THE POWER OF MUSEUMS: IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM IN ANDALUSIA

AN HONORS THESIS

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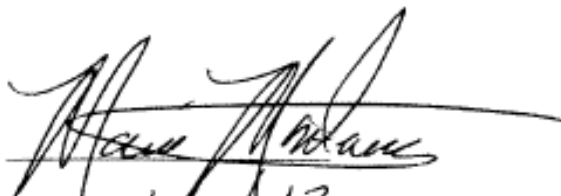In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

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HONOR CODE

On my honor, I have neither given nor accepted unauthorized aid on this thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the roles that museums in Andalusia, Spain play in constructing and reflecting a sense of identity and nationalism. Andalusia is composed of imagined communities defined by their particular histories and cultural contexts, and museums are central in navigating the variability in the region's collective memory. Museums emphasize certain aspects of the region's history and culture and exclude others in the process of constructing narratives. By observing twenty-six museums in Andalusia, categorized as archaeology museums, history museums, ethnographic museums, and cultural interpretation centers, it is possible to identify elements central to defining the region and its inhabitants. Examining the way in which particular events and cultures are highlighted or silenced, and the way in which the past is constructed in relation to the present, reveals the power the museums hold in creating identities and perceptions of places and people.

RESUMEN

Este tesis explora los papeles que cumplen los museos en Andalucía, España en la construcción y la reflexión de identidad y nacionalismo. Andalucía se compone de unas comunidades imaginadas que se definen por sus historias y contextos culturales específicos. Museos son fundamentales en la navegación de la variabilidad en la memoria colectiva de la región. Los museos enfatizan ciertos aspectos de la historia de la región y, a la misma vez, excluyen otros en el proceso de construir historias. Por medio de la observación de veintiséis museos en Andalucía, los cuales son clasificados como museos arqueológicos, museos de historia, museos etnográficos, y centros de interpretación culturales, sea posible identificar elementos centrales en la identificación y definición de la región y sus habitantes. Examinar la manera de que eventos y culturas particulares son recalcados y silenciados, y la manera de que se construye el pasado en relación con el presente, revela el poder que los museos tienen en crear identidades y percepciones de sitios y gente.

INTRODUCTION

Museums are unique and influential institutions in that they provide an established space for collective memory to be preserved and disseminated. Carol Duncan (1991:90) notes that museums are often expected to convey a "higher, authoritative truth," but the reality is museum content relies not on objective truth but rather on a subjective and constructed narrative. Museums have the power to define history, mark social boundaries, foster nationalism, and shape collective identity through the content they choose to preserve or exclude. The purpose of this study is to examine the way museums, identity, and nationalism intersect within the particular context of Andalusia, Spain. My primary research question is: How does the selection and presentation of history and culture in Andalusia's museums reflect and mold the sense of regional and national identity? Additionally, what kind of narrative is conducive to archaeological materials? I will begin my analysis by contextualizing this query within existing anthropological research that addresses themes of collective memory, collective identity, nationalism and silenced histories. I will then define various aspects of my theoretical approach before delving into the results of my museum observations. It is my hope that this study will enrich existing scholarship by holistically combining several cultural and historical concepts surrounding museums and the construction of identity. The majority of my research focuses on the following topics: memory, museums, and archaeology. It is important to establish an academic foundation for each of these categories before moving to examine Andalusian museums through an inter-disciplinary lens. This research project

will contribute to how these key concepts—culture, history, and identity—can be applied in other culturally produced sites.

MUSEUMS, MEMORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Spanish Context

As a nation, Spain has undergone a plethora of social and political changes over the past century and having a deep impact upon collective memory and national identity. In 1930, the socialist and republican parties signed a pact that began the process of installing a democratic republic in Spain, breaking with their long history of dictatorships. The transition proved to be difficult and complex, resulting in a series of political conflicts and economic depressions that eventually led to the Spanish Civil War (Vincent 2007). During the war, the Nationalists, led by General Francisco Franco, rebelled against the established Republicans who ruled Spain. The Republican regime's centralized government dissolved as the country organized itself into one of two categories: left or right. The Republicans attempted to reassert their central authority throughout the war, but ultimately fell to the Nationalist Party in 1939. The Nationalists established a Fascist dictatorship that lasted for thirty-six years under Franco's authoritarian rule.

