lifszyc, Yvonne Oddon, Denise Paulme, Therese Rivière, André Schaeffner, Jacques Soustelle and Germaine Trillion (Fournier, 1994, p.602). Alongside these institutional arrangements the Institute's main objective was to counteract the widespread biological determinism and replace it with a historically evolved socialization shaped by the successful transmission of ideas, skills, symbolic conceptions and theory of action. Man was equated to culture, and culture to society.

NEW SOURCES OF HISTORY: OBJECT-BASED ETHNOLOGY

To understand the motivations involved in the structural museology of the Musée-laboratoire concept we must briefly describe the multiple academic strands that, either institutionally or through the force of circumstances, converged in it. (See Diagram 2 below)
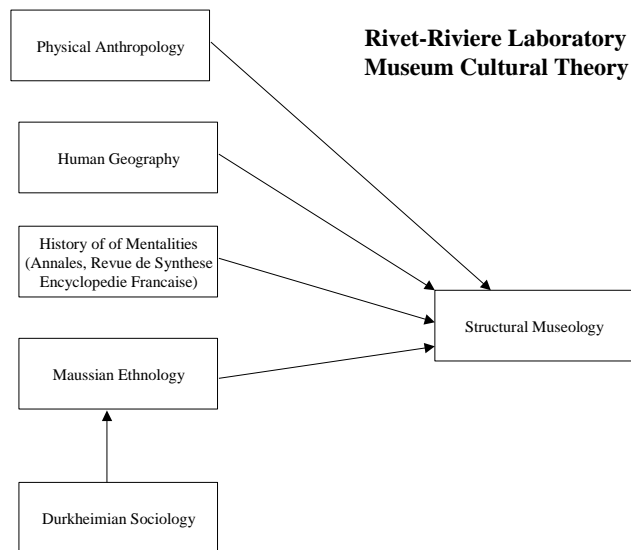
Diagram 3: Academic strands converging into the 'structural museology'

First there was the dependence of the Musée d'ethnologie du Trocadéro (MET) to its parent institution, the Museum of Natural History, founded in Paris in the 18th century. This association showed, as a consequence, that the palaeontology and the pre-history of Man were treated as part of the natural sciences. This also contributed for many years to the Museum's exhibits in physical anthropology and human genetics. However, there was, through the years, a clear philosophical shift in its interpretation. For many years the existing natural science collections of human remains were exhibited as part of the

phrenological tradition and anthropometrical characterization of races to illustrate their differences. The Musée-laboratoire as represented by the MET, and later by the Musée de l'Homme, redirected the interpretation of these collections to illustrate the essential equality of all men.

When the Musée de l'Homme finally closed its ethnographical collections in 2002, the didactic exhibition *Tous parents, tous different* was left as a permanent display. This exhibition aimed at demonstrating the essentially cultural nature of human evolution in the initial spirit of the MET. Thus archaeological human remains were used to illustrate the uniformity of physical features achieved by modern humans, Homo sapiens.

Fig 17: Skull of French Philosopher René Descartes alongside the 7000 years old skull[53]

In support of this argument, a 100,000 years old human skull from the Middle East was placed next to the skull of French philosopher Rene Descartes. In another showcase, the message conveyed was the

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[53] This exhibit intended to show the permanence of human physical features and the essential cultural nature of human evolution (Musée de l'Homme, exhibition 'Tous parents, tous different').

permanence of physical features amongst the people of the same French village, both diachronically across history and synchronically. As Rivière was keen to insist, rural populations, and above all French peasants, were the most striking proof of the principle that the mixing of races brought together by chance in the same land produce a better result than a single race. (Rivière, 1941, p.31). Elsewhere in the same publication he argued that in the most remote corners of our land different races coexisted and mixed: 'We can see, often in the same family, blue eyes, fair haired dolichocephalous and dark stocky brachicephalics.' (Rivière, 1941, p. 29).

Alongside this emphasis on the physical features of human biology, there was also the strong mark left by the human geography developed by the School of Geography of Vidal de la Blache already mentioned, which highlighted the importance of landscape and human habitation to understand modes of living and ways of life. (Vidal de la Blache, 1903; Roupnel, 1932; Bloch, 1931; Dion, 1934; Bruhnes, 1934; Demangeon, 1937.)

Lucien Febvre's so-called 'geographicalization' of history in his *La terre et l'évolution humaine: introduction géographique a l'histoire* (Febvre, 1922) was the response from the School of the Annales to de la Blache's 'historicization' of geography. Febvre stressed the importance of a variety of historical processes, whether economic, technological, cultural or political, that interact at short, medium and long term to shape the history of societies. The past could only reconstructed by a set of convergent disciplines. His history wanted to reflect 'an in-depth image of the "origins" and causes of "mental structures" through an understanding of the life of fishermen, peasants and traders, together with rivers, mountain paths, urban establishment, agricultural practices, tools, techniques, rotation of crops, grazing moors, forestry exploitation. They also encouraged the historical processes that presided over the distribution and management of big land properties, the development of fairs and institutions, regional differences and the contribution of the bourgeoisie. Their purpose was to understand the 'total history' representing all aspects of human activities. (Febvre, 1934.)

Against the history based on written documents, Marc Bloch vindicated other sources of history such as archaeology, art, numismatics and place-names at the time that these were not fully recognized sources. In his *Les Charactere originaux de l'histoire rurale française, du XI to XVIII siècle* (Bloch,1931), he concentrated on showing modes of occupation of the land, techniques of production, modes of occupation, the seigniorial institutions, the communal practices in a long period of time, and in the totality of the national territory. In his *Apologie pour l'histoire* (Bloch, 1941), he pointed out the need for a multidisciplinary general approach to training of new historians: epigraphy, palaeography, diplomacy, acquaintance with archaeology, statistics, art history, and ancient and modern languages are all considered important. Where this multiplicity of skills could not be found in the same person, Bloch proposed the creation of teams of experts in the different fields to work together.

Finally there was the so-called avant-garde primitivism, supported by artists, critics and dealers, with their interest in experimentation with primordial or alternative modes of creativity. All these strands shared a common interest: their widespread interest in the material manifestations of reality. As Lévi-Strauss put it when discussing ethnology:

'The savage object, the weird and far-off custom, the traveller's account stop being curiosities and are promoted to the rank of scientific documents. By describing, classifying, finding its historical and geographical connections, ethnology aims to depict a coherent view of the different phases followed by humanity, from the savage to the barbarian and from the barbarian to civilization' (Lévi-Strauss, 1960, p.40).

THE DURKHEMIAN DIVERSION: THE ELEMENTARY STRUCTURES

In contrast to the Chicago school of sociology that, at the time, was developing methods of sociological research for newly formed urban communities, the Durkheimian school of sociology set out to research the mechanism of creating meaning in complex societies by trying to understand the 'elementary structures' of what was called simple, primitive, archaic or traditional societies, from which societies were built. Though, in principle, sociology deals with modern industrialized societies, and ethnology with traditional societies, in practice the boundaries between ethnology and sociology were not clearly defined in 1930s France compared to the American and British tradition. For Marcel Mauss, ethnology is both part of sociology and part of the science of man:

'What sociologists must give the greatest importance to the study of elementary social structures of the so-called non-civilized societies. Not only is general ethnology the first chapter of sociology, but also increasingly the specialized studies made by ethnologists will become unavoidable introductions to the specialized fields of sociology. Whatever the social phenomenon, it must first be studied in its roughest state…sociology can only be comparative and there is no small phenomenon belonging to the community, to art, religion, morals, that is devoid of interest to the sociologist' (Mauss, 1898, p. 232).

By thus putting the study of 'elementary forms' at the centre of sociology, the anthropology of the 1920s and 1930s aimed at finding functional alternatives in modern societies of the integrative and cohesive nature of those archaic forms. Seminal titles such as Émile Durkheim's *Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse: le système totémique en Australie* (Durkheim, 1912), André Schaeffner's *Origines des instruments de musique, Introduction ethnologique a l'histoire de la musique instrumentales* (Schaeffner, 1936), André Leroi-Gourhan's *Formes élémentaire de l'activité humaine* (Leroi-Gourhan, 1936) and Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Les Structures élémentaires de la Parenté* (Lévi-Strauss, 1949) are but a few of the texts that shaped the theoretical assumptions of the 'Myth of Primitivism' as understood by the circles around Rivière and Musée de l'Homme.

The books on the 'primitive' thinking of Lévy-Bruhl (1910, 1922, 1927) and Lévi-Strauss (1968) described processes of thinking not in the state of articulated rationality, but in a state of formation, thinking in the primordial state of ordering and classifying the universe.

THE ELEMENTARY MUSEUM

The identification of 'elementary' structures was not only limited to enquiries on the nature of the self, the framework of memory or the function of collective representations. Writing about the existing types of museums, Rivière made a distinction between 'elementary museums' and 'fundamental museums' (*Musées fondamentaux*) (Rivière, 1937d). The latter included Classical Art Museums, History Museums, and Science and Technology Museums, which followed the typological tradition in art and sciences. They had produced the museography of pinacothèques, gliptothèques, national galleries, Natural Science Museums, Louvres and British museums. They were part of the wave of museums created in the 18th

and 19th centuries under principles of neoclassicism and the ideals of the European Enlightenment, and embodied what in France was called the System of Fine Arts.

In marked contrast with these were the constantly expanding and diversifying 'elementary museums', the outcome of a totally new approach to the cultural mission of museums. According to Rivière, these types of museums, although they had existed for a very long time, were adopting for the first time an exceptional character due to their objective and methods: either they were directed for a special category of public such as children, or, because of their status of "museum without walls" (e.g. zoos and open-air museums), they hoped to fulfil the aspirations and needs of local communities. At the time, Rivière included in his list of these elementary museums open-air museums and local identity museums such as the German *Heimatmusea* or the French *Musées de Terroir* (local social history museums).

As an example of the museography of these local history museums, Rivière displayed a scale model of the Musée de terroir de Romenay-sur-Bresse, set up as part of the 1937 Paris International exhibitions (Rivière et al, 1937d). As a template of a Musée de terroir, the model showed every aspect of the present and past history of the village: prehistory, archaeology, history, famous men, economy, urbanism, fortification, etc.

Elementary museums were to diversify in the following half a century in open-ended types of museologies, ranging from regional, local history and theme museums to museums of wine, clocks, lighthouses, industrial archaeology, plus Ecomuseums, economuseums, visitors' centres, and natural parks. They also account for the present day multiplication of the so-called 'musées de societé' (Vaillant, 1991) and 'territorial museologies' (Mayrand, 1999; Varine, 2002.)

THE MAUSSIAN SHIFT: CATEGORIES OF THE SELF

Fig 18: Louis Dumont (1911-1998)[54]

The search for elementary structures led to a series of lectures in which Marcel Mauss sketched the forms that the human self has taken in the past (Karsenti, 1998). Mauss's considerations are pertinent to the general concern of the Third Republic on the education of the citizen and its encouragement, through the school curricula, of a 'new specific relation to reality' to which museology was to contribute.

 In 1938, Marcel Mauss travelled to Denmark with some of his students, amongst them Marcel Griaule, Anatole Lewitski, Georges Henri Rivière, Thérése Rivière, André Schaeffner, André Varagnac, and Paul Emile Victor. His communication 'Fait Social et Formation du Character' (Mauss, 1938) dealt with one of the themes at the core of Maussian anthropology: how the individual self is shaped in contact with its physical, moral and representational environment. In the same year, he would deliver another lecture on the same subject at the Huxley Memorial: 'A category of the human mind: the notion of person, the notion of self' (Mauss, 1938b) in which he tried to set up an historical genealogy of the self.

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[54] *Louis Dumont developed Marcel Mauss's considerations on the notion of the self into a full blown theory of the human mind*
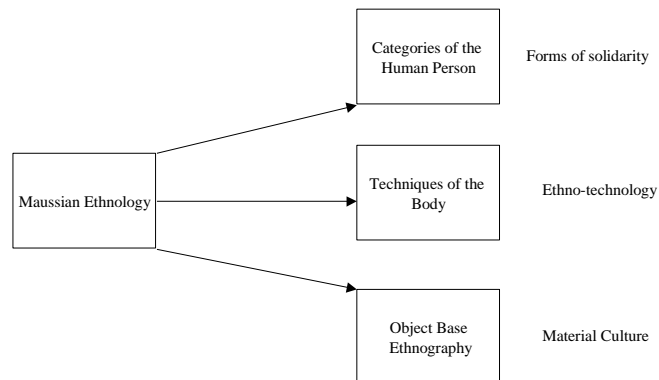
Diagram 4: The Maussian shift. With his teachings on the notion of the human persona, his technology of the body and his object-based understanding of ethnography, Marcel Mauss shaped the anthropology of the Musée de l'Homme

Mauss's perception of the self followed Durkheim's constitutional duality of human beings. Human beings are possessed, according to Mauss, by two states of consciousness: the first consists of sensations, sensory appetites, vague images and perceptions which are blended together through the force of collective representations, legends and myths. The second state, consisting of conceptual thought, logic and morality, is 'the site of consciousness, science and pure reason' (Mauss, 1938b, p. 89) and is at the origin of the Western independent and transcendental Ego of Fitche and Kant.

Traditional anthropological thinking had attributed the first state to primitive animistic societies and the second to complex individualistic societies. Mauss overcame this so-called 'great divide' and assumed that the cultural identity of every human being, whatever his background, culture or civilization, is shaped both by abstract rationality and by the strength of collective representations. Cultural identity had to be understood as a blend of epistemological abstraction and 'the multitude of ceremonies he assists from birth to death, from the role he performs as a warrior, or as a prince, from the feast he offers and from the secret society to which he belongs' (Mauss,1938b, p. 22). The self manifests itself in all the domestic objects and places:

'Giving its name to the house he lives in, with its roof, posts, doors, decorations, roof-beams, openings, to the ceremonial canoe, to his dogs, dishes, forks, coppers: everything is blazoned, inspired, everything participates in the persona of a proprietor and the material assets of family or clan' (Mauss, 1938b, p.70).

It would, however, be the work of Louis Dumont (1911-1998)[55] that would develop the Durkheimian polarity of the human mind into a fully-fledged theory of the self, along the lines sketched by Mauss (Dumont, 1966, 1983; Parkin, 2002; Celtel, 2005). His distinction between hierarchical thinking prevalent in traditional societies and egalitarian thinking existing in secular modern societies runs parallel to Bataille's distinction between materialism and low materialism (Bataille, 1929c,1930c) or Foulcault's distinction between the world of utopias and the world of heterotopias (Foucault, 1984). Dumont's conclusion is that, in spite of the alleged scientific objectivity of egalitarian societies, hierarchical thinking, understood as the ordering of the social facts according to a system of values, is very prevalent in modern societies.

THE FRAMEWORK OF MEMORY

Another consequence of the efforts of a whole generation to liberate French education and philosophy from its Cartesian and Kantian bias was the speculation on the way mankind experiences time and memory. For Bergson, the true source of personal identity is 'duration', the intuitive perception of inner time, which provides access to human creativity and spontaneity. Compared with the richness and variety of inner time, Western sequential objective time, was, according to Bergson, a limited notion. For Maurice Halbwachs, memories are not the fossilized remains of past experiences but in a permanent state of transformation. Each phase of the individual life or the community history has its memories, which are constantly reproduced and renewed: 'These memories have lost their original form and meaning precisely because of their repetitive nature and their reinterpretation in different periods of our life and very different systems of ideas' (Halbwachs, 1952, p.84).

Personal and historical memory are not only in constant change but are also heterogeneous. There are as many personal and collective memories as there are groups and institutions in a society. Social classes, families, associations, corporations, armies and trade unions all have distinctive memories, often constructed over long periods of time: 'Just as people are members of different groups at the same time, so the memory of the same fact can be placed within many frameworks, which result from distinct collective memories' (Halbwachs, 1925, p. 52).

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[55] Louis Dumont (1911-1998) is described today by his biographers as a specialist on the cultures and societies of India and on his theories on Western social philosophy and ideologies. In the 1950s he was associate professor at the Institute of Anthropology of Oxford and was to become director at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. He started his career as researcher in the Musées des Arts et Traditions Populaires in 1936. From this base, and from the teachings of Marcel Mauss, he published 'La Tarasque' (Dumont, 1952) which can be considered an early template for the fieldwork recording and interpretation of ethnographical objects according to the methodology and format developed by Maget and Rivière in the museum. This 'structuralist' approach to ethnographical research was defined by Dumont as 'the recording of data so that the object makes "total meaning" ('fait système') (Dumont, 1951, p.vi). It was a long process, aiming at reducing the gap that inevitably existed between the context created in a museum and the entangled meaning of the object in its non-constructed unconscious environment. As acknowledged: 'I had much support and counsel from the curators of the ATP Rivière and Maget. Maget helped me with his comments at every stage of the work, which profited of its methodological approach. Rivière prevented me falling into wrong moves in iconographical matters' (Dumont, 1952, p.19). In spite of their diverging careers, Rivière and Dumont kept in touch. In a letter to Dumont in Oxford, Rivière asked for advice on the domestic material culture amongst the Indo-Europeans for a coming exhibition: 'Rather than being a comparative display, the exhibition intends to open-suggest new perspectives and to experimentally point out certain new approaches' (Rivière,1952). The answer from Dumont reflected the growing gap between social anthropological research and the object-based ethnology of the Rivet- Rivière Musée-Laboratoire: 'Soon we realize that, beyond certain general clichés, there has been very little research, particularly in the domain of "realia." I have a ritual description of the domestic foyer and a great number of marriage rituals, but it is difficult to pinpoint their material aspect' (Dumont, 1952).

Georges Gurvitch, in his long study on the multiplicity of social time, described the variety of ways by which time is intuitively grasped, experienced and symbolized in different social frameworks and intellectual traditions. Accordingly he differentiated between the 'time of inanimate nature, physical time, astronomical time, time of living nature, time of vegetable and animal life, time of species and organisms, time of the human body, individual psychic time and collective psychic time' (Gurvitch, 1964, p.25). The perception of time of the peasant is totally different from urban time, and the time of the factory or the office worker different from the time of the child, the artist, the adventurer or the decision maker. An awareness of this multiplicity of perception becomes particularly important when different national or occupational cultures interact:

 'When nations and civilizations (French, British, American, German, Occidental, Oriental) confront each other directly, the differences of their social times become apparent, and grave errors are committed if they are not correctly delineated. Time in France is not identical with time in Norway, nor with time in Brazil. The tempo of the French Revolution is very different from the tempo of the Russian Revolution' (Gurvitch , 1964, p.14).

THE CREATION OF A NEW OBJECT-BASED ANTHROPOLOGY OF MAN
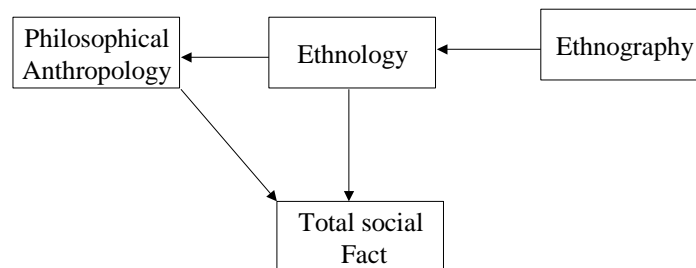
Dimensions of anthropological Research

Diagram 5: Dimensions of Anthropological Research in the Musée-laboratoire

To understand the nature and organization of research in a Rivet-Rivière Musée-laboratoire, we must point out the three levels by which the new science of anthropology was to be produced. In contrast with Malinowski's production of anthropological knowledge, in which the researcher brings together 'participant observation' and theoretical discourse, in the Musée-laboratoire this synthesis was carried out by teamwork and a strict division of labour between specialists. This led to a split between field work and theoretical constructions, and accounts for the difference that was made in France between ethnography, ethnology and anthropology. As sketched by Marcel Mauss's 1913 programme for the future reorganization of ethnology in France:

'Ethnography first needs fieldwork, then museums and archives, and finally teaching. It needs a body of ethnographers, whether professionals or amateurs, that observe in situ with their own eyes, and produce documents and collect artefacts. This material must be sent to museums and archives to be classified, displayed and published. Finally there is the teaching at different levels aiming at giving access to the knowledge produced to specialists, students and the public at large' (Mauss, 1913, p.420).

The term 'anthropology' had been reduced through the 19th century to what today is termed physical anthropology, the study of the biological characteristics of human ethnic groups. Paul Rivet, in his seminal article 'Ce qu'est l'ethnologie' (Rivet, 1936) in the *Encyclopaedia française,* proposed to move away from the heavily biased word 'anthropology' and adopted the term 'ethnology' to design the science of man which would include not only its physical features but above all its culture, history and technology. In the words of Rivet:

'We are not here only to study the present state of human races... we intend to research multiple paths such as anatomy, physiology, history, archaeology, linguistics and palaeontology, to unveil the origins, filiations, migrations, mixing of the groups that both in historical time and beyond the most ancient records constitute the mankind of today' (Rivet, 1936, p. 7'06-2).

Rivet also adopted the term ethnography to design the fieldwork carried out for the acquisition and documentation of new artefacts, which would deliver recorded documents, descriptive monographies, and material evidence of beliefs, rites, ceremonies, technology or myths. While ethnography was essentially descriptive and focused on detailed observation and analysis, ethnology, in contrast, would focus on producing the general conclusions that could be achieved by using in a comparative manner the documents presented by ethnography. (Lévi-Strauss, 1987b). Paul Rivet, in his guidelines for the *Study of material Civilizations, Ethnography, Archaeology, Prehistory*, strongly recommended that 'this study should no longer be anything but comparative' (Rivet, 1929).

In this spirit, the Museum of the Trocadéro was to become the headquarters of all the various institutes and societies in Paris dedicated to the ethnography of the different areas, including the French Institute of Anthropology, French prehistorical society, Society of Americanists and the Society of Africanists. The purpose was to produce a global ethnological synthesis beyond geographical areas and philosophical differences. It was to be an organization where specialists could exchange their ideas, compare their conclusions and discuss their syntheses. It aims at bringing together anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, pre-historians, archaeologists, linguistics, biologist, physiologists, palaeontologists, geographers, historians, geologists, zoologists, botanists, etc (Rivet & Rivière, 1935). Above all it was to 'produce a vast synthesis from the evidence found by the specialists and to approach Man in its globality' (Rivet, 1936).

PHILOSOPHICAL ANTHROPOLOGY: THE MEANING OF THE SCIENCE OF MAN

A third level of the science of man was beyond its ethnographical and ethnological aspects, and refers to its meta-historical dimension: the idea of Man in its universality and totality beyond its circumstances of time, place, ethnia or culture. In this sense, the new anthropology was closer to that of the 18th century 'observateur de l'homme' and to the newly created 20th century 'sciences de l'homme' than to any other established school of anthropology. (Jamin, 1979). Thus it was a 'philosophical anthropology' that

attempted to create a unified image of man, bringing together the aspirations of science, philosophy and history, and was expected to lead the way into a 'concrete humanism' (Lévi-Strauss, 1960, p.41). Under the influence of the new philosophical anthropology, French ethnographical sociology produced the titles in which the term 'elementary forms' became part of the philosophical framework in which the Myth of Primitivism was shaped. It would explore notions of categories of knowledge (e.g. Sacred versus Profane - Durkheim), the left versus the right (Herzt), concrete versus abstract (Lévy Bruhl, Lévi-Strauss, and Leenardt), categories of time (Durkheim, Gurtwich), and categories of experience such as the 'Total Social Phenomena' and categories of a person (Mauss, Leenardt).

It is important to understand that the term 'anthropologist' was used very loosely in France to cover, among other things. sociologists turned ethnologists (Mauss, Hertz,), philosophers with an ethnological outlook (Lévy-Bruhl, Bataille), poets and painters turned into ethnographers (Leiris, Desnos, Masson, Ernst), ethnographers turned into philosophers (Griaule, Lévi-Strauss), musicians into museologists (Schaeffner, Rivière), and historians into anthropologists (Parrain, Febvre, Annales).

THE SOLIDARIAN CONCEPT OF SOCIETY

Philosophically, it is important to understand the priority given to the solidarian concept of societies by an important strand of French evolutionary thinking and as represented in the anti-Darwinian transformism of the natural science museum of Paris. Darwinian evolutionism saw the 'struggle for survival' as the internal mechanism of evolution. In contrast, Lamarkians such as Joseph-Pierre Durand de Gros and Jean-Marie de Lanesan thought that the improvement of every living being in general, and man in particular, was the improvement of its natural and social environments, and opposed to the principle of 'struggle for life' was the concept of 'association for struggle' (Lanesan, 1881). In this line of thinking, Leon Bourgeois placed the notion of solidarity as the fundamental law of evolution: the laws of inheritance, of adaptation, selection, integration and de-integration are but different aspects of the same general universal law, the law of reciprocal dependency. (Bourgeois, 1896, p. 45).

Following this tradition, Émile Durkheim and his school of sociology relied on the assumption that the basis of human evolution is not psycho-biological but social: it is by sharing common beliefs and practices and transmitting successful skills that humankind separates itself from the animal species, and sets off on to an evolutionary course: 'The difference between man and animal can be reduced to the development of solidarity' (Durkheim, 1902, p. 338).

This conception of tradition was also shared by the group of Henri Berr who, from his Revue de Synthèse, was developing an interpretation of the history of humanity of similar inspiration to Émile Durkheim's *Année Sociologique*:

'At the beginning there was, if not a humanity, at least groups of humans with similar traits. However, it was only through socialization that the truly human started to shape. Primitive inventions, after they first appeared out of logical necessity, were immediately communicated, diffused, all the more speedily as they were an answer to basic needs, vital usefulness. They constituted the first framework of socialization… understood as a body of "beliefs and practices" transmitted by tradition' (Berr, 1922, xxviii).

This equating of society to culture, and the identification of sociability and tradition with the internal mechanism of human evolution, was one of the brands of the philosophy of the Musée Laboratoire, and was museologically articulated and given theoretical support by the work of André Leroi-Gourhan and Claude Lévi-Strauss.

ANDRE LEROI-GOURHAN'S HISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOTECHNOLOGY

Fig 19: Leroi Gourhan (1911-1986) and Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009)[56]

Following the teachings of Mauss on gesture and technology, Leroi-Gourhan[57] developed through the years a true historical anthropology of man, based on what he described as the liberation of gesture and the genesis of material culture (Leroi-Gourhan, 1936, 1943, 1945, 1964). A long list of titles covering palaeontology, physical anthropology, lithic archaeology based on the evolution of skills and body techniques sheds some important light on the fascination that, for many years, the museography of the

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[56]Following the teachings of Marcel Mauss, André Leroi Gourhan (left) and Claude Lévi-Strauss (right) articulated the theoretical foundation of the museology of the Musée Laboratoire. Both men held, for some time, the positions of Assistant-Directors in the Musée de l'Homme Sections for Pre-history and Ethnology respectively. (Lévi-Strauss, 1987b; Bertholet, 2003).

[57] André Leroi-Gourhan (1911-1986), anthropologist, archaeologist, paleontologist, paleo-anthropologist and anthropologist with an interest in technology and aesthetics and a penchant for philosophical reflection. Beyond specialists, the bulk of his work is largely unknown in the Anglo-American world. He was, with Marcel Mauss and Claude Lévi-Strauss, another of what Rivière has called 'friend, colleague and master.' In 1929 he became voluntary librarian in the newly reorganized Musée d'Ethnologie du Trocadéro, and was present in, and heavily influenced by, the experience of its dynamic transformation by George Henri Rivière's team. Even as a volunteer he was given the responsibility for the Far East and for the Arctic. After a degree in Russian (1931) and second in Chinese (1933) he then studied a program of the 'Certificat d'Ethnologie' established by Marcel Mauss and Paul Rivet (White, 1995, p. xv). In 1946 he was appointed by Rivet assistant director of the Musée de l'Homme and shortly afterwards he was joined by Claude Lévi-Strauss as the other assistant director. While Lévi-Strauss would gain world recognition for applying linguistic-structuralist models to socio-cultural phenomena, Leroi Gourhan would do the same from material culture (Lévi-Strauss,1987b,). He collaborated in the various RCP research projects organized by Rivière in the 60s (Leroi-Gourhan, 1970, Rivière, 1966b). The methods of recording and preservation he put in place in the archaeological diggings of Pincevent were totally innovative in their time, and had a direct influence on the modes of dismantling and reconstruction of the 'unite ecologiques'of the MNATP premises in the Bois de Boulogne (Leroi-Gourhan & Brézillon, 1972). By the 1950s, Leroi-Gourhan had constructed: a sophisticated theory of hominid evolution; a profound systematic understanding of the complex range of known technologies; a strong commitment to technology as the point of access for understanding human culture and to technical activities (both past and present) as instrumental, communicative, symbolic and culturally constructed; strong immersion in French structural thinking; a view of art based on a sophisticated understanding of cultural aesthetics (Leroi-Gourhan systematically talked of representation and seldom used the term 'art'); a set of meticulous methods for excavating and studying the prehistoric record (White, 1995, p. xvii). 'Le Geste et la Parole,' published in 1964, constituted a systematic attempt to assemble a 'unified theory' of human evolution. (Leroi-:Gourhan, 1993).

Rivet-Rivière held on vast sectors of the French public. Seminal publications such as *L'Homme et la matière* (1943), *Milieu et techniques* (1945) and the *Le Geste et la Parole* (1964), still largely unknown in the English-speaking world, constituted not only an alternative anthropology but also a true theory of culture.[58]

According to Leroi-Gourhan, anthropological evolution is a long process of virtualization of physical skills, of shedding out what was formally an internal body function. All species of the animal kingdom have inbuilt in their genetic inheritance the senses and the skills required for their survival. Whether this might be the sense of nesting, flying, navigating, hunting or any other skill, this inheritance is both unconscious and deeply embedded in the physical organization of their bodies.

With this assumption in mind, Leroi-Gourhan saw in human paleo-onthological evolution a continuous process of physical liberation and development of technical skills, language and memory:

'The whole of our evolution has being oriented towards placing outside ourselves what, in the rest of the animal world, is achieved inside by species adaptation. The most striking material fact is the "freeing" of tools, but the fundamental fact is really the freeing of the world and our unique ability to transfer our memory to a social organization outside ourselves' (Leroi-Gourhan, 1993, p.235).

First, there was liberation of the whole body from the liquid element, then the liberation of the head in relation of the body, the liberation of the hand in relation to locomotion and finally liberation of the skull in relation to the jaw. (Leroi-Gourhan, 1964). The critical phase was the step to walking vertically, which set free the hands and triggered key morphological changes on the bone structure. Leroi-Gourhan's criteria to assess the existence of humans were not the brain size but the existence of flint tools. The Australopithecus had the same brain size as some Homo sapiens: the differences were heavier jaws and under-developed foreheads. With changes in the methods of food preparations, the softer nature of the diet helped the progressive development of the forefront and lighter facial framework with the appearance of cheeks and chin. It is then that the brain moves into the newly-created cavity, without major changes in size.

All of this is central to the basic assumptions of the anthropology of the new Musée de l'Homme created in the 1930s: biological evolution was regarded as finished with the appearance of the first humans and all further progress is due to development of culture:

'Liberated from his tools, from his gestures, his muscles and the programmation of its movements, liberated of his memory and his imagination through art and writing the biological Homo Sapiens seems to be at the end of its career' (Leroi-Gourhan, 1993, p.266).

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[58] The subject of body techniques and technology was not only a permanent theme in Mauss's periodic courses at the Institute of Ethnology of Paris, but was also treated in a long list of articles such as *The notion of body techniques* and *Real and practical relations between psychology and sociology* in *Sociology and psychology: essays by Marcel Mauss*, 1935, Trans B.Brewster, London, 1979; *Les techniques et la technologie*, 1941 in *Oeuvres*, vol 3, pp.250-56; *Manuel d'ethnographie*, 1947; *La nation*, 1920 *Oeuvre*, vol 3, p.573 ff and p.613ff;, *Divisions et proportions des divisions de la sociologie*, 1927 in *Oeuvres*, vol 3, p.178ff & 194ff; *La civilisation: éléments et formes*, 1929 in *Oeuvre* vol 3 p.256ff; 328 ff; *Conceptions qui ont précédé de la notion de matière*, 1939 in *Oeuvres* vol 2, pp.161-168. See also Nathan Schlanger, *The study of techniques as an ideological challenge: technology, Nation, and humanity in the work of Marcel Mauss*, 1998, in Wendy James & N.J. Allen, *Marcel Mauss, A Centenary Tribute,* 1998. See selection of articles edited by Nathan Schlanger and published as Marcel Mauss, 2006, *Techniques, Technology and Civilization*, New-York-London, Durkheim Press/Berghahn Books.

ETHNOTECHNOLOGY AND OPERATIONAL SEQUENCE

The cultural representation of mankind through the display of its material culture has had a museological precedent in the system of classification devised by Pitt-Rivers in his archaeological and ethnological collections (Chapman, 1981). Because of its historical importance, it is relevant to explore the similarities and differences between Pitt-Rivers's material culture typology and Leroi-Gourhan's ethno-technology.

Like Leroi-Gourhan, Pitt-Rivers saw in museums a valid means to illustrate and explain the process of complexification of material culture:

'The objects are arranged in sequences with a view to show...the successive ideas by which the minds of men in primitive conditions of culture have progressed in the development of their arts, from the simple to the complex... if therefore we can obtain a sufficient number of objects to represent the succession of ideas, it will be found that they are capable of being arranged in museums upon a similar plan' (Pitt-Rivers,1874, pp. xi-xii).

However, Pitt-River's socio-cultural evolutionism assumed that 'history was another term for evolution' and that the evolution of tools followed a similar path as the Darwinian evolutionism:

'Nearly all the weapons of savages have derived their form from historical development, and are capable of being traced back through their variety to earlier and simpler forms, with as much certainity as the various forms of animal and vegetable life, (Bowden,1991, p.54).

Pitt-Rivers also assumed that technical ideas and artistic forms had originated and spread by a process of diffusion. In contrast, Leroi-Gourhan's concept of technical determinism ('tendance') understood all technical solutions as 'ahistorical' events, adapted by a process of trial and error to a particular environment, with the only the occasional contribution of selective borrowing.

The mechanisms of formation of technical solutions are, according to Leroi-Gourhan, both universal and specific. Universal in so far as they are determined by the laws of physics, and specific in so far as they are the product of adaptation of necessity with natural and cultural milieu:

' Everywhere human being have tools, gestures and make similar products, although each of them is impregnated by the group aesthetics and ethnic personality' (Leroi-Gourhan, 1993, p.253).

This universality of the technical solution, together with its many local variations, was described by Leroi-Gourhan as the result of two parallel processes, the 'Tendance' and the 'Fait', that is, the 'general tendency' and the 'actual realization' (Leroi-Gourhan ,1945, pp.336-339).

Thus the natural solution to the necessity of sheltering from the wind is to build a wall. However, the way that wall is actually built depends on the material available in the specific area. In the same way, there is a general tendency in the universe by which roofs have double folds , axes all have a handle, etc. The specific way this general tendency manifests itself, (the 'fait') is the outcome of its interaction with the specificity of its environment. As such, shelters might be built of wood, clay, stone or mud bricks according to the existing natural resources. In the same way. the same universal technical tendency

explains the existence around the world of spoons. However, the personalities of the Tuareg, Brittanian, Melanesian, Chinese or Eskimo spoons are the outcome of the tendency interacting with local religious and artistic traditions.

In the same way, the process of externalization follows a universal sequence based on a natural necessity by which internalized body skills become tools, tools become instruments, and a number of instruments contribute to the creation of complex machines. The tool is always simple, consisting of a single piece of matter. Examples of tools are the chisel, wedger and lever. In contrast, instruments are a combination of tools, i.e. the axe, that in addition to the metal head includes the handle. An arrow and a knife are instruments. Finally, a machine is a combination of instruments, i.e. a bow comprises the bow, the string and the arrow.

Pitt-River's static display of objects and forms to evaluate their possible connection in time was substituted by Leroi-Gourhan by a more dynamic 'operational sequence' which integrated to material culture to particular crafts and rural techniques of production. The 'operational sequences' bring together, in an efficient sequence, the many actions the farmer or the artisan used in his or her trade. They would become the framework for the recording and display of material culture in Musée-Laboratoire.

CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS'S COMPARATIVE PROJECT

Claude Lévi-Strauss[59] in his *La voie des masques* (Lévi-Strauss, 1975) was to evoke his 1949 visit to the American Museum of Natural History and his experience with the North Pacific Coast Americo-Indian

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[59] Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009), French anthropologist. From his different positions in the CNRS and in the Collège de France, and by landmark titles such as *Les Structure élémentaires de la Parenté*, 1949, and his successive volumes on *Mythologies*, (Lévi-Strauss, 1964; 1967; 1968; 1971), he constructed the intellectual framework of his so-called 'structural anthropology' (Lévi-Strauss, 1958, 1973), a tool for the scholar to understand phenomena beyond description and classification. However, if his structural anthropology is widely known, his 'structural museology' is totally unknown and has been ignored by his critics and biographers. Lévi-Strauss was closely related to the Musée de l'Homme and one of the theoreticians that most contributed to the object-based ethnology that shaped the Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire. He started his career as anthropologist with a field research on the Bororos in the Brazilian Jungle and an exhibition in Paris organized by the Musée de l'Homme. As he himself recollected, 'It wasn't quite at the Musée de l'Homme, because they were rebuilding the old Trocadéro for the 1937 exposition, and everything was in construction. George Henri Rivière, whom I met for the first time, persuaded the Wildenstein Gallery to let the museum use their space.' (see Lévi-Strauss in Éribon, 1991, p.21). The exhibition, a collection of decorated pottery and ornamental objects of the Caduveo and Bororo, was held from 21st of January to the 3rd of February 1937 and its catalogue-guides written with his wife Dina and published by the Museum of Natural Sciences (Lévi-Strauss, Claude and Dina, 1937). We find in the 1937 Bororo exhibition all the elements that gave Marcel Mauss's object-based ethnological 'primitivism' its most recognisable features. Lévi-Strauss's presentation of culture was achieved through the objects it produced: ceremonial musical instruments, ritual axes, material culture. His 'nolstalgia' for a more authentic past golden age, in which the arts and community life flourished, was recollected in his *Tristes Tropiques* (Lévi-Strauss, 1973). Lévi-Strauss's description of a disappearing culture has a close analogy with the twilight mood of Rivière's *unités écologiques*: 'Very little survives of the ancient splendour, and the few objects of good style that can be seen in these window-cases are but the last remains of a culture already dead' (Lévi-Strauss, Claude and Dina, 1937, p.281). Lévi-Strauss contributed to give primitive modes of thinking an epistemological dimension in his *La Pensée Sauvage* (Lévi-Strauss, 1967). Lévi-Strauss's interpretation of the teachings of Mauss in his *Introduction to the work of Marcel Mauss* (Lévi-Strauss, 1987) gave the often sparse and fragmentary nature of Mauss's teachings its theoretic status, and defined a new approach to social phenomena that pretended to go beyond Marxism and Anglo-Saxon functionalism. In his *La voie des masques*, (1975) he presented a whole theory for the collection, understanding and interpretation of ethnological objects. Finally, Lévi-Strauss designed and drew the general framework of the cultural gallery in the MNATP in the Bois de Boulogne (drawn, according to Varine, on the napkin of a local restaurant) (see Lévi-Strauss, 1992). Back in France after his exile in the United States in 1948, Lévi-Strauss was recruited as research supervisor (maitre de recherche) by the Centre national de la Recherche scientifique CNRS. The same year, Paul Rivet invited him to take the post of Assistant Director of the department–section of ethnology in the Musée de l'Homme. Thus, in the Autumn of 1948, Lévi-Strauss took temporary charge of the administration of the Museum, with the responsibility of managing the daily concerns and taking the most urgent decisions. In addition, his position

masks. In the museums of Vancouver and Victoria in British Columbia, Canada, he began to apply his structural method to seek out the similarities and variations of the various masks:

'Looking at these masks, I was ceaselessly asking myself the same questions. Why this unusual shape, so ill-adapted to their function? I was unable to answer all these questions, until I realized that, as in the case with myths, masks cannot be interpreted as separate objects' (Lévi-Strauss,1979, p. 12.)

He then realized that by comparing the shape, form and colours of the various tribal masks he could deduct the 'transformational relationship' that would explain their plastic specificity. Each mask was associated to myths that 'explained its legendary or supernatural origin, and to lay the foundation for its role in ritual, in the economy and in society' (Lévi-Strauss,1979, p.14).

He concluded that what was important was to gather, for future comparison, as much information as possible: first, on the aesthetical character, technique of fabrication, intended use and intended results of all the masks in question; and second, on all the myths that originated them, with an explanation of its appearance and conditions of use (Lévi-Strauss, 1975).

To fulfil this programme, the first steps were to reassemble an all-inclusive documentation about these societies in the form of monographies. A further study would be to find analogies and differences by comparing them through a system of binary combinations. This analysis, according to Lévi-Strauss, would unveil the general principle that explains why cultures differ between themselves, and why at the same time they are so similar.

Lévi-Strauss's comparative project was never carried out, though it left its mark on the research approach of the Musée-Laboratoire, and on its monographic and object-based museology. As we shall see, changes in the methods of anthropological research in the second part of the century would cast doubts on the epistemological soundness of its assumptions and would cause the programme to be shelved and never implemented. (See chapter 11).

CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS AND THE ATP CULTURAL GALLERY

Lévi-Strauss's influence was however more visible in the design of the ATP cultural gallery. As described by Rivière, 'The cultural galleries will be conceived according to a new display aiming at a structural presentation of the ethnology of France, according to the general scheme drawn by Lévi-Strauss' (Rivière, 1968, p.487). The gallery aimed at grasping the life of human beings as total realities 'weaving

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included a number of teaching hours in the Institute of Ethnology, now attached to the 'École pratique des hautes etudes,' and after moving into the premises of the Palais Chaillot (Éridon, 1991). It is then that he became a close friend of Rivière, with whom he shared their interest in playing with words, and in 'de petits exercices versifiés qui nous amusèrent quelques années.' As he recalled, 'It was agreed between him and especially my wife, as hostess and cooker, that with a simple telephone call he would find at home a table and full meal'(*ethnologie française*, vol 16, no.2, avril-juin 1986). In 1986, recollecting about the life and work of Rivière, he described him as being 'proficient in multiple fields. He brought to the sciences of man the "grain de folie" required for any great projects.' (see Lévi-Strauss, Allocution de Claude Lévi-Strauss', *Ethnologie française*, vol 16, n.2, avril-juin 1986).

new relationships between sociology, biology, psychology, history, linguistics and psychoanalysis' (Lévi-Strauss, 1987, p.73). Following Mauss's concept of 'Total social facts', it intended to represent phenomena which penetrate every aspect of the concrete social system. As pointed out by Gofmann, 'Each total social phenomenom cut across different institutions, values, and actions; it is at the same time legal, economic, religious, political, relating to production and to consumption, etc' (Gofman, 1998, p. 67).

Thus Lévi-Strauss's diagram (Diagram 4 below) was intended to achieve a sense of totality by depicting traditional ways of life through the viewpoint of a number of ascending perspectives. Mankind is born in the universe, and as such is subject to all the physical and biological constraints that biology, geography, climate, settlement, diet, mode of transport and mode of production impose on him. Activities such as hunting, fishing, agriculture, husbandry, habitation, forms of transport and craftsmanship are the means through which traditional societies have adapted and mastered their environment, and produce the tools and objects of their material culture. Living in close relation with the natural environment, Man produces a world of significances in relation to seasons, landscape, age group cycles and collective experience. Physical adaptation to its natural and material environment is complemented by its adaptation to the institutions, values and beliefs of his community and society. Human activity develops in the framework of the associations (clubs, institutions, workshops), public spaces (markets, agoras, meeting spaces) and activities (traders, professional activities), all of them with their juridical and administrative guidelines. The top end of cultural life is represented by the free creative activity involved in performance, music and plastic arts and literature by which the individual finds harmony and fulfilment with the universe and society.

The resulting Galleries were a spectacular museographical display which proved to have little long-term success amongst the general public. (see Segalen, 2005, pp.165-166). They turned out to be a frozen image of traditional rural life difficult to understand to anyone not acquainted with the anthropology of Mauss and Leroi-Gourhan. The visitor was recommended to make a number of visits to realize the full meaning of the display.

Roland Barthes has perhaps left us the best description of the shortcoming of this kind of presentation: 'They tend to show the "Great Family of Man" in the universality of human daily actions: birth, death, work, knowledge, play, which shape the ambigious myth of human "community," and which serve as an alibi for a large part of our humanism' (Barthes, 1957, p.107). Rivière himself recognized that 'the non-chronological presentation has the disadvantage of conveying to the public the absolute permanence over time of human life' (Rivière, 1968, p.485.)
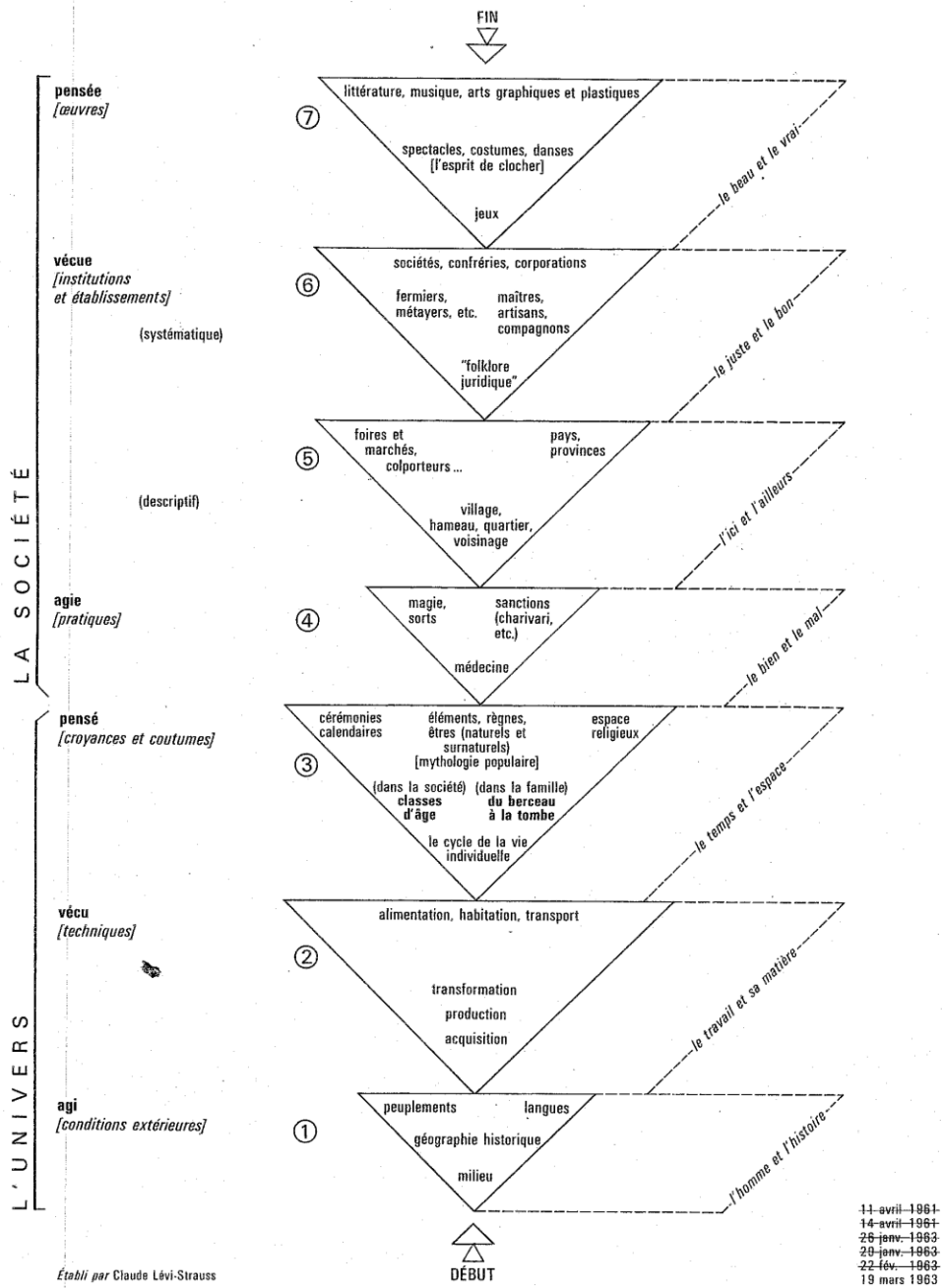
Diagram 6: Claude Lévi-Strauss's diagram drawn for for the MNATP Cultural Gallery (Lévi-Strauss, 1992, p165)

CHAPTER 7: THE MUSEOGRAPHY OF THE RIVET-RIVIÈRE MUSÉE-LABORATOIRE

Contents & Objectives: The museography of the Musée-laboratoire (as represented by the Musée de l'Homme and the MNATP) had a number of specific features.

First it was a museological project in which the relationship between research and acquisition was closely interconnected. Research was carried out as a team project, and in accordance with Maussian research assumptions it intended to represent societies and communities in the 'totalities' through the understanding of the symbolic significance and technological skills involved in material culture.

The Musée-laboratoire was headquarters of a network of other institutions (local museums) and informers that contributed to the implementation of regional fieldwork and collection. As such, the activities of the Musée-laboratoire went beyond closed doors and can be as considered as an open wall dimension of the otherwise traditional object-based museums.

The open wall dimension of the Musée-laboratoire must be complemented by its 'closed door' museographical activities. In contrast with traditional ways of acquiring, documenting and displaying collections, the Musée-Laboratoire was based on a long-term museological programme. Acquiring objects was not left to chance and circumstances, but followed a predefined collecting strategy. Documenting was not only the recording of physical, geographical or chronological data, but part of a whole project of anthropological research. This research was not carried out by an individual researcher, but as a teamwork effort involving specialized professional field workers working with local 'correspondants' and 'informers' in the field. The findings were to contribute to answering questions about a new anthropology of culture.

Another aspect of the Musée-laboratoire was the systematic used of temporary exhibitions aiming at the popularization of the state-of-the-art interpretation of ethnological research. Ethnological education though museums became an introduction to new ethical standards of citizenship and part of the policy of familiarization with the symbolic dimension of everyday material culture.

The objective of this chapter is to review the Museography of the Musée-Laboratoire as a tool for the research, documentation and dissemination of the new object-based anthropology of traditional rural cultures. The following points are reviewed:

Missions of the Musée-Laboratoire.
Definition and implementation of a Museological Programme.
Modes of research.
Object-based ethnological research and documentation.
Ethno-technology and ethno-musicology.

INTRODUCTION

When, in 1928, Paul Rivet was appointed to the Chair of Anthropology of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, he automatically became the Director of the Museum of Ethnology of the Trocadéro (MET) as well. This was the opportunity to initiate one of his most cherished long-term ambitions: the centralizing of all the existing ethnological resources in the capital. The MET would become a Musée-Laboratoire in which the traditional museum role of collecting would be matched and reinvigorated with modern modes of presentation of state-of-the-art anthropological research:

'An organization where specialists can exchange their ideas, compare their conclusions, discuss their syntheses. It aims at bringing together anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, pre-historians, archaeologists, linguistics, biologists, physiologists, palaeontologists, geographers, historians, geologists, zoologists, botanists, etc' (Rivet & Rivière, 1935, p.527).

Years later, Rivet reflected on the work undertaken:

'From 1928 to 1935, the museum went through a radical transformation with the training of a team directed by the enthusiasm of my friend Georges Henri Rivière. Multiple missions overseas were organized to increase the museum's collections alongside extensive enquiries on the different people and exotic civilizations. With the 1937 Exhibition, the opportunity came that allowed us to achieve all our objectives. In spite of having to sacrifice the work of eight years of efforts, the transformation of the old building of the Trocadéro gave us enough available space to put in place the new Musée de l'Homme, a unique complex organism dedicated to research, documentation and popularization of ethnology' (Rivet, 1937, p. 1-7).

The year 1937 also witnessed the creation by the French Government of the Department of Arts and Popular Traditions (DATP). Rivière would step down from his position as Assistant Director of the MET and was appointed its Director with André Varagnac as his assistant. (Rivière,1937; 1937b). With the idea of becoming a national museum of synthesis and the headquarters of a network of provincial museums, the ATP was to follow the Rivet-Rivière Musée Laboratoire:

'I have thought of creating in Paris a museum of synthesis as a centre with a programme of activities complementary to those of regional museums: each one must develop according to its own methods, its topography, its resources and genius. For this synthesis we will get inspiration and improve the example of the Museum of the Walloon Life and the Museum of Rhenania: our synthesis will present the picture of life, which is familiar to the great public' (Rivière, 1936, p.68).

Due to the lack of permanent displays, the new museum of the ATP was for many years merely a documentation centre in which research and acquisition was promoted, bringing together work carried out both in-house and in collaboration with provincial museum and local folklore associations. Thus the so-called the *Folklore Documentation Office* was created to coordinate and develop the scientific study of the Arts and Popular traditions and to encourage traditional crafts. In a circular to all provincial communes explaining the campaign to revive the tradition of 'Fires of Saint John', Rivière first offered his recommendations and advice and then asked the communes for a feedback on the events:

'The best way to thank the ATP museum for the small offerings of advice is to send back an account of the Fires of Saint John in your commune. If you need further information, please write to us with stamped self-addressed envelopes or visit us in our Folklore Documentation Office, open weekdays except Mondays from 14pm and 17pm' (2000 books, 10000 unpublished monographies and 6000 photographic negatives on French Folklore) (Rivière, 1938d, n.p).

EDUCATION OF THE CITIZEN

In contrast with the former physical anthropology, the renovation of the MET in 1928 placed Durkheimian sociology and ethnology as the most important tool in the shaping of a new citizenship. Innovative and well-designed exhibition space became an important media to present new anthropological ideas in resonance with hot issues debated in French cultural life. According to Paul Rivet, the objective of ethnological museums was the fight against racism by 'reinforcing the belief in the interaction of cultures'. (Rivet, 1948). Marcel Maget, Director of the Laboratory of French Ethnology of the MNATP, saw in the dissemination of ethnological knowledge an essential element to improve the interpersonal relationships:

'In the great city, with the dissolution of traditional extended families, individuals are bound to face foreign people and unfamiliar situations that go beyond their level of knowledge. Finding himself increasingly helpless, the individual starts to make "classifications" of foreigners according to certain manners and behaviours' (Maget, 1953, p.xxxiii).

Ethnological education was to be a true foundation stone in the familiarization with the unusual and the foreign: 'What is at stake is to create alternative explanations that can explain better what is unknown' (Mauss, 1927b, p, 24).

These views also had an international dimension. According to a 1950 article in ICOM News (unsigned, so almost certainly written by its Editor, Rivière), it was the duty of museums to commit their permanent galleries to the great battle for peace that UNESCO was waging against racism. (Barkan, 1988). Museums were to contribute to explaining:

'There is no such a thing as a pure race; the differences between races are only biological, and do not influence mental capacities. It is culture, that is, our social heritage, the body of knowledge, techniques and way of life that make men different' (ICOM News, June 1950, p.2).

For this purpose, ethnological and folklore museums, by showing the conditions shared by all men, could best contribute to the development of a true international understanding:

'Just by comparing the different civilizations, these museums are already contributing to destroy the prejudice of the inequality of races, and by showing the long sequence of anonymous inventions and re-inventions, they provide the best evidence of the solidity and kinship of every civilization' (ICOM News, June 1950, p.2).

This was to be achieved through a new museological language, later defined by Rivière as:

'The art of making accessible the results of science by means of volumes, colours and any graphical procedure suitable to evoke interest, focus the attention and nurture the memory and sensibility. It is half way between scientific evidence and the ability of the public to understand it' (Rivière, 1956).

For this purpose, objects were not only to be presented supported by a wealth of information, photographs and maps, but each of them should be presented several times in different contexts, in order to cast light into its different ethnological, geographical, sociological and technical aspects.

URGENT SALVAGE OF THE PAST

In his *L'ethnographie en France et a l'étranger* (Mauss, 1913), Marcel Mauss remarked on the lack of recognition and support given to ethnographic missions in France compared with the privileged position of classical archaeology, with its numerous official schools in Rome, Athens, Cairo, and the Far East. His museological interest was shaped by the perception of the impermanence of traditional cultures and the notion of 'urgent salvage of the past' (ethnologie d' urgence') which gave ethnographical missions a sense of emergency:

'Arts are disappearing, and the most beautiful collection pieces are lost. It is increasingly difficult to find original ones. With the death of the old custom goes, together with the knowledge of myths, tales, ancient techniques, everything that constituted the flavour and originality of a civilization' (Mauss, 1913, p. 432).

According to Mauss 'We have the absolute duty of acknowledging their existence and to document them as best as we can' (Mauss, 1933, p.445). In the spirit of Mauss, Rivière often lamented the 'increasing difficulty in finding ethnographical objects due to the acceleration of disappearing traditional cultures' (Rivière, 1968, p.481). The notion of Rivet-Rivière Musée Laboratoire partly had this important mission in mind, and from the beginning the Musée de l'Homme and the ATP focused on the field collection and documentation of traditional cultures in the phase of disappearance.

COLLECTING POLICIES: THE MUSEOLOGICAL PROGRAMME

In his *Les Musées de folklore an l'étranger et le future: Musée français des arts et traditions populaires* (Rivière,1936), Rivière distinguished four historical phases of museography: the phase of accumulation, in which the museum accepts everything and anything from everywhere and puts it all in display without any effort of rationalization and order, followed the phase of classification (rassemblement) by which collections are put on display in their totality, but follow some sort of design and method, primarily for the benefit of the curator. In the third 'phase of selection' only specimens and types of outstanding quality are collected and put on display: this is the museum of masterpieces, an approach ideal for experts and researchers. Finally, there is the museum of synthesis, the most suitable for the general public, in which only selected objects are displayed next to graphic and photographic documentation, with short, readable, explanatory texts [60] (Rivière, 1936).

According to Rivière, the ideal museum would need to integrate the last three phases: classification of the collection in the storage and the scientific gallery, selection in specific displays situated in 'lateral' rooms complementing the 'synthetic' display of the main galleries.

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[60] Forty years later, Rivière would call this synthesis interdisciplinary: 'Applied to art, museums interdisciplinarily present the artist through the display of his work, and situate this work in its technical and social environment; applied to museums of prehistory, following the teaching and work of André Leroi-Gourhan, it changes its scope and its name into museums of ethno-prehistory; applied to museums of history it widens its view beyond the events and the leaders of the day; it will reach society as a whole and its in its daily life; applied to museums of earth sciences, it will turn to a policy of more rigorous protection of the natural resources of the planet. Far from limiting interdisciplinarity to the universe of museums only, it will try to incorporate the ethics of relationship between social groups ... militancy, cultural activities and private lives into another universe which has already evolved within the natural parks, into the youthful universe of the Ecomuseum' (Rivière, 1981, p.554).

With these assumptions, what is a museological programme? It is a set of long-term guidelines that inspire and direct the collection policy and management of a museum. The Musée-laboratoire's museological programme had a threefold objective: the production and documentation of an object-based ethnology; the publication and display of its result, and the salvage of the disappearing material culture of traditional societies. (Rivière, 1937).

The museographical programme could include an architectural design in which the various functions of the musée-laboratoire shaped the purpose-built museum building. According to this notion, the new ATP as a scientific and research institution had its scientific gallery, audiovisual departments, archives and user-friendly register. As a cultural institution it was to have a cultural (activities) gallery or space and be suitable for cater to the psychologically and physiological requirements of the general public. (Leroux-Dhuys, 2000).
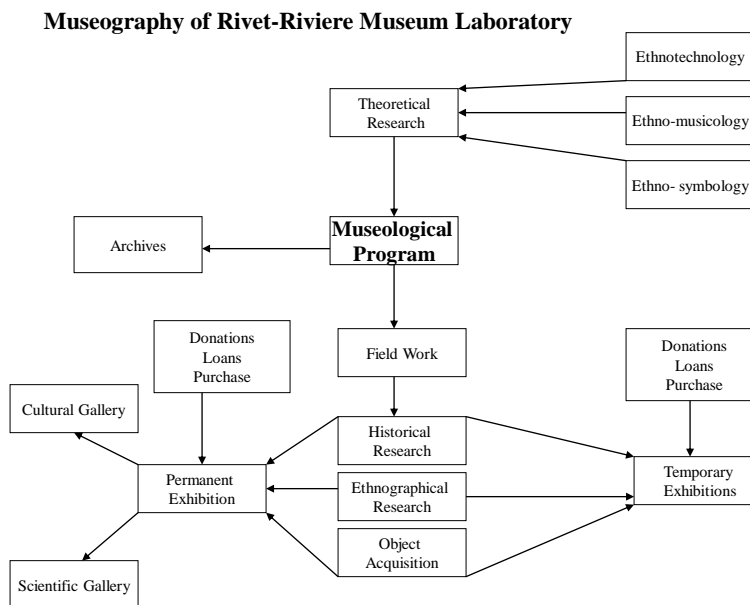
Diagram 7: Museological programme in the Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire was an open wall research-collecting-exhibition organization. Fieldwork research was carried out by teamwork and according to the guidelines laid out by the theoretical assumptions of ethno-technology and ethno-musicology. The field work was articulated around an historical research in archives and an ethnographical research on local stories, myth, collective ceremonies, beliefs and craftsmanship, related to an object acquisition based on donations, loans and purchase. The final results are exhibited either in temporary exhibition around certain themes or as permanent displays for the general public. A scientific gallery would be available to the specialized community. Records of the whole museological programme are accessible in the audio-visual and documentation archives.

OBJECT-BASED ETHNOLOGY

It has often being remarked that it was paradoxical that just when anthropological research across the world was divorcing itself from museums, in France ethnology was given a museological approach, (Collier & Tschopik, 1954; Sturtevant, 1969; Chapman, 1981; Dias, 1992; Stocking, 1995; Jacknis, 1995.) From the 1920s, American anthropology started to shift from an object-related and museum-oriented anthropology to a non-museum anthropology, centred on universities, hospitals and development programmes. In contrast, French anthropological fieldwork initiated a wave of museographical, object-based anthropological research which, from the 1920s to the 1950s, gave a new and unexpected significance to the interpretative potential of both material culture and cultural history.

The successive museological programmes put in place by Rivière, in the context of the Musée-laboratoire, have to be understood against the background of theoretical assumptions and research guidelines inspired by Marcel Mauss at the school of ethnography of Paris between the years 1928 and 1936, and edited and published by Denise Paulme as *Manuel d'ethnography* (Mauss, 1967). Marcel Mauss repeatedly insisted in his courses on the urgent need for the creation of collections of objects:

'The creation of collections of objects is essential to know the economy of a country; technology shows us the ingenuity of invention that characterizes a particular civilization. The use of museum collections is the best means for the writing of history' (Paulme, 1967, p. 17).

This priority shaped the work of Marcel Griaule (1898-1956) and his school of ethnologists and the ethno-musicology of André Schaeffner (1895-1980).

Marcel Griaule, in his instructions *L' Enquête orale en ethnology* (Griaule, 1952), reconfirmed the Maussian assumption that there was no institution or human activity so detached of contingencies that it did not lead to the production of some kind of material object:

'Theoretically, by putting each object at the centre of a descriptive network, it would be possible to reach a good knowledge of any society by the observation of everything that that society produces and uses' (Griaule, 1952, p.44).

Another key concept of Mauss's ethnography was the rejection of the concept of the masterpiece and rare object, and the vindication of everyday material culture as an important part of the heritage left by each society: 'Whatever the extension and variety of the production of any manufacture, all the output should be preserved, if possible in various unfinished stages of fabrication' (Mauss, 1967, p.40).

Above all, Mauss directed the attention of his students to creating a methodology for the recording of material culture. In the Musée-laboratoire, material culture would be meticulously collected and recorded, using the state-of-the-art technical facilities - photography, film, sound - alongside a record of the geographical environment, such as geology, population distribution and the gestures and skills that originated the local knowhow (techniques). The methods of observation in the Instructions have an essentially documentary approach:

'Each object must have a number written in ink, referring to an inventory and a descriptive file, with information on its use and fabrication. The file should have attached photographic and cinematographic

annexes together with drawings illustrating the phases when the object is used and the sequence of hands or feet movements. The exact time and date of it is recorded, as some of these activities are seasonal. Finally, the researcher will try to find out and record the religious or magic significance of a particular object or the meaning of a particular inscription' (Mauss, 1967, pp.17–18).

Each village was to be documented with agricultural, geological and habitat maps. The agricultural map would record agricultural plots with their flora, fauna, and mineralogy, together with anything that might have an influence on human and social life: e.g. type of crops, hunting animals and their travelling tracks, geological maps, population distribution and habitat, with the location of huts, buildings and caves. (Mauss, 1967).

In the same way, every tool and technique was to be named, together with its place of origin. Who used it and how was it used were to be clearly documented and photographed at the different phases of a manufacturing process. The recording of every spoken word was recommended, 'even the most vulgar or inconsequential talking, both in the original tongue and in French, trying to record the tonalities with some kind of phonetic sign' (Mauss, 1967, pp. 19–21).

Techno-morphology would focus on the relations between local techniques and the soil, with its variations according to whether it is the sea, mountain, river or lake. 'I was also a recommended to provide a chart of the plastic arts, sculpture and painting, decorative arts, body decoration etc, with photographic or pictorial attachments and a reference to their symbolic significance' (Mauss, 1967).

TECHNOLOGIES OF THE BODY: GESTURES AND SKILLS

From his observations in the war front, Mauss started his considerations on the ways humans use their bodies by the superimposed action of education and imitation. Mauss's articles on the 'techniques of the body' (Mauss, 1935) pointed to the ways Man has used the body in the different civilizations and how the body reflects socio-cultural constraints. Body skills shaped the control of emotions, education of sight and the ways of moving in the world. In his courses he would extensively talk about gestures, body gist, physical movements and technical skills involved in the manufacturing of weapons, cooking ingredients and ways of local cuisine, procedures of dying and weaving, and descriptions of dances, games and plastic arts. Mauss's teachings can be considered as a catalogue of subject matters in future research field missions:

'Techniques of giving birth, both on the mother's part and on the part of her helpers, of holding the baby, cutting and tying the umbilical cord, caring for the mother, caring for the child. There are ways of eating and drinking, seeing, hearing, sense of music and habits of breathing. There are techniques of adolescence and techniques of adult life, techniques of sleep, techniques of rest, techniques of movements (walking, running, dancing, jumping, climbing, descent, swimming, pushing, pulling, lifting), techniques of care of the body (rubbing, washing, soaping, care of the mouth), techniques of consumption (eating, drinking), techniques of reproduction (sexual positions, etc)' (Mauss, 1935, p.111-119).

RECORDING OF LIVING PRACTICES AND GESTURES

The importance given to living practices made the recording of ceremonies and gestures an important aspect in the documentation of material culture. In 1933, Griaule published his *Introductions*

methodologiques (Griaule, 1933) to introduce the general public to the innovative ethnographical filming techniques put into practice in the Dakar-Djibouti Mission. The recording of a mass ceremony needed a number of observers perceiving the same event from different perspectives: one observer from the top of the cliff, another mixing with the group of women and concentrating on their reactions, another standing next to the torch bearers and recording movements and gestures. (Griaule, 1933).

It was Marcel Maget in his *Guide d'étude directe des comportements culturels* (Maget, 1953) who made the most exhaustive articulation of the best practices for recording living performance and gestures. The researcher was to be aware that the performer is mostly unaware of the origins and deeper motivations of his beliefs and actions (Maget, 1953). As described by Rivière in his courses on folklore at the École du Louvre, traditional skills were based 'on long term empirical knowledge and mechanical knowhow orally transmitted through practical learning, or though the silent teaching of the practical demonstration' (Rivière, 1938, p. 16).

According to Maget, the repertory of activities and professional practices and cultural behaviour at the centre of daily life are a complex compound of 'normalized predictable behaviour' (comportements controlés normalisés) and non-controlled behaviour (comportements incontrolés). The first are transmitted by formal education, the latter through non-explicit and non-verbal processes.

The study and recording of all these practices constitute the subject of the two volumes of *Evolution et techniques (*Leroi-Gourhan, 1943, 1945), in which Leroi-Gourhan developed a systematic technology aiming at showing the gestures that make tools technically effective. According to Leroi-Gourhan, the stereotypical daily actions and gestures performed when dressing, washing, eating or writing are 'operational sequences' that can be formally articulated for study and documentation. (See Leroi-Gourhan, 1993, p.232-233).

DISPLAY OF OPERATIONAL SEQUENCES

Fig 20: A 'technological sequence', the making of a wine barrel MNATP, Paris.

At the centre of the Musée de l'Homme stood André Leroi-Gourhan's displays on the modes of using the body in technological activities. In a succession of display cases, the various forms of percussion, body positions and complementary actions and sequences were displayed to show the evolution of these activities. The assumption was that mechanical skills of the human body were basically the same in every human being, but different cultures and traditions introduce different body positions, rhythms and gestures, in the way of holding, pushing and pulling their tools. Initially, in such activities as flint-making, spinning and knitting, pottery and the forging of metals, only the hand was involved, with occassional the help of the foot. The incorporation of new forces of motion tended to completely eliminate the force of the body or the operations of the hand. Then there was the use of animals to improve the efficiency of some of its technical actions: carts, mills, water elevation, etc.

The same approach was adopted by Rivière in the Cultural Gallery of the new site of the MNATP during the 1960s. Organized by themes such as 'from corn to bread', 'from clay to pot', 'from tree to workbench', 'from quarry to building', 'from vine to wine', 'from fleece to clothing', the various traditional knowhow and crafts were displayed according to their operational sequence and stages of production. Thus the various movements and activities needed to produce the daily bread from the field to the baker's shelves were reproduced statically, but evoking each movement with what has been called the 'museography of nylon strings' (Gorgus, 2003).

The process of manufacturing traditional pots was illustrated by presenting the whole process of extraction of clay, transport and stages of preparation of it (cleaning, battering and filtering). After this preparation, the step-by-step sequence of pot modelling, from concentric strips of clay to the final processes of drying and varnishing, was demonstrated. In the same mode, the tools and operations used in the extraction, shaping, decorating and polishing of building stones were named and displayed. The theme 'From the tree to work-bench' was illustrated with drawings and diagrams reproducing the various phases of transformation of wood, and the skills and crafts involved in the cutting in a number of traditional trades such as barrel- or clog-making.

ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND CLASSIFICATION OF MUSICAL INTRUMENTS

Fig 21: André Scharffner (1895-1980) with Anatole Lewitzky (1902-1942).

The search of elementary structures as foundation stones of complex phenomena led André Schaeffner to elaborate a theory of musical instruments. Following Mauss's 'technologies of the body', Schaeffner's starting point was his realization that music has its origins in the human body expressing itself in dance and the human voice, which, in the process of evolution, gradually transfered some of its qualities to physical instruments (Schaeffner, 1936). In a similar thought pattern as in Leroi-Gourhan's theory of the genesis of technical tools, he believed that the diversity of instruments was born of the actual union of the natural rhythms, screams and sounds of the body with the activities of everyday life.[61]

According to this hypothesis, Schaeffner, in his *Origine des instruments de musique, Introduction ethnologique a l'histoire de la musique instrumentales* (Schaeffner, 1936), based his classification of instruments on the mode of interaction of the body to create the sound. Movements such as percussion, plucking, blowing or friction were transferred to membranes, strings or wind instruments. Schaeffner accordingly divided musical instruments into two major categories: first, 'instruments with a solid vibrating body' and second, 'instruments using vibrating air'. In his article *Les Kissi: une société noire et ses intrument de musique'* (Schaeffner, 1951), Schaeffner pointed out the semiotic character of musical instruments in relation to comparative musicology. The assumption at the time was that in black African society every musical instrument had a clearly defined purpose in a particular circumstance or ceremonies, and each one reproduced a sound that stood as a sign of something visible or invisible (Schaeffner, 1951).

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[61] The principles of his classification were outlined in *Project d'une classification nouvelle des instruments de musique* (Schaeffner, 1931) and in *D'une nouvelle classification methodique des instruments de musique*, (Schaeffner, 1932). The book *Origin des instruments de musique, Introduction ethnologique a l'histoire de la musique instrumentales*, (Schaeffner, 1936) was the outcome of his experiences in the Dakar-Djibouti Mission and the second expedition organized by Griaule to the French Sudan. It owed much of its contents to Curt Sach's *Geist und Werden der Musicinstrumente* (Sach, 1929) and to the drive and enthusiasm of Rivière to create, through the generosity of David David-Weil, a department of musical ethnology in the MET.

Using field research involving sociological, psychological and linguistic observations and Schaeffner's system of classification of African instruments, in 1937 Claudie Marcel-Dubois set up a Department of Musical Ethnology concentrating on traditional French Music.

Schaeffner's scheme of classification, collection, study and preservation of musical instruments was later adopted internationally through UNESCO's recommendations in its *Guide for the collection of traditional musical instruments* (Dournon, 1981), and this initiative of Rivière's ATP in the 1930s remains in use today through the work carried out by ICOM's International Committee for Museums and Collection of Musical Instruments (CIMCIM).

TEAM RESEARCH METHODS

The almost universal acceptance in the 20th century of Malinowski's 'participant observation' as the validated attitude to ethnological field work has often obscured the existence of other traditions of enquiry. What might be called the 'structuralist' approach to ethnological field work was based on the paradigm of the 'judicial enquiry': following a set questionnaire, the research was an in-depth investigation and recording of the testimony of a vast number of informers belonging to all sectors of the population.

Métraux and Lévi-Strauss often pointed to the reports of early Spanish officials and administrators in the Americas of the 16th century onwards as the first valuable examples of such a research methodology (Métraux, 1925; Lévi-Strauss, 1960). The Catholic daily or weekly confession became a paradigm of anthropological enquiry:

'With steady perseverance, availailable time, close contact with the native, good knowledge of the language, the inquisitors developed an extraordinary ingeniosity and sagacity and succeeded to penetrate the most secret corners of the Indians' minds' (Métraux, 1925, pp.23-24).

The role of the field worker was compared to detective work or to the role of a court prosecutor (juge d'instruction):

'The subject researched is like the crime to be proven, the informer is the prosecuted and the accomplices are the rest of the society'… [The oral enquiry] became like a living theatre in which the researcher changes his roles from friendly colleague to distant acquaintance, from critical foreigner to understanding father, from interested protector to absent minded auditor' (Griaule, 1952, p. 547).

Following this tradition, ethnological research in the musée-laboratoire in the 1930s tended to focus on finding evidence for the different degrees of crystallization of social life, which often had its foundation in 'states of collective consciousness, irreducible and opaque to ordinary consciousness' (Gurvitch, 1950, p.11).

The challenge of any oral enquiry in field ethnology was to understand the gap existing between 'what is said and what is not said' (Corbin, 1990, p.238). What the researcher had to unveil and reach was not only visible institutions but particularly modes of thinking, representations, and conceptions of the world.

In this situation 'observable objects are as important as non observable, what is cooked is as important as what is not cooked, stable phenomena as much as phenomena in movement' (Griaule,1952, p.43).

In 1937, at the First International Conference of Folklore, held in Paris, Rivière explained the preparation and methods of fieldwork research, drawing from the fieldwork experience gathered from recent missions and enquiries promoted by the Musée de l'Homme: the missions headed by Marcel Griaule, Jacques Soustelle and Robert Gestain, as well as the enquiries promoted by the Commission des Recherches collectives directed by André Varagnac and Lucien Febvre. (Rivière, 1937c, p. 298).

Two research modes were practised: the prospective 'extensive method' or the intensive 'in-depth method'. The prospective character of the first aimed at an initial contact with possible suitable informers, and to define the geographical limits and the most characteristic traits of a particular region. The more detailed character of the intensive method only came after the specialists had studied the material gathered in successive prospections. The intensive methods would concentrate on one particular aspect of the research, such as particular skills of technique pottery, the study of the material, social and ideological character of a favoured region or of a localized population. This sort of mission required five or six scientific workers, whose methods of work had been discussed beforehand, and the work was constantly redirected in daily meetings about the day-to-day findings. As for the extensive method, the specialist embarking on an intensive mission would already have made in-depth library research and would be well acquainted with the existing bibliographical material. (Rivière, 1937c).

One of the main duties of 'correspondents' was to answer ready-made questionnaires. Some of these questionnaires were addressed to all 'correspondents', others were more specific, targeting specialized networks of informers recruited amongst e.g. the priesthood, teachers, notaries, civil servants (fonctionnaires) of the Ministry of Agriclture and Ministry of National Education, departmental archivists, members of specialized societies, scholars and local experts. (Rivière, 1937c).

ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH MISSIONS

 An early example of such a museological programme was the Dakar-Djibouti Mission, organized by Rivière following his *Instructions sommaires pour les collecteurs ethnographiques* (1931), compiled for the occasion by Rivière and his team.[62] The Dakar-Djibouti Mission (1931-1933) was the first of a series of successive research and collecting trips organized by the Musée de l'Homme under the direction of Marcel Griaule[63] and was followed by Sahara-Sudan (1935), Sahara-Cameroon (1936-37), Niger-Iro Lake

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[62] To the collecting objectives of the Dakar-Djibouti Mission, Marcel Griaule added in his *Introduction metodologiques* two methods of ethnological research: the 'plural observation' and the 'longitudinal observation.' The first method, in which Jean Jamin sees the influence of filming practices (Jamin, 1982), was aimed at its eventual 'presentation' to a public and consisted of having posted a number of observers in one place looking at the same phenomenon (festival, public event) from different angles. It helped to obtain a more complete and detailed information together with the benefit of the various different spatial distributions, which would bring a better 'covering' of some big social or ritualistic events. In contrast to this approach, the 'longitudinal observation' aimed at the repeated observation of the same phenomenon in a long period of time. He himself interminently studied the Dogon of Mali during a period of ten years (1946-56).

[63] For a critical analysis in the modes of collecting in the Dakar-Djibouti Mission, see Michel Leiris's own self-critical account published as *L'Afrique fantôme* (1934); James Clifford, *Tell about Your Trip*: Michel Leiris (1994) and *Power and dialogue in ethnograph;* Marcel's Griaule's Initiation in James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography,*

(1938-39) and the long missions of Marcel Griaule to Mali between (1946-56) where he became 'initiated' into the Dogon cosmology.[64]

The purpose of the mission was to gather ethnographical, linguistic and geographical research material together with the ethnological, anthropological, zoological, entomological and embryological collections.[65] In addition, a number of themes were researched according to intensive methods, e.g. there were enquiries about religious and esoteric institutions, youth and children's institutions, enquiries about traditional skills and techniques, including buildings, food, agriculture, hunting, fishing, pottery, spinning and weaving, iron and wood working (see Bataille et al, 1931; Caltagirone, 1988). In the same manner the intensive recording of Dogon's masks covered esoteric societies, public ceremonies, funerary dances and secret rites, and finding the fieldwork evidence for the further study of totemism, religion, magic, games, political organizations, births, marriages and deaths and technology.

Segalen, in her history of the ATP, distinguishes two types of research programmes. From 1937 to 1963 there was a long list of field enquiries organized by the ATP and organizations such as *Centre de Recherches Collective* (Maget, 1936), concentrating on the study, acquisition and documentation of vernacular architecture and the everyday rural material culture. These were short in duration, organized around themes and based on available publication and literature and informers selected from a network of correspondants, performers and witnesses of technical skills in phase of disappearance (Weber, 2003). They supplied material for the succession of temporary exhibitions that for many years kept the ATP in the eyes of the public.[66] The second category of inquiry dates from 1963, when the Centre d'ethnologie française, in association with the CNRS units mainly based in the new MNATP building in the Bois de Boulogne, initiated the era of the coordinated intensive interdisciplinary field research programmes, in which the historical, geographical, sociological and economic dimensions of a local society were professionally studied.

Starting in 1937, the Département des Arts et Traditions Populaires was able to benefit from the results of the four enquiries of the Commission de Recherches collectives, presided over by Lucien Febvre with André Varagnac as Secretary. The Commission launched four questionnaires related to 'folklore' themes: Harvest and traditional games, Recent evolution of the village forge, traditional popular diet, and traditional means of locomotion and transport. (Rivière, 1937c, p.4). In 1937 the Department of ATP also

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Literature and Art, 1994 and Marie-Denise Shelton, *Primitive Self: Colonial Impulse in Michel Leiris's L'Afrique fantôme* and in Elazan Barzan, *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and Culture of Modernism*, 1995.

[64] The finality of this 'intensive' approach was to bring some elements of the 'occult' cosmology of the Dogon to the Musee de L'Homme that would facilitate the understanding of the Dogon Collection, following Rivière's belief in the materiality of hidden things, the existence of an esoteric knowledge and the positivity, reality and content of the secrets (Jamin, 1982, p.88). See Doquet, 1999.

[65] These ethnographic missions, sponsored and organized by the musee de l' Homme, were essentially collecting missions with the objective of completing the collections and establishing consistent series. The material gathered is exhaustively recounted by Germaine Diertelen: '3500 objects, recording of 30 languages or dialects, most of them never heard of, creation of an important collection of Abyssinian paintings, more than 300 Ethiopian manuscripts, a collection of living animals for the Natural Science Museum, 6000 photographic negatives, 600 sound recordings, etc' (Diertelen, 1957, p.138.)

[66] For an extensive report on the variety of research on vernacular architecture, pre-industrial crafts, agricultural and household artefacts, costumes, games, calendars, masks, witchcraft, ethno-musicology, dance, puppets, oral literature and traditional plastic arts, see George Henri Rivière, *Enquêtes du Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires et de quelques chercheurs qui y sont associés*, 1958d.

undertook, under the auspice of the Minister of Agriculture, a vast enquiry into traditional rural tools which was be followed by two more, on the popular song and the calender. The ATP, in collaboration with the Agricultural Services, had also started enquiries on 'Ancient French Agriculture', a research on 'Child Folklore' in collaboration with and directed to teachers, and one on 'Ancient Forest Crafts' in collaboration with the State Department of Water and Forests (Rivière, 1937c, p.4). From 1940 to 1944, the state-sponsored nationwide enquiries known as Enquêtes de Vichy aimed at creating the inventory and documentation of rural dwellings, traditional furniture, and folk craftsmanship and popular tradition of peasantry.[67] The late Rivière would recall these wartime researches:

'During the war I myself was responsible for an important research in all France with about fifty young architects... we made a general enquiry of the whole territory of France except the Alsace and the Lorraine ... we made about 1000 descriptions of agricultural farms, with the analysis of designs, interpretation and opinions conveyed by the inhabitants according to their social class and age group....These carefully recorded materials are now unique, as these farms have disappeared in many of these departments. My successor is publishing them, making a comparative review of the houses as they were during the war and as they are now' (Rivière, 1978, Appendix I, p. 263).

The methodology followed by all these enquiries was brought together by Marcel Maget in his instructions for field acquisition of objects Guide d'étude directe des Comportement Culturels (Maget, 1953), which grew out of the courses delivered by Maget from 1945 at the École du Louvre, at the invitation of Rivière. Maget's 'Instructions' were an extensive study on how to retrieve objects and related contextual information from their social and natural environment. It followed Marcel Mauss's basic assumption that 'material traces are the most clear and durable witnesses of a given culture and the most perfect tools for museological evocation' (Maget, 1953, p.17).[68]

In contrast with reduced scoped of the above, the long term research missions called Recherche cooperative sur programme (RCP) constitutes today the most accomplished articulation of a global museological programme, aiming at documenting the material culture of the way of life of a population of a particular territory. It followed the experience of the Enquête de Plozevet (Burguière, 1961; Morin, 1967). This enquiry was described by Burguière as a 'multidisciplinary study of an endogenous population' that applied modern urban sociological methods of research to rural societies. It tried to overcome the shortcomings of the standard method of questionnaires through what Morin called 'phenomeno-graphical observation', the 'detailed, panoramic and analytic observation of facts, gestures,

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[67] The Vichy research inquiries were: Enquête (1425-), Habitat rural en France (1941-), (Rivière, 1973; Raulin, 1973), Enquête 909-mobilier traditionnel (1941-1946); Enquête (1810-), Arts et traditions populaires de la paysanneries. Using the monography methods, these enquiries documented the geography, raw materials, products, tools, knowhow, rate of production, biographies and histories of each craft and workshop. The corpus of documentation at the MNATP shows much diversity: vannier de Brière, batteurs et fondeurs de cuivre de Villedieu-les-Poeles, potiers de la Borne, artisans du bois de la foret vendeenne et du vignoble nantais, chaudrauniers de Dufort ou d'Aurillac, tailleurs de granit de la Crouzette…(Faure, 1989, p. 37).