Franco's regime had a profound impact on the creation of a divided national Spanish identity. Michael Richards (2000) writes that Franco's rule was aimed at centralization and the creation of an idealized nation and sense of "Spanishness" in Spain. Regions throughout Spain searched for autonomy following the Spanish Civil War

because of the imposed "pure" and centralized identity that Franco promoted. Despite its romanticization and idealization, Franco's nationalism was divisive and resulted in various regions, such as Basque and Valencia, becoming increasingly more radical in their attempts to distinguish themselves as autonomous regions, distinct from the centralized national identity. Another issue discussed by Richards is memory and the conflicts surrounding collective memory to counter the regional cultural genocide promoted during the war. As has been suggested by studies across disciplines, museums forge national identity and collective memory and serve as indicators of dominant political agendas and counter reactions to these agendas. Museums, in this light, can be seen as sites of cultural struggle and cultural hegemony.

Museums: The Production of Historical Consciousness and Collective Memory

In the early 20th century, the concept of collective memory arose within scholarly literature and continues to serve as the foundation of various sociological and anthropological studies exploring memory and identity. Maurice Halbwachs (1925) was influential in exploring the concept of collective memory because he viewed personal memory as inherently situated within a social context, thus establishing it as a social rather than individual phenomenon. According to Ernest van Eck (2011), the definition of collective memory has lost some of its preciseness since Halbwachs' time, but he chooses to adhere to Mario Aguilar's definition of collective memory. Aguilar (2005:61) defines collective memory in terms of social memory:

> an explanatory device, and an interpretive one in most cases, [that] provides the possibility of creating a memory that can be common to a group, and that at the same time embodies a diverse past experience, following the contrarieties of social life.

Due to the insightful connection between individual and collective memory situated

within a particular historical context, this definition will serve as the main definition I

will use throughout my thesis. Additionally, I will supplement this definition and my

analysis with the following: "memories have their own specific grammar, and can be

analyzed as narratives; but they also have functions, and can also be analyzed in a

functionalist manner, as guides, whether uniform or contradictory, to social

identity" (Fentress and Wickham 1992:88). I analyze the narratives produced by

Andalusian museums to develop a better understanding of the region's collective identity.

Many studies have been devoted to applying the concepts of memory within the

contexts of identity, museums, exclusion, urban planning, and collective history. Eduardo

Kingman and Mireya Salgado (2000) apply the concept of memory to the Museo de la

Ciudad de Quito (Museum of the City of Quito), questioning the museum narratives.

They note that "all interpretation is fragmented, partial; it leaves aside other possible

interpretations" (2000:122). Because of this incompleteness, their goal is to critically

examine the perspectives of Quito, its people, and its history as presented in the Museo

de la Ciudad. They note that the city has a preoccupation with preserving and

recuperating memory because "the idea exists that it is being lost and it cannot be

allowed to leave" (Kingman and Salgado 2000:125). This idea—the decline of cultural

memory—underlies the perceived goal of museums: to preserve the collective memory.

Kingman and Salgado, however, question the custodian of this memory and the effects on

the decisions made concerning what to preserve and how to portray it.

Christine Cadot (2010) applies the concept of memory on a larger scale and demonstrates how the concepts of memory and identity may be applied within the context of two history museums: the *Musé de l'Europe* in Brussels and the National Museum of Australia in Canberra. Her study "analyzes how two history museums are projecting a questioning sense of belonging and its problematic relation to a common present through the celebration of a common past" (2010:127). She focuses primarily on national identity and "supra-national" identity and how it applies to the two museums on a larger scale. One point Cadot makes is that the past is often represented in a static and arbitrary manner—establishing a "year zero" where memory begins, and that this often consists of the post-war years (2010:132). This, along with her incorporation of memory and identity in her museum analyses, will be taken into account but applied to individual museums in one particular region of Spain. Just as Cadot nestled national identity within European identity, it is vital to examine Andalusian museums within the larger national context of Spain, as the regional is unequivocally intertwined with the national.

As mentioned, collective memory is never complete, and museums carefully choose which materials to present and how to present them in a way that constructs a particular narrative. The construction of narratives is informed by Raymond Williams' (2001:41) concept of "documentary culture," "in which culture is the body of intellectual and imaginative work, in which, in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded." The diverse recording of human experience creates conflict and privileges certain narratives over others, often revealing misrepresented, marginalized and excluded histories and cultures of particular people. Kingman and

Salgado write, "Memory plays an important role in the formation of the urban imagination, but memory works on par with forgetfulness— in reality the two form part of the same system" (2000:124). One study concerning suppressed histories and identities within museums is Jhon Antón Sánchez's work which details the way in which "the Afro Ecuadorian identity is deliberately excluded from museums spaces that represent the official memory of the Nation," "subordinated," or "folcloricized" (2007:123). Museums portray histories and cultures, providing particular, inherently biased perspectives and selected versions of history. Sánchez argues that because of this role, museums are contested sites of disputes between hegemonic memories and alternative memories, and all memory feeds into individual and collective identity. This conflict between various perspectives in recording human experience occurs in museums universally, including those museums within Andalusia.

Citizenship and Nationalism

The relationship between museums and nationalism is central to this study, and there has been a variety of scholarship devoted to the exploration of nationalism and the creation of nations within the context of museums. Carol Duncan's article "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship" specifically highlights the relationship between museums and citizenship. Duncan opens her discussion by suggesting that museums have become an important component of Western nations because they indicate "political virtue" and a "well-furnished state" (1991:88). Duncan establishes the museum as a ritualized secular institution, complicating the distinction between the religious and the secular that was established during the Enlightenment. She notes that "secular truth has the status of

objective or universal knowledge and functions in our society as higher, authoritative

truth. As such, it helps bind the community as a whole into a civic body, identifying its

highest values, its proudest memories, and its truest truths" (1991:90-91). Museums have

a dual role because they fulfill this secular function of presenting authoritative truth and

knowledge while also acting as ritualized settings. Museums as spaces are said to be

ritualized because of the ceremony, performance, and sense of liminality which they

convey. Duncan applies this approach to her examination of the characteristics and

politics of the Louvre and goes on to discuss the evolution of art museums over the past

several decades, noting the ideals that were established by the Louvre model. One final

conclusion she draws concerning museums as a whole is consistent with other texts and

serves as one of the foundational notions from which I build my analysis of museums:

> Museums can be powerful identity-defining machines. To control a museum
> means precisely to control the representation of a community and some of its
> highest, most authoritative truths. It also means the power to define and rank
> people, to declare some as having a greater share than others in the community's
> common heritage— in its very identity (1991:101-102).

Silenced Histories and Archaeology

Over the years, archaeology has become inextricably linked with museums as

more of an emphasis is placed upon disseminating archaeological findings and involving

the local communities who have an interest in certain projects. Archaeology provides

museums with the cultural materials (and oftentimes interpretations of those materials),

helping to preserve and identify the collective memory of a particular community. Lynn

Meskell (2005:508) addresses the tensions that exist between archaeologists, the

government and the local community in Egypt, regarding the preservation of

archaeological materials and the presentation of marginalized histories. The government traditionally prioritizes the past and the preservation of cultural heritage over the present, however, there are cultural contestations to government representations. The village of Gurna has created its own museum in an attempt to invert those priorities. The Gurna museum accomplishes this task by focusing on the "recent past and architectural traditions rather than focusing on its pharaonic heritage" (2005:508). Meskell also incorporates a discussion of archaeological ethics and responsibilities, noting that archaeology inherently involves local communities, governments providing funding, and other third parties apart from the researcher and the materials.