[68] Maget's scheme was indebted to the experience gathered from practitioners in their own fields (engineers, craftsmen) and professionals working in the fields of medecine, pedagogy, social work (psycho-technicians), sport supervisors, trade union organizations, and advertising. It also drew on the experience of the inquiries on social psychology made under the direction of Celestine Bougle, the collective enquiries on folklore carried out by Andre Varagnac and Lucien Febvre, the experience of the Dakar-Djibouti Mission (1931), the Enquiry on Folklore in Sologne (1937), the field enquiries for study of traditional furniture, architecture and rural ethnology carried out in the war years and the ground breaking monography of Louis Dumont's La Tarasque (Dumont, 1951).

dress, objects, landscape, houses and lanes' (Morin, 1971, p.255.) Rivière closely followed the development of this research, informally contributing to it with advice and encouragement both before and after his official retirement as Director of the MNATP.

In this spirit, the 'Recherche cooperative sur programme' (RCP) called 'Aubrac' focusing on the Aubrac area in the south of the Masssif Central, was set up in 1963 by the CNRS, gathering together various laboratories and groups of researchers to prepare a multi-dimensional report on an example of a French rural habitat (Rivière & Parrain, 1967; Rivière, 1970). A permanent coordinating commission with the headquaters in the MNATP in Paris was composed of André Leroi-Gourhan as President, Georges Henri Rivière as Curator/Director of the MNATP, with André Fel, Corneille Jest, Claudie Marcel-Dubois, the latter being Head of Ethno-musicology at the MNATP. In the words of Leroi-Gourhan, it was Rivière's unique leadership that led this enquiry to be a team instead of a group of independent individual field studies. History, agronomics and sociological sciences converged with the different fields of ethnology into a really true synthesis, into a multiple but nevertheless coherent image of a living community. (Leroi-Gourhan, 1970, p.9).

According to Martine Segalen, the implementation of this project was exemplary, blending research, themes and museological acquisition in one single whole: 'Rarely has any collection of artefacts been so well documented and "restituted" than the Buron of Chavestras at the MNATP' (Segalen, 1988, p. 393). We find in the RCP Aubrac a good example of how a museological programme was triggered by the concerns of the society it is supposed to document, assessing the survival of the cattle breeders of the Aubrac that, for centuries, have produced a well-adapted breed of cattle through breeding methods, and systems of mountain exploitation that allowed the sustainable production of milk, cheese, meat, and work for the local population. In fact, from the start there were two different perceptions of the issues. Sociologists and historians saw in the depletion of the economy the break-up of a traditional way of life - a society about to collapse. In contrast, the agronomists and ethnologists tried to produce an in-depth direct study, and to come forward with responses that guaranteed the survival of past ways of life but within new cultural forms. (Leroi-Gourhan, 1970, p.9).

The objects collected in the Aubrac programme numbered 987 artefacts, 442 graphic drawings, 9570 photographic documents, 2 manuscripts, and footage of about 15 cine films. (Rivière, 1970). Using this documentation, an important space with audio-visual animations was allocated to Aubrac in the cultural gallery of the MNATP as a case study. Finally finished in 1986, the work of the RCP Aubrac was also the subject of an ambitious multi-volume report published by the CNRS.[69] The success of the RCP Aubrac research on a vanishing traditional society led to the organization of a parallel study, the RCP le Chatillonais region of the Côte d'Or, north-west of Dijon,[70] this time aiming at the study and

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[69] CNRS, 1970-1986, *Aubrac, Etude Ethnologique, Linguistique, Agronomique et Economique d'un etablissement Humain*, 1970-1986, 8 Volumes, Paris.

[70] The permanent committee of the RCP Chatillonais was formed by the directors of the research organizations attached to the program: Raymond Aron, director of the Centre for european sociology of the EPHE; Denis Bergmann, director of the central station for rural economy and sociology, Fernand Braudel, director of the centre of historical research of the EPHE and Claude Lévi-Strauss, director of the Laboratory of social anthropology of the College de France. (Rivière, 1966b, p.34). Responsible for the coordination and management of the whole project implementation was Georges Henri Rivière assisted by Isac Chiva (laboratory of social anthropology), Jean Cuisenier (Centre of European Sociology), Francois Furet (Centre of

documentation of how a new community had integrated their traditional knowhow and modes of living into modern life. (Rivière, 1966b).

RESEARCH AND ACQUISITION: HISTORY VS. ANTHROPOLOGY

The distinction made between conscious and unconscious motivations, which, as we have seen, was central in Maussian ethnology, was not only used to interpret inherited traditions and skills but was extended to distinguish two possible modes of research. The construction of a museological exhibit in the Musée-laboratoire was based on the relationships between history and ethnology (Lenclud, 1987). Rivière worked all his life to complement both, bringing together the object-base ethnology of the Durkhemian School of Sociology and the long term 'synthesis' of the Annales School of History.[71]

Following this distinction, Lévi-Strauss defined history as the construction of the past from the conscious motivations of its actors, while anthropology dealt with unconscious motives: 'There is no doubt that the unconscious reasons behind the practice of a custom, the sharing of a belief are very different from the reasons given to justify them' (Lévi-Strauss, 1958, p.25). While history is the interpretation of the written evidence of the past according to present day conceptions, 'the objective of the ethnologist is to unveil the deeper truth hidden in phenomena that lie beyond historical awareness' (Lévi-Strauss, 1958, p.30). Ethnologist Charles Parrain, describing the sources and methodology followed in field research, made the same distinction:

'The object of ethnology is the study of those aspects of traditional societies that are transmitted either orally or through examples (role models) and, as such, can only be through fieldwork enquiry. In contrast, history focuses its activity in aspects of a traditional society that have being put in writing and, as such, deals with the written documentation' (Parrain 1971, p.19).

In the RCP (*Recherche Cooperative sur Programme*), Chatillonais had five working parties covering the history, ethnology, economy, sociology and the audiovisual aspects of the region. The history group studied its demographic, religious and socio-professionals; the ethnology group focused on the still existing rural community in relation to the developing modern urban society; the economic group studied the types of agriculture existing in the region; the sociological group the agricultural, craft-based, teaching, entrepreneurial and working practices in the region; and finally the audio-visual group put in

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Historical Research), Henri Raulin (Centre of French ethnology) and Claude Servolin (Central station for rural economy and sociology). (Rivière, 1966b, p.1.)

[71] Using the Kuhnian paradigm model, Stoianovitch (1976) distinguished three phases in the growth of the history of the Annales: a pre-paradigm stage represented by the *Annales de Géographie* of Vidal de la Blache, the *Année Sociologique* of Emile Durkheim and the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, represented by Henri Berr, Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre; a second stage represented by the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale with* Bloch and Febvre as main representatives; and a final stage represented by the publication of Fernand Braudel's *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen a l'époque de Philippe II* (1949) and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *The Peasant of Languedoc* (1966), considered as a triumphant paradigm. (See also John Bintliff, 1991, *The Annales School and Archaeology*, London, Leicester University Press).

place a programme for the production of drawings, maps, images, films and audio recording. (Rivière, 1966b, p.34–35).
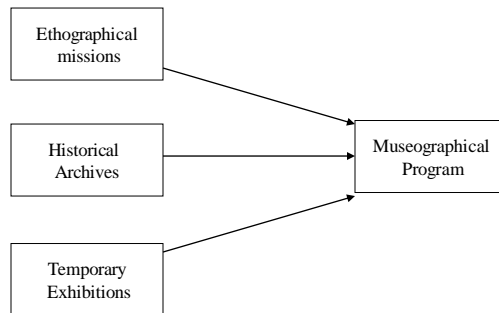
Diagram 8: Modes of documentation and Acquisition of a Museological programme

History, it was argued, should display the crossroads of human possibilities in time, whilst ethnology presents them in space. Rivière's museographical distinction between an enclosed historical museum (musée du temps) and outward-looking territorial museum (musée de l'espace) is reminiscent of Lévi-Strauss's characterization of history and ethnology as the expression of two different types of times: 'Ethnology calls for a "mechanical time" that is reversible and non-cumulative, whilst history uses a "static" non-reversible time with a predefined direction (Lévi-Strauss, 1958). Both history and ethnology are thereby complementary disciplines:

'The ethnologist needs history to reach, through the conscious motivations, the unconscious reality behind it, whilst the historian needs ethnology to widen its perspective by going beyond the concrete and the particular' (Lévi-Strauss, 1958, p.32).

As we shall see, the priority given to ethnology over history will be at the origin of Rivière's 'ahistorical' representation of the past (see chapter 11). The scarcity of historical data forced researchers to rely on non-historical evidence and construct their understanding from structural analysis.

MUSEOGRAPHICAL PROGRAMME AND TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS

The use of temporary exhibitions to improve the access to museum culture by the wider public became part of a widely accepted international museological practice during the 1930s. Rivet and Rivière enthusiastically adopted the idea, and the string of exhibitions, created primarily by Rivière, has been

considered an important factor in explaining the hold that, for many years, the Musée de l'Homme had on the imagination of countless visitors:

'By creating the impression of continuous renovation, temporary exhibitions have the effect of awakening the interest of the public, that otherwise would be content to visit the museum only once. In addition, they also help to enrich the collections' (Rivet & Rivière, 1935, p.519).

The institutional and physical limitations of the ATP at the time gave this practice an additional dimension. The lack of permanent display space and the need to keep the interest of the public created the challenge to produce a constant flow of substantial, well-researched, temporary exhibitions, with a target of at least two exhibitions per year (22 between 1951 and the start of the move to the MNATP in 1963). Over the years, this proved to be an important long-term contribution to the implementation of the ATP's museographical programme of creating a fully representative collection of objects, representing all the regions of France, and across the different categories of ways of life, crafts, oral culture, etc. (Rivière, 1955).

Each temporary exhibition became a means for in-depth research of a particular theme. As Rivière explained:

'[with] the lack of a fully established permanent museum, we invested in the future by making exhibitions that elaborated on each of the themes that prefigured the content of the permanent galleries. Temporary exhibitions were also a publicity window for the future ATP, and a way of testing new museographical methods. They also helped to identify new donors, and in expanding or exploiting existing networks' (Segalen, 2005, p.167).

The collecting policy relied first on an in-depth research and documentation period and then on the loans, gifts and purchases that each exhibition would circumstantially produce. Exhibitions could take years of preliminary work. Research on a chosen theme would generally start by a number of short extensive field work visits aimed at identifying possible informers, contacting groups, associations and relevant governmental institutions and influential actors. In particular, links were established with local museums and collectors that could supply relevant objects and documentation. Each exhibition was an opportunity to invent a new type of display or the introduction of a new cultural perspective suitable to attract the public and the press. Each temporary exhibition had its own catalogue which introduced the subject matter and discussed its purpose and the innovative way of presenting it (Segalen, 2005).

Temporary exhibitions also produced printed material that could often become fully fledged academic studies, presenting theories that would prove important in further developments. The material, themes, displays and cultural theories produced in thirty years of ethnological missions and temporary exhibitions found their place in the galleries, corridors and sections of the final ATP site: the MNATP in the Bois de Boulogne.

Thus the definition and classification of rural dwellings, as presented in the 1937 Paris Exhibition by Albert Demangeon (1937), found its echo in the various models representing the fundamental distribution of vernacular dwellings and outbuildings. The maps, sketches and documentation on vernacular architecture gathered by Rivière and his 'chantiers intellectuels' during the Occupation became, in turn, part of Cuisenier's extensive 23-volume publication *Corpus Architecture Rurale* (Cuisenier, 1987; 1991).

Arnold Van Gennep's notion of *Rites of Passage* (Gennep, 1909) was represented in the 'Ages of Man from the cradle to the Tomb', displaying the great events of life as symbolized in the material culture of social occasions such as birth, courtship, marriage or death.

The material gathered by Lucien Febvre on rural diet in the Enquiry of Sologne inspired the section of the cultural gallery, illustrating, with cooking cauldrons and instruments, the sort of food eaten in everyday meals in rural France. Thus the exhibition *Jeux de force et d'addresse dans les pays de France* (1958) was an opportunity to meet the many associations involved in the practising of such social traditional games and skills as Basque volleyball, archery, nautical competition or bullfighting. The recording of rules, skills, movements and the acquisition through donation and purchase of a total of 362 objects, was to constitute an important part of the permanent exhibits in the section of social games in the Study Gallery of the future permanent ATP (Rivière, 1958b).

The exhibition *Berger de France* (Jean-Brunhes-Delamarre, 1962), focusing on the material culture and popular beliefs of pastoral civilization, has been considered a climax in which the museographical theory, and some of practical solutions, as experimented by Rivière through the years, became a success with a wider public. With its organized instrumental and vocal concert of music, this exhibition was celebrated by the press for its 'magnification of the real' and the 'deification of the banal' (Segalen, 2005). Visitors were received by a window case in which shepherds with their flocks and dogs were given life by suspending, with invisible threads, the costumes and equipment used in their seasonal displacement. As with former temporary exhibitions, this exhibit was reinstalled in the cultural gallery in the new MNATP.

THE MUSÉE-LABORATOIRE AS MUSEUMS WITHOUT WALLS

One of the consequences of the Rivet-Rivière concept of a museological programme was the externality, or open wall character, of the Musée Laboratoire. Marcel Mauss, drawing from the formative experience of the 'Great Tour', considered that new staff were to be subject to the regime of a 'colonial tour' so that the maximum number of new researchers would be exposed to field and publication work. Initially, the mission of the museum was not the teaching of ethnography, but the organization of field missions in Oceania, Asia and Africa (Mauss, 1913). The complementary nature of ethnography and ethnology led fieldwork to be perceived as 'open wall' museums, in which documentation and acquisition were implemented and displayed in ground-breaking exhibitions and academic monographies.

With this mission statement, the Rivet-Riviére Musée-laboratoire, as embodied in the MET and the MNATP, were to become the headquarters of a vast network of correspondents and museums. For the MET, the challenge was to organize a network of colonial local informers, institutions and museums, spread in the different territories under French colonial rule, which, in various degrees of autonomy, would become agents, or the Palace of the Trocadéro in Paris. According to Griaule, amongst the benefits brought back by the Dakar Djibouti Mission were the establishment of first contacts with French military colonial administrators and the initial collaboration with the indigenous interpreters and local institutions that could assist in further research (Griaule, 1932).

In the same manner, the coordination of the activities of the ATP with regional museums was one of Rivière's constant priorities. The creation of a new provincial partnership and the promotion of local and provincial museums were considered to be a core mission of this organization. By making them part of the Direction des Musées de France's approved museums (Musées classés et controllés), and integrating their holdings in the register of the National Patrimony, he not only fulfilled the ATP headquarters' administrative ambition but helped to motivate local projects. As Riviére put it: 'We spend our time helping provincial museums…. We help them from Paris but we want them to develop their own status and physiognomy and keep local initiatives' (Segalen,2005, p. 167). These collaborations with local and regional museums contributed to the formalization and creation of a number of important and innovative museums such as the Wine Museum in Baume, the Brittany Museum in Rennes, the Comtois museum in Besancon and the Catalan Museum in Perpignan.

CHAPTER 8: MUSEOLOGY WITHOUT WALLS: EXHIBITIONS AND HOLIDAYS FOR ALL

Beyond the Maussian programme of understanding the 'elementary structures' of society, the Myth of Primitivism also promoted extramural activities to encourage the return to 'direct experience'. This chapter has reviewed the open wall dimension of Rivière's cultural activity in the inter-war years as a significant aspect of his future open wall museology. Marcel Mauss did not only encourage his students to do research in 'elementary structure' but also had a theory on the production of meaning through collective experiences. Rivière deliberately used visits to avant-garde artists' workshops, new modes of displaying scientific experiments and the network of Youth Hostels to develop the interest of the public for modern art, scientific research and alternative ruralism.

For this purpose this chapter reviews the following points:

Theoretical framework of the importance of collective experiences in the formation of culture.

Folklore and rural life as programmes of cultural and regional development through tourism.

Practice of an 'open wall museology' to facilitate the access to living art, science and technology.

Access to rural heritage and the use of Youth Hostels.

INTRODUCTION

Rivière's Musée-laboratoire, as represented by the Musée de l'Homme and the MNATP, evolved according to the strict canons of traditional museology. Through field research and the involvement of the population as informers and providers of specimens of material culture, the museum expanded its collection and maintained its popularity by a trail of well-advertised exhibitions. As such, the MNATP was described at the time of its inauguration as 'the best of existing traditional museums' (de Varine, pers. comm.), that is, the most accomplished fulfilment of the 19th century idea of a museum.

As Director of ICOM Rivière also followed and actively promoted the state-of-the-art trends of established professional museum culture. Rivière's ICOM archives are a witness of his concern in writing, editing and re-writing an ever more precise definition of a museum. In their variation they all conformed to the accepted template of collection-preservation-research-presentation, and as such are understood in this thesis as part of the 20th century museum modernization movement. (For a selection of these definitions held in the ICOM Archives, see Association des Amis de Georges Henri Rivière, 1989, p.81-88). Rivière encouraged the adoption of the latest methods of research, publicity, outreach, cooperation and technology, promoted the professional and institutional development of local and regional museums and contributed to the modernization of the internal culture of museums. In a world in which museum collecting and display were at best haphazard, if not completely chaotic, modernization recommended the principle that there should be a clear museological programme based on a long-term policy or mission statement. It also introduced the practice by which traditional permanent galleries and reserve collections were complemented by the extensive use of well-advertised periodic temporary exhibitions.

However, whatever his personal commitments and contributions to ICOM or to the Association of Curators of Museums of France, Rivière's approaches to museums were open-ended. Paul Perot, on the occasion of Rivière's nomination as Honorary Fellow of the Smithsonian Institution, described Rivière 'as a man for whom the word "museums" symbolizes something shared by very few'; a man who, from the beginning of his career, set out to 'try to understand what was that was lacking in the museum world' (Rivière, 1978, Appendix I, p. 256).

Rivière's museology must be read against the background of the life experience of a cultural activist whom circumstances turned into a museologist. He expanded museological concerns beyond the traditionally accepted 'museum objects' and beyond the physical limits of buildings. The Association of Friends of Museums (Association des Amis des Musées, APAM) in which Rivière was active in the years of the Popular Front, considered a museum as 'anything that allowed direct observation of reality, whether this might be an artist's workshop, a cinema, a studio, a vivarium or a factory' (Ory, 1994, p. 265). What was called realism was a readiness to discover the wonders of the world, an attitude that led to the multiplication and diversification of artefacts that were deemed to have museological significance. Rivière often referred to the description of 'objects' assembled by Arthur Rimbaud in his poem 'Delirium: Alchemy of the Word' (Rimbaud, 1973) as the most perfect definition of a museographical programme:

'I loved absurd paintings, panel-friezes, stage settings, clowns, backdrops, signboards, popular coloured prints, old fashioned literature, church Latin, erotic books without proper spelling, novels of our grandmother's time, fairy tales, little books for children, old operas, silly refrains, artless rhythms' (Rimbaud, 1973,p.77).

In 1970 Rivière described, in ICOM News, his vision of an art museum of the future as an open wall 'new temple of the Muses' in which:

'All the arts, not only painting and sculpture, would be integrated and demonstrated in their relationship with physical, social sciences and philosophy. The museum would have its headquarters in a building in the centre of town, where computers will play their part in tracing the constant circulation of museum property. Freed from monumental facades… it would be the place at the crossroad of towns, linking streets, parks, waiting rooms, offices, aircraft, motor cars, schools, supermarkets, etc. Its entrance will be by degrees, through a network of lanes, small gardens and patios, with places for permanent and temporary exhibitions with internal and external programmes; and also with pre-arranged or spontaneous meetings, cultural and sporting activities; with cafeterias, jazz performance and dancing floors' (Rivière, 1970b, pp.33-45).

In the same way, his notion of an 'Ecomuseum' is a 'museum without walls' which encourages the realization that history is everywhere - in the fabric of every building, in homes and family albums, in local agriculture and industry, in cultural and community life.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FESTIVAL (FÊTE): THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The 1930s have been described as the years in which the theory of perhaps long-established collective events was first articulated and practised, (Ory, 1990). Against Gustave Lebon's negative perception of the psychology of crowds, or the Freudian perception of heightened emotion as an expression of hysteria, the ideology of primitivism saw in 'collective effervescences' the mechanism by which societies revitalize

themselves and individuals strengthen their individual minds and actions (Richman, 1990, 1995). Commemorations, celebrations, festivals and fêtes were identified as a primary means by which the multiple groups shared and renovated their common identity. A widely accepted sociological definition of terms such as 'fêtes', 'feast', 'fair', 'festival' , 'festivitiy' or 'celebration' was:

'That saturated moment of over-existence in which the group magnifies the happy moments of their existence. They are 'triumphal moments', in which an accumulated energy finds a way to be used in a free and non-utilitarian way and as 'ostentatious expenditure' (gaspillage ostentatoire) in which the group shows themselves to themselves and to others' (Corbin & Tartakowsky. 1994, p.425).

In accordance with Durkheimian sociology, the experience of 'collective effervescence' became a privileged expression of human solidarity and a core element in the fabric of any society. Through states of communion and exaltation, individuals share common representations and are bonded to common loyalties. It is interesting to note the constant references to the 'metaphor of the mirror' as part of the identity of the community which later will become central in Rivière's definition of an Ecomuseum.

Arnold van Genep, in his *Les Rites de Passage* (van Gennep, 1909), described the experience of 'sacred time' as an external input that shapes the representation of everyday profane time. Following Maurice Halbwachs's *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Halbwachs, 1925) Gurdwick saw in deep collective experiences the framework in which 'total realities' are formed, experiences that work as magnets and shaped particular ways of perceiving the world (Gurvitch, 1964). Events larger than life, such as the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, the Commune, the disaster of the battle of Sedan and scandals such as the Affaire Dreyfuss and the slaughterhouse of the First World War, were in every sense critical events in which collective consciousness was shattered. These were foundation events belonging to the longue durée, events that shaped or deeply influenced the long-term representations the French nation had of itself.

On a more mundane level, participation, according to Maget (1953) the atmosphere of a public event, a sports competition, a festival, or a carnival gave participants the feeling that they are one with the emotions of the event. They become part of the cohesion of the group and 'allowed to show the identity of a vibrant community to the external world' (Dreyfus, 1990, p.259). These experiences also induce 'active intuition to understand the world from real perceptions and the significances and latent possibilities' (Maget, 1953, p. xxii). Rivière's campaign of active promotion of the annual festivals of the 'Fires of Saint John' can to be interpreted in the light of the Durkheimnian concerns as a temporary and nostalgic measure to improve human cohesion. Thus, in his *Fêtes et cérémonies de la communaute villageoise* (Rivière 1943), after referring to the notion of depense noble described by Mauss in his *Essais sur le don* (Mauss, 1925), Rivière highlighted the importance and social role of these old ceremonies such as the Festivals of the Fires of St John:

'In the mist of the ever-increasing turbulence created by the appearance of machines… the individual was demanded to live in harmony with its kin for a certain period of time, a time that put him in contact with the community or group to which he belonged, or in mystic relation with the supernatural world, from which flows the occult forces that might favour his fortune, and that made him participate in the great cosmic events searching for new structures' (Rivière & Maget, 1943, p. 82 & 94).

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS AS COLLECTIVE CELEBRATIONS

Fig 22: Exhibition as fêtes: Georges Henri Rivière with a folklore group 1937

Nowhere was this 'art de la fêtes' implemented with such organization and success as in the programme of the 1937 World's Fair.[72] In January 1937 the revue Beaux-Arts published a list of the 'Grands Projets' of the Minister of Education Jean Zay. Amongst them there was also the creation of the 'Technical and Artistic Office for Exhibitions' (Office technique et artistique des expositions), which was to be in charge of the organization and management in foreign countries of original displays that would enhance the prestige of French Industrial Creations. The Members of the Board were Georges Huisman, Jean Cassou, Georges Henri Rivière, Louis Chevronnet, Jean Carlu and Raoul Dufy (Beaux-Arts, 1937, p.1).

In the 1937 World's Fair, Rivière contributed to set up four exhibitions: in collaboration with René Hughes the Van Gogh Exhibition (Watt, 1937) , The Rural House in France in collaboration with Albert Demangeon (Demangeon, 1937), the exhibition on museography 'Museums and Exhibitions' at the Palais Tokyo and finally the local history museum of Romenay (Rivière, 1938g) at the rural centre. He also used the World's Fair to organize two conferences, the First National Conference of Museography and the First International Conference on Folklore. He also was central in organization and management of numerous events: 'happenings', guided visits, celebrations, displays, exhibitions and conferences. He was singled out for praise by Labbée in his official Report for his 'rigorous logic and scientific mind... with the experience gathered in recent trips, he gave the exhibition the most suitable framework' (Labbé, 1937, n.p).

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[72] As Ory (1994, pp. 225-228) summarized it, this gave a festive orientation to most of the associations created by or during the Popular Front such as the *Maisons de la culture, mai 36, Groupe Savoir, ADPL* (Association for the Development of Public Libraries), *LMJ* (Youth Musical Leisures), *APAM* (Popular Association of Friends of Museums). the *Musée de l'Homme* and the MNATP to which Rivière was closely associated. Amongst the members of the honorary committee of the ADPL were Paul Rivet, André Chanson and Georges Henri Rivière. Libraries were to become cultural centres in which all sort of events could be carried out: news displays on the walls, centres of ideas, conferences and travelling lectures and, following the proposal strongly promoted by Rivière, an exhibition site for local museums as well. (Ory, 1994, p.225-228).

Commenting on this programme, historian of the period Pascal Ory (Ory, 1994) underlined the importance of the participation of Rivière's ATP team in making available the musical documentation of the ATP. This was facilitated by the creation of an '*Office of Folkloric Documentation*' which explicitly had in its mission statement 'the rennaisance of the traditional fêtes'. The LMJ (Loisirs musicaux de la jeunesse) created numerous vocal and instrumental ensembles, music libraries, discotheques, and resurrected ancient folklore and disused instruments, recording and popularising their music in travelling groups.

HOLIDAYS FOR ALL: POPULARIZATION OF CULTURE AND FOLKLORE

The establishment of the forty hour working week was stipulated by the treaty of Versailles and promoted by such organizations as the newly-created League of Nations and the International Bureau of Labour. The 1926 International Conference of Labour declared that 'the improvement of the general level of civilization and the moral worth of the people are largely dependent on the way the general population use their leisure.' In France the establishment of paid holidays in 1936 gave new motivation to existing civil society associations (Bloch-Laine, 1936; Ory, 1994).[73] As Anne-Marie Thiesse puts it, the patronising argument was almost invariably the same: 'Modern crowds have no culture, and their spontaneous practices were perverse and degrading' (Thiesse, 1995 p.311). What was required was the urgent opening up of the access of every social class to what were thought to be dignified entertainments.

Two solutions were favoured: the access of the working classes to urban bourgeois Fine Art culture, and the promotion of traditional folklore. Organizations such as the 'Groupes Savoir', the popular associations of Friends of Museums (APAM), the League of Teaching (Ligue de l'enseignement) and 'Friends of Vendredi' were all committed to the 'promotion of artists' studios, museums, exhibition centres and the 'maisons de la culture' which became part of what André Chanson called 'a University of living culture' (Chanson, 1936). Alongside the popularization of culture, most of the European industrialized countries assumed that traditional folklore culture was the ideal solution for the regeneration of the masses. Old traditions, craftsmanship, fêtes and costumes, formerly vilified and even legally suppressed in France by the Church and the Republican government, all became central tools in seeking to develop community bonding.[74]

On the initiative of the International Bureau of Labour, and in collaboration with the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, two enquiries were launch in 1934 on the subject *Music and Popular Songs* and *Popular Art and the leisure of workers*. The 1935 Brussels International Congress of Leisure recommended creating a new International Organization, under the International Bureau for Labour, with the purpose of 'looking after the workers' leisure, multiplying the work already being done in matters of

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[73] Similar laws had been passed in Austria (1919), Finland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union, and between 1937 and 1939 Sweden and Denmark followed, while the UK began to move in the same direction through labour negotiations, though without a statutory basis. (Richez & Strauss, 1995, p.377).

[74] On the extension and international dimension of this popularization of folklore in the 30s and 40s, see Ad de Jong, see thesis on 'Musealization and Nationalization of Folk Culture in the Netherlands (1815-1940). (De Jong, 2001).

theatre, casts, reproduction of works of art etc, for the sake of finding a reconciliation between popular traditional art and the psychology created by modern economy' (Bloch-Laine, 1936, p.34). The debates of the International Leisure Congress, held in Berlin 1936, defined the role given to traditional culture in the workers' leisure as follows:

'Popular culture, with its creations that are the product of the spirit of community, is the natural framework for the organization of leisure. Songs, dances and popular theatre represent psychological collective events as they are experienced by peasants. The organization of leisure will find its inspiration in popular culture rather than in intellectual culture' (Winkler-Hermaden, 1936, p.41).

The Berlin Congress became a celebration of international folklore:

'We could hear the crack of the whip and the roaring of drums from Basel alongside the peasant choirs of Zeeland and the dancers of the Vendée, with Magyars, Italians, Swedes, Norwegians and Danes playing and singing together until the German music, playing the retreat, put an end to the overwhelming joy' (Thiesse, 1995, p.312).

This mood of cultural interventionism and revivalism was shared by the English representative to the Conference:

'The working and leisure community has made of peasants, miners, sailors and students the representative of popular culture. A regeneration movement, comparable to the Youth movement in Germany, has saved them from getting lost. We have an active policy of interchange of groups of dance and games with Germany' (Gardiner, 1936, p. 43).

RURAL LIFE AS A TOOL FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PROMOTION OF REGIONAL TOURISM

It would be at the 1937 First International Conference of Folklore, held in Paris in the context of the World's Fair, that the use of folklore for the development of rural life was most extensively discussed and re-enacted. The conference, organized by Rivet, Rivière and Varagnac, brought together the leading figures of the new social sciences in France: Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Henri Berr as representatives of the history of the Annales; Marcel Mauss, René Maunier and Celestin Bouglé as representatives of the Durkheimian School of Sociology; Albert Demangeon as representative of the School of Geography of Vidal de la Blache; and art historian Henri Focillon. As part of the policy of cultural education of the Popular Front, the conference had a so-called section on 'folklore applied to social life' in which the traditional assumptions of the Federation of Regionalist of France, as represented by Jean Charles-Brun, tried to create a 'living folklore' through the modernization and the promotion of regional tourism (Laferté, 2009; Korganov, 2009).

The vision presented in the rural centre was intended to alter the self-image of the rural population and the way the urban citizen perceived the rural:

'The rural centre sought to elevate in their eyes the social status of farmers by promoting a new image of the peasant. The backward peasant, living off subsistence farming, was refashioned into the meritorious modern "agriculteur", a productive, efficient and professionalized member of the French society' (Peer, 1998, p.112).

The rural centre was designed on the lines of Le Corbusier's project of rural regeneration (Le Corbusier, 1943) . We again find in this project the importance given to social interaction. What was primordial, according to Le Corbusier, was to build the first function of the village community life: the youth centre. After that, the sports centre and a socially pro-active and living school would merge the enlightened

present with the deep perspective that memories and traditions brings: 'this is modern folklore' (Le Corbusier, 1943, p. 106). The architectural layout in this village blended modern comfort with neo-rustic aesthetics. The architects deliberately combined modern construction methods and materials with forms and material that had long been used in different vernacular styles. As such, the rural centre included a town hall, a school, a modern farm, a rural dwelling, a post-office, social services, cooperatives and a cultural centre with cinema, meeting room and restaurant:

'The visitor was to be impressed by this well-lit, mechanized village with its own electrical generator, modern plumbing, refrigeration and telephones. In addition to indoor toilets and running water, the farmhouse displayed an enviable collection of electrical household appliances, including electric iron, water-heater, sewing machine and radio, suggesting that the farmer's wife would also benefit from domestic progress. The Village also highlighted the social amenities such as health clinic, public baths, fire stations, community library and travelling library bus (bibliobus), cinema and community centre…addressed the physical, social and cultural needs of modern rural society' (Peer, 1998, p.113-115).

The substitution of the traditional village church by a modern silo became the symbol of this alternative ruralism which inflamed the conservative press.

THE LOCAL MUSEUM AS PART OF THE CULTURAL NEEDS OF A RURAL VILLAGE

Amongst the recreational facilities intended to give a rural community its modern image was the local museum. Thus at the rural Centre's town hall Rivière placed the village museum (Musée de terroir) which documented the life of the French village called Romenay-en-Bresse. The museum featured a series of documentary panels (combining photographs and texts) and material artefacts illustrating Romenay's evolution from pre-Roman times to the present. In spite of the long past and exposure to diverse cultural influences, Romenay was represented as having maintained its cohesion:

'It displayed photographs and artefacts, costumes, tools and artisanal products, attesting to Romenay's thriving traditional culture. For instance, a panel on "tools" showed photographs of spinners, wheelwrights, woodcutters and blacksmiths using time-honoured artisanal techniques to perform their work. Another panel, showing women dressed in Bressan costumes and bonnets, informed visitors that a Romenay folk group had been reviving interest in local dress' (Peer, 1998, p.132).

The underlying message was that only the harmonious synthesis of old and new could guarantee both economic vitality and a sense of cultural continuity in rural France.

LIVE DEMONSTRATIONS OF SKILLS AND TECHNIQUES

Live demonstrations, important as we shall see in future open wall museology, presented new methods to improve the productivity and quality of farming. Six modern cooperatives implemented the 'technological sequence' of the various stages of production: State-of-the-art equipment for processing, packaging and storing agricultural products; mechanized conveyor belts, elevators, ventilators and vacuums to clean, separate and weigh seeds and grain before storing them in the silo, or the display of electric pasteurization and automatic methods, techniques and machines for sterilizing dairy equipment.

There were also hands-on activities on 'domestic sciences' for girls and 'manual skills' classes for boys. (Peer, 1998, p.115).

THE REGIONAL CENTRE: REPRESENTATION OF ETERNAL FRANCE

In contrast with the progressive rural centre, the official brochure of the Regional Centre could be described as an 'anachronistic village-pastiche that evoked a mythologized rural past, presented to the public as a 'tourist attraction' (Monnet, 1937). The Regional Centre was set up as series of vernacular buildings assembled in the different regional styles; personnel dressed in folklore costumes were in charge of shops, restaurants and craft workshops displaying local products and regional cuisine. This 'open-air museum' style became a centre of attraction for the general public, celebrated by the conservative press as a true image of the much-loved French provinces, or ridiculed by the left as a decoration of comic-operetta presented with the taste of a publicity poster.

Rivière took in charge the live 'animation' of the Fair and invited folk groups to perform in no fewer than twenty festivals. Some of the performances extended beyond the gates of the Regional Centre and were even seen marching in the streets of Paris outside the Fair's gates. They were intended to reassure visitors that progress would not eliminate tradition in rural France (Peer, 1998).

LIVING CULTURE AND LIVING MUSEUM

At the centre of the campaign for the popularization of Fine Arts (i.e. 'high' art) was the perception that art museums were not just dead graveyards, but the main perverting influence in shaping preconceived opinions of art, and the most direct way of destroying the 'independent organ for the independent appreciation of plastic arts' (Strzygowsky, 1929). The solution, it was argued, was to direct the public to new methods of direct discovery based on the science of observation:

'If we continue allowing our museums and their content to have a preponderant influence on our studies, if our reviews can only exist subordinate to art collectors, then the 20th Century, by considering things solely from the aesthetic point of view, will not be far behind the 19th Century' (Strzygowsky,1929b, p.22).

From this perspective, to regain its ability to understand the language of form, the human mind needed something more than the access to the masterpieces of the past. For Madelaine Rousseau this could only be achieved ('regained' was the word she used) by re-establishing the bond that, it was believed, used to exist between the community and their artists. The catalogue of intentions of the Association des Amis des Musées (Friends of Museums – APAM) stated that:

'We shall visit the homes of the artists: painters, scupltors, architects and engravers, and we shall talk about their work and their techniques. We shall thus renew the spiritual bond that should have never been broken between those who create works of art and those that look at them' (Rousseau, 1938, p.8).

Visits to the modern workshops of art were promoted not only for the general public but also for the staff of traditional museums. The APAM and the Groupe Savoir felt it their duty to initiate not only the general public in the sources of art, but particularly 'those who are working in museums'. They argued that it was

the lack of appreciation of the language of forms by current museum staff that had led to the loss through export of the work of major national talents such as Cezanne, Saurat, Gauguin, Henri Rousseau, 'none of whom are yet represented in our museums' (Rousseau, 1938, p.7). For the 1937 Congress of the Groupe Savoir the APAM organized a programme of visits aimed at implementing these aims.[75]

LIVING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY: MUSEUMS OF PROCESSES

Promoting the living experience of art in the workshops of artists and craftsmen was complemented by an effort to expose the general public to the processes involved in laboratory of science and technology (Friedman, 1937). Amongst the activities of the month of June 1938, the diary of the APAM announced the visit to the Palais de la Découverte (Discovery Palace) with Georges Henri Rivière and Agnes Humbert as guides.

In contrast with traditional museums of art and technology such as the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers (the National Academy for Arts and Crafts founded in 1802), the Palais de la Découverte did not display objects and scale models, etc. Instead it re-enacted through life experiments the scientific laws that made those machines possible. It had its origin in the 1935 temporary exhibition of the same name organized by a group of French scientists under the leadership of Dr. Henri Laugier. Rivière had been asked to join the group to bring his museographical expertise. The six month temporary exhibition was so successful that it was reinstalled two years later in the Grand Palais for the duration of the 1937 Paris International Exhibition, and after the Exhibition it became a permanent feature of the building (Daly, 1995). The exhibition originated in the idea put forward by Jean Perrin, Nobel Prize winner for Physics, of taking science out of laboratories and professionally performing scientific experiments in front of the public.[76] The spectacular and didactic experiments of the Palais de la Découverte were celebrated by the APAM as an accomplished example of how a museum of science and technology could stop being 'graveyards of [past] inventors' (Friedman, 1937, p.1).

YOUTH HOSTELS AS PLACES OF CITIZENSHIP

The experience of the sources of living art, and the processes involved in technology as embodied in the work of such organizations as the APAM and the Palais de la Découverte, were complemented by the work of the Youth Hostel movement, which spread rapidly across Europe from its origins in Bavaria.

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[75] The programme included visits to the exhibition 'La Marseillaise' on the film of Jean Renoir and organized by the Maison de la Culture at 29 rue d'Anjou, to the new rooms at the Louvre, to the Rural centre and Le Corbusier's Pavillion of Modern Times, to the exhibition 'Masterpieces of French Art', visits to the Zoo of Vincennes and to the exhibition on 'The Masters of Independent Art' at the Petit-Palais; visits to some monuments of the old Paris, such as Notre Dame, Chateau de Versailles and its gardens, while the evening programmes included visits to a theatre or a cabaret. Thus on Friday 24 August 1937 the Groupe *Savoir* organized a visit to the new *Palais de la Decouverte* and to the Exhibition 'Van Gogh, his life and Work' in the Palace of Modern Art of the Chaillot. (*Vendredi*, 'Le groupe Savoirs', September 1937, p.6).

[76] Such public demonstrations of scientific experiments by leading scientists and celebrity scientific lecturers had been very common and extremely popular in the 18th and earlier 19th centuries in many European countries, notably France and Britain, as well as the USA. However, these seem to have fallen out of favour later in the 19th century as science became professionalized and part of formal advanced education, and only began to be revived from the 1920s onwards with the emergence of new-style science and children's museums, particularly in the USA, but also in London and Munich.

In a letter to Prime Minister Leon Blum, originally drafted for him by Rivière, the Minister of Education Jean Zay revealed his intention to link the creation of several open-air museums to other forms of popular leisure such as youth hostels, popular tourism and education:

'I should add that since our aim is to link these museums to popular education and tourism they should be organized in connection with the youth hostels for which they would provide an attractive and complementary cultural component. It seems to me that the project of the Beaux Arts administration perfectly complemented your policy of promoting popular education through the use of leisure activities.' (Letter from Jean Zay to Leon Blum, 19 August 1936, French National Archives). 'The letter is virtually identical to an early draft composed for Zay by Rivière' (Peers, 1998, p.149).

However, Rivière was to use the growing network of Youth Hostels to experiment in the philosophy he was to embody years later in his notion of the Ecomuseum (Peer, 1998; Heller-Goldenberg, 1985). The French network became, in the mind of Rivière, an alternative project to his ambition of creating a network of open-air museums. Inspired by the German hostels, the first Youth Hostel was opened in France in 1929 by an active member of the Progressive Catholic Movement, soon followed by others. The *French League of Youth Hostels* (LFAJ) was founded in the same year. Following closely, the *Laicist Youth Hostel Centre* (Centre Laic des Auberges de la Jeunesse - CLAJ) was created in 1933 with the support of the *Teacher's Trade Union*, the *League of Education* and the *General Confederation of Workers* (CGT).[77] In 1933 the CLAJ was formed with five hostels, but by 1934 it had forty, in 1937 there were 280, and 400 by 1938.

There was initially disagreement on whether the Hostels were to be accommodation only for young travellers enjoying outdoor leisure, as in Germany, or longer-term homes holding a community ethics in which a 'spiritual communion' was created amongst visitors. It was soon agreed that whatever the pattern the hostels should avoid becoming cheap hotels, so the community side of their activities was strongly encouraged. Organizations such as 'Savoir', 'the Friends of Nature', 'Camping and Culture' and The 'Workers Federation for Sports and Gymnastics' were all committed to use the direct contact to nature to promote citizenship.