Pamela Ifeoma Eze-Uzomaka (2000:1) expands upon the relationship between archaeologists and the public, concluding that Nigeria has yet to effectively build this relationship and arrive at a place where archaeologists "practise their profession on behalf of the public to whom the past belongs." Additionally, she argues that it is the responsibility of archaeologists not to preserve a static past, but to continually reinterpret and reconstruct a dynamic past which inherently informs the present. She applies this framework to her study of archaeology in Nigeria, examining the way in which archaeology and heritage are presented to the public. She draws conclusions about museums and the public, the social setting of archaeology, the involvement of the government, indigenous people and oral tradition, existing perceptions of the past, and the role of education. Museums and archaeology do not exist in a vacuum, and they must be analyzed in relation to the public for whom they are intended.

Schmidt and Walz (2010) also highlight the importance of reexamining the way in which archaeology is practiced. They analyze the Western dominance over the field of

historical archaeology in Africa. The purpose of this reexamination is "to expand the way we think about and practice historical archaeology outside of our own historical settings" in order to "develop perspectives that account for the histories of those without writing and those whose histories have been misrepresented" (2010:404). It is important to constantly question archaeological practices so that the field can avoid falling into ethnocentric ways of thinking that exclude the local histories it claims to protect and define. Schmidt and Walz (2010:405) also make the distinction between a dissonant approach and an additive approach to historical archaeology:

> A historical archaeology that incorporates dissonance is one that seeks contradictions, either to established historical narratives or between materiality and other evidence. An additive approach, on the other hand, simply adds to known historiographies, neither contradicting nor significantly altering conventional wisdom.

When analyzing Andalusian museums, it is important to take into account the origins of the archaeological narratives presented, the dissonant or additive approaches utilized, and the portrayal of the field of archaeology. These base concepts of memory and identity, dissonant histories, nationalism, and archaeology serve to inform us of the critical functions museums play in our lives. Through critically analyzing museums in Spain, I hope to build upon the existing literature by combining elements taken from each of these categories to provide a more holistic look at museums within the context of this particular region.

FRAMING MUSEUMS WITHIN IMAGINED COMMUNITIES

Museums and the Production of History

The narratives presented in museums are neither constructed nor consumed in an objective manner that is independent of sociopolitical context. Approaches to the selection and presentation of history have always been fraught with conflict and debate as intellectuals across disciplines have striven to unwrap the complex process of producing histories. Trouillot distinguishes two sides of historicity: what happened and what is said to have happened. In the latter lies a power dynamic that privileges certain narratives over others. In his discussion of the production of history, Trouillot (1995:xix) addresses this element of power and attempts to

> [deal] with the many ways in which the production of historical narratives involves the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such production.

I approach my analysis of Andalusian museums under the premise that the histories presented in these settings are not simply descriptions of static events, but are fluid narratives produced by a particular group within a particular sociocultural context. This perspective is particularly relevant to Andalusian museums because of the region's diverse history. This particular approach to the study of museums paves the way for greater inclusivity in the museum setting by examining power dynamics and the production of narratives.

The premise that histories and narratives are socially produced serves as the foundation of my research question: How does the selection and presentation of histories and cultures in Andalusia's museums reflect and mold the region's identity and sense of nationalism? The tension between a regional Andalusian identity and a national Spanish identity is reflected in the museum setting, demonstrating the strong relationship between

museums and identity. Museums are able to control the types of narratives which are produced, presenting them in ways that shape visitors' understanding of histories, cultures, and their own identities. Due to the power that museums hold over the production of history and of imagined communities (a concept I will define below), it is important to build a theoretical base concerning the role and power of museums in the societies in which they are situated. One purpose of museums as described by Neil MacGregor (2009:39) as he analyzes the British Museum is to allow truth to emerge from material objects—"and not one perpetual truth, but truth as a living, changing thing, constantly remade as hierarchies are subverted, new information comes, and new understandings of societies emerge." It is vital for museums to approach truth that shapes perceptions, memory and identity. MacGregor's statement of purpose for museums serves as the basis of my analysis of Spanish museums as I analyze the ways in which narratives are approached as fluid and flexible narratives within the context of a dynamic truth.