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[77] Other organizations such as the Friends of Nature, the Naturist Movement, the Scouts, the Union of Towns and Communes of France, and the National Federation of Socialist Municipalities also played supporting roles. With the coming to power of the Popular Front, the Youth Hostel Movement was sponsored and promoted by the Minister of Leisure and Sports Leo Lagrange. (see Heller-Goldenbeg,1985)

Fig 23: Youth Song, 'Groupe Savoir', Vendredi, 5th November 1936, p.6

The 1937 annual meeting of the 'Camping and Culture Youth Club' dedicated a new youth song named 'The Whole Life' to the chairman of the reunion Georges Henri Rivière. The words of Juliette Parrys not only encapsulated as intended the true spirit of the 'Groupes de Savoir' and the Friends of the Revue *Vendredi* (*Vendredi*, 1937, p.6) but the festive imaginary of the whole cultural policy of the Popular Front. Alongside open spaces, songs and woodlands stood as a celebration of love and friendship 'the masterpieces of the past and the treasuries of all races, people and lands':

To love, live and learn
Whether under tents or in palaces:
In open air spaces or with the masterpieces of the past
Whether in songs, books or woodlands.

We want the affection of our friends
To work, to know, to think and to grow.
Merely walking in the county
working together for the future.

Our thoughts are sent into space
For the mind expands to infinity
Towards the great treasures of all races
Towards all people and all lands.

Vendredi, Services des jeunes: une nouvelle chanson de la jeunesse, 5 November 1937.

The revue *Vendredi*, a literary, political and satirical revue, is today remembered for the collaborative character of its working methods.[78] It pledged to be open to the full range opinions from communists to

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[78] As envisaged by its founder André Chanson, *Vendredi* was to be 'the organ of free men of this country and the echo of freedom of all the world.' The impressive roll-call of its collaborators included Alain, Louis Aragon, Andre Gidé, Emmanuel

Catholics, and it strongly supported the social action model of the Youth Hostel, in which each visitor would contribute to the operation and maintenance of the Hostel and its services. The Youth Hostel movement even had its own Pavilion in the 1937 World's Fair, presented as an example of 'a New France'. It praised the cultural and physical benefits of open-air activities as a project of education in citizenship.

A leading strand in the philosophy behind the Youth Hostel movement was the belief in the educational value of the direct exposure of the citizen to nature: to overcome the perceived deleterious effect of city life, nothing could be better than to experience the natural harmony of nature. To recover an understanding of the laws of nature, the new mankind was to be exposed to 'true human heritage' understood as the living experience of life close to nature, the skills and 'gestures' necessary to survive in a community where goods and services were not provided, allowing the human mind to interpret and participate in natural phenomena. As Michelfelder put it 'Humans must rediscover the "taste of the wind", to "chew the air full of perfume" and "taste the sun" as if it were food' (Michelfelder, 1938, p.266).[79]

Open-air life and activities were considered places of citizenship where universal fraternity and liberty was to be experienced away from the constraints of city life. Marie Colmonts praised the opportunity presented by 'open air and culture' to break the class barriers existing between factory workers, peasants and French provincials. Nothing could stop them from sharing a common humanity based on 'dignity and love and the natural rejection of profit for the sake of profit and every thing artificial' (Colmont, 1937, p.9). According to *Vendredi* (1936, p. 8), what was important in the Youth Hostels was that the members came from all classes and political allegiances.[80]

According to regulations, the Youth Hostel was to have proper showers, sleeping rooms and a library, should be decorated with flowers, and should have a good vegetable garden. The Youth Hostel supervisor should make his guests at home and 'awaken in them interest for local sites and artistic curiosities, by organizing meetings with philosophical, artistic, social, scientific and sportive interest'…and lift up the mood 'with a song or a dance played at the piano' (Colmot, 1937b, p.7). The 1937 Conference of the Groupes Savoir welcomed the important delegation representing French Youth which came to show their friendship and collaboration. This delegation was drawn from the Laïcist and Republican Youth (Jeunesses Laiques et Republicaines), Young Republic (Jeune Republique) from the Youth Hostels to the Communist Youth, without forgetting the JEUNES. and the Youth of the CGT (*Vendredi* 1937, p.6). Cultural interests were not to be an excuse to forget the burning issue of the day. Thus for the occasion the Ligue de l'enseignement (Teachers' league) offered their pavilion in the rural centre of the exhibition.

Mounier, Romain Rolland, Jules Romains and Stefan Sweig. As Lottman put it, in the office of *Vendredi* the Revolution seems to consist of seeing each other very often' (Lottman, 1981, p.190).

[79] Those behind the movement believed that the experience would liberate the city participant 'from theory and the daily worries' and would encourage him to rediscover the 'primary and most elementary gestures' through which the weight of things, the all too forgotten original meaning of words and the passing of time were experienced in their physicality. To live for some time solving basic problems and catering for basic needs: 'This participation would bring an enhanced awareness of lands and woods, winds and light' (Heller-Goldenberg,1972, p.80).

[80] 'You can find young Socialists, Communists, Catholics, and their faces were the same faces that could be recognized in popular rallies, and the same men and women that on the 16th of February walked in front of the Pantheon of the Nation' *Vendredi* (1936, p. 8).

Here there was a performance of Germaine Montero reading the 'admirable' poems of Garcia Lorca, accompanied by Georges Henri Rivière, with Spanish songs from the ongoing Spanish Civil War. There was also a group of dancers from Segovia with some of the most famous dancers in Spain. The whole event was intended as a contribution to the success of Republican Spain.

CHAPTER 9: FROM OPEN-AIR MUSEUMS TO ECOMUSEOLOGY

Contents: Following the review of his experiences in the inter-war years, the present chapter explores Rivière's evolutive 'Ecomuseum' concept as another example of 'museology without walls' as proposed and implemented in the years after 1968. The following points are reviewed:

Official recognition of an Anthropological Conception of Culture.

Changes in territorial governance, Growth of Heritage Associations and dissatisfaction with existing cultural policies.

Genesis of the Ecomuseum concept: As Musée-Laboratoire, As Open Archives, As Documentation Centre.

Management and Organization.

INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of his museum-related career in 1928, Rivière had begun visiting open-air museums in Sweden and the Low Countries. In 1929 he was sent by Georges Huisman, director of Beaux-Arts at the time, on a fact-finding mission to the Frilands Open-air museum in Sorgenfri and the National Museum of Denmark. It was soon concluded that the diversity of styles and modes of construction of French vernacular architecture made the adoption of the the Scandinavian practice of moving whole buildings impractical.[81]

After the war these experiences seemed to have remained important factors in Rivière's museological reflections. The ambition of creating an open-air museum in Paris, in the spirit of Stockholm's Skansen was still being contemplated by Rivière well into the 1950s, i.e. there was some consideration of the idea of transferring to the Jardin d'Acclimatation in the Bois de Boulogne, next to the future building of the MNATP, a number of representative rural buildings. In this open-air setting, the traditional sports of France, such as a Basque pelota court or the game of boules, could be played alongside traditional puppets, Punch and Judy, dance performances and living demonstrations of arts and crafts. The idea was not pursued, though part of the Jardin d'Aclimatation was used to develop an interactive open-air children's attraction park, with some replicas of rural buildings.

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[81] The Scandinavian pioneers of open-air museums wanting to move typical rural buildings to their museum sites were mainly faced with timber buildings which proved relatively easy to dismantle, transport and re-erect. In marked contrast with this, most of France's vernacular buildings were built of stone or other local material, far more difficult and expensive to move to an open-air museum site.

THE SECOND FRENCH REVOLUTION

It was only to be in the 1960s, after thirty years of sustained economic development, and after what Henri Mendras (1927-2003) has called the Second French Revolution (Mendras, 1988), that most of the ideas of Rivière would come to fruition.

The so-called Second French Revolution of the years 1965-1984 has been considered as important as the Revolution of 1789; without violence this time, the class structure of the nation, the significance of its institutions and the role of the individual underwent a radical mutation. It was in 1978 that French historian Francois Furet (1927-1997) announced the end of Jacobinism as a form of political and social organization based in the 18th century 'free-thinking societies' (Furet, 1978).

When, in 1971, in the spirit of the 'Nouvelle Société', the then French Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas presented the objectives of his cultural policy, he encapsulated one century of long-debated reflection on the nature and purpose of culture:

'It is not only a matter of improving knowledge and to refine the aesthetical approach. What is at stake is the in-depth transformation of the relation of man in the environment in which he lives: his existence, the work place, his habitat and natural framework' (Développement culturel, no 9, juin 1971, p.13).

This declaration was intended to bring to a close the tradition of philosophical aestheticism that associated culture with the history of masterpieces, great events and personalities. It made obsolete the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture, first defined by André Malraux as:

'To make accessible to the greatest number of French people the most important masterpieces of humankind, to guarantee the widest audiences to our cultural heritage, and to promote the creation of works of art and of the spirit that enriches it' (Décret Malraux, 1959).

The Chaban-Delmas Declaration can also be considered as the official adoption by the French political thinking of a new cultural paradigm, the anthropological conception of culture.[82] First developed in the 19th century by the British anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor, the notion gradually ceased to be restricted to the specialized area of anthropology and became part of cultural action and political thinking. Culture was to be defined not by past achievements, but by the 'genre de vie', that is, by the totality of those representations, values, actions, models and rules which control the mentality and lifestyle as shaped by the way of life. As defined by Georges Henri Rivière:

'The set of knowhow, of preferences and dislikes, of routines and techniques that a group of people practise and carry. These attitudes are so well adapted to their natural environment that they may seem

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[82] In the same spirit, the Helsinki European Conference on Cultural Policies of June 1972 proposed the following points as an orientation for new cultural development policies:
1) To substitute the passive consumption with individual creativity.
2) Put man as a priority whenever technical requirements are at stake.
3) The promotion and democratization of cultural and elitist heritage is only one aspect of the new policies: the other is to promote cultural expression based on social pluralism.
4) To give priority to the restoration of the link between man and his environment. (Développement culturel, no 13, mai-juin 1972).

at first to be a product of that environment or a reflection in human deepest nature' (Rivière & Varagnac, 1938b, p.24).

Publications such as Michel de Certeau's widely read two volumes *l'invention du quotidien* (De Certeau, 1974; 1980), and the work of a long list of critical philosophers such as Foucault, Barthes, Bourdieu, Deleuze, Lyottard, Benjamin and Baudrillard, all put into question the epistemological foundation of the enlightenment idea of Universal Culture.[83]

The use of Michel Foucault's insights on historical epistemes by Eileen Hooper-Greenhill in her *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992) and by Tony Bennet in his *The Birth of the Museum, History, theory, politics* (Bennet, 1995) have contributed with their notion 'Disciplinary Museum' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1989) and 'Exhibition Complex' (Bennet, 1995) to enrich our interpretations on the genealogy of modern museums. Sylvia Lavin's interpretation of the leading theorist of French neoclassical art, Quatremère de Quincy, explored the role that the language of architecture had in the formation of the museum space. (Lavin, 1992)

The new Revolution not only produced changes in the understanding of the nature of culture but was complemented by significant changes in physical and social mobility. The career path became the rule rather than the exception, and an essential feature of new middle class professions.

Some of the figures that had embodied the spirit of militancy of Republican culture, such as the schoolteacher and the intellectual, lost their former symbolic reference. Profoundly committed to their mission of turning *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Weber, 1977), the primary school teacher lost the status of mythical hero (Ozouf, 1967). The intellectual, as a creature of the politics of the Third Republic, also started to lose much of its militant charisma and authority (Reffel, 1993). In their place, the long process of acceptance of mass culture seemed to have reached a final stage. The 'Culture' of the masterpiece gave way to the individualistic hobby, what ethnologist Christian Bromberger has described as the 'passions ordinaries' (Bromberger,1988). Personal interests, from esotericism to the biking club or the football match, started to be culturally accepted as a frame of reference in the construction of personal and group identity.

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[83] The bicentennial of the 1789 French Revolution opened the opportunity to evaluate the significance of the Revolutionary period in the formation of the modern idea of heritage and in the development of the modern idea of museums. (Boylan,1992,1996). The literature published by commentators such as Bernard Deloche (Deloche, 1983, 1989, 1989b), Eduard Pommier (Pommier, 1989), Dominique Poulot (Poulot,1994, 1997, 1997b), Jean Louis Déotte (Déotte, 1993, 1994, 1995), is witness to the politico and philosophical density of the issues concerning matters such as identity and museums. The extended literature that followed (see Poulot, 1994) gave a first-hand insight into the assumptions behind the concept of national heritage and National Cultural Policy by what was eloquently described as 'la culture des sans-culottes' (Deloche & Leniard, 1989). The compilation of texts, edited by Pierre Nora and published in seven volumes as *Les lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 1984; 1986, 1992), are the most extensive and documented interpretation on the formation of the French modern conception of National cultural heritage.

DISSATISFACTION WITH EXISTING CULTURAL POLICY: DEMOCRATIZATION VS POPULARIZATION

The adoption by the Declaration of Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas of the anthropological conception of culture as core guideline of his cultural policy is a good indication of the in-depth cultural influence that the 'Myth of Primitivism' had on the French society. However, this influence was not reflected on the museum establishment at large, which was still deeply entrenched in an Enlightenment understanding of culture. The effectiveness of decades of museum modernization and popularization of culture was given a negative perspective by the results of the 1967 enquiry of the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) on the trends and leisure practices of the French population (Debreu, 1973). This report was followed by the series of enquiries by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs on *les pratiques culturelles des Français* (Donnat, 1998), which led to the publication of Pierre Bourdieu's *L'Amour de l'art, les musées européens et leur public* (Bourdieu, 1969).

Contrary to the assumptions of popularization of culture, the conclusion of Bourdieu was that the alleged 'supplement of soul' that museums were supposed to offer did not produce the desired cultural democratization (Bourdieu, 1969). The above-mentioned literature put in evidence a widespread dissatisfaction with both the political system of democratic representation and the cultural assumption of the existing policies of popularization of Culture.

According to this critique, the founding members of the Popular Culture movement in the inter-war years - Joffe Dumazedier, Leo Lagrange, Benigno Casares - who articulated the museology of Rivière, substituted the 'culture of the people' for the 'culture for all'. The right to own 'your own culture' was overridden by the Republican idea of 'Universal knowledge'. Philippe Urfalino described this change of priorities as a shift from 'cultural democracy as a process' to 'popularization as access to the work of art' (Urfalino, 1996). This notion of Culture would be taken, after 1945, as the foundational principle of future cultural policies. Whether the ministry of Cultural affairs of Malraux, or the alternative project of the left, based on voluntary associations, cultural militancy and root-based decision-making, they all accepted the assumption of popularization of culture.

Thus, according to the Ministry of Culture set up by André Malraux in 1959, the creation of a network of 'maisons de la culture', spreading from Paris to provincial towns and cities, was supposed to break away from the legacy of the System of Fine Arts (Beaux-Arts). The assumptions of Malraux's cultural policy were a reflection of the century-old belief that access by the majority to the Nation's cultural heritage would encourage a spirit of artistic creativity and cultural freedom. In addition, inspired by a Jacobin conception of public services, this policy left little autonomy to mayor, local representative and communities, and was widely considered to be but an overhaul of the traditional system of Fine Arts.

Lebovic pointed out the choices made by the French communist and socialist on the nature of democratization of culture. In the mid 1930s, the organized left, socialist and communists alike, accepted traditional bourgeois culture and its institutions as normative (Lebovic, 1992). The French Communist Party, as late as 1966, defined 'Culture' as 'the accumulated treasures of human creations, to be shared by everyone' (Lebovic, 1992, p.158).

Peyrouzère has attributed this state of affairs to the literary and humanist background of the various actors placed by the Minister of Education and Culture Jean Zay in strategic positions of the administration. Alongside their progressive ideas of socialism, they all shared the enlightenment paradigm of education (Peyrouzère, 1999). Brian Rigby also cast doubts on the motives and ideals of this generation of cultural activists:

'Whatever their insight about staying true to the "everyday life" of people, they were above all interested in taking high culture to them, and using high culture as a way of counteracting the alienation of modern city life and the degrading influence of mass culture' (Rigby, 1991, p.44).

The prestige of the American education movement in the field of museums has also to be considered. The adoption by the Popular Front of the cultural policies outlined by the Intellectual Office for Cooperation and the International Office of Museums, strongly shaped, as we have seen, by Anglo-American and Scandinavian experiences, might have contributed to strengthening the educational ethos of the policy of cultural popularization of the Popular Front (Ory, 1994).

CHANGES IN TERRITORIAL GOVERNANCE

For many years regionalism had to face the accusation of separatism, and triggered the history of fears that the Constituent Assembly had on the integrity and unity of the nation. During the first months of the 1789 Revolution, France was subjected to a totally new reorganization, based on the principle of total decentralization. The law of the 14th of September 1789 gave the municipal institution total autonomy. Not only were its local representatives supposed to be elected by the local citizens, but every political representative of the State was to be elected by the commune (Gasnier, 1992, p.466).

The events of the Vendée in 1793 put into question the project of total decentralization. The birth of what was later to be called the 'Jacobin' notion of the State took shape after this year and is at the core of the administrative reorganizations of 1799 and 1802. This conception came to perceive the local as the antithesis of the national, and the interest of the general in sharp opposition to the political vindication of the regions. A sign of this shift in policy can be perceived in the change in attitude of the Abbé Gregoire. While the 1790 Enquiry of the Abbé Gregoire thought that the local languages (patois) were to be left to naturally disappear following the course of history, in May 1794 Gregoire recommended the need to abolish the patois (de Certeau, 1975).

In the 1970s and 80s, fundamental changes in the administration and management of the Territory were approved. Decentralization became a growing necessity to achieve a more harmonious development of the National Territory and a better allocation of human and material resources. The new policy of territorial reorganization ('Aménagement du Territoire') meant the devolution of powers and responsibilities held by the centralized State administration to local administrators. Guichard described the notion of 'Aménagement du Territoire' as permanent dialogue with time. In contrast with the Jacobin administration of the territory, the new 'Aménagement':

'does not start by making "tabula rasa" of the region, but by taking the region in state of becoming with consideration to its past and readapting it to the needs of the present and looking at the future' (Guichard, 1965, p.51).

ALTERNATIVE POPULATIONS AND HERITAGE ASSOCIATIONS

In the debates following Rivière's presentation in the workshop of Lurs, it was made explicit that the health, concerns, frustrations and needs of the urban population visiting the regional natural park were not the only priority. The first thing to be considered:

'was the rights of the rural, those who live permanently from nature, who for a long time had been underestimated, silently scorned, which translates itself by well-known psychosomatic allergies and depressions…. Peasants were not to be put in a reserve to cater for the needs of the urban population. Regional natural parks were to be the tools to re-adapt rural communities to new conditions' (Rivière, 1966, p.134).

Together with the recognition of the right of the locals, another essential factor in the transformation of the notion of heritage was the multiplication of the so-called heritage associations (Glevarec & Saez, 2005). Though some of these associations were in the nature of 18th Century learned societies, the unique feature of many of the new associations was that they created new motivations in direct confrontation with the existing ones. They had been described by Benoit de L'Estoile in terms of the 'opposition between the established and the outsider' (de L'Estoile, 2001, p.123-138). In contrast with the traditional learned societies, the new associations were not interested in the diffusion of literary and scientific research, but in the creation of local distinctness based on different patrimonial spaces, new centres of interest and alternative aesthetic concerns. This distinctiveness was described by Clifford and King (1993) as 'that elusive particularity... which has to do as much about the commonplace as about the rare, about the everyday as well as about the endangered and the spectacular' (quoted in Davies, 2005, p.367). Dubost argues that 'the erudite passion of traditional learned societies gave way to the search for a more direct and sensual bond between man and nature, to the need of re-appropriation of the all too forgotten empirical knowledge' (Dubost, 1994, p.131).

HUGUES VARINE'S CRITIQUE OF MODERN CULTURAL POLICIES

It would be Hugues de Varine's criticism of cultural institutions and established museum culture that would best encapsulate the spirit of its time. When, in 1969, Varine was nominated to succeed Rivière as Director of ICOM, he re-opened the debate on the difference between popularization and democratization and promoted an open-ended understanding of the management of museums in the context of a local community. Varine's critical stand can be seen as the convergence of a hundred years of critique of the system of Fine Art with the 1968 social upheaval and cultural vindications.

From his experience Varine perceived the so-called 'democratization of culture' as a fiction. It was a notion artificially produced by international organizations such as UNESCO, aiming to establish a 'universal civilization' shaped according to the criteria and values of consumption of industrialized countries (Varine, 1969).

His recollections as director of ICOM are perhaps the most significant to describe the changes in attitudes in management practices shared by a new generation of museologists:

'Through my active life I have travelled all continents, and for ten years I was responsible for an international organization (ICOM). I tried to change the mode and the means of my professional activity/action. I have failed in great extent because I wanted to reconcile the irreconcilable: large international organizations are not really made to address real problems. They exist to preserve and improve the privileges of small numbers of countries and people' (Varine, 1976, p.9).

He finally found what he was looking for in what he described as 'isolated, non-specialized, without social status and persecuted militants': educators such Paulo Freire (Freire, 1971), urbanists such as Jorge Hardoy (Hardoy, 1974) , philosophers such as Roger Garaudy and Stanislas Adotevi (Adotevi, 1971), scientists such as Prakash Agrawal, museologists such as Mario Vazquez (Varine, 1976).

Varine's cultural background predisposed him to a strong independent view on museums. Landowner, cultural activist and committed Catholic, he viewed two hundred years of the system of Beaux Arts as an imposed culturization at home and an imperialistic cultural colonialism abroad.

CRITICISM OF CULTURAL COLONIALISM

The 1970s did not only understand colonization from the point of view of the newly-created independent countries, but as the internal colonization imposed by modern nation states on its regional local cultures. According to Varine, for two centuries cultural identities and local political management had been overridden by a homogenizing culture and a centralizing political power. His interpretation of the cultural evolution of modern Western societies is representative of the radical views existing at the time against the cultural policies established by Western industrialized states:

'All the spectrum of revolutionary alternatives have eventually taken on board 19th century bourgeois cultural theories, and are today considered to be the greatest assets of mankind. Europe and America created both the code (enlightenment conception of culture) and the system (institutionalization of culture) and exported it to its colonies, territories, satellites and zones of influence' (Varine, 1976, p.50).

According to Varine, still through the 19th century rural cultures and the majority of the working classes were given the opportunity of being kept out of the process of bourgeois homogenization. Culture, in the modern sense, was not yet fully enforced: 'The majority of the population might have been materially, socially and often physically deprived, but that majority was allowed to keep their own culture, even amongst the slave population in the USA and Brazil' (Varine, 1976, p.50).

It was only with the instauration of obligatory schooling, between 1900 and 1970, that the institutionalization of culture spread like a spider's web over the planet: 'Every country, every human community, either democratically or through authoritarian means, has imposed one single perception of the past' (Varine, 1976, p.35). In most countries, specific cultural ministries were created, alongside those dealing with information, youth, sports and environment. Cultural Institutes were posted overseas (British Council, Alliance Française, Goethe Institute), maisons de la cultures, cultural centres, social foyers, museums and public libraries multiplied.

By the late 1960s, whether in the new nation states of Africa, Middle and Far East, or in the United States, France, Canada, Mexico and Brazil, fifty years of modernization of museums was perceived by a new generation of museologists as a waste of time and money. As Varine recalls:

'Between 1965 and 1970 the most active and innovative museologists all round the world had lost hope. Museums were dying, in spite of all the research conducted in order to define a new friendly and functional architecture integrated to the environment' (Varine, 1978, p.447).

In his 1968 fact-finding trip through eleven African countries as Director of ICOM, Hugues Varine denounced the lack of insertion and dysfunctionality of colonial museums. Museums in Africa were 'sick with loneliness, sick with lack of adaptation to their real public, mostly a relic of another century, too scientific, too aesthetic and mute only, suitable for the occasional tourist' (Varine, 1968, p.59).

THE SANTIAGO DE CHILE RESOLUTION

In the same manner, during the 1972 regional ICOM-UNESCO Conference in Santiago de Chile, Varine recalls how the Latino American museum curators realized in two days that their museums had no other use than the intellectual and aesthetical enjoyment of a local elite, the satisfaction of the ruling oligarchy and the curiosity of many North American tourists: 'For years they had been living in their institutions, surrounded by treasures, in the middle of cities and countries of which they knew absolutely nothing' (Varine, 1979, p.65).

The Resolutions and Recommendations adopted in the 1972 Santiago Conference reflected the experience of community museums in the United States (James, 2005) and 'integral museums' in Mexico and Latin America (Museum, 1973, Terruggi, 1973). The Santiago Resolutions of 1972 were later taken by the Declaration of Quebec of 1984, gathering the basic principles of an International Movement for a New Museology (MIMOM) which aimed at increasing the capacity of communities to create new cultural significances by initiating community processes of learning.

CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE ARTICULATION OF THE ECOMUSEUMS CONCEPT

The circumstances that led to the creation of the word 'Ecomusée' (Ecomuseum) are a good example of the blend of long-term motivations and contextual circumstances that led to its articulation. They have been described by Varine as part of a move to increase the profile of the 9th Conference of ICOM, to be held in September 1971 in Paris, Dijon and Grenoble. Earlier in the year there had been a working lunch in La Flambée – a simple Parisian feu au bois restaurant, halfway between the two UNESCO buildings in Paris. Hugues de Varine, by then Director of ICOM, Georges Henri Rivière, former Director and Permanent Adviser of ICOM, and Serge Antoine, Adviser to the Minister of the Environment, met informally to plan the Dijon sessions of the forthcoming General Conference, at which Robert Poujade, Mayor of the city and Minister of the Environment, was going to be present and, it was hoped, a speaker.

The issue under discussion was to try to link the word 'museum' – which, within the French government of the time, was largely the responsibility of the Minister of Culture - and the word 'environment' in such a way that could commit the Minister of the Environment to the ICOM Conference in his ministerial role.

Eventually, after several attempts of various combinations of the two words of ecology and museum, a tentative compromise was reached, and the word 'Ecomusée' was adopted. As Varine recalled, a few months later in September 1971 in Dijon, the Minister for the Environment Poujade presented officially the 'Ecomuseum' which he described as aiming at 'showing the basic grammar for understanding the relationship of Man and his environment' (Varine, 1978). In fact Poujade was much more specific than this in his speech in the Hôtel de Ville, Dijon, to the ICOM General Conference on 3rd September 1971, according to the detailed report and a specific quotation in the leading French newspaper *Le Monde* two days later. Poujarde began this section of his speech by commenting on the failures of France in environmental initiatives, of which the neglect of the open-air museum concept was an example, and assured the listeners that the government would quickly 'profit from the international experience'. He then continued:

'We are launching what some have already baptized "écomusées", and which are still only experiments. The recently-created natural and regional parks in Aquitaine and Britanny are a solution to this. Every year, despite the relative modesty of my budget, I will give the go-ahead for one of these "écomusées", which should be a living approach to a past and a still intimately linked present' (Le Monde. 1971).

With the term 'Ecomuseum' becoming very much a creature of political expediency, and with the nationwide project of creating natural Parks in the background, Rivière produced between 1971 and 1980 his series of so-called 'evolutive' definitions of an Ecomuseum (Rivière, 1973c, 1975b, 1978d; see Desvallées 1992, p.440-444). Like the name itself, all these definitions were produced in reacting to specific situations, and need to be considered as such. As Rivière often repeated:

'All definitions that could be given have an 'evolutive character'; from time to time I rethink this definition with some of my best colleagues and, according to the on-going experience, we adapt the definition to the new situation' (Rivière, 1978d, np).

DIVERSITY AND HETEROGENEITY OF THE CONCEPT

Broadly speaking, Rivière's notion of the Ecomuseum was built on a number of main strands which either constituted the core of his museology or were part of his long-term reflection on the nature of heritage.

First there was the idea of Musée-laboratoire, understood as a museum without walls in which scientific research is seconded to local museums, institutions and population networks (see chapter 6). The 1973 definition emphasizes this 'musée-laboratoire' dimension, with its permanent fieldwork laboratory status, and what Rivière called its 'ecological museum' dimension, aiming at researching the long-term relationship of 'Man and Nature' (Rivière , 1973b). As such, the Ecomuseum was an instrument of information and awareness for the local population. This approach was approved by the General Assembly of French Natural Parks in October 1978, which specifically defined it as a centre of research, conservation, presentation and cultural action, a fieldwork research laboratory equipped with conservation facilities with permanent administrative headquarters, meeting rooms, socio-cultural workshops and accommodation. (Rivière, 1978d; see also Desvallées, 1992, p.442).

This 'open walls' dimension of the Musée-laboratoire was supplemented by the open-air exhibits of buildings and landscapes. Rivière incorporated the idea of open-air museums with emphasis on the preservation and interpretation in situ rather than on the removal of historic buildings to a single site.

Rivière also incorporated the idea of landscape as an open-air historical 'archive', while the museography, which he termed 'parcologie', was heavily influenced by the interpretation techniques developed in the American and UK National Parks. The outcome was a museography in which the geographical environment itself was to be experienced though carefully chosen footpaths, vantage points, guided walks and outposts or 'antennae' acting as centres of interpretation of the social or technological history of the region. The visitor's experiences of the Ecomuseums of de L'Ouessant, Monts d'Arrée or Landes de Gascogne reflect this open-air character (Moniot, 1973).

Finally, the notion of Ecomuseum was shaped by the 1968 cultural upheaval across France, which, among other things, questioned the ethical value of what was described as 'the society of the spectacle' (Debord, 1967). Situationist, social Marxist and Christian militants converged in the rejection of prevalent organizational and managerial practice. In this context, cultural and territorial decentralization came to be understood as the development of self-management (autogestion) and political devolution. The experiment, conducted between 1971 and 1974 with the support of Hugues Varine in the newly-formed urban community of Le Creusot-Monteau-les-Mines,[84] became a template on which theories were elaborated, and gave to the notion of Ecomuseum its managerial originality and socially progressive popularity.

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[84] From the late 18th century the small rural village of Le Creusot in the south of the Départment de Bourgogne, north-west of Lyon, was rapidly developed into a centre of heavy industry using the local coal and iron resources, and from 1836 by the Schneider family, who started building railway locomotives and plants of English design under licence from Stephenson & Co., and soon developed Le Creusot into France's leading centre for heavy engineering and armaments.

ECOMUSEUM AS MUSÉE LABORATOIRE

Museography of Laboratory Museum
(Ecomuseum)
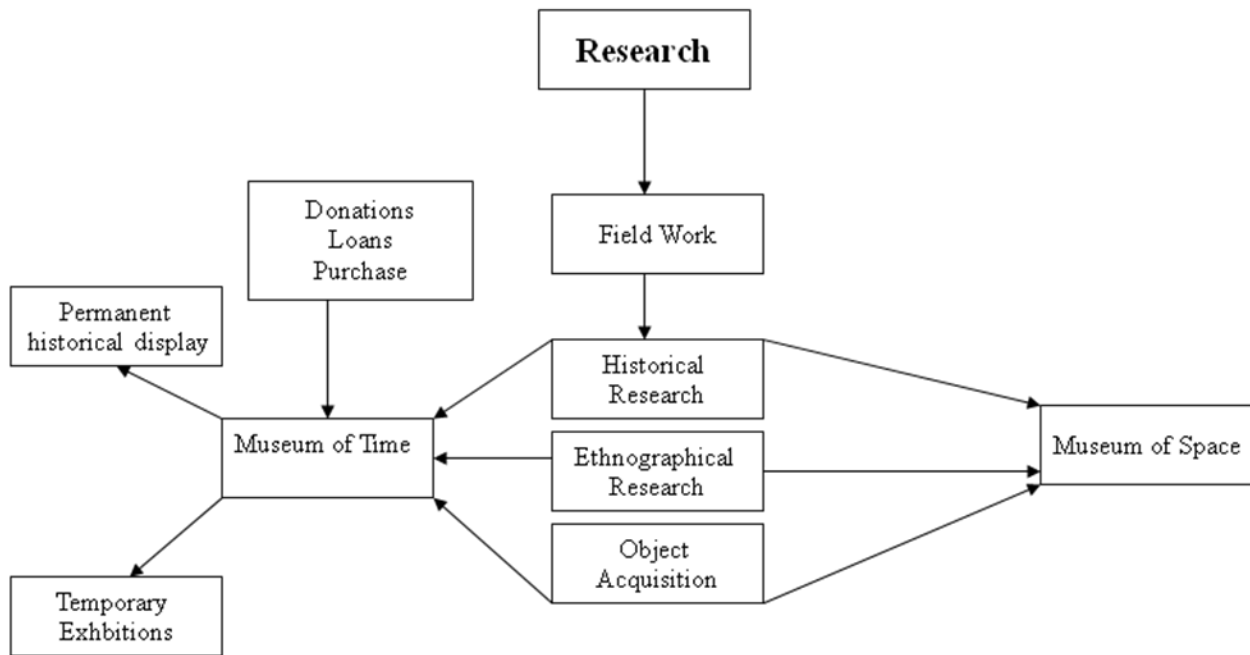
Diagram 9: Museographical programme in an Ecomuseum

The Ecomuseum idea, as understood by Rivière, incorporated all the assumptions and museography of the Musée-laboratoire that he had developed with Paul Rivet in the 1930s. As in the Musée-Laboratoire there was to be a museological programme centred on ethnographical and historical research. There were to be permanent displays, following a chronological interpretation, with emphasis on body skills, local knowhow and craftsmanship (ethno-technology). Temporary exhibitions were used as tools to keep the museum alive. There was, however, a dimensional shift in the themes; what Christian Bromberger has called 'ethnology of the small' (Bromberger, 1987). In contrast to the theoretical research focusing on 'elementary structures', categories of the self, system of classification or kinship, the new research focused on documenting the way of life and working conditions of the local population. By showing how their way of life was rooted in a long socio-cultural history, the Ecomuseum was intended to improve the identification of the local population with its natural and social environment (Museum of Space).

TWO TYPES OF RESEARCH: HISTORY & ETHNOLOGY

This new model approach tried to overcome the gap existing between the scientific objectivity and the emotional value of everyday representations. For that purpose, research in an Ecomuseum was divided into two aspects: diachronic research focusing on the natural, social and political history of the locality,

and a synchronic research carried out through ethnological fieldwork, highlighting life experiences of members and groups of the population. Asked to explain how the population participated in the creation of collection, Rivière described the process of of involving the population of the Ecomuseum of the Camargue in an archaeological campaign:

'After an initial preparation with teachers and school personnel… showing them films of what we will do, and with a precise programme of the things we want to find in the territory… I can say that everything has been found by the children and the old people and given to the museum as a collective good of the population of the Camargue… it was surprising, the interest and reaction of these young people to interpret themselves the landscape' (Rivière, 1978, Appendix 1, p.265).

In the same manner, the report of Françoise Wasserman on the museological programme of the Ecomuseum of Fresnes (1979) in the outskirts is enlightening as to how Rivière, its inspirer, and Françoise Wasserman, its first Director, conceived its research and acquisition methods. The Ecomuseum of Fresnes was located in what used to be the farm of Cottinville and part of the old town of Fresnes. The town was a rural settlement until the 1950s, when it became urbanized and integrated into the economic life of the Paris region, just a few kilometres from the Paris-Orly Airport. Its cultural interest was its urban status with traces of its agricultural past. The various farm buildings and outbuildings were restored by the municipality of Fresnes to allow for two exhibition galleries, a centre of documentation, two meeting rooms and an activities centre. The mission of the Fresnes Ecomuseum was to be a pedagogical tool to allow the locals to 'apprehend in its totality the space they lived in' (Wasserman, 1979, p.76).

For that purpose, the history of the locality was documented through an extensive search in libraries and national, municipal and private archives. Foundational documents relating to the church of Fresnes were produced, first as property of the local landlords in the 12th Century and then, in the 15th century, as the parish church. In local archives the history of the farm as an agricultural business was traced from the Revolution to the present day with detailed research on the size, modes and types of agricultural production. Husbandry and agricultural tools were documented as a statistical and sociological enquiry. The historical evidence produced by written documents was complemented with personal recollections. Individuals culturally relevant for their skills and memories were identified and interviewed. Farmers and small merchants or their descendants, members of the arts and crafts, and local occupations such as laundry, brick, basket and trap making, joiner, ébeniste, wheelwright, together with local artists, school teachers and intellectuals and landowners were all given the opportunity of telling their story. (Wasserman, 1979). Interviews were all recorded and documented and became part of the sound and image archives of the Ecomuseum for the use of researcher, permanent displays and future temporary exhibitions. The natural environment of the territory of Fresnes was documented by an extended ethno-botanical research, covering the inventory of present and past horticultural and agricultural crops. Ethno-zoological research collected evidence of present and past species of domestic horses, donkeys, cows, goats, lamb and pigs.

SHIFTS IN THE NATURE OF THE COLLECTION

In contrast with the physical assets of a traditional museum made of a building and collection of objects and documents, the Ecomuseum had a wider understanding of the scope of its mission. As Rivière defined them, the assets of the Ecomuseum are the various buildings and outbuildings that, for symbolic and historical importance, have been chosen to be preserved. Some of these buildings might be put to use for housing the administrative offices, archives or collections that might need a permanent storage, or selected for permanent display. As such, the contents in a typical Ecomuseum were likely to include:

Artefacts of scientific and cultural interest representative of the patrimony of the community;

Natural spaces untouched by human habitation;

Natural spaces with traces of past human habitation;

Buildings and outbuildings of historic or stylistic importance.

There would also be headquarter buildings with research, conservation and presentation premises, and where cultural activities and administrative work were carried out. This might include a field laboratory, workshop for physical preservation of artefacts, meeting and activities rooms, etc. Supporting all this, the Ecomuseum developed a number of walking trails and observation points to facilitate visiting and observing the territory investigated and explained. (Rivière, 1980).

ALTERNATIVE MODES OF COLLECTING

The shift in the nature of the collections was supplemented by alternative practices of acquisition. The main criticism of traditional modes of collecting has often being either their accidental mode of acquiring or their excessive conformance to a 'museological programme' created by learned societies and ideological organizations. Varine, in his description of the various museological programmes put in place to create the French National 'general inventory', made the distinction between a top-down 'technocratic' and 'scientific' inventories, and a bottom-up 'participatory inventory' produced by a community (Varine, 2002). The technocratic inventory classified the heritage in function of utilitarian categories: its economic value, its tourist attraction potential, its beauty or its spectacular features. The result was a more or less complex set of reports made to serve its use for cultural tourism and/or by economic or educational projects. This kind of inventory was thought by Varine to reduce heritage to its most visible aspects, without any reference to its links with the living culture of the community. On its part, the scientific inventory was produced by the professionals of culture, university scholars and experts concerned with the preservation of cultural goods.

In contrast with these top-down discipline-inspired approaches, Varine uses the term 'participatory inventory' for the process of identification and documentation of local heritage by involving the inhabitants, associations, individuals, schools, local experts and owners. Collections are created on the basis of the importance that the local population gives to places, objects and events, shaped by their own

sense of their local history and environment. The resulting 'participatory inventory' should include the invisible or immaterial heritage, such as local craftsmanship, local knowhow, local artistic and aesthetic tradition, as well as the living heritage to which it belongs. Awareness of this immaterial heritage, closely related to local social, economic, educational, linguistic, religious and ethnic conditions, is to be understood as an important element of identity and social cohesion of the various groups existing in a community. (Varine, 2002).

Varine distinguishes a threefold sequence in the participatory process: an identification phase is followed by a campaign for information and concludes with a third phase in which the population makes the inventory their own.

The identification phase aimed at identifying the various actors existing in a region:

'The elected representatives and the owners of the local heritage; the associations and groups, the enthusiasts and local experts; the existing institutional and individual heritage professionals, schools at every level alongside teachers and parents' (Varine, 2002, p.49).

The most difficult to recruit are initially the local inhabitants, with schools and teachers the most accessible. Varine warns against involving at too early a stage professionals linked to public establishments such as universities, museums, archives, and local administration in particular: 'They often have no experience and inclination to work in groups, and their scientific or academic expertise makes their vision of heritage limited and biased' (Varine, 2002, p.50).

The collection should no longer be localized but should extend across the whole of a defined geographical area. On this basis, 'objects' are not only artefacts or buildings, but also include the landscape with its mineral resources and its biological diversity of flora and fauna. The function of the museum should not be to make acquisitions for their own sake, but to give its cultural significance to whatever existed in the region. Any object which still had a functional or emotional value for its natural owner would remain physically in place. Any object that had lost its emotional value would be deposited in the museum 'reserve collection'. It was stressed how important it was for the collection to be essentially made of local objects, to avoid it becoming a 'cultural slaughterhouse' without relevance to the identity of the region. Documentation and identification of relevant artefacts was done by the community: 'Armed with inexpensive equipment (cassette recorders, 'instamatic' type cameras), they went from house to house listing everything connected with the village and its inhabitants. Objects might be still privately owned, but as part of the cultural identity, they were assumed to have a kind of communal 'cultural property right' (Varine, 1991).

TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS AS TRIGGERING EVENTS FOR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Ecomuseum incorporated the Musée laboratoire's practice of temporary exhibitions as part of a programme of research, acquisition and exhibition. However, temporary exhibitions took a different strategic dimension, becoming a tool by which the population becomes aware of its patrimony and its territory.

Through the years, Varine has given a very detailed description of the practices involved in the creation of a participatory inventory, whether for permanent acquisitions or for temporary exhibitions. He proposed an initial informal walk with the various local informers, in which the museologist or heritage project manager would act as an uninformed observer. This might be followed with a public exhibition and subsequent public debates on what has been perceived as important. The use of pertinent themes, such as concerns on the urgent saving of a local monument, or the celebration of a local event, would become a pretext that triggered the involvement and interest of the wider community. The outcome is an accumulation of facts, documents, images, oral witness, maps, files and the identification of what is missing. It is here that the abilities of the cultural manager are put to the test. Without the need to produce a publication or create a museum as such, private and public actors could then be recruited. (Varine, 2002, p.34-54).

A graphic portrayal of the triangular interaction between Rivière's heritage – territory – population was developed from the early 1970s by Hugues de Varine and the Canadian René Rivard. More recently Pierre Mayrand has developed his 'creativity triangle' (see Diagram 8 below) according to which pertinently chosen periodic exhibitions trigger and develop an awareness the territory, its history and its natural environment. (Mayrand, 1999, 2000).
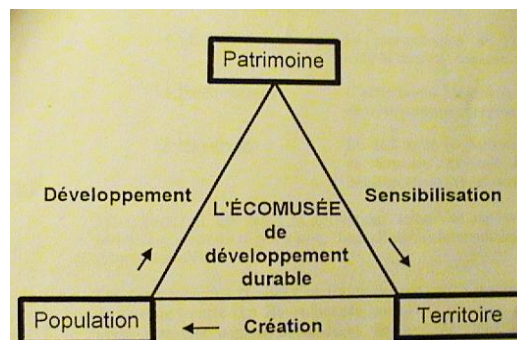
Diagram 10: 'Creativity triangle' proposed by Pierre Mayrand[85]

Thus the Ecomusée de la Vendée, one of the last that Rivière was involved in, was triggered by the historical re-enactment of the events that occurred in the counter-revolutionary wars in the Château du Puy du Fou (1978) . The night performance, with its spectacular effects of light and sound, was interpreted by the massive collaboration of the local population. The interest shown by the population in the son et lumière performances was then reinforced by an initial 1978 temporary exhibition *Le Pays de Puy du Fou a travers les ages* (The country of Puy du Fou through the Ages) that put on display little-known documents and objects found in existing local museums and in private, local and national archives. The purpose of the exhibition was the creation of a new awareness of a shared past formerly unknown or little-valued. The population realized for the first time the importance of the territory and its

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[85] *For the creation of an Ecomuseum as a tool for a sustainable cultural development of the population (Mayrand, 1999, 2000).*

fourteen communes in the shaping of that past. A number of other events and exhibitions followed in 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1983, consolidating the initial sensitizing of the population to their heritage and developing a new sense of place.

Rivière proposed at the time the creation of a number of Ecomuseums covering the territory of Vendée as a way to start a process of reconstruction of memory. Thirty years later, the initial triggering event, the summer re-enactment at the Château de Puy du Fou, is part of the life of the population both as personal memory and as part of the tourist industry. The Château has become the site of a permanent exhibition of the historical memory of the whole region, supporting what is today a network of five Ecomuseums across the Vendée region, extending from the coast, the islands and the interior. The Historical Gallery in the Château was developed by the Curatorial Service of the Musées de France and specialist Scientific Committees, all working in close consultation with the Friends of the Ecomuseum. According to the departmental curator in Chief, Francis Ribémont:

'Together with the five local Ecomuseums, the geographical diversity, variety of landscapes and common history of the Vendée are now interpreted and presented to the local population and tourists alike' (Ribémont, 1989, p.318).

TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS AS MODE OF COLLECTING

Within the system of Ecomuseum or community heritage development, the design and implementation of temporary exhibitions was also a means to identify, locate and acquire objects and documentation relevant to the history and identity of the community and its territory. A temporary exhibition would begin with the proposal and discussion of a number of possible themes of scientific, artistic or general interest. After the theme was chosen, relevant objects were found, either through acquisition or through loans or donations from local collectors or the community at large.

A good example was the early development of the Ecomusée de Fresnes, in the southern suburbs of Paris, by the pioneer of Ecomuseums and 'new museology' Françoise Wasserman. The provocatively-titled 1979 exhibition La Grenouille des grenouilleux ('The frog of the frog lovers') was set up to address both Parisians who traditionally came to Fresnes to eat the locally caught frogs, and the inhabitants of Fresnes themselves who were traditionally involved in this unusual local agricultural industry. Thus this theme had both natural and local social relevance and had also been reflected in the local plastic arts.
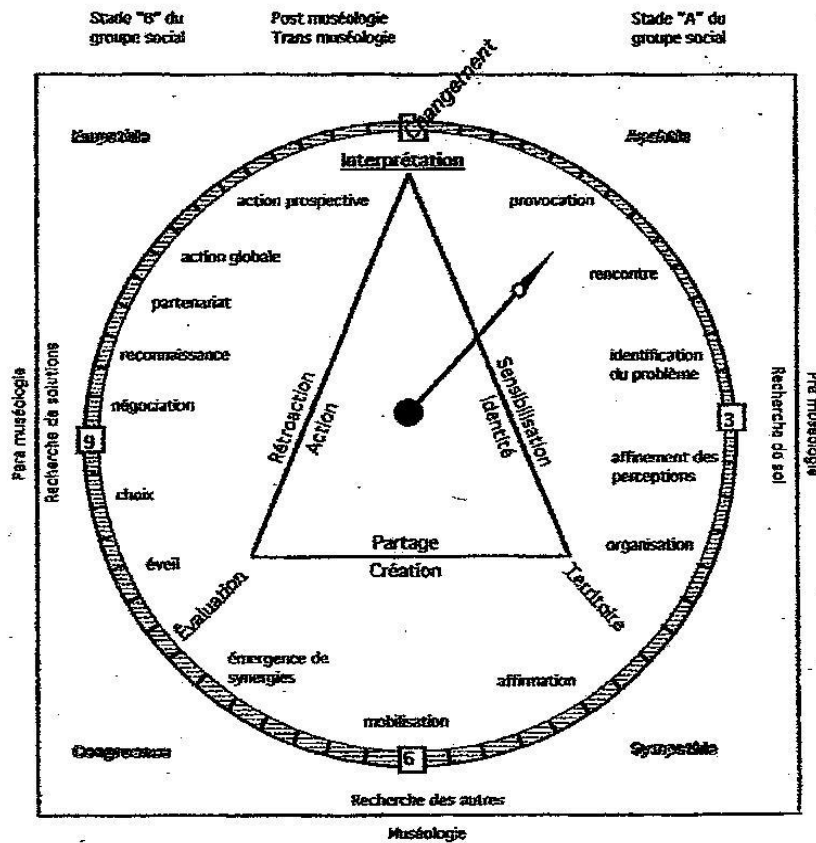
Diagram 11: The use of a three year temporary exhibitions programme as a means to trigger a process of cultural development was described by Canadian museologist Pierre Mayrand 'Exhibition at the right time of local development'.

In the initial 'stage of apathy' the local population shows no knowledge of, or interest in, local heritage. In this state of affairs the museologist uses an event or an issue that concerns the local population to motivate a first exhibition. This exhibition acts as place of encounter and provocation. Subsequent exhibitions transform the empathy created into sustained dialogue in the community that identifies, analyses and develops a growing awareness of the tangible and intangible local heritage. This growth of community cultural identity leads to an articulation of a course of action and the mobilization of human and material resources through partnership, negotiations and global action. In a final Stage B, the population has become a community and its territory the foundation for a living interpretation of their historical and cultural identity.

Objects relating to the trade were retrieved from the traditional material culture still owned by members of the community, and with this a special display was planned for the Ecomuseum to reflect the long-term association of Fresnes with the production and consumption of frogs. Contacts were also made with the various organizations that might volunteer to contribute to the organization of the so call 'Frog Festival' in which hands-on visitor and school activities were developed and performed. The local school of fine art, a sculpture workshop, local shopkeepers and businesses and local library loans contributed to the success of the event. On the same lines, the exhibition 'Child and school yesterday and today' (1979) was produced with gifts, loans and personal remembrances of the population, and a third exhibition with the theme ' Man and the Bee' (1979) was achieved with the collaboration of the French Federation of Natural Science Societies, the support of the school of Boissy-Saint-Leger and the Agricultural Unions (Wasserman, 1979).

PROGRAMME OF DOCUMENTATION FOR THE ECOMUSEUM

The production of temporary exhibitions typically leads to the printing of leaflets and the publication of documented catalogues and pertinent scientific material, which then become part of the documentation of the Ecomuseum. Every object, according to Rivière, could in practice be documented according to nearly unlimited criteria, whether these might be 'objective', such as size, material, date, mode of production, origin, etc or cultural, such as the technical function, economic and social role, symbolic significance and artistic period or style (Rivière, 1976b). An Ecomuseum was to act as a centre of information and documentation of local history, and to put the results of the research material stored in the different archives (thesis, articles, audio visual recordings and material) at the service of the population. To facilitate this access, Rivière and Wasserman proposed, in the Museological Committee of the Permanent Conference of Regional Natural Parks (1979), a 'documentary model' that would serve as a standardized tool for the easy localization of artefacts and documents. (Wasserman, 1979). Rivière understood by 'documentary model' (instrument documentaire) a tool of inventories, registers or files that help in identifying, analysing, indexing and classifying all the assets belonging to the museum. This tool was to allow the follow up of any internal and external movements of the Ecomuseum's assets, whether these be permanent or temporary buildings, natural or cultural objects, graphic documentation, original photographic material, or audio and film documentation (Rivière, 1976b).

ECOMUSEUMS AS OPEN-AIR MUSEUMS

To understand Rivière's perception of an Ecomuseum, the inspiring example of the Scandinavian open-air museums (see The Scandinavian Experience in Chapter 3) must be complemented by the considerations he made in the 1966 Lurs Workshop on the notion of rural dwelling (Rivière, 1966). Rivière celebrated the Workshop as providing the opportunity to create 'a well-chosen selection and distribution of Natural and Cultural parks' which would 'open great possibilities for the introduction of open-air museums in our country' (Rivière, 1966, p.108).

Rivière's contribution to the debate was a recapitulation of thirty years of museographical experience and theoretical considerations on the nature of vernacular architecture. He built his presentation around the

concepts of habitat and dwelling in the framework of Albert Demangeon's classification of vernacular architecture (Demangeon, 1937, 1939) and around the origins and evolution of traditional rural habitat he had articulated in his *Habitat rural et tradition paysanne* (Rivière & Maget, 1944).

Rivière introduced rural dwellings as unique features of the landscape and as a 'totality', both as human habitation and as modes of production (Rivière, 1966, p.107). In traditional societies, the functions of a building were perfectly suited to cater for the strict requirements of family, animals and agricultural work. Living space in traditional rural life was organized in such a way that the daily functions of life could be implemented with the maximum efficiency:

'A house is made of every material locally available, shaped and put in place in the best possible conditions by the local craftsman... the dwellings destined for the animals are made to fit the animal size, wheat and dry forage are kept in granaries safe from humidity and moisture, the different dependencies of the farm are built to minimize travelling distances, the living rooms and household objects such as tables, cupboards, washing sinks, beds and wardrobes seem to have been designed to make the most of the volume available, the sources of heat were located according to principles of thermal recycling and insulation' (Rivière & Maget, 1944, p.1–2).

This symbiosis of living needs and local solution accounted for the variety of rural houses that existed in France. The non-static nature of this kind of architecture made of vernacular architecture the most complete document of the socio-economic long-term evolution:

'Through the centuries, with the evolution of the ways of life, changes in wealth, or the opening to external influences, changes of materials and ways of building, the house, like the region, can be understood as an archive document. The multiplicity of social strata, the complexity of the socio-economic activities in one specific period make that each region can be considered a museum of rural architecture', (Rivière, 1966, p.106).

With these ethnological and historical considerations, Rivière ideally recommended the creation of open-air museums in situ:

'Every building has been built with an orientation, in a particular physical environment, a certain sky and environment. If a sculpture is displaced in a museum we are bound to lose much of its nature. If, for educational or other reasons, buildings were to be displaced, the effort was to be made so that one building did not disturb the building nearby' (Rivière, 1966, p.135).

ECOMUSEUMS AS OPEN ARCHIVES

Another of the leading themes of the Lurs Workshop was built on the idea that there is no such thing as nature in its original state. In contrast with American National Parks that are often perceived as spectacular 'primordial landscapes', very few 'natural' areas exist in France where the rural space is a man-made environment in a process of social and physical degradation. The presentation given by ethnologist Isac Chiva in the workshop in Lurs made reference to the major works of the School of Human Geography, the school of history of the Annales and the Institute of Ethnography. Chiva, referring to the phenomenology of trace inaugurated by Marc Bloch (1931), analysed the historicity, variety and mobility of the landscape. According to Chiva, the morphology of the landscape, the flora and fauna were the product of human habitation and, as such, a man-made environment:

'The clearing of forests, the ploughing of the fields, the extreme variety of the methods of exploitation, enclosures, buildings, roads, waterways, all have given to the landscape of the different regions of France

its extreme diversity…. From its archaeological layers we can read the permanent materialization in the soil of social, juridical and economic realities: the myth of private property, the myth of production, the use of the land and the rights of passage' (Chiva, 1966, pp. 64–65).

Chiva went on to say that in the past, rural spaces, in contrast with present-day practice, were shaped in perfect harmony between human activity and natural processes. Raw materials came from the local soil and the technology was adapted to make the best use of them:

'The rural world, fruit of a long evolution with its rhythms and durations, had for a long time lived in harmonious symbiosis with the city, and the city did not threaten the existence of the nearby countryside. This equilibrium unfortunaly had been critically broken with industrialization and urbanization and today the landscape is in danger of total degradation and its inhabitants left as social wasteland' (Chiva, 1966, p.65).

What was at stake was not nature but the relationship of man to its social and natural environment. In the context of the emerging French policy of developing Regional Natural Parks, an Ecomuseum would contribute to renovating the bonds of the local population with the natural and historical environment of their territory. Archaeological sites and historical monuments, natural panoramas and places of specific interest were to be made accessible through pathways, views, hostels, and local accommodation.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF TWO GALLERIES: THE FRAGMENTED MUSEUM

Though the central idea and practices of the Musée-laboratoire were preserved in the shaping of the notion of Ecomuseum, new museographical practices were however incorporated. By 1973, Rivière was transforming for the purposes of the Ecomuseum his long-established system of two galleries. In the Ecomuseum, he argued, this model needed to to be complemented or substituted by two parallel modes of presenting and exploring the territory: the museum of time - the enclosed historical museum (musée du temps) exploring the diachronic aspects of the territory and its social history; and the museum of space - the open-territory museum (musée de l'espace) exploring its synchronic dimension (Rivière, 1973 in Desvallées, 1992, p. 440).

The museum of time would be located in either an existing or a new building, and would display what would today be termed a 'timeline' perspective of the natural and human history of the territory.The geological transformations of the landscape, and changes in flora and fauna, should be presented alongside the changes in way of life, agricultural cultivation, craftsmanship, technology and human habitation. The chronological interpretation of the museum of time, with its variety of maps, diagrams and artefacts, would play the role of an introductory visitor centre, informing the new visitor of the territory and strengthening the open-air experience produced by the interlinked museum of space. Following the history of the Annales, medium-term history had to be understood by the history of events and the cyclical patterns of long term history.[86]

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[86] Years later Braudel would differentiate three types of processes that operate at different wavelengths in the development of human societies. First, the short-term history of events, based on the narrative created by political history, events and the biography of individuals. Second, the medium term structural history (conjonctures) as depicted by social and economic history, demographic cycles, history of eras, worldviews and ideologies (mentalitiés). Finally, the long-term history of the structures of the 'longue durée' including geo-history, history of civilizations, peoples, stable technologies. (See Braudel, 1948).

Thus, in the Ecomuseum of the Island of the Ouessant, two existing traditional houses were restored to show an exhibition of the 'Musée du temps' explaining the history of the island from geological time to the present. Material culture was presented by historical periods and in domestic interiors, with emphasis on the 19th century. The most important motivation was to restore in situ a village in state of dereliction to show aspects of its life, and to show and find solutions to the problems facing small populations in danger of extinction and cultural destitution (Rivière, 1978). When building or interiors had not survived, similar buildings were then reconstructed or relocated from other sites based on the information of texts, iconography, and oral traditions. When buildings had survived in situ, they were restored in a particular historical moment. This was the case of the Ecomusée de la Grande Lande. (Rivière, 1978c, p.4).

However, in contrast with the natural history presentation of Natural Parks, Rivière's concept of the museum of space went beyond the opening of trails and vantage points across the Regional Park or nature reserve. It has to be perceived as a museographical challenge conveying a spacial interpretation of different historical times (Hamon, 1987). As such, the so-called 'museum of space' would invite one to experience history in its original location. The prehistory of the region would be experienced on a particular archaeological site, the medieval period in a local castle, past technologies performed in old mills, workshops or farmhouses. This 'spacialization' of historic periods in the landcape is one of the dimensions of what, at the time, was being described as 'fragmented museum' (Varine, 1973).

As such, the museography of the Ecomuseum of Mont Lorèze, located in the Natural Park of Cévennes in the Massif Central, invites the visitor to explore the multiple aspects of the landscape. There is a permanent interpretation centre, La Maison du Mont Lorèze (the 'museum of time') in which the attention of the visitor is focused on a diachronic discourse of the fauna, flora, architectonic and geographical aspects of the region. The different discourses could also be synchronically experienced through ten different circuit paths covering the whole territory of the Natural Park. Spectacular views or vantage points were chosen, and historical witnesses of its occupation, such as pre-historical alignments of menhirs, medieval castles, old farms, water mills and bridges acting as 'antennae', were restored and given easy access. Temporary exhibitions, special events, leaflets and study packs, videos and audio-guides for adults, families or school visits give complementary information on the multiple aspects of the landscape. The Ecomuseum and the natural park have had the effect of revitalizing the local economy with the renewal of traditional craftsmanship and local products.

MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF ECOMUSEUMS
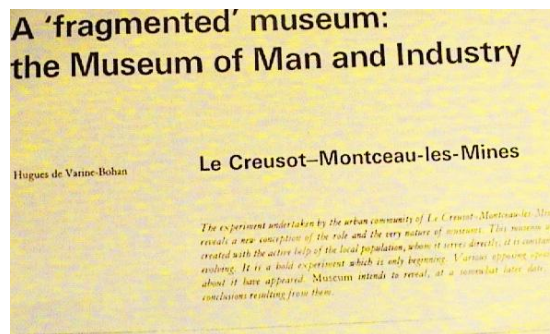
Fig 24: Hugues Varine's article on 'A Fragmented Museum' in the revue Museum, 1973[87]

In 1973, Varine presented in UNESCO's journal *Museum* a model organizational framework for this kind of decentralized management, as was being introduced for the Ecomusée du Creusot-Montceau-les-Mines in Burgundy, on which Varine had been working as a key adviser for several years. The new museums, he argued, should be inserted into the community by three separate committees - each comprising spontaneous or appointed representatives of groups or organizations. The first would be the 'Users' Committee, which would draw up programmes, initiate and evaluate results, and would be composed of representatives of the various socio-professional categories, age groups, cultural minorities (immigrants) and existing scientific and cultural associations. The second would be the Scientific and Technical Committee, which for its part would conduct the activities and supervise the work of research, conservation and display, and would be formed by the representatives of the permanent or voluntary staff of the museum, as well as specialists associated in any way with the museum (teachers, research workers in various disciplines, engineers, etc). Finally, there should be a Management Committee, responsible for the financing and supervision of the administration, which should be composed of representatives of local organizations, government departments, businesses and private donors. (Varine, 1973, p.243).

Though Le Creusot has had serious problems, and is now only a pale shadow of the original venture of the early 1970s (Debary, 2002), the decentralized Ecomuseum of Fourmies-Trélon, centred around St Omer in the Nord-Pas de Calais region of France, now known as the Ecomusée d' Avesnois, remains a very good example of Varine's 'fragmented museum' management system. The overall decision-making Council is formed of three committees: a committee of public officials such as Mayors, local councillors and Central Government representatives; a committee of local cultural and social associations such as

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[87] *Hugues Varine's seminal article on 'A Fragmented Museum' in the revue Museum in which he laid out the at the time innovative managerial practices and organizational frameworks that were experimented in ecomuseums (Museum 1973, Volume XXV, no 4, UNESCO, p.242-249).*

trade unions, primary schools, chambers of agriculture, consulates, etc; and a committee of all the representatives involved in the different 'antennae' (sites and branches) of the Ecomuseum. There are now eight of these antennae over the Ecomusée's declared territory, each preserving an aspect of the industrial past of the region and re-enacting its skills and the way of life associated with these old craft industries. Thus there is a Museum of Textile and Social Life, working textile and flour mills, a water-powered wood-turning mill, a glass museum and glass-making workshop, sites relating to the mining and uses of the local bluestone, and an 11th century Benedictine abbey. (Camusat, 1989).

CONCLUSIONS

I have approached the Ecomuseum concept as an evolution of the open-air dimension of the Musée-Laboratoire. After the war, with the work of reconstruction and the loss of Colonial territories, this dimension was diluted. Thirty years later, the cultural mission of the Musée-Laboratoire was given official recognition with acceptance of the anthropological conception of culture as the framework of French Cultural Policy.

Structural changes in the administration of the territory gave a new potential to its open-air dimension. It is in this context that the notion of Ecomuseum was proposed. I have analysed its genesis by describing the various museological strands converging in it: the object-based museology of the Musée-Laboratoire, its open-air museum and open-air historical archive dimension, its function as local centre of historical documentation, and finally the support of the local population that contributed as volunteers.

However, as we shall see, it is the analysis of the often misunderstood metaphor of the mirror that sheds a better light on the nature of 'authenticity' as interpreted by Rivière (see Chapter 10). In spite of his commitment to an anthropological understanding of culture, Rivière still largely managed his museological projects according to the cultural assumptions of the philosophy of enlightenment. A message was created and elaborated by a scholar minority to be understood by the passive visitor. As such, the 'authenticity' of identity as perceived by the population was always to be balanced by the historical or critical authenticity brought by the expert knowledge. This approach was not only contested by independent 'Heritage Associations' but, as we shall see, was to be overridden in the following decades by a market approach to public perception and museum interpretation.

CHAPTER 10: ECOMUSEUMS AND NEW MUSEOLOGY MOVEMENTS

Contents: Rivière's museology as suggested in this chapter can be associated with three main streams of museological practices. First, his lifelong dedication to the modernization of the methods of research, collecting and displaying, which he himself applied to his Musée-Laboratoire concept. This modernization reaches its fulfilment in what has today been called 'Post-Modern Museum' with its interpretative criticism and new modes of management and funding.

Another stream was his association with the 'Nouvelle Museologie' understood as a search of the origins of museums and an effort to understand museology beyond the notion of a museum. I have proposed the distinction between a 'Museology of Identity' and a 'Museology of Development' to clarify the identification of his Ecomuseum notion with the Community Museology as articulated by Hugues de Varine. Though the concept of Ecomuseum itself is open-ended, I have argued that Rivière's Ecomuseum projects were closer in their objectives and modes of management to a object-based Museology of Identity than to a Community Museology.

The objective of this chapter is to place Rivière's Ecomuseums of identity within the context of the new museology movements. I have put forward the following points:

Literature that has claimed to represent the new museology movement.

Strands of New Museology.

The post-modern museum.

Distinction between museology of Identity and Museology of Development.

Metaphor of the mirror.

Critical review of the metaphor of the mirror.

New museology understood as bottom up/inside out interpretation.

Rivière's Modes of management.

INTRODUCTION

Evoking the revolutionary decade of the Revolution of 1789, Desvallées has defined *nouvelle museologie* as a return to the origins, a search for what could be called the 'primordial museum'; 'the rebirth of the true senses of patrimony… a clarification of the original concepts and the recovery of forgotten practices', (Desvallées, 1992, pp.22-23).[88] His keynote article *Nouvelle Muséologie* (Desvallées, 1981), in the French *Encyclopedia Universalis*, speculated on the application of the notion of zero degree of writing:

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[88] According to this line of thinking, the French Revolution initiated a new interpretation of the cultural heritage and a redirection of collections. Desvallées associates the revolution in museology with epistemological revolution. The museum was given a new ethical and political destination, a civic destination, the creation of a public space in which the individual had access to the great achievements of history as seen in the lives of great men, manifested in the great masterpieces and invention of the past. According to Poulot, in contrast with the visit to museums in England of that time, the visitor to a Republican museum was left on his own and the visit was potentially opened to a diversity of apprehensions. (Poulot,1995, p.84). According to this view, the Republican museum brought for the first time the autonomy of the visitor and the ethic of the personal visit, and made it possible for the masterpieces of the past to be seen without the personal beliefs and values of art lovers. The creator of the Republican notion of museum seemed, according to Mairesse, to have the 'unconscious' design to regain its ancient peripatetic connotations: 'an agora where everyone could benefit by greatness whilst going about their everyday business'.

Nouvelle Muséologie, in contrast with traditional museums, does not approach people with pre-determined representations, but aims at an open-ended discourse about the patrimony (Desvallées, 1985). Art historian and museologist Edouard Pommier defined new museology as 'a movement of criticism and reform… aimed at incorporating new developments in the social and human sciences; revitalizing techniques of display, exhibition, and communication; and, ultimately, altering the traditional relationship between the institution and the public' (Pommier, 1985, p.184).

Though the term itself was made known from a number of editorial titles and militant movements that claimed to represent an organized international museological practice (MNES, MINOM), the alleged founders and actors of new museologies often constituted a 'disparate list' of names, many of whom would not consider themselves as such (Stan, 1993). Of these, the first was the French *Muséologie Nouvelle et Expérimentation Sociale* (MNES) founded in 1982 by a number of State curators, with a programme of promoting a social and political orientation for museums.[89] Also important are its annual Salons de Muséologie and seminars (MNES, 1985, 1987, 1988a, 1988b), and the two volumes of reprints and commentaries of key published texts under the title *Vagues: Anthologie de la nouvelle muséologie,* I & II, edited by Françoise Wasserman, Marie-Odile de Bary and André Desvallées (1992 & 1994).

MNES was soon followed by its international expression: *Mouvement Pour Une Nouvelle Muséologie –* MINOM. (Note the aim in the title of establishing 'Une' ('A') new museology, which emphasized a specific formula.) MINOM was formally established in Lisbon in 1985, following the 1st International Workshop 'Écomusées / Nouvelle Muséologie' held in Québec City in 1984.

Peter Vergo's *The New Museology* (Vergo, 1989) was arguably the first major, and certainly the most influential, work to introduce the term to the English-speaking world.[90] Vergo's edited work presented a series of studies by various authors analysing the issues and concerns of present museums and art galleries within the framework of the market economy that was developing. Its emphasis was on the politics of collecting, the significance of the museum objects, the importance of Colonial and Universal Exhibitions, the visiting public and cultural property. In his introduction to this widely quoted book, Peter Vergo defined 'new museology' in very general terms: as 'a dissatisfaction with the old', an old museology that seems to be preoccupied more 'with museum methods than with museum purposes' (Vergo, 1989, p.3).

The 'new museology' has subsequently been increasingly used in many different ways, but mostly as an umbrella term to refer to a number of museological practices intended to present radical alternatives to the traditional museum culture and management. Such usage in museological literature about what may be termed post-modern museology, covering different approaches to 'new museology', has included concepts and terms such as fragmented museums (Varine, 1973), Ecomuseums (Varine, 1978; Hubert, 1985; Rivard, 1985; Mayrand, 2000, 2001), neighborhood museums (Kinard, 1987,1985; James, 2005),

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[89] With Evelune Lehalle as its first President, MNES communicated through its information and training periodical, *MNES Info: Bulletin de Formation*, of which 12 issues appeared between April 1984 (no. 0) and May 1987 (no. 11).

[90] This had been preceded by at least two conferences at The Royal Academy, London, debating the promotion of a 'new museology' as an approach to historical research and practice of art, which sought to draw on the social context of works of art rather than just put the traditional emphasis on their aesthetic qualities. (Patrick Boylan, *pers.comm.*)

'integral museology' (Museum, 1973), community museology (Varine, 1969; 1991) and critical museology (Pearce, 1992). More recently, terms such as 'contact zones' (Clifford, 1997), 'cultural park' (Andrés, 2000), 'keeping places' (Gordon, 2005) have been used to refer to concepts and experiences inspired by the core principles of 'community museology'.

Another significant contribution in the emergence of new museology was the growing interest in Europe in the various approaches to the management and interpretation of the National Parks of the USA. This marked the beginning of the new integrated approach to interpretation and the public in the National Parks Service study of Tilden (1956), techniques for which Rivière was to create his neologism 'parcologie'. The American developments were followed up in the United Kingdom by the series of international conferences on museum and site interpretation held in the late 1960s and early 1970s, in partnership with the US Parks Service in the recently established Department of Museum Studies of the University of Leicester. These led directly to the founding, in 1975, of the Society for the Interpretation of Britain's Heritage, (now the Association for Heritage Interpretation).

STRANDS OF NEW MUSEOLOGY

From the above, we can distinguish three strands of new museology. First, the transformation of traditional museum culture in what has been called the post-modern museum; second, the museology of identity based on what Rivière called his 'theory of tourism' (See Appendix 1, p.275). Finally, the Ecomuseums of development based on the Santiago of Chile Resolution and the 1974 ICOM definition of museums.

As we have seen, from the 1930s the renovation of the sluggish 19th Century museum practices implied the professionalization of the traditional functions of museums in order to make them more effective and improve the efficiency of their operations. Susan Pearce has suggested that the role of a 'new museology' was an epistemological criticism reflecting significant changes in associated academic areas, which aimed to unveil, analyse and deconstruct hegemonic culture in the light of the discourses created by such disciplines as archaeology, history, anthropology and sociology (Pearce, 1993).

This interpretation of 'new museology' assumes the contribution of academic culture and, through visitors' research, museums try to keep in touch with the themes and changing interests of the general public through market research and target groups.

The clear-cut distinction still existing between the inside museum culture and the visiting public meant that the internal culture is still object-based, with acquisition, research, preservation and exhibition duties as core activities. The so-called 'critical museology' guarantees a scholarly-driven, state-of-the-art interpretation of displays and temporary exhibitions. Whether history of art, sciences, technology or special interest, the museum's relationship with the public is inside out with the prominence of a top-down / inside out managerial culture.

Top-down/inside out
modes of management

Institutional
Empowerment

Financial and Managerial
independence

Marketing
&communication

Tourism

Collections

Critical Theory

Museology of Identity
Tourism, community-based,
object-based

Botton-up /outside in modes of
management

Territory

Community Empowerment

Cultural development
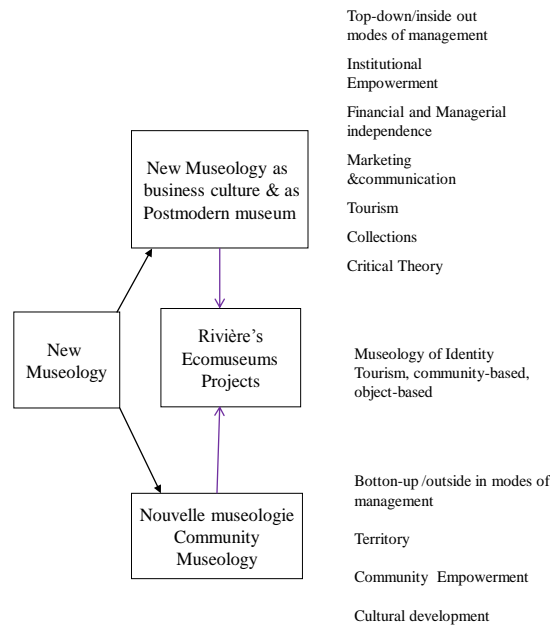
Diagram 12: Strands of New Museologies. Rivière's Ecomuseum projects stand midway between a fully - fledged community museology and the business-inspired management practices.

ECOMUSEUMS OF IDENTITY VS ECOMUSEUMS OF DEVELOPMENT

We have in the movement for a *nouvelle muséologie* the convergence of two main types of museologies: what we could call a museology of identity, defined by Rivière's metaphor of the mirror, and the community museology of development proposed by Hugues de Varine.[91] This distinction provides us with a vantage point from which to explore the two managerial practices involved in Rivière's museology of identity.

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[91] The distinction between museology of development and museology of identity was pointed out to me by Pierre Mayrand. It was, however, implicit in my talks with some of the promoters of the 'Nouvelle Muséologie' movement. Thus Desvallées commented 'Rivière is not really new museology, only perhaps certain bits...he realized that if he did not take on board what Hugues de Varine was saying, he would soon lag behind...but he was never actively involved in Community museums' (Desvallées, 1998, pers.comm).Varine described community museology as a process of identity construction, not as an inherited cultural reference.(Varine, 1998, pers.comm).

Rivière's final 'evolutive' definition, published, shortly after his death, in a special Ecomuseums edition of UNESCO's quarterly journal *Museum*, reflected his view that the Ecomusée was the culmination of the original musée-laboratoire concept:

'An Ecomuseum is an instrument conceived, fashioned and operated jointly by a public [i.e. local] authority, and a local population. The public authority's involvement is through the experts [staff], facilities and resources it provides; the local population's involvement depends on its aspirations, knowledge and individual approach. It is a mirror for the local population to view itself, to discover its own image, and in which it seeks an explanation of the territory to which it is attached and of the populations that have preceded it, seen either as circumscribed in time or in terms of the continuity of generations. It is a mirror that the local population holds up to its visitors to be better understood so that its industry, customs and identity may command respect.

It is an expression of man and nature. It situates man in his natural environment. It portrays nature in its wilderness, but also as adapted by traditional and industrial society in their own image.

It is an expression of time, when the explanations it offers reach back before the appearance of man, ascend the course of the prehistoric and historical times in which he lived, and arrive finally at man's present. It also offers vistas of the future, while having no pretentions to decision-making, its function being rather to inform and critically analyse.

It is an interpretation of space – of special places in which to stop or stroll.

It is a *laboratory*, in so far as it contributes to the study of the past and present of the population concerned and of its environment and promotes the training of specialists in these fields, in cooperation with outside research bodies.

It is a conservation centre and school based on common principles. The culture in the name of which they exist is to be understood in its broadest sense, and they are concerned to foster awareness of its dignity and artistic manifestations, from whatever stratum of the population they derive. Its diversity is limitless, so greatly do its elements vary from one specimen to another. This triad, then, is not self-enclosed: it receives and it gives. (Rivière, 1985).

What does this definition tell us about Rivière's Ecomuseum concept? First, it gave priority to its Musée-Laboratoire dimension: an Ecomuseum is above all a conservatory, an institution for historical research and documentation, and has as main mission the instruction of the population.

Second, Rivière's metaphor of the mirror gave priority to the stability of past identity, as revealed in beliefs, customs, material culture and technical skills. It assumes the existence of a mirror that faithfully reflects and celebrates the existence of a permanent identity shaped by historical experiences. The 'Museum of Time' displays the material culture of the past in an enclosed environment, whilst the 'Museum of Space' allows the visitor to walk in the natural environment and recognize its past in the landscape and in the material culture as reflected in architecture, local manufacturing skills and craftsmanship. It is an identity understood as an 'habitus' rather than as a process, the so-called 'mémoire longue' often used as the 'authentic' sense of the past by isolated and culturally enclosed societies (Zonabend, 1980).

THE ENTRAPMENT OF THE DISTORTED MIRROR

Rivière 's conception of popular culture as the interaction of rational perception and conscious or unconscious beliefs (see diagram 2, p.71) can throw some light on to the ambiguities of his metaphor of the mirror. As Chaumier has pointed out, Rivière always thought there was a need 'to keep a balance

between the responsible authority and the wishes of the local population' (Chaumier, 2003, p.99). The views or perceptions that communities might have of the nature of their own historical past might be a 'deforming mirror' reflecting 'essentialist' understanding of their own 'authenticity', or used as weapons against other existing communities. At best, they can be considered as a misplaced understanding of their own alterity; at worst, they go to the very notion of French citizenship, i.e Ethnic, religious or cultural identity always take second place to the universality of human identity as embodied in the values of the French Revolution.

AUTHENTICITY AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE PERCEPTION

To avoid this difficulty, Rivière introduced in his definition a 'corrective factor', that is, the authority of the State as guarantor of cultural welfare. Though Rivière claims that professionals do not 'set themselves as decision makers', the image in which the population views itself is not the outcome of a 'spontaneous' perception but the image created with the contribution (or under the supervision) of the public authority's experts. The population participated in the creation of this image, but adopting the 'rational perceptions' produced by ethnographic field research and historic methods of documentation proposed by professional experts in these fields. The Ecomuseum, as an open wall development of the Musée-Laboratoire, adopted the population not as main actor but a part of the 'cooperation with outside research bodies'.

Shanny Peer has described this understanding of authenticity of interpretation as an 'administrative perception of truth' (Peer, 1998), difficult to understand for anyone not familiar with the importance the State has in the French mind, and particularly in the Jacobin mind. Quoting the comments of an American correspondent in Paris, historian Gerard Noiriel highlighted his surprise at the extent to which the economic, social and cultural life is instinctively understood from an administrative point of view (see Noiriel, 1999, pp.279-280). It could somehow be compared to the Anglo-American inclination to believe that market economy acts as an 'invisible hand' that brings checks and balances to the economic activities of individuals.

Rivière and the other members of the Parisian Regional Commission asserted that knowledge about the 'authentic' folk traditions lay with the experts in Paris. Rivière intended his Musée-Laboratoire to become the national guarantor of authenticity and good (French) taste in folk art productions. One of the missions of the ATP was to educate the public and restore its taste for the 'authentic', as well as encouraging all living forms of popular art without 'trying to influence them' (Peers, 1998). Accordingly, the role of a 'real folklorist' was, according to Rivière, to distinguish genuine folk creations from the 'kitsch' and 'horrible counterfeits' produced by misguided provincial artists (Rivière, 1936). The same authoritative impulse inspired Louis Cheronnet when he suggested that teachers and adult educators should act as 'aesthetic directors of conscience', instilling good taste and judgment in provincial artisans and encouraging country folk to discover their arts and crafts (Cheronnet, 1937). In the same line of thinking, Museum curator Henri Clouzot suggested that special committees of experts were to be created to guarantee the 'authenticity' of regional arts and crafts in order to enhance their marketability: 'Each committee would be allowed to put a label on products as a guarantee both of their origins and of their fine craftsmanship' (Couzot, 1938, p.313).

This was totally in accordance with Rivière's understanding of popular culture as the blending of conscious and unconscious beliefs and expectations of the community with the beliefs and expectations of the leading experts and cultural decision-makers, which, in the Western ideology of enlightenment, are considered representative of science and historical progress. As such, authenticity was not a synonym of intuitive spontaneity, but the spontaneity that has taken critical enlightenment into consideration.

COMMUNITY MUSEOLOGY: THE MEANINGS OF DEVELOPMENT

In contrast, Hugues de Varine's application of the Ecomuseum notion relied on the 1974 ICOM definition of a museum which stressed the notion of cultural development:

'A non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.'

This definition was put into practice by Varine in his 'Community museology' and formed the theoretical basis of the so-called museology of development. Varine's understanding of community museology did not rely on the existence of an already articulated and historically consolidated community identity. Community museology was intended to use museological methods of exhibiting and documenting either to change obsolete images of community identity or to produce a new one by interpreting present-day needs and realities.

The introduction of the term 'development' within the concept of museums introduced a problematic and often destabilizing dimension to the essentially educational 'mission' of 19th century museums.

The very concept of development is understood differently by professionals and commentators. In the literature published by ICOM-NEWS, as part of the 'subject of the year' on Museums and Development, we can distinguish the use of the term 'development' either as synonym of the modernization of the museum culture or as the cultural development of the society to which museums are part.[92]

In his analysis of development in the ICOM-NEWS, Aaron Sheon basically equates development with the modernization of museum's internal culture; that is, the fight against negligence, lack of funding, limited staff, poorly equipped laboratories, crowded building and lack of government support. Development implies state-of-the-art research, modernization of technologies of displays, specialized knowledge on communication and media, educational programmes, as well as the regular staff of curators, archaeologists, restorers, administrators, etc. (Sheon, 1969).

Modernization also implied the wider public's access to a museum. Thus the International Committee of ICOM for education and Cultural Action, held in Moscow and Leningrad in 1968, debated the notion of the 'new public'. As reported in the UNESCO ICON-NEWS, the term 'cultural action' was understood in the sense of 'popularization of culture', that is, as the access of as many people as possible to the benefits of

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[92] Reflecting the emphasis of UNESCO on global strategies for development across all of its fields of interest, the 1971 ICOM General Conference in France took as its theme *The museum in the service of man, today and tomorrow: the museum's educational and cultural role*. The Assembly also agreed to add the statement that a museum is 'in the service of society and of its development', and this was incorporated into ICOM's official definition of a museum at the following General Conference, held in Copenhagen in 1974.

culture. According to the ICOM-NEWS, the development of the ancient idea of the 'house of the Muses' was to be directed to the expansion of its educational role from a elite of connoisseurs or specialists towards the entire public. (ICOM-NEWS, 1968, p.50).

In contrast with the modernization, community museology understands development as a process that is the outcome of internal forces that are presumed resident in the society. 'The essence of development is fulfilment, actualization, the manifestation of what is latent and marginal' (Nisbet, 1965, p.90).

Thus in France the so-called Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale DATAR (Delegation for the Reorganization of the Territory and the Regional Action), put in place by the central administration to implement territorial decentralization,[93] described local development as 'a considered and organized global and permanent intervention aiming at a process of destructuralization and restructuralization and leading to changes in local societies' (Vachon, 1993, p.xii). Typically, as for example in Alsace, this was to be based on the local mobilization of resources and knowhow, and stressed the development of local initiatives, the strengthening of intercommunity solidarities - taking into consideration the economic, social and cultural aspirations and needs of the population. (Région Alsace, no 7, juin 1988, p.xi). Its ultimate purpose was 'to change from failure mentalities in need of assistance and support, to a mentality of pro-active social and economic factors.' (Vachon, 1993, p.xii).

In the spirit of this notion of development of museology, the late Pierre Mayrand described the notion of Ecomuseum by what it was not:

'An Ecomuseum is not a static reconstruction of the past; is not an ethnological museum, nor does it belong to the traditional museology sector; is not a top-down choice made for the population; is not a tourist strategy, a human zoo or a fashion' (Mayrand, 2009).

Therefore an Ecomuseum of development is a cultural project that takes advantage of the function of museums to provide the means for the population to unveil its present day identity. It uses museographical methods of communication (displays, exhibitions, centres of interpretation) to strengthen territorial and human cooperation to initiate, develop and consolidate a specific cultural change, as perceived by the community.