As previously discussed, Carol Duncan also highlights the relationship between museums and truth by establishing museums as ritualized secular institutions. As secular institutions, they are called to present a "higher, authoritative truth" that inspires trust in the audience and serves as a source of knowledge (1991:90). However, museums' ritualistic characteristics such as ceremony, performance and liminality define the space, allowing Duncan to make the comparison between museums and temples. Visitors are engaged in the performance that the museum puts forth and often become performers themselves as they enter into the programmed narratives produced and experience the museum in a routinized manner. A sense of liminality emerges from museums as they are

conceived as spaces which are "carefully marked off and culturally designated as special, reserved for a particular kind of contemplation and learning experience and demanding a spacial quality of attention" (Duncan 1991:91). It is this dual function as secular and ritualized spaces that gives museums the power to shape collective memory and identity. Andalusian museums fulfill each of these roles to some extent and must navigate this line of reasoning to effectively craft narratives of the past.

Imagined Communities

The concepts of collective memory and identity can be applied to a defined group of people who share them. The truths and narratives presented by museums are created for audiences composed of imagined communities in which the institutions are situated. Benedict Anderson (2006:6) describes nations as imagined communities, noting that that they are "imagined" because their inhabitants will never meet all of the other individuals who are members of their society. He posits that nations are "communities" because, "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 2006:7). Within an imagined community, museums play an important role in creating and reinforcing this comradeship, especially in the case of Andalusia situated within the larger context of Spain.

Andalusian museums are varied and their content is diverse, but they commonly emphasize the myriad of cultures which have inhabited the region throughout its history. Largely due to this history, Andalusia's imagined community consists of a unique mix of cultures that becomes even more visible as the region's museums deal with the tension

between establishing Andalusia's "Spanishness" as well its "Andalusianness." It is known

as the birthplace of flamenco, which has become a defining characteristic of Spanish

culture, but despite this key "Spanishness," Andalusia has a different feel than the rest of

Spain.

Much of this cultural uniqueness comes from the region's position as the last

Moorish stronghold of Spain. Granada, the last city under Moorish control, was

conquered at the end of the 15th century during the Reconquista under Ferdinand and

Isabel. The vestiges of northern African culture continue to permeate Andalusian society.

The layout of the old towns of most Andalusian cities, and the Islamic architecture

present throughout the region betray this history that is still so present in the culture

today. I chose to examine museums within this particular imagined community idea

because I am interested in how museums bind together this diverse region through the

presentation of particular narratives and heritages.

Linking Past and Present: Archaeological Evidence as Historical Consciousness

Museums produce narratives by utilizing a wide variety of elements, including

documents, photographs, explanatory wall text, interactive elements, and multimedia

presentations. Each of these components will be taken into consideration in my analysis

of Andalusian museums, but I will focus my attention specifically on the presentation of

archaeological materials because of the way in which these materials can be effectively

utilized to tangibly connect the past and the present. The materials uncovered through

archaeological excavation acquire meaning only though in-depth analysis that either

supplement existing narratives or creates new ones (Eskildsen 2012:35). Museums are

vital to the field of archaeology because they are one of the primary mediums through which archaeology is able to share these narratives with the public in a relevant and relatable manner.