Recently Davis has proposed the 'necklace model' by which the Ecomuseum is regarded as a thread in a necklace, the mechanism that holds together the pearls, that is, individual sites such as landscape, nature, sites, songs, tradition, collective memories and architecture which are considered significant by the community. (Davis, 2008).

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[93] After the 1981 French presidential and national elections, the Socialist-Communist coalition which took power under President Mitterand, with Jack Lang as a new, far more powerful Minister of Culture, implemented major constitutional changes which mostly came into force in 1984. For the first time the appointed Préfects of each of the traditional Départements had to govern with reference to an elected Council, and 16 completely new Régions were created, mostly along traditional medieval lines, again with a directly elected Council. Among the many other changes were several of major significance in the field of Culture and Heritage. In particular, the elected Councils of the new Régions and the Départements were given extensive powers to establish and run new cultural and heritage services, including museums and natural parks, and to give financial and other assistance to both municipal museums, heritage and other services, and to those of not-for-profit Associations.

ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF MANAGEMENT

The conflicting emphasis given to identity and to development soon led Varine to dissociate himself from the so-called 'Ecomuseum movement' and to describe his particular brand of museology as 'community museology'.

This disagreement between Rivière and Varine sheds further light on the scope and nature of Rivière's museology. At the centre of Varine's criticism were the political consequences of Rivière's understanding of management of regional cultures.

In one of his lessons on museology, given at the beginning of the 1970s, on 'museum and its history', Rivière explained his pragmatic approach to museum planning and management:

'In Capitalist Europe, whether at local, regional or national level the choice is a structural planning that allocates the resources between what exists and what should exist, prunes what has withered, helps the new bud about to grow, all by practising a conjunctural planning' (Rivière, 1998, p.63).

The managerial approach has being historically associated with a top-down decision making, which was developed in France by successive Jacobin administrations and encapsulated in the system of Fine Arts. It could be described as the 'management of the people without the people', government of a selected minority who dedicate their knowhow, knowledge and professional life to be at the service of an administration for the people.

In contrast with this, Varine proposed a bottom-up mode of management, promoting and developing the interaction between key decision makers and the rest of the population. It could be described as a form of management in which decisions are made at the lowest possible level. Varine described this participatory management as the ability to 'bring forth' (émergence) ideas, common interests and potentials with an ethics of overcoming conflicts and finding 'pertinent' solutions. Reminiscent of Marcel Mauss's notion of the total social phenomenon, he characterized it as a managerial culture that 'thinks the whole from the particular, through the interaction of the relevant actors' (Varine, 1999, p. 77). It requires from the cultural activist an ability to initiate, promote, implement and lead to completion pertinent economic, social, cultural initiatives by involving the multiple actors existing in any society or community. Varine referred particularly to Felix Guattari's notion of 'Resonance' to describe the ability to read 'situations and ideas that float in the minds of certain number of people and that have the potential to converge, if well-managed, in the construction of realities', (Varine, 1995, p. 225). According to Varine, listening to these resonances instructs us on social realities, like a sort of inter-subjectivity, and it is these social realities that the project leader must apprehend to set his course of action.

What gave the *nouvelle muséologie* its novelty and originality was its challenge to the existing management of museums. In contrast to the established system of State-administered museums run by State-appointed civil servant directors and curators, the *nouvelle musólogie*, as articulated by Varine and the MINOM, demanded not only the involvement of the local population but also the introduction of a participatory democracy into all levels of management, and particularly the integration of significant sectors of a particular population into specific museological or heritage projects. Within the framework of

the *nouvelle muséologie*, Davis has depicted this distinctive managerial dimension of an Ecomuseum as 'adaptation through implementation' (Davis, 2008). In his necklace model metaphor, this participatory management played the role of 'the clasp' - the central key that holds all the beads together and is represented not so much by the local people, but rather by 'the activists who manage and direct the Ecomuseum, who together develop its vision, strategies and operating practices' (Davis, 2008, p.404).

THE PUBLIC VS THE COMMUNITY

Another key difference between a museology of identity as articulated by Rivière and the museology of development is the distinction made between the public and the population. In contrast with the market-oriented approach, aiming at improving and expanding the relationship with the general public community, museology tries to break away from the notion of anonymous public and introduce the notion of population as a community. According to Andre Desvallées, community museums are not 'museums that take into account the concerns of the community but museums in which the community is part of the museum: the community is not only public but actor too' (Desvallées, 1995, p.1). Likewise, Varine described new museology not as 'the application of new techniques to old institutions' (Varine, 1998). Its objective is not to give access to general public to the universal world heritage, but to give a community access to its own heritage. To stress this, Varine made the distinction of two types of museums: traditional museums, with a building, a collection, expert staff and anonymous public; and Ecomuseums - community museology with a territory, an heritage, a collective memory and a community. (Varine, 1978).

MUSEUMS OF IDENTITY AND TOURISM

A further difference between museology of identity and museology of development is the priority given to tourism. While tourism tends to have a low priority in community museology, in his Ecomuseum projects, Rivière gave prominence to the role of mass cultural tourism as part of the economic regeneration of localities. In his Smithsonian presentation, Rivière described his 'metaphor of the mirror' as a 'theory on tourism' (Rivière, 1978, Appendix I, p.266) and as a tool to restore the dignity of local culture. This reflected Rivet's and Rivière's militant ideology that made the Musée-Laboratoire a forum in which ignored or oppressed cultures, such as local culture, could 'present their case' (see chapter 6).

 As a leading cultural activist of the Popular Front, and a significant player in the various plans for economic development put in place by central government after the war, Rivière had an almost lifelong involvement in the promotion of leisure and active participation in traditional cultural pursuits. Thus in his 1955 presentation to the Centre for Coordination of Regional Tourist and Economic Initiatives, he listed the types of heritage that were suitable for tourism:

'We shall only concentrate on those aspects that are dignified witnesses of French life, and suitable to attract the attention of tourists…. [These would consist of] vernacular architecture, parish churches, landscapes shaped by man, activities associated with local traditions such as crafts and agricultural products, popular sports such as the Basque pelote, the promotion of the festivals of archery, popular theatre like Christmas 'crèche', popular dances and music, periodical and seasonal fêtes, and either religious or secular craftsmanship' (Rivière, 1955, p.15).

Rivière also recommended a quality control system for local products, with stickers on glasses and objects identifying them as authentic objects of art or manufactured local products (Rivière,1955). A decade later, in his report to the Cultural Commission for the Fifth Development Plan, he sketched out recommendations on saving national patrimony in a state of dereliction, adding 'Can we allow the desert to grow in our countryside and shanty towns of opulence in our cities?' (Rivière, 1965). His solution was a national campaign of citizen awareness in schools, government, agencies, parish churches, tourist information centres, trade unions, cultural centres and big business, using all the different media. The campaign would promote a number of recommendations that would contribute to save French-built patrimony. The first was the use whenever possible of of traditional materials in all repairs of vernacular dwellings. If not possible, he recommended the use of appropriate modern materials that would merge in harmony with the old. It was also important to open old traditional rural buildings, and indeed rural France as a whole, to tourism through their re-use as hotels, hostels or secondary residences.

The access, in the last quarter of the century, of vast sections of the population of the Western world to what has been called a 'material civilization' (Miller, 2005; Dant, 2005) gave Rivière's emphasis on the importance of tourism a new relevance. It also widened the gap existing between his museology of identity and Varine's museology of development. Rivière's museology, with its increasingly sophisticated architecture and professionally-designed displays, mainly aimed at improving cultural status and local prestige, and not at an in-depth cultural development of the communities involved (Varine, 2002). Branded by Varine as 'muséologie touristique', it was but a tool, according to Varine, 'to artificially restore past modes of life.' *(pers. comm).*

RIVIÈRE'S MANAGEMENT OF REGIONAL CULTURES

Chevalier, in her study of the history of the musée de Bretagne, concluded that, in spite of Rivière's lifelong commitment to strengthen local identity and empower local museums, the motivations of an administration centred in Paris largely overrode local alternatives (see Chevalier, 2001. p.75-112).

Rivière's understanding of museum decentralization was to create a descending network of local and regional museums that would share the burden of recording and saving the traditional material civilization of France. As such, they were part of the long-term museological programme of the MNATP, and were shaped by the culture of the Rivet-Rivière Musée laboratoire. Central government institutions such as the CNSR (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) and the DMF (Direction des Musées de France) seconded or sponsored the various projects to be implemented, according to their standards and methodology.

Peers, in her study on the representation of rural France in the 1937 World's Fair, has explored what she called the 'appropriation of local cultures by the central National authorities' (Peer, 1998). This 'alchemy of appropriation', which, according to Peers, was already present in the 1930s, meant detaching folklore from its previous association and re-inventing it as an essential expression of French national identity. The very conceptualization of the ATP entailed the national appropriation of the material culture and traditions of the French regions.

The strategy followed was firstly to gather the most representative objects of folk culture in a Parisian museum, which he envisaged not as a sum of regional museums but as a museum of synthesis. Then, instead of presenting objects according to the diversity to their place of origin, Rivière planned the permanent gallery of the ATP by themes. According to Peers, this system of classification had the effect of dissociating folk artefacts from their historical and regional context, and recombining them by thematic categories. Some themes would draw on aspects of the natural environment such as the forest, the fields, the mountains, the river or the sea, or focus on functional elements of social life such as modes of transport, rural dwellings, domestic interiors, costumes, stages of life, popular wisdom and calendars. By doing so, Rivière deprived them of their local history and attributed their variations to their geographical landscape rather than through their local history.

Similar taxonomy was also used in the exhibit 'Rural Houses of France', organized by Rivière in collaboration with geographer Albert Demangeon (Demangeon, 1937). Demangeon categorized rural domestic structures into two principal types and five sub-types, thereby de-emphasizing regional particularisms and accentuating common elements found in rural dwellings throughout France:

'These typologies imposed a particular reading by dissociating folk artefacts and architectural forms from their regional context, and in this way emptied them of any potential threat to the national totality' (Peer, 1998, pp.153-156).

This ahistorical approach, already sketched in 1937, was in substance reproduced in the final cultural gallery in the new MNAT in the Bois de Boulogne. (See Rivière, 1939).

The appropriation of regional cultures by the centre was aggravated by the patronising attitudes of Parisian planners towards the regional committees and towards the regional artists, artisans, architects, folk groups and other local actors whose cooperation they solicited. Indeed, in some cases their assigned role was to be keepers of a tradition that was legitimized by national 'experts' in Paris. As early as 1946, Rivière found an often vocal opposition in the meetings, discussing how to reorganize the ethnological collections in Brittany:

'The people of Rennes had the impression that they were the creatures of a policy directed from Paris by the Curator (Rivière) of the MNATP. They felt that their cultural autonomy was not respected, and arbitrary choices and appointments were soon considered Jacobin in inspiration', (Chevalier, 2001, p.59).

MANAGERIAL DYSFUNCTIONALITY

A number of authors have attributed this gap between intentions and realities as a true dysfunctionality often existing in bureaucratic organizations with a top-down managerial culture (Cameron, 1968; Mairesse, 2002; Fabian, 1983; Dant 2005). Varine has pointed out the museum professionals' lack of experience in direct observation and participatory enquiry such as techniques of listening, analysis of situations, method of action, communication, cooperation and conflict resolution. (Varine, 1969, p.49).

The dysfunctionality in the museum sector was analysed by Cameron as 'the introverted attitudes of museum staff', by which he meant the tendency to give more importance to internal functions than to the intended purpose of those functions. In his 'Case of the Frustrated Floor Polisher' he referred how, in

1957 in a great metropolitan museum, he received the complaints of the building superintendent. For the first time the museum was having the influx of the public and it became clear that for years he had been taking pride in the high polish on the museum's magnificent parquet floors. With the crowds now flowing into the building, he couldn't keep the polish up. (Cameron 1968).

Mairesse has applied Heidegger's notion of technology to explore the cultural environment of modern museum organization. While technology in its original sense (teckhne) meant a complex process of cognitive 'bringing forth' (poesis), present-day technology 'subordinates the individual to the chain of order dictated by the set of practices and assumptions of the profession'. The result is that the museum professional becomes 'enframed' by their formal education, practice, administrative culture and code of ethics, etc; they become part of what Heidegger called the 'standing reserve' - individuals 'without control of their own knowledge and acting according to choices made beyond themselves' (Mairesse, 2002; see also Dant 2005).

In the same way, critical Anthropologist Johannes Fabian talked of a true dysfunctionalism in the way Western anthropology produces its knowledge. His analysis, having in mind amongst others the anthropology of the Musée de l'Homme as conceived by Lévi-Strauss, is also applicable to the nature of scientific or objective knowledge, and goes beyond the particular discipline. According to Fabian, the ethnographer, during his fieldwork, actively shares his time (coevalness) with his informants. However, in the process of creating a discourse, a distancing device is introduced in the original sources. The very nature of creating a distance produces an excluding discourse, a culture that creates 'otherness' instead of overcoming it. This detached view is, according to Fabian, a 'denial of coevalness', a denial of the time of real experience in favour of the abstract frozen time of the 'regard éloigné' (Lévi-Strauss). Discourse, objects of knowledge, representations, works of art or management practices all suffer from similar 'schizogenic use of time' (Fabian, 2002, p.x) and its distancing rhetoric accounts for the mounting discrepancy existing between expert knowledge and the everyday perception and apprehension of reality.

RIVIÈRE'S ECOMUSEUMS PROJECTS THIRTY YEARS LATER

Four decades on, and in light of the philosophy of Varine's community museology it is relevant to enquire on the nature and evolution of the first generation of Ecomuseums created by Rivière in the context of France's regional natural parks. French museologist Marc Maure, in his essay on the various foundational concepts involved in *La nouvelle museologie*, made a clear distinction between pure science and a science of action (Maure, 1995). This science was based, according to de Varine, on a new notion of anthropology as 'a science that combines knowledge and action, an anthropology whose objective is not to produce presentations, publications and communications to scholar and professionals' (de Varine, 1976, p.242). The science of action encouraged 'the direct and non-mediated relationship between the population and the cultural heritage existing in a given territory' (de Varine, 2002, p.190).

Amongst the apparently almost limitless possibilities of the notion of the Ecomuseum, and in spite of his strong social awareness, Rivière gave high priority to the 'pure science' dimension of the Musée - laboratoire concept. The underlying object-based nature of his ethnology, the importance given to

theoretical and field research (i.e. ethnology and ethnography), together with his lifelong personal mission of saving and documenting the material culture of the rural civilization in France, shaped his museology. Thus the RCP Aubrac project has often been put forward as evidence of Rivière's bias towards research and documentation. This project provided the Cultural Gallery of the new MNATP with a rich supply of both original objects and audio-visual material. The documentation and description of the methodology were published for posterity by the CNRS in eight volumes, and are today considered by specialists as representing a methodological template in object-based ethnological research and reporting. However, the original volumes are today little-read and regarded mostly as an academic curiosity. (Segalen, 1988).

Over the decades it has become apparent that the involvement of local communities in the Ecomuseum of identity was not so much to respond to their developmental needs, but was above all a means adopted by the Musée-laboratoire professionals to provide first-hand material in their acquisitions, research and documentation.

All the initial generations of 'integral museums', 'neighbourhood museums' and both first and second generation Ecomuseums, though initially presented as pilots of community-led social and cultural regeneration, soon proved to be either rejected or neglected by the very population they were supposed to represent. (Hauenschild, 1988; Debary, 2003; Chaumier 2003).

Thus the flagship Ecomusée du Creusot Montœaux-les-Mines in Burgundy was initially widely publicized as a multi-site museum and heritage interpretation project, reflecting local identity and the empowerment of local communities. However, the initiative came not from the local population themselves but from the mayors and councillors of sixteen local urban and rural communes. From the very beginnings his development relied heavily on government organizations and personnel and academic enthusiaststs; the actual participation and involvement by the ordinary local population was very limited, and the main focus of interest remained with museologists, university researchers and the media. (Debary, 2003).

The story of the Ecomuseum of the Bintinais (now the Ecomusèe du Pays de Rennes), which was under progressive development through the 1970s, was similarly not created by the local population of Rennes, nor even by the elected representatives of that population, but by the Paris-appointed professional staff of the Musèe de Bretagne. Chevalier, in her thesis on the history of the museum (Chevalier, 2001), concluded that this institution, where Rivière had been an official adviser and leading influence in its development, was a dysfunctional institution which soon reached the stage of needing a major reorganization in terms of policy and management.

In this framework, the Ecomuseum projects in which Rivière was involved, such as Ecomusée des Monts d'Arrée and the Ecomusée de l'Ouessant (1968), the Ecomusée des Landes de Gascogne (1969) or the Ecomusée de la Camargue (1979) , to name just a few, stand half way between market-oriented museums and Varine's understanding of community museology: the local population participate or have participated, they are object-based open-air museums and depend on the development of local and seasonal tourism.

LACK OF A PARTICIPATORY MANAGEMENT CULTURE

The issue goes beyond the management of cultural organizations and leads to a wider consideration of the nature and levels of local democratization. Davis (2007) argues that sustainability community museology is closely related to participatory modes of management: 'Sustainability and democracy go hand in hand, community decision-making is essential to achieving visible results.' In the opinion of Leniaud, what was at stake in France at the critical time that saw the emergence of the Ecomuseum was that, despite the pledges of all four major political parties, a strongly undemocratic pattern of government continued to drive institutional level governance and management. This made the development of local participatory modes of management at best ineffectual and more often a sham. The admittedly far-reaching post-1981 'decentralization' or 'deconcentration' moves, notably the establishment of elected councils for the Departments and creation of Regions, left the political and public service management culture largely unchanged. Local empowerment is not necessarily a synonym for democratization:

'Finding themselves in the battleground between the power of mayors that use the patrimony for their own agenda and the architectural criteria of the [central government's] administrators of the national patrimony, the associations [i.e. voluntary sector] have no place in a system that excludes dialogue.' (Leniaud, 1992, p.43).

In the wider international context, similar conclusions were reached by Hauenschild in her comparative analysis of practice in four examples of what were claiming to be *nouvelle museologie* projects: the rural Ecomusée de la Haute Bausse in Quebec and three in seriously underprivileged urban neighbourhoods: the Ecomusée de la Maison du Fier-Monde in Montreal, the Smithsonian Institution's Anacostia Neighborhood Museum in Washington DC, and the Casa del Museo, an experimental museum project in the suburbs of Mexico City. In each case she concluded that, far from reaching their full community potential, these projects all evolved into entities with objectives totally different from their initial claims. (Hauenschild, 1988).

Almost all the French and Quebec examples were in fact operating inside a very traditional and rigid system of government control, offering little opportunity for genuine community participation, let alone the sort of genuine community control envisaged and indeed claimed by the *nouvelle muséologie* movement.

CHAPTER 11: THE CURSE OF THE HOUSE OF RIVIÈRE

By the 1970s, changes in cultural perceptions and in research paradigm had largely stripped the museology of the Musée-Laboratoire of its former cultural resonance. Only its open-air dimension in the form of Ecomuseums reflected the concerns of the population. The Musée de l'Homme and the MNATP seemed to have achieved their aims, and reached the final stage of their museological project. As such, they had become traditional museums with outstanding collections but with a growing need of reinterpretation. The chapter intends to review the organizational and museographical criticism that these museums underwent before they were reorganized. The following points are reviewed:

Exploration of the existing gap between Rivière's theoretical understanding of popular culture and the interpretations and choices that actually shaped his museographical representations.

Analysis of the diagnosis presented in enquiries, debates and reports that intended to understand the causes of the irreversible process of obsolescence that the Musée de l'Homme and the MNATP had suffered through the years.

AN AVALANCHE OF REJECTION

In spite of a general recognition of his outstanding career, the 20 years that followed the death of Rivière in 1985 witnessed the accelerated obsolescence and loss of most of his flagship projects. After long debates, study workshops, fact finding missions and reports about their proposed renovation and future directions (e.g. Sallois, 1991; Arpin, 1992; Collardelle, 2002), by 2005 the three most representative and iconic institutions built on Rivière's museology, the Musée de l'Homme, the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires, and the Musée de Bretagne in Rennes, had all permanently closed. Even sooner, the Ecomuseums developed or promoted directly or indirectly by Rivière were losing their way in terms of their original missions and ambitions, and were being portrayed as nothing more than direct descendants of the century-old 'Skansen' model of Scandinavian open-air museums (de Varine, 2002). In his final years Rivière was not unaware of the transient nature of his museology. Speaking to Anne Gruner-Schlumberger, he said: 'I do not predict a great future for what I have achieved, however original and new it might have been… all will be gone soon, in one or two generations.' (Gruner-Schlumberger, 1989, p.7).

Within a few years of his death the various strands that had converged in the inter-war years into the successful and politically relevant Musée-laboratoire had come to be viewed as misguided, ineffectual or irrelevant. Even during his lifetime, the very notion of Rivet-Rivière Musée-Laboratoire as represented by the Musée de l'Homme started to be institutionally dismantled.

Serious criticism began to emerge even among some who had been Rivere's most committed supporters, (e.g. Jamin 1982, 1998a, 1998b; Leiris, 1992; Chiva, 1985, 1992; Chevalier, 2001; Desvallées, 2001; Segalen 2005). They all share the perception of a major gap between intentions and realizations.

According to Rivière's long-term close associate André Desvallées, 'With hindsight we have to agree that the results turned out not to be at the level of its initial expectations and [in relation to] the amount of effort put into it.' (Desvallées, 2001, p.64). According to Chevalier, 'With hindsight the discourse proved to be very traditional, though presented with avant-garde museographical displays' (Chevalier, 2001, p.89).

The opinion of the late Leiris, from the beginning 'compagnon de voyage' of Rivière in his establishment of the Musée de l'Homme, is perhaps the most significant of the changes that ethnology and his most important actors had undergone in half a century of developments:

'We were still living in the 19th century scientism. We confused the progress of science with the progress of humanity. Today my overall feeling is that ethnology does not change anything, it is only an ethical gesture. I would rather place ethnology in the domain of the arts' (Leiris, 1992, p.39).

From the Anglo-American point of view, the French Third Republic's approach to modern economy and to cultural modes of consumption has been perceived as a good example of French inability to face the consequences of economic and industrial change. As one commentator arguably put it:

'Unable, and in fact unwilling, to reach the threshold of a second Machine Age that would solve the problems of the first industrial revolution, the French launched themselves into myriads of plans whose ultimate effect was to postpone their entry into the second industrial revolution until the 1950s and 1960s' (Golan, 1995, p. ix).

Segalen described Rivière's tendency to talk himself ahead of his plans 'a strategy of bluff' aimed at attracting necessary support and funding. (Segalen, 2005, p.50). In the end it was Culture Minsister André Malraux who called Rivière's bluff in refusing to allow him to stay on beyond the normal retirement date of 1967 until the final completion of his most important work, the new Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires (MNATP) and CNRS ethnological research centre in the Bois de Boulogne.

PARADIGM SHIFTS

As we have seen, the central activity of the Musée-Laboratoire was an object-based field research coupled with philosophical considerations on the nature of human evolution. Using new approaches to geography, ethnology and history, the Musée-Laboratoire interpretation of objects was motivated by a critical ideology aimed at creating a new and more 'authentic' anthropology, questioning the belief, attitudes and perceptions created by the 19th Century physical anthropology.

Martine Segalen (Segalen, 2005), in her description of the philosophy, history, life and closure of the MNATP, has illustrated the agony and the ultimate dismissal of the Rivet-Rivière Musée-laboratoire, arguing that these institutions, though representatives of a museology of their time, were destined to die a natural death as the motivations and understanding of their creators lost their cultural relevance.

First, there was the theoretical dismissal of the core concepts of the Durkheimian School of sociology and the 'Primitivist' anthropology. The main criticism of the research implemented in the Musée-laboratoire was that, in spite of its holistic catalogue of intentions of apprehending 'concrete social objects in their totality, their singularity, their dynamism and their history' (Chiva, 1987, p.18), it ended up with what

Bromberger has called the 'fascination for the local and a true cult of the monography' (Bromberger, 1987). The result was that there was never an overall comparative programme that brought together some general results and made sense of the multiple monographies produced.

The very nature of using the comparative methods as a means to unveil general patterns of behaviour lost their methodological appeal. (Héritier-Augé, 1992, 1992b; Chiva, 1992). Finding common denominators, constants, recurrencies, rules and permanences in the diversity of social forms asks for an agreement on the way of recording and describing them. As Héritier-Augé put it:

'Unfortunately this recording and presentation depends on the period, profession, school of thought, personal inclination and assumptions of the researchers, and as such, the material retrieved tends to be unsuitable for comparison' (Héritier-Augé, 1992b, p.13).

Thus the search for 'natural' areas of folklore never reached a successful conclusion, while the intention of integrating the administrative unit of the commune with the socially-based concept of a territory-based community ignored the complexity of social, economic and political networks. (Bromberger, 1987; Mucchielli, 1997).

Louis Dumont, in his critical analysis of his 'La tarasque' (1951), in its 1987 edition, described one of the failings of the comparative method:

'The description took for granted the existence of a hypothetical community of experts and interests with a shared paradigm. Today the orientation of thinking has changed, the nature of the interests has shifted…which has prevented the accumulative requirements of this kind of approach from taking place' (Dumont, 1987, p.v).

The very discipline of social anthropology was branded as a set of tricks of analogy and metaphor, a paradigm that had reached its point of exhaustion (e.g. Ingold, 1989). The notion of epistemological totality, society or community, though 'useful and having provided creative positions and internal conceptual dynamism' (Ingold, 1989, p.64), were starting to be perceived as part of an outdated paradigm.

CRITICAL MUSEOLOGY: AUTHENTICITY OF INTERPRETATION

In the 1970s the transfer from Europe to the United States of the work of Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Gilles Deleuze, Jean-Francois Lyottard and Jean Baudrillard had a strong input in the development of the Anglo-American 'cultural studies' (Cusset, 2003). In its various nominations, such as post-structuralism and post-modernism, what came to be known as 'French theory' gave the cultural criticism carried out by the work of Bataille, Leroi-Gourhan and Foulcault a relevance not recognized in its original French context. The result was an alternative point of view on issues such as race, class, gender, sexuality, alterity and colonialism. It particularly pointed out the importance of understanding the origin of the motivations by which a particular interpretative discourse is chosen: 'to ask how exhibitions come about, by what means, for what reasons… what considerations determine the choice of an exhibition programme, the selection of a certain kind of material' (Vergo, 1989, p.43).

Varine recommended Freire's *Pedagogy of Liberation* (Freire, 1971) to articulate the claims of a critical pedagogy in which museums were understood as spaces of experiential learning. This museology stresses the role of museums as places of questioning, controversy, debate and cultural democracy. Interpretation was understood as the outcome of a process of negotiation amongst the different actors involved (business, experts, artists, visitors, communities).

NON OBJECT-BASED ETHNOLOGY

In keeping with the direction followed by the emerging Anglo-American anthropological thinking, the Musée-laboratoire team approach to field research was increasingly substituted by the individual monography. The university research emerging after the Second World War did not need objects, and the communication of its results favoured publications (books, articles, videos) and not exhibition displays. As Segalen puts it, 'The interests of present-day researchers are themes such as the new religious movements, urban immigration, or bereavement and afterlife, which are not particularly suitable for conventional museological display' (Segalen, 1992, p.207).

The Musée-laboratoire was also weakened by the migration of some of the most prominent members into a fully fledged non-object-based anthropological career. For example, by the 1950s Marcel Griaule had abandoned his museographical ethnography and instead created a school of thinking based on long-term field research on the most symbolic aspects of the language of the Dogons (Doquet, 1999). Louis Dumont, after his object-based ethnological interpretation of 'La Tarasque' (Dumont, 1952), following the field documentation guidelines of Rivière, started a new international career as a specialist in Indian social-anthropology. Lévi-Strauss's object-based concept of ethnology, defined in his *La voie des masques* (Lévi-Strauss, 1979), developed into a symbolic interpretation which ultimately did not need objects to interpret the meaning of objects. Only Rivière, leading the MNATP, continued with a still successful museological object-based 'ethnologie française' through to at least the late 1960s, by which time this was becoming an historical oddity.

INSTITUTIONAL SHORTCOMINGS: CULTURE VS EDUCATION

Alongside the methodological evolution of the discipline and the collecting limitations of an object-based representation of the world, there were major problems over the institutional arrangements for adopting the Rivet-Rivière Musée-laboratoire concept within the rigid French museum system.[94] In spite of the

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[94] The eventual fate of the *Musée-laboratoire* was probably determined as early as 1939 when by Decree the French Government merged all government-funded civil research programmes and activities into the new Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (National Centre for Scientific Research) - the CNRS, controlled by the Ministry responsible for Research. (Over the past 70 years this has usually been a joint ministry with higher education.) In 1962 a new chair of prehistory and in 1970 a chair of ethnology were created alongside the existing Chaire d'ethnologie des Hommes actuels et des Hommes fossils (Chaire of ethnology of present day mankind and human fossil remains). With decreasing funding and research increasingly focusing on theoretical issues not relevant to collections, the museum became merely an exhibition space in which the research carried out was displayed. After long and unglamorous years, in 1996 the President of the Republic, Jacques Chirac, approved the creation of the museum of Quai Branly, with the subsequent break-up of collections and the reorganization of the Musée de L'Homme (Dupaigne, 2008). In 2001 a new status was given to the museum in which research and administration of collections and exhibitions are totally independent. In an unpublished April 1976 talk in the MNATP to a visiting group from the ICOM International Committee for the Training of Personnel (ICTOP), Rivière explained that, under government rules, there was supposed to be a total separation between the staff developing and running the new Museum and the many times greater number of CNRS researchers working on the same issues in the same building. If everyone stuck to the rules, the museum staff developing the museum displays and educational work would not

official recognition of the anthropological conception of culture by Prime Minister Chalban-Delmas in 1971, the values and priorities of the system of Fine Art are still today institutionally alive.

Throughout the ATP had to endure the difficult cohabitation of two cultural discourses. On the one hand the logic of research central to the Musée-Laboratoire, and on the other the logic of culture of the Ministry of Fine-Arts (later Ministry of Culture), with its strong emphasis on the aesthetic and conservation value of objects and collections.

However, the MNATP, for many years only a Department of Arts and Popular Traditions (DATP) within the Education Ministry's Musée de l'Homme, was transferred to the supervision and funding of the Direction des Musées de France within the Ministry of Culture, an administrative decision that was to prove critical for the long-term future of the museum (Segalen, 2001). While Rivière was in charge, this division of perceptions was kept within bounds, and research and museology complemented each other, but after his retirement this vital relationship was gradually lost. According to Isac Chiva, up to the 1970s the symbiosis between conservation and research remained total: museology and ethnological research worked in total accord and produced acquisition campaigns and exhibitions whose quality was never subsequently achieved (Segalen, 1992).

MAJOR GAPS BETWEEN CLAIMS AND REALITIES: ART VERSUS SCIENTIFIC DOCUMENT

According to the philosophy of the Institute of Ethnology of Paris, collecting was intended to gather objects not with the aim of exhibiting then as curiosities or as art objects, but to make them objects of knowledge representing the values of the societies that created them. In practice and with hindsight this polarity did not seem to be self-excluding.[95] A number of authors (Goldwater, 1988; Trochet, 1987; Herbert, 1998) have pointed out the difficulties of carrying out the standards imposed on collections by this anti-aesthetic criteria. This led to true methodological inconsistencies and contradictions between alleged objectives and realities. A visit to the displays of MNATP Collections at the Bois de Boulogne produced the immediate impression that they were not only representative of a way of life but were above all art and craft masterpieces of their kind. Already by the 1930s, the improved aesthetic quality of many of the MET exhibits put in display by Rivière was pointed out by Goldwater in his *Primitivism in Modern Painting* (Goldwater, 1938).

In his general study of the collections of agricultural ploughs of the MNATP, Trochet also drew attention to the gap that existed between the north and the south. All of the 54 examples included in the catalogue, summing up a century of acquisitions, came from the southern part of France. The reason for this was not that ploughs had not existed in the north, but that these were ignored because the agriculture of northern regions was technically far more advanced, even in the 19th century. This imbalance was attributed by Trochet to a true cultural bias and as 'a museography that favoured the

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be allowed access to any of the *Musée-laboratoire*-type CNRS research findings or collections for many months or even years - until the official report on the project in question had been officially published. (Patrick Boylan, *pers. comm.*)

[95] The opening to the public of Quai Branly in 2006 re-ignited the debate on the polarity between aesthetic criteria and the golden rule of Maussian museography that the most humble everyday object was more representative of a society than its masterpieces of art. (see Desvallées, 2007; Price, 2007, 2011).

"archaic" and the "folkloric" and saw in southern agricultural techniques a more primitive specimen than the ones found in the north' (Trochet, 1987, p.4).

Herbert (Herbert, 1998), commenting on Rivière's article on this specific point in *De l'objet d'un Musée d'ethnographie comparé a celui d'un Musée de Beaux-Arts* (Rivière, 1930), has given us an interesting appraisal of Rivière's approach to the aesthetic and the documentary dimension of ethnological objects. With his first-hand experience of the contemporary craze amongst for primitive art, Rivière outlined the policy of the new museum of ethnology. The difference between a museum of art and a museum of science is not the beauty or ugliness of its objects, but the use made of them. For museums of art the ethnographical masterpiece was there to produce almost exclusively an aesthetic experience. For the museums of ethnology, along with the proper contextual documentation, the aesthetic experience was to be used to trigger interest in the societies that had made it.

Rivière's view seemed to have been the same as that presented by Georges Salles in his review of the 1928 pre-Colombian exhibition which had triggered Rivière's museum career. As reported by Cahiers d'Art, its two organizers, Georges Salles and Georges Henri Rivière, wanted to give 'a plastic approach that excluded any ethnography'. (Cahiers d'Art, 1928, p. 47). According to Salles, the exhibition was to show pre-Colombian objects on the basis of their 'artistic merit', and aimed to benefit from the aesthetic interest that these objects were getting in the art market: 'This artistic acceptance will bring the curiosity of the public to the ancient American civilizations and hopefully it will promote further research.' (Babelon et al, 1930: 82).

THE RURAL VS THE LOCAL

Rivière's ambiguities or contradictory attitudes went beyond his acquisition and display of ethnological objects. Chevalier (2002), in her research on the different museum projects proposed in Rennes after the Second World War, has depicted the alternative views on the role of the 'local' and the role of the 'regional'. In 1946, the curator of the Musée of Rennes presented a project to reorganize the Museum of Rennes as a history of the city. The same year, in the framework of the reorganization of the museum, Rivière disregarded this approach and recommended a programme involving the five 'Departements' of the province, both in 'their unity and their diversity' (Chevalier, 2001, p. 159).

The choice of temporary exhibition themes also shows the polarity between the local and the regional, the urban and the rural. In the period 1965-1980 a number of temporary exhibitions were put in place focusing on the city of Rennes. Titles such as 'The architectonical treasures of Rennes' (1965), 'The mobilier of the Pays de Rennes'' (1970), 'Do you know your city?' (1975), 'Rennes and the 19th Century: Urbanism and Architecture' (1979) all show the urban and architectonic approach given to the History of the Musée de Rennes. In spite of the urban character of these exhibitions, by the 1980s the project of the Musée du Pays de Rennes was given a rural reading in accordance with Rivière's philosophical and museological priorities: the aspirations in this period of the return to the land and the need to merge local museums in the network of Ecomuseum. The choice of these priorities indicates a clear 'gap between aspirations for the construction of a new society and the institutional response' (Chevalier, 2001, p.169).

PRIORITY GIVEN TO COLLECTIONS

In spite of Rivière's constant reference to the general public and local population, doubts have also been cast on the priority he gave to it in practice. Beyond his political and social awareness as militant cultural activist, Rivière's most urgent priority was the saving and documentation of the material culture of the disappearing rural traditional way of life. Rivière's conception of popular culture as a harmonious blend of rational perceptions and unconscious beliefs was substituted by the indoctrination of the population with academic interests and standards. The consequence was that, rather than giving the population access to to the material culture of rural France, according to the perception of the popular mind, it instead favoured the entrance of ethnic and traditional material culture in the pantheon of masterpieces of Art.

Segalen has pointed out Rivière's excessive interpretation of collection through the framework of Leroi-Gourhan's ethno-technology in detriment of their social significance and symbolism. The result was that exhibits were decoded by the visitor as a book rather than as personal experiences (Segalen, 2008). I would suggest that the assumptions and methodology of the object-based Maussian ethnology contributed to its museological shortcomings and eventual decline. Can material culture really be a 'witness' of human activity as a 'totality'?

Thus, in spite of the positive National and International reviews after its inauguration in 1975, the MNATP permanently suffered from a chronic lack of visitors. The 'elementary structures', the ethno-technology of André Leroi-Gourhan or the system of classification of rural dwellings of Demangeon did not seem to attract the interest of more than a minority. The density of its intellectual message, presented with the elegance and austerity of a state funeral, discouraged the very public they intended to attract.

ANTHROPOLOGY RATHER THAN HISTORY

The permanent galleries of the Musée de Bretagne, completed in the 1950s, were conceived to integrate synchronic anthropological approach with the diachronic historical research. As a leading adviser, Rivière was present in the inauguration of the rooms of 'Bretagne moderne (1789-1914)' which were depicted to the media as a pioneering application of the new concept of a history museum. According to Rivière, the intention of this display had been 'to distance itself from anecdotal history and to try to integrate the economic, social and cultural parameters.' (Chevalier, 2001, p.77). However, in reality, according to Chevalier, the museographical programme of the Musée de Bretagne was shaped by a number of themes and lines of ethnographical research that, ironically, were very similar to the ruralist approach of the Vichy period: costumes, furniture, agricultural tools, domestic equipment, beliefs and superstitions, houses and dwellings, vernacular architecture. History, instead of being a central thread in understanding the nature and evolution of the various sections of the population, was reduced to an introductory panel sketching the most important chronological events. (Chevalier, 2001).

In the same way, in the mind of Rivière the Cultural Galleries of the future MNATP were planned in two main sections of equal length: the Universe, with its sections on the 'Environment and History',

'Techniques', 'Beliefs and Customs'; and 'Society' with its sections on practices, settlements, institutions and works (Oeuvres). According to Rivière, the first section 'Milieu et Histoire' would be:

'our solution to the above-mentioned issue on chronology and ecology. The section of 'Croyance and Coutume' will have as themes the cycles of the life of the individual, the seasonal ceremonies, and the religious world' (Rivière, 1968, p.487).

However, intentions fell much behind their implementation. Within the Cultural Gallery the technologies of production displayed were by and large generic. As presented, the production of e.g. pots, bread, wine, cheese, barrels, wooden shoes or funfair puppets were practices taken from just one or two localities, and did not adequately explain how these were different across each part of France and how they might have changed through the centuries.

Even though the anthropology of the Musée de l'Homme had sought to present a liberal understanding of religious diversity, the representation of the identity of France displayed in the MNATP reflected the country's Catholic and Republican traditions. Thus the rich example of Virgin Marys, Crucifixes, Saints and Divinities represented the iconography of the Catholic Church, with only a few exploratory references to pre-Christian deities. The society depicted, with its conscripts, phases of life, institutions and popular heroes (above all Napoleon), was just a schematic representation of 19th Century Republican France. There was no presence in the museum displays of other religions, nor of France's rich history of Christian heterodoxy that, for a millennium, had shaped the beliefs and daily life of the old Kingdoms of France. The contributions of Cathars, Albigensians, Huguenots, Jews or other cultures to traditional France were totally ignored (Gorgus, 2005).

INSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

By the end of the 1970s, the symbiosis achieved by Rivière was broken. The administrative body of curators of national museums (Corps de conservateurs [Curators] des Musées Nationaux) had been created as a legal entity. The art history background of the Corps of Curators meant that the new recruits to the national museums were more receptive to acquisition and conservation of objects according to their style and aesthetic quality, rather than to researching into the context needed for the display requirements of the ethnographical programme promoted by the MNATP's Research Centre of French Ethnology (Centre d'ethnologie française). The effect of the creation of an elite corps of art history-oriented curators was the introduction of very different standards of recruitment and an unequal professional status between curators and ethnologists, with deeply distressing effects on individuals. The consequent lack of inter-disciplinary approach led to temporary exhibitions in which the fine art and the scientific discourse did not blend. With a growing lack of experience of (or interest in) the museological 'language' needed to translate ethnological work into spatial language and communication, the outcome was, in the words of Segalen (1992), 'uninspiring exhibitions of objects with "incantation songs" attached'.

CONCLUSIONS

By the early 1980s, the museology of the Musée-Laboratoire had lost its cultural relevance. In spite of their prestigious past and their success in promoting cultural anthropology and material culture, the Musée de l'Homme was a shadow of its former self. The MNATP, after forty years in a state of gestation, had opened its permanent collection with little long-term resonance with the wider public. There followed a long list of reports, workshops and conferences, intended to permanently insert their magnificent collections in the French system of museums. They showed major gaps between the claims and realities of the Musée-Laboratoire.

The Maussian claim to collect 'object as documents' with no particular stylistic value was, in reality, never implemented and was instead reinterpreted by Rivière as collecting 'masterpieces of popular material culture'. The methodological criteria of avoiding the 'unique, the rare and the old' was, in reality, overridden by aesthetical considerations. The sophisticated methods of displays did not bring popular culture to museums but only gave to its artefacts the status of art. After an internal institutional crisis these collections would be finally broken up, relocated and reinterpreted according to changing cultural perceptions and sensitivities.

CHAPTER 12: FINAL FULFILMENT OF RIVIÈRE'S MUSEOLOGY

The objective of this chapter is to place Rivière's museology in present-day museological practices. To do so I put forward the following points:

Present day debates on the nature of museology.
Diversification and multiplication of open wall museologies.
Study case of Territorial museology.
Reorganization of Rivière's Musée-Laboratoire projects.
Diversification of the notion of Ecomuseum.
Cultural legacy.

INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of the 20th Century there has been a growing perception that, under the influence of classical and pre-historical archaeology, museology had narrowed its original meaning and purpose. Already, in 1934, museum curator Hautecoeur raised questions about museums being defined as permanent conservatories of works of art or collecting scientific institutions offering 'lessons of taste' or curiosity. (Hautecoeur, 1934). What was urgent, he argued, was 'a return to the primary idea of a museum', one that was 'kinetic, mobile, and progressive in its ambitions and objectives' (Bledisloe, 1939, p.224). A general philosophy of museums, based on a better understanding of the history of museums, was needed for the radiation and development of the institution. (Rivière, 1970, p.35).

In 1970 Rivière urged, as a fundamental importance for the future of museums, concentration on what he called the 'speculative museology' - an approach endemically neglected in favour of the purely descriptive museography. A general philosophy of museums, based on a better understanding of the history of museums, was needed for the expansion and development of the institution. (Rivière, 1970). In similar terms, Raymond Singleton defined museums as a 'strange and diffuse group of widely-differing institutions' and stressed 'the urgency of research in museology' (Singleton, 1977, p.121). For museologist Stransky, the 'raison d'être' of museums is not museum itself, but why museums exist and the existence of a meta-theory: 'Were we to hide our heads in the sand… museums would be pushed on to the periphery of social interest, and in the end they would lose not only their function but also their raison d'être' (Stransky, 1974, p.26).

MUSEUMS AND MUSEOLOGY

Rivière's conception of museology as a 'total social fact' that integrates museographical skills with the urge to understand the deeper motivations of museology was partly given a conceptual articulation in the

conferences, workshops, colloquiums and symposia organized by the ICOM International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM) and the ICOM International Committee for Training of Personnel (ICTOP).[96]

In these forums, the understanding of museology of some of the participants emphasized those elements which make museums unique amongst other cultural institutions. This uniqueness has being described as 'holding objects and specimens, which have been collected in the past and selected for retention in the present' (Pearce, 1992, p.257). As such, museums are enclosed institutions with their own internal managerial and professional culture and standards. This internal culture has been called 'technology of museums' (Davallon, 1992) and is traditionally based on specific core disciplines such as history of art, natural sciences, archaeology, ethnology, biology, physics, etc, together with research methodology, conservation and documentation techniques. Museums borrow from other fields all sorts of theoretical and applied knowledge: applied physics and chemistry for conservation, psychology, sociology, information and communication science, didactic, linguistic, marketing, management sciences, etc.

MUSEOLOGY AS EPISTEMOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

This understanding of museology as exhibitions, research, and conservation centres, with strong emphasis on education, is, however, considered too restrictive by others. Research of the history of museums suggests that beyond the Renaissance, museology never had such a clear-cut definition. Paula Findlen, in her analysis of the museum idea in Renaissance literature, concludes that it expressed a pattern of activity transcending the strict confines of museum itself: 'What characterized best the notion of 'Museum' is its expansiveness, that is, its ability to be inserted into a wide range of discursive practices', (Findlen, 1988, p.23). According to Rivière it was rather the 'spontaneous experiences', born outside today's museological concerns, which better illustrate 'the idea of museum opened to multiple vocations' (Rivière, 1991, p.150).

In his historical account on the diversity of roles that the term 'museum' may have had in the past, Mairese concludes that, far from being centred in the modern compound collection-conservation-exhibition, the idea of a museum is better defined by rejecting all exclusions: 'It is only by refusing to rely on the homogenizing effect of definitions to decide "what museum is and what is not" that we can start searching for its fundamental heterogeneity', (Mairesse, 2002, p.150).

In the same line of thought, Bennet, in his Foucaultian history of the museum idea, pointed out the need to approach it in the broader context of other institutions: 'The museum formation needs to be viewed in

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[96] Promoted by personalities such as Jan Jelinek, Vinos Sofka (see Sofka, 1995), Zbynek Stransky, André Desvallées, Anna Gregorova or Peter Van Mench, to name but a few, ICOFOM soon became an international think tank that, through the years, brought together some of the most pro-active names of the museum world. The published Museological Working Papers (Muwop) were meant to anticipate Rivière's ill-fated Treatise of Museology (see Appendix 2). They attempted to articulate some theoretical bases on the nature, purpose and place in society of the new science of museology. The workshops were organized around such questions as what to understand by museology, the difference between museology and museums, whether museology was to be understood as a science or just practical work, as a meta-theory or as community action? (Muwop, 1980,1981). ICTOP had, from 1968, similarly worked on defining the profile, training and background of museum professionals under the leadership of, amongst others, Raymond Singleton, Jan Jelinek, George Henri Rivière, Yvonne Oddon, Jan Cuypers, Patrick Boylan, Oystein Froiland and Jane Glaser.

relation to the development of a range of collateral cultural institutions, including apparently alien and disconnected ones: fairs, libraries, public parks, international exhibitions' (Bennet, 1995, p.6).

Weil recommends focusing on the ways in which museums differ, rather than in the small merging in which they overlap: 'Differences of scale, discipline, audience, history, ideology, format, financing, context and purpose must exceed whatever element they might have in common' (Weil, 1990, p.xiv).

To accommodate these views, a distinction has been made between general museology and special museology, the former encouraging the gnoseological dimension of museology, the second concentrating on the museological activity generated by specific disciplines of knowledge. In contrast with the specific sciences of geology, biology, zoology, palaeontology or history that constitute a specialized scientific approach, general museology was to be multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary (Razgon, 1981; Rivière, 1981) and be classed as a special and independent science within the humanities, involving scientific disciplines such as ontology (science of being), gnoseology (science of knowledge), psychology (the 'historic sense' of man), axiology, ethics, pedagogy and didactics including, in a wider context, philosophy of man, etc. (Gregorova, 1981). The definition of museology proposed by Anna Gregorova intended to take on board this epistemological aspect of museology:

'Museology is to study precisely the specific relation of Man to reality which has led to the creation of collections… and intend to study and generalize the overall gnoseological potential fixed to material documents of that reality' (Gregorova, 1980, p. 20).

Gregorova describes this 'specific relation' as a chronological three-dimensional apprehension of reality, or 'a sense of history' by which 'man realizes the continuity of historic development and feels the necessity of preserving and protecting the remains of the past and its traditions' (Gregorova, 1980, p.19). Accordingly, the so-called museum relation, or attitude to reality, forms part of the cultural-creative and socialization processes of mankind.

In his effort to illustrate the distinction between museology and museums, Mairesse introduced the notions of 'map' and 'template'. For museology to be understood as 'map', considerations must be given to the many motivations and objectives with which individuals and societies display their beliefs and learn to perceive the past through objects and collections. In this sense, the origin and purpose of collection are as varied and colourful as the nature of the human mind: animistic rituals, intercourse with the muses, sanctuaries to the gods, remembrance of great men and heroes, nostalgia for things past, personal or community prestige, thesaurization of riches, embellishment of cities, enlightenment of minorities, culturization of the many, or more recently economic regeneration and community empowerment.

While museology refers to the general motives and principles for collecting, museography refers to how artefacts are displayed and managed, that is, the physical technological and administrative means by which a particular group, individual, community or society displays the set of values referred to in its museology. As Rivière put it:

'Museography gathers the set of practices concerning the management of museum in the framework of the principles lay down by museology' (Rivière, 1991, p.192).

The 'technologies of display' involved in museography might include the landscape as shaped by human history, conceptions on the distribution and management of living spaces, modes of rural and urban settlements and architecture, street layout and gardening, down to the interior display and lighting of objects and collections. Other practices rely on a semiotic study of the display, the monitoring of the visitors' reactions during their visit, and interviews with a significant cross-section of the public (Hodge & D'Souzaq, 1994). Visits can be organized in such a way that the visitor can choose alternative circuits according to a display that offer 'crossroad points at which the visitor can decide which direction to take' (Veron & Levasseur, 1991, p.42-43).

THE REVERSE HIERARCHY: THE PUBLIC AS CREATION OF MEANING

The Museological practice was given a new potential with the transformation of an economy of production into an economy of consumption. Heritage tourism researcher and commentator Victor Middleton described this transformation as true changes in the spirit of the time. (Middleton, 1998). The *zeitgeist* of the late 19th century was elitist, he argued, designed and controlled by curators who were paid by the State or local authorities, and who regarded their work as a public service aiming to enlighten the minds of the 'uneducated masses'. In contrast, the *zeitgeist* from the late 20th century onwards became increasingly consumer-oriented and diversified, discriminating between different interests and needs, and developing what may be termed a market orientation in seeking to meet the expectations of individuals or targeted groups. This meant developing a culture of 'partnership and collaboration', coupled with the reduction or removal of central and local government controls, 'enabling and facilitating rather than acting as providers and sole funders' (Middleton, 1998, p.30).

Tobelem has described the managerialist transformations that museums, galleries and heritage services underwent, by the importing of business management values and practices into the cultural sector, as the creation of 'market-based cultural organizations' (Tobelem, 2005). The increasing hegemony of business culture, based on value for money, transparency in accountability and efficiency and effectiveness in results, has threatened the sheltered context in which, for many years, the museum world manage to survive. A new ethic of excellence was able to produce a functional philosophy suitable to insert the museums in the global cultural environment. Museums and galleries become an important part of cultural tourism.[97]

However, in my view the most significant changes in the management of museums came about with the adoption of what van Mensch has called the 'reverse hierarchy' (van Mensch, 2003), that is, the gradual realization that the public does not experience his heritage according to some official source, or cultural discourse, but according to their own meaning. The individual, as societies, understands the world not through the information produced by experts but by the interaction of that information with his beliefs, prejudices, hopes and expectations. The understanding of the world of a visitor is multi-layered and is the

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[97] For commentaries and discussion of the emergence and progress of such trends internationally, see in particular (Boylan, 1996, 2002, 2006a, 2006b and 2007).

product of the successful integration of heterogeneous experiences in a personalized and concrete whole. His apprehension of the world is shaped not by learning but by the circumstances of daily experiences, natural talent, skill, luck and fatality, social inclusion, ambitions, prestige, wealth, power, sense of the past and sense of posterity. As such, formal and informal education are but a small contribution to the total cognitive potential of the individual.

The interpretation of collections according to an anthropological conception of culture meant breaking away from the history of ideas and the beginning of interpreting artefacts according to their meaning in everyday life instead. In the spirit of of Bataille's notion of 'low materialism' (Bataille, 1930), Michel de Certeau reformulated the idea by comparing people to 'poachers' in the land of dominant culture:

'The reader skims the page, he dreams, he skips sentences, he retains what is of interest to him. A word, a name, makes him disagree and leave behind the given text, in order to make something else with it, or more precisely, with its fragment, its shreds. Faced with the printed page, the reader exercises his activity as a reader, just as the viewer in front of his television set reads the images in his own way...each person creates in his own and superb way something different from everyone else' (de Certeau, 1979, pp.28-29).

Recapturing the concerns of the Durkheimian School of Sociology on the nature of memory, Deloche and Mairesse also articulated this reverse hierarchy as an inversion of memory.

Deloche distinguished between encased or boxed memory (mémoire a tiroirs) and the interactive memory. In contrast with institutions such as archives and libraries, the memory of human brains do not work by a process of classification, storage and access, but as a 'living memory' continuously restructuring the information triggered by new experiences, perceptions and conclusions:

 'As such, to understand living memory we must change the model we have of memory. Living memory and particularly collective memory is not an enclosed box, but interactive by nature' (Deloche, 1987, p.82).

Traditional understanding of memory brings order to the accumulated information but is totally inefficient to describe the inter-relations existing in the information. According to Deloche, museums should not be 'stores of boxed memory, but the places where interactive memory processes are implemented' (Deloche, 1987, p.83).

In the same line of thought, Mairesse reconsidered the notion of 'Mouséion' to give a different perspective to a museological understanding of memory (Mairesse, 2002). The seven muses were the daughters of Memory and Zeus and the original Mouséion was a place in which memories were cultivated according to the interpretation of each individual muse. Museological understanding has to do with interpretation of memory under the 'inspiring guidance of the muses': 'Inspiration is like a bricolage, the use of the disconnected pieces of memory for the purpose of reinterpreting the past to understand totally new situations (pertinence). (Debary, 2003, p.145). As such, museological memory is not a final memory situated out of time, but the 'art of memory', or the art of interpreting the left overs of the past (l'art d'accomoder les restes). (Debary, 2002). Each generation or individual reinterprets the remains of the past not according to processes of the perception of past generations, but through their own set of connotations and denotations. In museum of identity, in which a particular way of life is represented,

museological memory is not only the art of remembering, but the art of forgetting the past. Soon the changing character of identity makes museological identity irrevelant, and as such a new museology is needed.

MUSEOLOGY WITHOUT WALLS: MULTIPLICATION AND DIVERSIFICATION

Museologist Tomislav Sola has advocated a wider approach to museology. He has defined museology as a 'history of the past, the cybernetics of the human experience, and the philosophy of heritage' (Sola, 1997, p.234). The new science would amount to a general theory of heritage that would help to understand the logic of the material world by succeeding in bringing together the disciplines of archives management, librarianship, museography, communication and information studies, 'uniting in one philosophy libraries, museums, exhibition centres, restoration departments, institutions for the protection of, monuments, archives, film institutes' (Sola, 1997, p.192), and aiming to create a state of sensitivity towards heritage. Accordingly, the purpose of museology would be 'to transform man's knowledge into a total consciousness and feeling about space and time' (Sola, 1997, p.181).

The theory of Heritology, according to Sola, would be a hermeneutic of the past, a metaphysical 'high country of the mind' in which 'a pure memory would be evoked by an unrestricted artistic creativity in a media-oriented environment'. Unlike the memory of traditional museums, the memory of the new museology would be 'an integral thought, an educated intuition and an ethical premonition' (Sola, 1997, p.180).

It is in my view this framework of a science of heritology that casts the best light on the multiple, diverse and often contradictory aspects of Rivière's museology. The 'object-based specific relation to historical reality' understanding of museology is not limited to collections and close doors museums, but extends to the whole of the social and natural environment in so far as it produces material traces of its activity. Using the Deleuze and Guattari concept of 'Ryzhome', Mairesse characterized museology as heterogeneous and multi-centered, shaped by the dynamic interaction of mentalities, attitudes, needs, interests and purposes that define its existence. The museum idea (museology) is weaved by the many agendas and actors involved inside and outside the institution: as an underground root (Greek *rhiza*), museology saps its vitality through the many smaller roots that are produced along its length. The diversification of museological practices in the 20th Century seem to reflect this heterogeneity of motivations.

 Past manifestation of this specific relation often survive their own time and enrich present day Museological practices. Thus traditional museums, for a time thought by some to be in terminal decline, survive as centres of preservation and display of objects of symbolic value for society and for mankind. To various degrees, most towns, cities and regions have their own fine arts, natural sciences and technology museums that treasure and exhibit the masterpieces and important evidence of the past, and collect what is expected to contribute to the pride and understanding of future generations. All these traditional museums benefit from the techniques of documentation, presentation and preservation that have been experimented with and developed in a century of museological developments.

Alongside these flagship depositaries, each town, city and region has developed what has been described as their own 'territorial museologies' in which the various groups, communities or manufacturers exhibit signs of their identity. These museologies are true 'museology without walls' which celebrate the entire heritage of a particular place and community - its geology, natural history, human history, creative arts and contemporary life, etc. (See Diagram 11 below). These territorial museologies also work in close cooperation with local government, tourist boards, heritage, voluntary associations, friends, schools, universities and environmental lobbies. Their seasonal activities are advertised in tourist information centres, public crossroads and hotel lobbies.
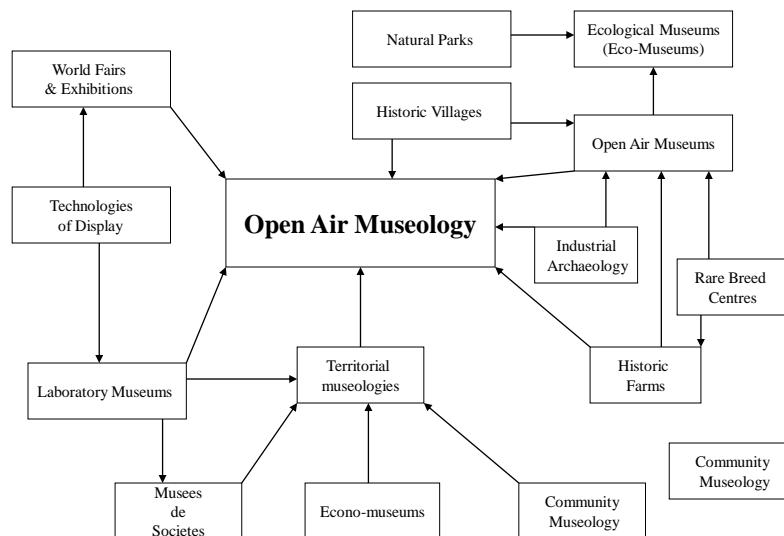
Diagram 13:From enclosed collecting and displaying institutions, museological activity has expanded into the diversity of present-day 'museology without walls': from natural parks, industrial technology sites, specialized social and technological history museums such as the 'musées de sociétés' (Vaillant, 1991; Desvallées, 1991), Sites of Memory (Nora,1984, 1986, 1992), Ecomuseums of Identity and community museology, up to the Retail Displays, Econo-museums (Chaumier, 2003; Cousin, 2000), historic farms and rare breed centres.

TERRITORIAL MUSEOLOGIES: A CASE STUDY OF MUSEOLOGY WITHOUT WALLS

The large numbers of community and commercial initiatives at work in Brittany are good examples of present-day museology, and serve as perhaps the best examples of the museological legacy of Georges Henri Rivière and his times.

The tourist leaflets, inviting the local residents and the large number of visitors to the 'Discovery of manufacturing companies' (see Figures 23 and 24), aimed to promote the food processing industry, such as biscuits, cider distilleries, dairies, pork production, cheese-making, beer, snails and coffee-roasting plants. The programme is complemented by guided visits to local farms and live demonstrations showing the visitor the skills and technology involved in the processing and commercialization of their products.

Fig 25: Museology and retailing[98]

Also, in Finistère, there is the pioneering Brennillis Nuclear Power Station, closed down for decommissioning in 1985. This now has a permanent museum-type visitor centre and exhibition displaying the various stages of the power plant development and operation, with regular talks explaining to the general public the procedures and phases of dismantling and cleaning of contaminated nuclear sites. Similarly, the local factory manufacturing filters for diesel engines in Quimper invites the visitor to experience the activity of an international organization that supplies industrial diesel filters to many parts of the developing world.

Nearby, the whole of the harbour of the coastal town of Douarnenez is being interpreted as a museum in which the visitor can experience the close relationship of the local population to the sea. Moored in the harbour are a number of traditional boats, and the Boat Museum permanently preserves and interprets real life scenes of this maritime community through the centuries. In the harbour of Audierne, the visitor can witness the arrival of fishing boats and the subsequent fishing auction. Coastal boat trips to the fishing grounds are organized and sailors take turns in explaining the hardships of their working life, the various fishing techniques and the present-day issues of the local fishing industry.

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[98] *Manufacturing factories and high street shops display past and present production as a publicity and prestige stand. Bakery in Britany's city of Quimper, gastronomic winner of the year.*

Through the summer months, with participation of the Communes of Cap Sizum, the 'Festival of the Chapels' opens up local churches and abbeys where contemporary artists and designers are offered space to set up their seasonal displays. The blending of the centuries-old walls with avant-garde displays are challenging contributions in space management and museum display. The same trail of Abbeys and churches are also opened through the holiday season for musical performances by choirs, ensembles and orchestras. The tradition of summer fêtes is represented by the Fête des Bruyères in Beuzec-Cap-Sizun with its sailors' songs, Celtic dancing and music ensembles, while folk parades, with the participation of international folk groups, are organized by and for local inhabitants and summer holiday makers alike.

Fig 26: Territorial Museologies and tourism[99]

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[99] *Museums, natural parks, ecomuseums, interpretation centres, industrial manufacturing and seasonal festivals promoted and advertised by tourist information centres. They constitute the present-day practice of Ribiere's museology without walls.*

Next to the Goulien windmill farm complex, the so-called Maison du vent (House of the wind) is opened as a permanent exhibition centre that claims to improve the awareness of the history and potential of wind power. Through different visual and sound displays, the visitor is shown different aspects of the wind phenomenon - its influence on local architecture, on flora and fauna and on local folklore - and the history of wind technology leading to present day wind turbines.

The 'Living Museum' of traditional arts and crafts in Argol re-enacts the 'timeless gestures' of past craftsmanship: rope and basket making, hemp and spinner, clog maker, wood turner, lace maker, thread maker and tapestry, sheep shearing, butter making, carriage maker, ploughing, and the work of the wheelwright. As a contrast with this, the Wolf Museum shows past attitudes to, and stories about, the wolf as recorded in local traditions and in literature and the arts, together with the present-day protective legislation. Outside the building is the living reserve in which the visitor can observe wolves in their habitat. The Kerouak Mill in the Ecomuseum of Mont Arree comprises an assemblage of a watermill, bake house and outbuildings, as well as the living quarters furnished with traditional box-beds, armoires and dressers. Through its presentation of the life of a family of millers over more than a century, the visitor can understand and visualize the development of a village complex that was inhabited up to 1965. The outbuildings are used for temporary exhibitions, and the 12-hectare estate includes pastures, arable fields and woodlands, while a path leads to a spring, a washing house and a traditional tannery.

The Mineral Museum in Crozon is a discovery centre for learning about natural history. It has a large permanent collection of the minerals of Brittany, with temporary displays serving as an original way to discover the geology and landscape of the Armorica peninsula. It also offers a range of events and disciplines, including marine ecology and understanding landscape. There are walks and guided tours by coach or boat for schools at all levels, for adult groups and for the general public. The Rural School Museum at Tregarvan shows the history of schooling in the country areas of Brittany, displayed in a school built around 1900, with its single classroom and a playground. This permanent exhibition shows how the school contributed to the broad movement of elementary education that started in rural France in 1881 and aimed to extend education into the furthest reaches of the countryside. Each year different temporary exhibitions focus on specific themes, and there are special events for both schoolchildren and the general public.

The Commune of Poulgergat offers their visitors maps and leaflets to allow them to follow footpaths to discover the local geology, flora and fauna, waterways, rivers, and ancient religious sites such as hermitages and calvarias. Lectures and guided visits to remote geological sites, etc, can be arranged in the local information office.

The Regional Natural Park of Armorique, which extends from the Ouessant Island in the Atlantic to the Arrée Mountains, offers the visitor the whole range of museological alternatives: museums, open natural trails, rural dwellings, traditional knowhow, exhibitions and demonstration centres.

Thus the Isle of Ushant Museum of Country Life is located in a rural building setting with its furniture and painted woods reflecting a society that revolved around the sea. The Isle of Ushant also has the Lighthouse and Beacon Museum which is devoted to the history of naval signalling, while giving special prominence to the work of the early 19th century pioneer of modern optics, Auguste Fresnel, who designed in the 1820s the 'Fresnel lens' which greatly increased the effectiveness and visibility of lighthouse lamps.

DIVERSIFICATION OF COMMUNITY MUSEOLOGY

While Rivière's Museology of Identity has reached a relative stage of institutionalization, the concept of the Ecomuseum understood as Community Museology only had but temporary resonance in France. It has, however, diversified and multiplied worldwide under a variety of names, each of them shaped according to their own internal logic and circumstances:

'Every place is its own living museum, dynamic and filled with sensibilities to its own small richness...symbolism and significance cling to seemingly ordinary buildings, trees and artefacts...places are different from each other.'(Clifford & King, 1993, quoted by Davis, 2005, p. 367).

Website indexes of museums now total at least 300 operating 'Ecomuseums', of which 200 are in Europe, while an October 2009 Google search for Ecomusée and its main language variants produced over 2 million 'hits'.[100] Examining their self-descriptions, it is clear that most share their evolutive dimension, the community basis, the sense of place and their democratic modes of community management.

The notion of Ecomuseum as a tool for cultural development is being proposed by new researchers[101] and its definition reconsidered. Thus the 2006 Trento Declaration of Intent of the European Network of Ecomuseums defined an Ecomuseum as 'a dynamic way in which communities preserve, interpret and manage their heritage for a sustainable development.' This definition conceptualized many of the claims of Community Museology. 'Dynamic way' meant a cultural action able to change society and improve its landscape. The term 'Community' was defined as a group with general involvement, shared responsibilities and interchangeable roles such as public officers, representatives, volunteers and other local actors. Preservation, interpretation and management meant reading and communicating heritage values, providing new interpretations and raising the profile of local heritage. The word 'Heritage' included inhabitants and things, what is visible and what is not, tangibles and intangibles, memories and future. Sustainable development implies a place-based development of local networks as a means to the social capital of the region.

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[100] Around 1,720,000 occurences of the French *ecomusée*, 971,000 of the Spanish and Italian *ecomuseo*, 199,000 of the Portuguese *ecomuseu*, 91,000 of the Dutch *ecomusea* and 90,000 for ecomuseum (most commonly used in English, German and Scandinavian languages).
[101] See recent Phd Thesis by Bounhiss, Mohammed, 2010, *Sustainable Development, Cultural Heritage and Community Empowerment: Current Trends and Practices in Moroccan Culture*, submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Cultural Policy and Management, City University, London.

In Brazil the Ecomuseum concept and programme was developed in the form of community museum in local communities, both rural (Silveira Martins in Rio Grande do Sul), urban (Novo Hamburgo, also in Rio Grande do Sul), in underprivileged areas (Santa Cruz, a neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro), and on the sites of major public works like hydro-electric power plants (Itaipu, Ita). The Ecomuseum of Matadouro à Santa Cruz (Rio de Janeiro) is perhaps especially significant as an early urban socio-cultural project whose objective was to seek to build constructive relationships between all sectors of a society that have historically been in conflict.

The Cultural Park of the Maestrazgo in the Autonomous Community of Aragon, Spain, has deliberately avoided the words 'museum' or 'Ecomuseum'. With the 1975 constitution Spain became effectively a federal state, triggering processes of development, often presented as a successful example of cultural and economic regeneration. After a period of formal and informal learning about state-of-the-art modes of planning, community building, presentation techniques and conflict resolution practices, the last twenty years have seen the promotion of the area's geological, archaeological, historical and traditional folklore heritage. Across the territory, a number of theme parks and exhibition centres have been put in place and are managed by village action groups. These are also used as meeting places for all the local heritage associations, as well as by local government, small businesses and universities. Aragon, with a rich historical patrimony, has for a long time suffered from environmental degradation and population depletion. Although the long term sustainability is yet to be proven, the result has been the revitalizing and re-establishment of traditional seasonal festivals, of local crafts and cuisine, and the creation of more than 250 small businesses in the food, crafts and service sectors, leading to, and now supported by, a tourism industry infrastucture. The most interesting side of this cultural project is that it has made acceptable the evolutive conception of the Ecomuseum of Georges Henri Rivière with the present-day cultural, political and economic forces.

In Piedmont, Italy, the growth of Ecomuseums in recent years has being remarkable. In 1998 there were fifteen Ecomuseums in the whole of Italy, but by 2006 there were 50 officially recognized by provincial and governmental agencies just in Piedmont (Davis, 2007). In Japan, Ecomuseums were introduced in the 1980s and gained increased favour in the 1990s, when many municipalities became interested in the concept. In China, the concept has been identified by the government as a major means of promoting sustainable development in poor rural areas. (An & Gjestrum, 1999; Davis, 2007).

REINTERPRETATION OF RIVIÈRE'S PROJECTS

The mission Rivière set himself to achieve - the saving for posterity of the material culture of rural traditional civilization in France - is today a permanent part of French National Heritage.[102] The collections he left are today being reorganized and displayed, adopting aspects of the museological philosophy he promoted.

Thus the Musée des Art Premiers opened at the Quai Branly in 2006 as the fusion of The National Museum of African and Oceanic Arts (MAAO) and some of the collections of the Musée de l'Homme.

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[102] In the French system, collections belong to the State and are under its protection for posterity. As such, in the event of closure of a museum, its collections are either put temporary into store or re-distributed for displays in other museums.

In this new organization, two aspects of Rivière's Museology have been reinterpreted, the museum understood as a 'forum' and what we could describe as Rivière's aesthetic bias in the choices he made for his collections (see Desvallées, 2007).[103] As such, as presented to the visitor by its President Stephane Martin, the Museum du Quai Branly has as its mission to become an institution devoted to the enhancement and preservation of the collections entrusted to it. It is also a centre of research and learning, cooperation and creation. With its theatre, mediathèque, reading room and classrooms, it is an interdisciplinary meeting place for academics, curators, students and visitors. Programming a wide variety of presentations, it gives major importance to music, dance, theatre and cinema, while its cafes and restaurants provide spaces for informal meetings. Its 'forum' dimension is complemented with permanent displays in which exhibits were selected for 'their beauty, rarity and power of expression, for their ethnological interest and techniques of composition' (Martin, 2006, np). Thanks to the various types of available texts, notices and multi-media programmes, the visitor can situate the exhibits historically and geographically. The reserve collection is presented to the public through temporary exhibitions, enabling systematic exploration of the collection and giving fresh perspective to their meaning.

In the same manner. the MNATP in the Bois de Boulogne is being reorganized into a new museum, the Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilizations, to be opened in Marseille by 2011. It will gather the collection of the ATP and the objects of European ethnology of the Musée de l'Homme. In contrast with the Museum du Quai Branly that transforms the so-called 'Arts premiers' into objects of Fine Art, the new museum in Marseille tries to redirect some of the aspects of the museology of the Musée-Laboratoire. The museum is presented as a forum of 'ideas and images' as much as a scientific and cultural project, a place to share, to stroll and to indulge, and a research centre for the display of the European and Mediterranean common sources as well as their oppositions.

The new project's long-term mission is to explore the foundations of European Civilization in which France as a Nation is but one variation of common European identity:

'French popular culture takes its roots in a European context…in the Germanic and Scandinavian world in the north, in the language and traditions of Catalan, Basques and Italian tradition in the south, with a strong contribution from Muslims and Jews since the middle ages… Africa is also indirectly present in the world of the Antilles' (Colardelle, 2002, p.18).

The mission statement of the new project intends to put aside the shortcoming of a 'static' conception of popular culture, and redefine the new museum as an institution that explores what makes popular culture (ce qui fait Société) in a heterogeneous society, that is, the mechanisms 'that generate differences and rejections' (Colardelle, 2002). As such, the new museum 'will aim to make intelligible the slow process of cultural formation, partially conscious in the elites or spontaneous manifestation of other elements of social fabric, particularly the oppressed' (Colardelle, 2002, p.21).

The new museum adopts Rivière's understanding of the mechanism of formation of popular culture as the outcome of 'the interaction of learned culture with spontaneous cultural attitudes and practices: the non-articulated network , ignored or denied by officials, that penetrates and empowers the social'

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[103] Desvallées, in his critical review of the new museum, re-ignites the century-old debate between art object and objects as document at the core of Rivière's *Musée-Laboratoire* acquisition policy. (Desvallées, 2007).

(Colardelle, 2002, p. 21). It also corresponds to the meaning Marcel Mauss gave to it as 'supranational by nature' and, as such, is the outcome of 'borrowing and lendings' and a continuously evolving 'social, national and cultural genetics' (Colardelle, 2002, p.22).

For its part, the new Musée de Bretagne is no longer presented as a museum of traditional life, but what has been called a 'Musée de Patrimoine et de Sociétés' (Heritage and Society Museum). The term corresponds to the two aspects of identity the museum intends to represent. It is a 'patrimony museum' in so far as it collects, preserves and exhibits the material witnesses of the history of Brittany. It is also a Society Museum in the sense that it has a role of think-tank of current affairs, interpreted in the light of recent archaeological, historical or social science contribution.

The Musée de Bretagne is located in a new purposely built building bringing together the Central Library and a Centre of Scientific Exhibition and discovery. The collections are intended to create dialogues between the long-term social history, the events, battles and historical personalities, and the 'petite histoires' that shape everyday day life. Thus there is a permanent collection around three themes, 'Brittany and the Universe', 'Brittany of the Thousand Images' and the 'Affaire Dreyfuss', reflecting aspects of Brittany through the ages. Alongside these, the George Henri Rivière and the René-Yves Creston rooms make accessible the reserve collection through a programme of temporary exhibitions. The museum is also a documentary centre in which archive documents and images, including moving images, are accessible through the state-of-the-art multimedia equipment.

The library houses the depot of books, publications and documentation accumulated by the State since the 18th Century through confiscation, donations and acquisitions. Thus the libraries confiscated from religious orders (Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, etc) and aristocrats after the Revolution. The library has also been the beneficiary of the donations of private libraries of collectors, scholars, professors and writers, which amount to a substantial number of juridical, historical, scientific and literature books. Daily press and magazines are also stored as part of the library archives. The library has also an electronic catalogue to search and locate publications existing in the whole region. Finally, the policy of active acquisition of books has allowed it to enrich the collection with rare books and present publications. The library also has a programme of temporary exhibitions, concerts, music and film happenings.

The Scientific Centre has a daily programme of hands-on activities and live demonstrations about matters of relevance, such as way of life and recognition of dinosaurs through the teeth, bones, eggs and imprints left behind. Through pedagogical models, the interpreter explains how the eyes perceive forms, colours and movements. The attached Planetarium also has a seasonal programme where stars, galaxies and planets are explained in spectacular projections.

The three museums are part of a wider 'cultural service infrastructure of cultural forums' in which information, collections and exhibitions are intended to be supported by a dynamic programme of cultural activities. The 'infrastructure' lives up to Rivière's conception of museology. The challenges, however, are today the same as in the 1930s. Will lectures, workshops, conferences on present day issues, really shed

a new light on the museum collections, or will it develop into non-object-based cultural criticism? The latter will reduce collections to dead remains and meet the destiny of its predecessors.

RIVIÈRE AND FRENCH CULTURAL POLICY

Alongside his museological legacy, the significance of Rivière and his time has also a socio-cultural dimension. Jean-Louis Déotte defined his epoch as a 'rotation that affected the very axe of "alterité" [otherness]' (Déotte, 1993). In contrast with the invention of the 'classical other', the new alterité invented was not the past but 'the exotic, the exogenous, and the far off' (Déotte, 1993, p.352). During these years, Egyptian, Assyrian, Hindu, Persian, Islamique, Mexican and Oceanic Arts became wellsprings of new perceptions of the real, and were recognized as part of the highest formal expression of alterity. (Williams, 1985). For Pascal Ory it was 'the victory of a holistic perspective, with progressive ambitions alongside a cultural project of popular education' (Ory, 1994, p.503).

Lévi-Strauss saw in the avant-garde aesthetic experimentation of the France of the Third Republic a true liberation from the shackles imposed on human creativity by what was known at the time as 'the system of Fine arts'. The breaking away from 'the way of the masters' meant that 'academic' art, with its codified principles, stereotypes, rigid perspective, and supported by a career path and succession of honours (École des Beaux-Arts, Salons, Exhibitions, Prix de Rome), ceased to hold the total monopoly. Artwork slowly became a field of competition, and underwent a shift from technology of production to technology of consumption, with a return of art into a system of signs. (Charbonnier, 1961, p.70).

Interest in artistic differences, as vindicated by the artistic avant-garde, was complemented by a renewed interest in ethnic 'otherness', as promoted by the new sciences of man. It has recently been described as the goût des autres - the many ways of apprehending 'matters of the other', whether this appreciation might be the food of 'other' populations or the jewellery and clothing, the taste for their arts and crafts, their way of life, rites and beliefs (De L'Estoile, 2007).

A NEW PARADIGM: THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE

Benoit de l'Estoile has pointed to a new form of universalism in the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, approved in the 2001 General Conference of UNESCO. The 1948 Declaration proclaimed that every individual has equal rights without distinction of race, colour, gender, language, religion or political opinion. As such, it was in accordance with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen proclaimed at the French Revolution, and reflects what Benoit de l'Estoile called universal assimilation, the sense that every human being is considered the same in nature, whatever its differences, and as such is entitled to the same rights.

In contrast with this, and as a monument to fifty years of anthropological reflection, the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity proclaimed the validity and vindication of cultural exceptions, by which cultural diversity was formally recognized as part of the common heritage of mankind:

'Culture takes multiple forms in time and space. This diversity is embodied in the originality and plurality of identities of groups and societies that form humanity. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as important for human kind as biodiversity for the natural world. As such, it constitutes a common heritage of humanity, and as such must be recognized and enforced for the benefit of present and future generations' (De L'Estoile, 2007, p. 23).

CHAPTER 13: CONCLUSIONS

To evaluate the significance of the museology of Rivet-Rivière's Musée-laboratoire, it might be relevant to evoke the distinction made by Mexican anthropologist Claudio Lomnitz between a 'museum of us' and a 'museum of the other' (Lomnitz, 1999). The 'museum of us' displays objects of symbolic significance to the society or community they serve, and as such they are museums of self-identity, whereas 'museums of the other' display the culture of what is alien, exotic and/or far off. In the French system of museums, the museums of Fine Arts, Natural Sciences and Technology would be examples of the former, and museums gathering ethnological collections would represent the latter. I would suggest that Rivet-Rivière's Musée-Laboratoire falls into the first category, a 'museum of us', in spite of its ethnological collections and its dedication to ethno-museology. As we have seen, the museology of the Musée de l'Homme stood at the crossroads of the many philosophical, political and cultural strands committed to a reaffirmation of the dignity of man. The epistemological and cultural concerns behind its structural museology were a 'cheminement de la pensée', using the expression of Marcel Mauss, that French intellectuals shared with vast sectors of the population. As a child of its age, the Musée-Laboratoire was informed by cultural dichotomies and contradictory discourses. Colonial motives were counteracted by progressive ideologies, conservative mindsets were challenged by radical avant-garde experimentation, scientific evidence motivated by the ideals of the affirmative politics of man, the search of the future loaded with a deep nostalgia for the past. All these factors were the 'latent possibilities' existing in the beliefs and expectation of the France of the Third Republic.

As such, it is not to be considered as a template for other museologies, but as an illustration of the cultural perceptions that contributed to to the origins and evolution of the Musée-Laboratoire, which, in its multiple dimensions, can illustrate the diversity of present-day museology. To fully understand the cultural specificity of the museology of the Musée-laboratoire, this research has also referred to other international experiences in which the material culture of everyday life was given museographical expression.

I have argued that there are two distinct aspects of its museology: the cultural dimension that shaped its motivations, objectives, methods of research and symbolic references, and its museography that explains its modes of collecting, preserving, researching and exhibiting artefacts. I have also made the distinction between museology as a process of collecting and discovering object-based symbolic significances, and museums which are the final result of a process of collecting. The museum world can be considered as a collection of museologies that can give us 'material evidence' of the multiple historical and ideological mindsets of past and present societies, groups or communities.

I have explored its cultural dimension as a dialogue of the ideas and choices that shaped the ideology of Primitivism. As a project of cultural development aimed at changing the perception of French Citizens towards ethnic identity and material culture, the Musée-Laboratoire not only encouraged the interest for ethnic objects and modern art, but created a true anthropology of culture by enquiring on the nature of the self, classification, memory and social cohesion. It also promoted the direct experience of nature, technology, traditional skills and vernacular heritage.

To what extent did the Musée-Laboratoire contribute to changing the relationship of French museology to its natural and social environment?

I have considered the 1971 Declaration of First Minister Chalban-Delmas in adopting the anthropological conception of culture as the guideline of French cultural policy, and the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity as an official recognition of half a century of cultural action.

The originality of the anthropology associated with the Musée de l'Homme was that it contributed to shift anthropological research from nature to culture. The evolution of mankind was interpreted not as a struggle to adaptation but as the transformation of human thinking through the virtualization of bodily functions.

The Musée-laboratoire as represented by the MNATP achieved its mission to salvage the disappearing material culture of the rural civilization of France. In a country in which only masterpieces of art and technological inventions had a museological significance, it contributed to breaking the boundaries between 'high' and 'low' cultures. Aesthetical heritage, though still today very much alive, was supplemented by the heritage of the way of life.

From a museographical perspective, the Musée-laboratoire adopted the practice of a 'museological programme' closely linking research, acquisition and display policies. Following international trends, the permanent galleries and reserve collections were complemented by the extensive use of well-advertised periodic temporary exhibitions. The Musée-laboratoire kept alive its objectives of cultural not so much through its permanent displays education but through a long sequence of successful temporary exhibitions. In contrast with present day anthropological research, the research methods of the structural museology were a team effort, intended to document communities and societies as 'totalities'. The collections acquired and documented by the Musée-laboratoires of the Musée de l'Homme, the MNATP and the Musée de Bretagne are today permanent parts of the cultural heritage of the French Nation.

For its part, the museography of the Ecomuseum reinterpreted the system of the two galleries and created a 'museum of time', in which the local history was documented, and a 'museum of space', in which landscaping and clearing of pathways, vernacular building restoration and relocation, local flora and fauna preservation and crafts demonstrations were adopted from the museography of the Scandinavian open-air museums and American National Park.

However, as part of a National programme of education, the cultural significance of the Musée-laboratoire was larger than its museography, and the important collections it gathered through the years. The cultural anthropology of the Musée-laboratoire also contributed to setting the philosophical background in which the work of the following generations of cultural commentators such as Rolland Barthes, Jean–Francois Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard and Jacques Derrida would develop. These are unavoidable references to major aspects of present-day cultural interpretation.

To what extent did the museology of Musée-laboratoire succeed in changing French Republican ideology and re-envigorating French Republican museology?

The official recognition of the anthropological conception of culture did not obliterate the ideology of the system of Fine Art. As shown in the professional rivalry in the final crisis of the MNATP, the system of Fine Arts is still prevalent at institutional level. Ironically, what has been described as the 'universality of the aesthetic experience', that is, the realization that any culture has produced plastic and performance arts of a quality comparable to the achievements of Western music, dance, painting, sculpture, or architecture, has reinforced the bias for the beautiful and the unique. The reorganization of the Musée de l'Homme and the display of its collection in the Museum Quai Branly have reignited the debate between art and science. The thrust of present day scientific research in the domain of natural sciences and anthropology has largely deserted the museum framework, and the museum establishment is overwhelmingly controlled by administrators with a Fine Arts background.

In the same way, the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity has not diminished the sense of supremacy of French Republican culture. In contrast with Anglo-saxon multiculturalism in France, the sense of citizenship takes priority over any kind of ethnic, religious or ideological alterity.

This research has pointed to the gap between claims and realities of the Musée-laboratoire. The criteria of collection acquisition and display were not, or could not, always be followed. I have suggested that the very complexity and methodology of the object-based structural museology contributed to its dismissal. In spite of Rivière's innovative exhibition methods, his museology has proved to be very traditional, reflecting an essentialist view of rural France. The Myth of Primitivism, beyond its interpretative research value, created an ahistorical perception of a dying rural civilization. It was presented in museographical displays with a nolstalgia, I would say with a romantic tragic sadness, that explains its success but also its lack of long term public resonance.

In particular, this thesis has argued that, in spite of Rivière's association with the movement of *Nouvelle Muséologie*, Rivière's most urgent priority was the saving and documentation of the material culture of the disappearing rural traditional way of life. His understanding of local and regional museologies was still by and large object-based, aiming at recording and preserving the material culture of traditional rural communities rather than their cultural development. He understood democratization not as the culture by all, but as popularization of the hegemonic culture. His metaphor of the mirror is a reflection of a 'Museology of Identity' intended to document and 'save' the material culture of a disappearing rural way of life. As such, it focused on a reconstructed past identity rather than on the perception of identity in a continuous state of change.

His very management of a museological programme, though community based, was inspired by a centralized administrative ideology and as part of an overall top-down programme of reorganization of the system of Fine Art. In spite of his commitment to do justice to the multiple regional cultures of France, Rivière always remained a loyal representative of the French Museums Central Administration.

As he himself suggested in his Smithsonian speech, made accessible for the first time in Appendix I, his definition of Ecomuseums amounted to a 'theory of tourism' rather than a 'community museology'. As such, this thesis has advanced the idea that Rivière's 'Museology of Identity' took its most significant fulfilment after his death in 1985 not, as widely accepted, with his notion of Ecomuseum, but as a consequence of the changes in the administration of the State, the explosive growth of the voluntary heritage associations and the increased involvement of business management in the cultural and tourism sector. Whereas most of his rural Ecomuseums have evolved to be close relatives of the Scandinavian Open-air museum concept and the American National Parks, his understanding of an open wall museology has flourished to all aspects of the heritage and tourist industry. This expansion of museological activity did not only transform the traditional Fine Art museum into a post-modern museology of consumption, but has made possible the accessibility to archaeological sites, historical harbours, retail and manufacturing industries, traditional buildings and artists' workshops, with the purpose of conveying a sense of the past through the objects and activities of everyday life. It is in my view this diversification of museological practices, and not his alleged association with the museology of community development, that is today the most accomplished expression of Rivière's museology.

As central to his museology, the personality of Georges Henri Rivière has been portrayed as that of a cultural activist whose mindset is a reflection of the ideals, ideologies and contradictions of its time. The success of Rivière in the inter-war years relied on his ability to take advantage of the affinities of ideas, expectations and circumstances. During that period, Rivière used the contemporary infatuation with the artistic avant-garde for ethnic objects to promote an object-based ethnology supported by an affirmative anthropology of man. He also used the 'vogue du populaire' to change the perception of the urban population to the material culture of traditional rural life. He finally took advantage of the new network of Youth Hostels, the forty hour working week and paid annual holiday to promote mass cultural tourism. Thirty years later he knew to associate himself with the new museology and community museology movements without necessarily sharing or totally understanding their motivations and modes of management.

As a man of the world, closely connected at a personal, professional and political level with the decision makers of his time, with the acumen to recognize talents and with an intuitive understanding of the significance of objects in their cultural environments, he proved to be particularly gifted in creating museological practices of socio-cultural needs.

APPENDIX I: TEXT OF GEORGES HENRI RIVIÈRE'S 'RECENT INTERDISCIPLINARY EXPERIENCES IN FRANCE IN MUSEUMS, PARKS AND ECOMUSEUMS' AT THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE , 10 OCTOBER 1978, UNPUBLISHED VIDEO TAPE

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY PAUL PERROT

'We have visiting us Georges Henri Rivière…A man for whom the word 'museum' is symbolized in a way that is shared by very few. He has had a very long and distinguished career, starting at the end of World War I when he became Concert Master of one of the principal churches in Paris…he continued his studies with distinction in musical history and music, and then, through one of these peculiar byways of fate, he became associated with some of the best theatres, and in particular the Folies-Bergères and the Casino de Paris. He has an extraordinary varied career: he knew Mistinguett and wrote for Josephine Baker. As he was doing this, he was pursuing his interests in the history of art, became special Counsellor of David-Weil who was the Secretary General in Charge of the General Council of French Museums, and he carried on that post for many years. As music receded to the background, he was very concerned with the development of American Jazz, amongst other things, and knew some of our principal figures as they toured Europe; he became more and more involved in trying to understand what it was that was lacking in the museum world, and this led him to the deputy directorship of the newly found Museum of Man, deputy directorship which was really a co-directorship, since he was involved entirely in the development of the programme of that museum. He stayed there until 1937, relinquishing that post to become the creator and the first director of the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, a post that he held between 1937 and 1967. Parallel with these activities, he carried out intensive research into the folk traditions of France, gathering tens of thousands of objects, but not objects as total contexts, trying to capture not the isolated in the development of history, but as a totality, so that the contribution of the different regions of France, of the traditions of France - literary musical, philosophical, religious, artisanal, agricultural - could all be brought together in a coherent totality that the visitors could learn from and the specialist could study.'

'With this he advised museum directors and museum officials in various parts of France and in various parts of the world, and it became a very natural thing, when in 1946 the International Council of Museums was created, to ask Georges Henri Rivière to become its first director, a position he held until 1967. In that role he created, within the fabric of UNESCO, an international organization, totally non-political in character, whose purpose was to bring together the fraternity of museum around the word, and to develop museum management and the philosophy of museums into a viable discipline, a discipline transmittable through teaching, through writings and through examples.'

'Monsieur Rivière has allegedly been retired since 1967 and is now the Permanent Advisor of ICOM. One never knows where one can find him; he may be in Indo-China, when one can go there; he may be in India; he may be Tunisia, where he goes fairly often; he may be in Libya; this month, he has been in Portugal; he is today in this country; he is going to be in Canada; he is going to go to Yugoslavia; went back to France, and going on elsewhere, I do not have his itinerary.'

'He is a man of indefatigable energy, for he has embarked on this lifelong career of being an exponent of the idea of museum, extending the vision of museums not as places of the past but as places that are part of the living tradition. He has also been very concerned with the film as an art form, and he is the President of the French Film Society, and it is for one of these reasons that we are going to videotape this afternoon's proceedings.'

'Monsieur Rivière is coming today to speak on a subject of which he is almost eminently qualify to speak about, because, in a sense, he is the creator of the terminology as well as the concept…and that is Écomusées, the Ecomuseums' Recent interdisciplinary experiences in France in Museums, Parks and Ecomuseums.'

'I will not try to describe to you what an Écomusée is; I will let the father of the écomusée do it himself.'

'There is only one disappointment this afternoon: that I was hoping that he was going to speak to you in English, but through a misunderstanding in transatlantic communications they do not have, and he assumed that we had (the Smithsonian have everything), that we had also equipment for simultaneous translation…when I told him we did not, he told me I will be it, therefore you will be hearing what he has to say twice, once in superb, most literary and evocative French, and the second time in a rather banal, I hope not too deformed English. It gives a great pleasure to introduce George Henri Rivière.'

GEORGES HENRI RIVIÈRE PRESENTATION

'I will say a few words on the beginning of the origin and development of the concept of that mysterious institution, which is called Ecomuseums.'

ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT

'I was Founder and first curator in 1937 of the 'Musée of Art and Tradition Populaire'. Attached to it I tried to promote the establishment of regional museums in France. It has been called the central of the decentralization. In 1939 I was a joint commissioner of the World Fair in New York…I presented in the French pavilion the human history of a small village in Provence, Barbentane, which is still the Maquis de Barbentane. Visiting the American Museum of Natural History, my attention was captured by a series of micro diorama illustrating successive aspects of a human habitat on the same territory of the state of New York… as natural and human aspects are combined in this diorama.'

'The Musée de Bretagne …Bretagne Museum, created at Rennes in 1948 at my initiative, starts with geological times and finishes by the times of today and with an opening to the time of tomorrow. The plan of history, of global history I proposed for Rennes…was a synthesis of geographical character …and cultural facts… the things I've seen in New York. I consider these two things as the origin of my concept of the Ecomuseum… and I don't say that to be kind because it is really the history of this concept beginning in the Musée de Rennes and beginning in the showcases in the American Museum of Natural History.'

DEFINITION OF ECOMUSEUM

'The time is short; I could give a history of the concept, but I think it's rather good to go to the definition of the Ecomuseum, which is a new institution in rapid and continuous development in Africa. All definitions that could be done have an evolutive character. With some of my best colleagues from time to time we think of this definition and, according to the experience which is going, we adapt the definition to the new circumstances. I would like to have your voice to read in English the definition now of the concept of the Ecomuseums.'

'An Ecomuseum is conceived, set up and operated by a public society in collaboration with the population. The public society acts as experts; the facilities and resources provide populations with the cooperation of its active forces, regardless of generation, in accordance with its aspiration, knowledge and faculties of approach. It is a mirror in which a population gazes in order to recognize itself, where it seeks an explanation as a land to which it is attached, and as a population that preceded it there during the generations, whether discontinued or continued. A mirror that a population offers to its guests, the better for them to understand and to respect its labour, its ways, its intimacy. It is a museum of man and nature. Man is presented there in his natural environment. Nature as a wilderness, but also as traditional and industrial society, has adapted it to their own use. It is a museum of time. It's a creation that goes beyond the age when men appeared, is tiered on the basis of historic and prehistoric ages in which he lived until it reaches a day in which he is where he now lives. It supplies an opening door into the future without setting itself up as a decision maker. The Ecomuseums, under these circumstances, act as a provider of information and critical analysis; a museum of space of privileged space, where to halt and where to stroll. A conservation centre, as it aims to preserve and enhance a natural heritage where the population is concerned. A laboratory, as it is an object of theoretical and practical studies about the population and its environment. A school, as it acts to form specialists interested in the population and its environment, where the population is incited to better understand the problems of its own future. This conservation centre, this laboratory, is a school drawn on common principles. The culture claimed as their own is to be understood in its broadest meaning, and they strive for the recognition of its dignity and artistic expression from whatever layer of the population it may issue. They do not shut themselves in, they receive and they give.'

DISPLAY OF SLIDES [104]

THE MUSÉE DES ARTS ET TRADITIONS POPULAIRE

Rivière displays a number of slides showing relevant aspects of the MNATP; his 'Ecological Units', that is, his displays of interiors that had been relocated into the museum. After depicting scenes of traditional life in rural France, Rivière thought it important to explain an example of modern popular culture by showing how the origins and evolution of jazz were represented in the ATP.

SLIDE 1: UNITÉ ÉCOLOGIQUE (ECOLOGICAL UNIT): LE BURON DE THE CHEESE FACTORY RELOCATED DOMESTIC INTERIOR.

SLIDE 2: PAINTING: FAMILY SCENE.

SLIDE 3: AFRICAN INSTRUMENT ILLUSTRATING THE ORIGIN OF THE BANJO.

SLIDE 4: IMAGE OF A DANCING SCENE IN AN 18TH CENTURY SALOON.

SLIDE 5: IMAGE OF A DANCING SCENE IN AMERICAN PLANTATION.

SLIDE 6: INSTRUMENTAL DUO IN PARIS UNDERGROUND.

THE MUSÉE DE BRETAGNE

Under the sign of an ancient Saint from Brittany, Rivière presents as an example the 'museum of Time', in which the history of Bretagne from geological times to the present day is displayed. Traditional material culture is shown in a number of wooden offices with typical Celtic decorations. The last room exhibited scenes of contemporary life in Brittany.

SLIDE 7: SHOWCASE IN THE MUSÉE DE BRETAGNE DISPLAYING THE NATURAL AND HUMAN HISTORY OF THE REGION.

SLIDE 8: INTRODUCTORY ROOM AT THE MUSÉE DE BRETAGNE.

SLIDE 9: FURNITURE EXHIBIT AT THE MUSÉE DE BRETAGNE.

SLIDE 10: AUDIOVISUAL ROOM SHOWING CONTEMPORARY LIFE IN BRETAGNE.

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[104] I have reworded Rivière's informal comments on the following slides in which he highlights some significant aspects of his museology and various Ecomuseum Projects, beginning with the displays in the MNATP AND THE Musée de Bretagne.

THE ECOMUSÉE OF THE ISLAND OF OUESSANT

This was the first Ecomuseum project set up under the instructions of Rivière. The Ecomuseum attempted to trigger the cultural regeneration to this Island in the coast of Brittany. The Ecomuseum was intended to be a genetic databank of traditional sheep breeds. It also initiated the restoration and interpretation of the existing lighthouses in the coastal area. The 'Museum of Time' displayed the 19th Century material culture of the Island in two restored vernacular houses. The 'Museum of Space' restored the traditional 'shallow paths' in the Island that had fallen into disrepair. According to Rivière, these paths were more ecologically friendly than modern roads, and could contribute to the preservation of the way of life.

SLIDE 11: PANORAMIC SCENE OF LIGHTHOUSE IN THE ISLAND OF OUESSANT.

SLIDE 12: LIGHTHOUSES IN THE COAST OF BRITTANY.

SLIDE 13: EXAMPLES OF VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN THE ISLAND OF OUESSANT.

SLIDE 14: DISPLAY OF TRADITIONAL HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS.

SLIDES 15 & 16: EXHBITS OF TRADITIONAL DRESSES IN THE ECOMUSÉE OF THE ISLAND OF OUESSANT.

SLIDE 17: DOMESTIC INTERIOR.

SLIDES 18 & 19: VIEW OF VILLAGE STREET.

SLIDE 20: RESTORED WATERMILL.

SLIDE 21: IMAGE OF A TRADITIONAL COUNTRY PATHWAY.

SLIDE 22: VIEW OF VILLAGE VERNACULAR BUILDINGS.

ÉCOMUSÉE OF THE CREUSOT

In a totally different set up, this Ecomuseum was intended to be a open-air site museum of the 19th Century metallurgic industry that had made the area famous. Rivière finds it important to show a naïf picture painted by a local miner to illustrate how the popular mind can interpret a landscape, and compares it to the 'scientific' approach. Examples of vernacular architecture are spread through the territory of the Ecomuseum, and a centre of interpretation introduces the visitor to the interpretation of landscape.

SLIDE 23: VIEW OF HEADQUARTERS OF THE ÉCOMUSÉE DU CREUSOT.

SLIDE 24: NAIF LANDSCAPE PAINTING MADE BY LOCAL MINER.

SLIDE 25: MINATURE WOODEN MODELS OF TRADITIONAL RURAL MACHINERY.

SLIDE 26: BUILDING INTERIOR AT THE CREUSOT.

SLIDE 27: EXAMPLE OF 19TH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE.

SLIDE 28: LANDSCAPE SCENE OF THE TERRITORY OF LE CREUSOT.

OPEN WALL MUSEOLOGY IN LA BRIÈRE

Not every open wall museological project promoted by Rivière succeeded in becoming an Ecomuseum. In a series of rural dwellings bordering the swamps of la Brière, the evolution and technology of the system of water management is explained. Animated models explain the functioning of water locks and keepers' houses.

SLIDE 29: VIEW OF LOCK KEEPER HOUSE'S IN LA BRIÈRE.

SLIDE 30: ANIMATED MODEL ILLUSTRATING THE SYSTEM OF WATER DISTRIBUTION IN LA BRIÈRE.

SLIDE 31: LOCK KEEPER'S HOUSE.

ÉCOMUSÉE DE LA LORRAINE

This Ecomuseum project was set up in a number of houses that had fallen into disrepair. The houses were restored according to their original design and using traditional materials and techniques. These restorations were not only intended as preservation but as a databank to inspire the locals to restore their building using traditional crafts, and to transmit vanishing construction techniques to new generations. The interiors were decorated and furnished with 19th Century household material culture. One of these houses also exhibits a history of local wine barrel making.

SLIDES 32-34: ASPECTS OF RESTORATION OF VERNACULAR BUILDINGS AT THE ECOMUSEE DE LA LORRAINE.

SLIDE 35: EXHIBIT ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF WINE BARREL MAKING.

ÉCOMUSÉE DE LA VENDÉE

This Ecomuseum has its origins in the re-enactment of the Civil War between Royalists and Republicans at the end of the 18th Century. According to Rivière, the live interpretation of an historical event contributes to making the population aware of their past. The spectacular effects of light and sound became a succesful tourist attraction that has contributed to the economy and identity of the region. The

restoration of the swamps of the Vendée has given a heritage dimension to some aspects of 19th Century local agriculture. In accordance with Rivière's interest in the popular perception of reality, a number of slides show the interpretation of a landscape by a 19th Century naïf artist.

SLIDES 36 & 37: VIEWS OF CASTLE OF THE ÉCOMUSÉE.

SLIDE 38: LIVE RE-ENACTMENT OF THE BURNING OF THE CASTLE.

SLIDES 39 & 40: VIEW OF THE SWAMPS OF THE VENDÉE.

SLIDES 41-43: PAINTINGS OF 19TH CENTURY UNKNOWN LOCAL DECORATIVE ARTIST.

OPEN WALL MUSEOLOGY IN THE ISLAND OF GUADALOUPE

The following slides were chosen by Rivière to show some of the work done to preserve the local heritage in the Island of Guadaloupe in the French Indies. He describes the project as 'not an Écomusée but very near to the system of Écomusée'. He particularly concentrates on the opening of footpaths to enable the visitor to walk in the tropical forest and to facilitate the discovery of 'Stones Blocks' engraved by the locals before the arrival of the Europeans. To avoid the 'ugliness' of explanatory panels, Rivière suggested the placement of numbers referring to informative leaflets.

SLIDES 44 & 45: FOOTPATHS CREATED FOR VISITORS IN THE TROPICAL FOREST IN FRENCH WEST INDIA.

SLIDE 46: COMMEMORATIVE STONE BLOCK IN THE ISLAND OF GUADALOUPE.

SLIDE 47: VIEW OF THE MUSEUM BUILDING.

ÉCOMUSÉE DES LANDES DE GASCOGNE

According to Rivière, the Ecomuseum des Landes de Gascogne 'bridges the gap' between the Scandinavia Open-Air Museum concept and the French Ecomuseum in situ. The museum has brought together examples of vernacular architecture, some already existing in situ and restored to their past glory, others dismantled and relocated in the museum from the nearby region. The interiors have been decorated with 19th Century furniture and interpreted by soundtracks reproducing realistic life stories of marriages, funerals and daily duties. The Ecomuseum is located in a pine forest, where traditional pine resin was exploited at industrial levels. The actual extraction of serpentine resin is demonstrated according to a detailed understanding of traditional techniques. This Ecomuseum also works as a genetic databank of various types of grass and experimental fields with barley, oats and other crops, with the assistance of scientific organizations such as National Scientific Research Centre and the National Institute of Agronomics. Endangered breeds of sheep and chicken are reared as a genetic databank.

SLIDE 48: ARCHIVES OF 19TH CENTURY ENTHUSIAST WHO MADE PHOTOGRAPHS AND RECORDED THE LIFE AND TRADITION OF THE LANDES. PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE TERRITORY OF THE LANDES.

SLIDE 49: VIEW OF THE LANDES AS IT WAS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY.

SLIDE 50: VIEW OF LOCAL VERNACULAR BUILDING.

SLIDE 51: STEAM TRAIN TRANSPORTING VISITORS TO THE ÉCOMUSÉE DES LANDES.

SLIDES 52 & 53: FARMHOUSES RELOCATED IN THE ÉCOMUSÉE DES LANDES.

SLIDE 54: VIEW IN THE ÉCOMUSÉE DES LANDES WITH ENDANGERED SPECIES OF SHEEP.

SLIDE 55: VIEW OF A CHICKEN COOP AT THE ÉCOMUSÉE DES LANDES.

SLIDE 56: VIEW OF ENDANGERED SPECIES OF CHICKEN.

SLIDE 57: VIEW OF RECONSTITUTED TRADITIONAL VEGETABLE GARDEN.

SLIDE 58 & 59: VIEWS OF EXPERIMENTAL FIELDS.

SLIDE 60: CHICKEN EGGS OF ENDANGERED SPECIES.

SLIDE 61: SCENES OF ANIMAL BREEDING AT THE ÉCOMUSÉE DES LANDES.

SLIDE 62: VIEW OF RECONSTRUCTED WATERMILL.

SLIDE 63: SCENE OF CHILDREN VISITING THE ÉCOMUSÉE DES LANDES.

SLIDES 64-68: ASPECTS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF A RESIN FACTORY AT THE LANDES.

SLIDES 69 & 70: VIEW OF THE METHODS OF EXTRACTION OF RESIN FROM PINE TREES.

SLIDE 71: EXAMPLE OF VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN THE ECOMUSEE DES LANDES.

ÉCOMUSÉE OF THE MONT LOZÈRE

This Ecomuseum in the region of the Cévennes focuses on the rehabilitation of old pathways, methods of irrigation and examples of vernacular architecture made of granite stone. The pathways bring the visitor to the privileged geographical and geological views so they can understand the evolution of the landscape and what man has done to it for its preservation.

SLIDE 72: LANDSCAPE IN THE ÉCOMUSÉE.

SLIDES 73-77: ASPECTS OF VERNACULAR BUILDINGS IN THE ÉCOMUSÉE.

SLIDE 78-80: OLD FOOTPATHS USED TODAY BY VISITORS IN THE ÉCOMUSÉE.

SLIDES 81-86: ASPECTS OF NATURE AT THE ÉCOMUSÉE.

SLIDES 87-93: EXAMPLES OF VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE MADE OF GRANIT STONE AND RESTORED IN SITU.

SLIDE 94: EXCAVATIONS IN THE FOUNDATION OF A 17TH CENTURY VERNACULAR BUILDING.

SLIDE 95: FIELD LABORATORY AT THE ÉCOMUSÉE.

ÉCOMUSÉE OF LA CAMARGUE

Rivière has chosen, in his presentation of the Ecomuseum de la Camargue, to show the infrastructural work involved in the 'Museum of Time' in an old farm building: ventilation and air-conditioning, humidity control, etc. It also shows the collection of landscapes in a reduced architectural model of the area, with animated models of the industrial development of the area in the end of the 19th century, such as the extraction of salt or the system of irrigation.

SLIDES 96 & 97: ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES AT THE ÉCOMUSÉE DE LA CAMARGUE.

SLIDES 98 & 99: VIEW OF OLD FARM BUILDING HOUSING THE MUSEUM OF TIME IN THE ÉCOMUSÉE.

SLIDES 100-102: VIEW OF DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE INFRACTRUCTURE WORK FOR THE MUSEUM OF TIME IN THE ÉCOMUSÉE.

SLIDE 103: GEOLOGICAL MAP OF THE REGION OF LA CAMARGUE.

SLIDES 104-107: OTHER ASPECTS OF THE MUSEUM OF TIME.

SLIDE 108: REDUCED MODEL OF THE PILGRIMAGE CHURCH OF SAINTE MARIE DE LA MER.

SLIDES: 109 & 110: SHOWCASES SHOWING LOCAL TRADITIONAL MATERIAL CULTURE.

SLIDE 111: REDUCED MODELS OF 19TH CENTURY VERNACULAR HOUSES HELD IN THE MUSEUM.

SLIDE 112: VIEW OF EXHIBITS OF AGRICULTURAL TOOLS.

SLIDE 113 & 114: INTERIORS SHOWING ASPECTS OF LIFE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

SLIDE 115: VIEW OF THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A TRADITIONAL SHEEP FARM.

SLIDE 116: ANIMATED EXHIBITS SHOWING THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

SLIDE 117: VIEWS OF LANDSCAPES SHOWING AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL ASPECTS OF LIFE.

SLIDE 118: EXHBIBIT OF THREE DIMENSIONAL MODEL EXPLAINING THE RESOURCES OF LA CAMARGUE IN MODERN TIMES.

SLIDE 119: FOOTPATH AT THE ÉCOMUSÉE OF LA CAMARGUE.

FINAL REMARKS

'I hope I have shown you some aspects of the Ecomuseum in France, with the difficulties, advancements and mistakes they sometimes have. It would be stupid to think that the Ecomusée is a panacea for all the problems of museums.'

'I thought it would be useful to show some examples of how the territory can be interpreted as a confluence of time and space with the participation of the population.'

'I have finished my exposé. I hope it was not too hard; my English is very poor, it is under-developed English, the English of UNESCO. I have done my best… as they say, don't shoot at the pianist!'

QUESTIONS

Q: 'I would like to know how the population are allowed to participate…more about the community life.'

A: 'I will answer explaining how the population itself people participate in the creation of collection…'

'We are in the Camargue Museum and the Cévennes. The organizers of the museum have launched an archaeological salvage campaign… after an initial preparation with teachers and school personnel… showing them films of what we will do, having a precise programme of the things we want to find in the territory, and I can say to you that everything has being found by the children and the old people and given to the museum as a collective good of the population of the Camargue… I will tell you also what we do with visitor's reaction… I have given to my friend Paul a booklet showing the footpaths you have seen... has been developed with the help of teachers and local school staff... prepared in one year with consultation with the children, and the system has worked very well, because the very intelligent questions of the children, and they like to come and understand how was the life in the country fifty years ago… and it is surprising, the interest and reaction of these young people to interpret themselves the landscape.'

Q: 'I would like to know the material and techniques used in the construction of building in the Ecomuseums.'

A: 'There is now a movement in France of interest for the old rural habitat which was in way of disappearance… During the war I myself was responsible for an important research in all France, with about fifty young architects, which were supposed to be fonctionnaires but they were not, but at the same time they were prevented from being deported by the Nazis… With these young architects we made a general enquiry in all France, except the Alsace and the Lorraine where it was not possible… In all the other departments we have made about 1000 descriptions of agricultural units of production, with the analysis, common model and interpretation and opinions of inhabitants by social clases and old and young people… and these archives are now very important… because they have disappeared in many of these departments… My successor is publishing them, comparing the houses as they were during the war and as they are now… Some have been transformed, others are in ruins… but it's not the only result. There was also the system of the 'artisanat' (craftsmanship)… because peasants are attached to their traditional form of architecture… many of them play a role in saving the threatened outbuildings… dependencies of farmhouses. Peasants have been encouraged to use their traditional building skill in restoring places for vacation, 'rural hostels' for people that come from the city… It gives a very interesting result of mutual understanding of the old inhabitants and the city people that come in summer… they start conversation and sometimes they also help… These 'rural hostels' are much more convenient to city people than the traditional outbuildings and farmhouse dependencies… which are a kind of colonialism.'

Q: 'Do Ecomuseums exert any influence in internal tourism?'

A: 'At the same time the system of Ecomuseum is for and against tourism. According to the text that was read on the Ecomuseum, you will see the 'theory on tourism' that it explained there… The Ecomusée can express the life of the population through tourism, to teach respect of what they do and are… It is a system aimed at preserving the life of the population… We want to release of special issue of the revue of UNESCO to 'Ecomusée et Tourisme'… Tourism can be very detrimental of the environment and the population.'

AWARD OF THE GOLDEN KEY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PAUL PERROT: 'For a long time we have felt that the Smithsonian Institution would like to find some way of expressing the high regards, the affection and our gratitude for your many contributions to our profession, both internationally as well as nationally, for you are possibly the only museum director who was ever given the Golden Key of the City of New York, which means that our regard for you is not only in Washington but extends nationally. On behalf of the Secretary of the Smithsonian I would like to read to you a citation:

'Georges Henri Rivière, former Director of the Musée de l'Homme, both director of the ICOM and its Permanent Adviser, creator of the MNATP, and an early enthusiastic exponent of American Jazz, is named

an Honorary Fellow of the Smithsonian Institution in recognition of its unique contribution to the museum profession and to the increase a diffusion of knowledge of Man.' (September 11th 1978).

RIVIÈRE'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE AWARD

'I must say that the name of the Smithsonian Institution at he beginning of my career was already a light, a beacon…when I was in the first unheated offices of the MET... I could say that the warmth of these offices was brought in by the torches that would come with the Smithsonian Collections. After so many years… when I tell this to my friend Lévi-Strauss he will be very happy of what has happened to me.'

'On a lighter vein... I am sorry to have no piano here to express my gratitude.'

APPENDIX II: THE PROPOSED 6 VOLUME UNESCO TREATISE OF MUSEOLOGY

(These notes are from a preliminary draft of a planned publication by Patrick Boylan clarifying the fate of Rivière's last major project)

The plans for a major multi-volume UNESCO Treatise on Museology, presenting the final synthesis of Georges Henri Rivière's work, suddenly collapsed in 1980 in highly political circumstances in which, quite unexpectedly, I found myself partly involved, as summarized below. At the time I agreed to an earnest request for utmost secrecy about these matters: I have honoured this promise ever since and have never before written or even talked about these matters. However, I now feel that, forty years on, and with what was at the time very real danger to two key figures involved now past, I can reveal the circumstances which led up to the abandonment of the UNESCO project.

While attending a meeting, in UNESCO House Paris, of the ICOM International Committee for Museum Training (ICOM-ICTOP) from 13th to 16th April 1976, I was invited to join the recently formed Editorial Advisory Board of UNESCO for the planned Traité de Muséologie/Treatise of Museology. This project had recently been officially adopted by the UNESCO Board and then its General Conference as a major publication which would complement the multi-volume Traité de Muséographie of the International Museums Office of the League of Nations, following at least two years' preparatory work and no little lobbying by ICOM, led by Rivière, of UNESCO Member States and other bodies. The budget provided for both editorial and advisory work and eventual printing of a substantial six volume Treatise.

This was to be published simultaneously in French and English editions, and it had also been agreed that this to be be edited by, and largely written by, Georges Henri Rivière (for many years one of the editors of UNESCO's quarterly academic and professional journal *Museum*). Among other things, it was widely recognized within UNESCO, ICOM, and many national delegations that the publication would serve as a synthesis of the lifetime's work of the aging Rivière, arguably the most influential museum professional and theorist of the the second and third quarters of the 20th century.

The April 1976 meeting was led by Georges Henri Rivière and UNESCO's publication programme head for culture, Professor Yuri Turchenko. He was a USSR citizen and a distinguished senior member – as I recall it, a Vice-President - of the Soviet Academy of Arts, and had held senior positions in the Soviet administration and the Communist Party before his posting to the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris in the early 1970s.

At meetings we were advised that UNESCO had already agreed the planned structure of the new work was to be as follows:

Vol. 1: The Museum and Society.

Vol. 2: The Museum and Knowledge.

Vol. 3: Curatorship, Conservation and Restoration.

Vol. 4: The Museum as an Institution and Organization [Management].

Vol. 5:   Museum Buildings and Equipment.

Vol. 6:   Conclusions, plus supplementary documents and statistics.

The meeting reviewed the proposal and began more detailed development work on it, and it was agreed that, in addition to his role as the overall editor, Rivière would be the primary author of Vols. 1, 2 and 6 as above, and would also be a significant contributor to parts of the other three volumes, in which he had special expertise.

Rivière in particular began the detailed research and writing, among other things trying out and testing his ideas in his university course in Museology, which was attracting ever increasing numbers of both students and visiting academics and professionals. In all this he was supported by Yvonne Oddon, with whom he had worked from the mid-1930s at the Musée de l'Homme and then at ICOM, where she was the founded Head of the UNESCO-ICOM Documentation Centre from the 1950s. Throughout the next three and a half years or more, Yuri Turchenko continued to be an enthusiastic supporter of the project even when he was promoted within the Cultural Heritage Sector of UNESCO. There was regular contact with the Editorial Advisory Board, and further full working sessions were held in Leningrad and Moscow in May 1977, Brussels in June 1978 and Leicester in July 1979, where the Board was joined by around fifty other ICOM and Commonwealth Association of Museums professionals from across much of the world. By this time, considerable progress had been made by Rivière on the research and drafting of the text, and at that meeting Turchenko expressed the hope that the first volume (or possibly two) would be timetabled for printing during the coming budget biennium (January 1980 – December 1982).

The Leicester gathering therefore ended on a very happy note, though with hindsight I was right to be concerned when, during a relaxing informal lunch in a sunny garden, Turchenko, normally extraordinarily careful on political matters, introduced himself to one of our host's neighbours as Ukrainian, not a Soviet citizen. In the Autumn, Turchenko went on a UNESCO official mission to much of Canada, and while there was invited to a number of important events organized by Canada's large Ukrainian exile community, particularly in the Prairie Provinces. (Canada has the third largest population of ethnic Ukrainians in the world after the Ukraine and Russia, and at least at that time most were strongly nationalistic and anti-Soviet.)

On his return to Paris, again Turchenko let his guard down at least once more, and was later reported to have complained to a close friend in UNESCO that it had been possible for him to to be a Ukrainian and speak his native language in Canada, while this was a crime when home in the Ukraine. (Under the Leonid Brezhnev regime, despite the apparent guarantees of citizen's rights, etc, in the new Soviet Constitution of 1977, in practice the national identities of the constituent Republics and ethnic communities of the USSR were firmly repressed, and I recognized at the time that there could be grave consequences if the Soviet security and political authorities even suspected Turchenko of favouring Ukrainian nationalism – something that at the time was classed as treason and for which the maximum penalty was death.)

Work continued on the project but Turchenko failed to return to his office after the UNESCO 1979 Christmas/New Year holiday break and nothing at all was heard of him for over a month. However, in early February 1980, the French press carried a carefully crafted announcement by the French government stating that, on the evening of Christmas Day, 25th December 1979, Yuri Turchenko and his

wife had entered a local police station in Paris and asked for political asylum and urgent physical protection, both of which had been granted by France.

About three weeks later, on 8th March 1980, the Director of the Division of Cultural Heritage in UNESCO, and therefore Turchenko's boss, the distinguished East German scholar Dr Percy Stulz, received an urgent call asking him to go immediately to East Berlin, because of the sudden serious illness of his mother. However, on landing he was immediately arrested, interrogated and forced to send a telegram to the Director-General of UNESCO saying that he had had a heart attack and could not return to Paris immediately. It very soon became clear that Stulz was in fact being detained by the East German authorities and, at its June 1980 meeting, following an acrimonious debate and a divided vote (itself very unusual since UNESCO always tried to proceed by consensus), the UNESCO Executive Board passed a resolution demanding his release and return to Paris, but this was ignored. After several months of detention, Stulz was formally charged with espionage – more speicifically spying for the USA – and after a secret trial in August 1980 a military court martial found him guilty but sentenced him to only three years imprisonment. (This was a remarkably – indeed suspiciously - light sentence for a charge carrying the possibility of the death penalty.)[105]

The seizure of Stulz by the East German authorities (no doubt in close association with the Soviet authorities) after he was tricked into going to Berlin in March 1980 added further to the fear of the Turchenkos that something similar – or probably much worse – was likely to happen to them, especially since it was soon widely understood among the large number of Soviet and other Eastern Bloc officials at UNESCO and in other Paris-based international organizations[106] that Stulz's 'crime' had been his failure to spot and stop Turchenko, and that what amounted to his kidnapping was intended as a severe warning to UNESCO's other Eastern European staff.

Later, in March 1980, I received an unsigned handwritten letter, couched in very cautious terms, but with several references to events and informal discussions of the Leicester ICOM-ICTOP and Treatise Editorial Board meeting of the previous July as very obvious clues showing that it was from Yuri Turchenko, so I replied in equally cautious language via the postbox address given, and a rather strange correspondence followed over the next few weeks. I quickly noticed that each letter came with a hand-stamped postmark from a completely different region of France. (Later I learned that the return address I was using was that of a French Security Service office in an anonymous and fairly run-down part of Paris which was forwarding mail in both directions, and seemed to have an authentic hand stamp for many dozens of smaller post offices across the whole of France, so that the mail could not be traced back to the actual locality of the person they had under protection.)

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[105] At the end of his three year sentence, Stulz remained under what amounted to house arrest and was, among other things, in 1984 forced to send a letter of resignation to UNESCO, also asking for the transfer of his accumulated salary and pension fund, but the money was immediately seized by the State. He was not able to leave East Germany until the opening of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. On his return to Paris he entered claims for the restoration of his employment rights on several grounds relating to the circumstances and manner of his forced 'resignation' that had eventually been accepted by UNESCO in 1984. In accordance with the Staff Rules for employees of United Nations Agencies, his case was heard in Geneva by the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labour Organization, which, in its Judgment no. 1232 of 10th February 1993, made a substantial financial compensation and general damages award to Schulz and ordered his re-employment by UNESCO on his original terms and conditions and seniority.

[106] The February 1980 press announcement by the French Government claimed that over a hundred of the Eastern European officials seconded to the staff of UNESCO were, in fact, spies for the KGB, Stasi and other Warsaw Pact intelligence agencies.

A careful reading of the underlying message was that Yurchenko and his wife were in fear, if not of actual assassination in France, then at least kidnapping and removal back to Russia, where they would be paraded as voluntary returners or – even better – people who had been rescued from their alleged CIA or French captors. They therefore wanted to be able to make the truth clear to someone well-known in professional and international circles but who was non-political and could challenge any Soviet account of their motives if they were taken back to Russia. (Forty years on I still wonder why, out of his very many international contacts, Turchenko approached me, other than the memory of the then relatively recent Leicester meeting. Possibly he was aware of my involvement within ICOM and the UK Museums Association, with our successful moves to head off, through quiet diplomacy and professional pressure, plans that the Czech authorities were rumoured to be about to take action against Dr Jan Jelinek of the Moravian Museum at the end of his term as President of ICOM in May 1977, and by the Polish authorities against Dr Prezemylaw Smolarek of the Gdansk Museum, President of the International Association of Transport Museums, the following year.)

In May 1980, I tentatively suggested that if he and his wife wanted to brief me in detail on the situation I would be happy to meet them when I was next in France, and this was warmly accepted, but I was asked for, and gave, an assurance of the greatest secrecy over the planned meeting. (Checking my diary for the period recently to find the exact date, I found that I had not even recorded the two day/one night visit to Paris at all.) The actual meeting was arranged by the French Security Service, and I did not know the location or exact time until I received a very short note, unsigned with the address and Métro instructions, on my arrival at my usual hotel, followed by a phone call from a familiar voice checking that I had arrived and had received the address.

This proved to be a large traditional Paris brasserie on one of the many squares near the Trocadéro, but when I arrived it seemed to be closed and completely empty. However, two men in plain clothes let me in and I waited almost an hour for the Turchenkos to arrive, accompanied by three more security officers. (Much later I discovered that the adjacent Government building on the square was an office of the Ministry of the Interior, and it seems that, while a typical public restaurant most of the time, it could be used for security purposes in this way when required.)

They first explained that they had come in two fairly elderly and so anonymous cars from a remote part of the Loire region, and had made several detours onto minor roads in case they were identified, so they had already been travelling for about seven hours. Also, as it was considered too dangerous for them to stay in Paris for even one night, they would be travelling back with their security guards through the night.

During over three hours of dinner and discussion the Turchenkos detailed the circumstances of, and reasons for, their defection, which had followed some sort of a hint or tip-off relating to an immediate danger to them, and a few days later they had taken advantage of the very quiet conditions of the Christmas evening to make their move. They also explained their personal views and insisted over and over again that if they were reported to have returned to the USSR this would have been by force or otherwise under severe duress. They urged that in such a case I should mobilize international support and personally reveal all that I knew from this personal briefing to the media: I promised to do so, and also repeated my pledge that, except in such circumstances, I would keep all of this secret.

They were both desperately sorry about the way in which Percy Stulz had been tricked and the likely fate that faced him (this was before the secret trial and conviction) and insisted that Stulz was entirely innocent of any involvement in Turchenko's defection. This had, however, only confirmed the very real danger that they had faced, and continued to face while in exile. They also said that, though 'another country' (undoubtedly the USA) had made extremely generous offers to them, they had chosen to stay in France – which asked nothing of them in return – while elsewhere they would have been expected to take part in very public Cold War propaganda. (At the time Turchenko was the most senior figure in terms of their internal Soviet Union status ever to defect to the West, and remained their top embarrassment and potential target until the defection of the Soviet 'diplomat' and top KGB official, Oleg Gordievsky, to the UK in July 1985.)

We also spoke about projects we were working on, above all the planned Rivière Treatise. Turchenko warned that, with both Stulz and himself gone, in such circumstances nobody within UNESCO would ever be willing to take on the project. We finally parted and they set off back to their safe house with their security escort, while I found that my bill also included the several bottles of a very good Sancerre drunk by the security team. (Was the choice of Sancerre meant as a joke on their part - hinting at where their charges were now in hiding?!)

Though Turchenko survived his self-imposed exile, and eventually returned to academic life (notably contributing a major chapter on Ukrainian cultural history to a 1988 joint Ukrainian/American book *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Ukraine*), the six volume synthesis of the life's work of Georges Henri Rivière, in the planned and approved Traité de Muséologie/Treatise of Museology, disappeared without trace with Turchenko's defection. There were no responses to enquiries about it, UNESCO never called another meeting of the Editorial Advisory Board, and despite all the enthusiasm of the Leicester Editorial Board meeting of July 1979, at the 1980 biennial UNESCO General Conference all references to it simply vanished without any explanation or comment from the UNESCO 1981-2 Programme and Budget.

Rivière and his closest associates and supporters regarded this as a gross betrayal by UNESCO, but nothing could be done to revive the Treatise, something that was a bitter disappointment to Rivière in his final years. As a consequence, much of the thinking that he developed over the last decade or so of his life survived only as fragments in the notes of the lectures of the last few years of his life, particularly those of his University courses on museology, in which he tried out and debated at length many of his ideas intended for the Treatise.[107]

Patrick J Boylan

Leicester, January 2010

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[107] Some of these fragments were eventually reproduced in the Rivière memorial volume (Association des Amis de Georges Henri Rivière, 1989).

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