To understand the function of archaeology, the relationship between past and present must first be explored. Pamela Ifeoma Eze-Uzomaka focuses on this relationship between archaeology and heritage and how they are presented to the public in Nigeria. She argues that the past is traditionally seen as an entity with defined limits that is finished—it has been completed. However, the past is in fact continuous and exists in tandem with the present. In her discussion of the past, Eze-Uzomaka (2000:7) writes,

> It exists basically in its connection with the present. It is inextricably linked with the present and cannot exist without the present. On the other hand, the present reaches out to the past for stability and cannot seem to find its roots elsewhere but in the past thus making the past go on without ending.

The past does not contain importance in and of itself, but rather finds its significance in the relationship between the past and present, and it is the responsibility of the archaeologist to negotiate this relationship. Archaeology as a field does not exist to preserve a static past, but rather to "bridge the gap between the past and the present" by continually reinterpreting and reconstructing a dynamic past which inherently informs the present. When fulfilled, archaeology can begin to forge narratives that are more holistic and inclusive while simultaneously emphasizing the relevance of the past in the present. This purpose of archaeology serves as the lens through which I analyze the presentation of archaeological materials in Spanish museums as I explore how the relationship between past and present is dealt with in a museum setting.

ANALYZING MUSEUMS IN ANDALUSIA: History, Methods and Objects

Andalusia's history is defined by the multiplicity of empires and people-groups who have held power in the region, including the Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, Muslims, and Christians. One of the most visible elements that defines the region is its position as the last Moorish stronghold of Spain. It is this dynamic history that first captured my attention, and the way in which this culture-clash is presented within museums was a focal point of my investigation. The museums I observed were chosen primarily on the basis of their subject matter. I focused my attention on local, regional or national history, archaeology, and anthropology museums because these fields deal specifically with narratives, collective memory and identity.

The methods I chose to utilize in my analysis of Andalusian museums focus on three main spheres of information: museum publications, online background research, and qualitative observation of museums. Combining these sources of information allowed me to extract conclusions from specific museums while simultaneously situating these specific examples in the broader context of museum organization and cultural patrimony of Andalusia. However, the bulk of my preliminary research relied on the analysis of online resources provided by the museums and government of Andalusia. First, I compiled a comprehensive list of museums based on the resources available to analyze the number of institutions that devote their resources to particular genres, topics, and eras. This provided an introduction to the regions' values and identities as they are presented in the museum setting before beginning more in-depth research concerning specific narratives.

Second, I focused my attention on the mission statements, online exhibits, and subject matter of selected museums through their websites to determine the museums' goals and resources. This research allowed me to identify the histories, cultures and eras that tend to be emphasized, which helped to provide insight into the values of Andalusia. It also served to illuminate the goals, resources, and inner-workings of the institutions, and how they promote particular representations of nationalism and of regional identities and histories. Lastly, I focused a portion of this preliminary research on the Junta de Andalucía (the regional government of Andalusia) and their approaches to the conservation of cultural patrimony to contextualize individual museums and their place within this larger museum system.

Online resources and museum publications provided a limited amount of information, particularly in terms of determining the specific ways in which information and artifacts are presented. Additionally, the majority of museums do not have current and comprehensive websites that contain the information necessary for my analysis. Therefore, the next stage of my research was the fieldwork portion of the project, relying extensively on observation: I visited and observed a total of twenty-six museums dispersed throughout Andalusia—at least one museum in each of its eight provinces. Observing the museums for myself was vital in obtaining first-hand knowledge of how particular narratives are presented. The concepts and histories that museums present are more than the objects and the information themselves—they are composed of a multi-sensory experience that cannot be fully understood without viewing them within the spacial context of the institutions that house them. When observing the museums, I

examine the following factors: location, subject matter, exhibit design, language, discourse, and community or educational programming. These factors helped to reveal the intended audience (e.g. tourists vs. locals) and the privileged histories. These qualitative observations allowed me to inductively draw conclusions and identify emerging patterns related to museums' role in shaping imagined communities.

ANDALUSIAN MUSEUMS

Cultural Heritage in Andalusia

As previously established, museums serve three important goals: to preserve a community's cultural heritage, to promote a community's cultural heritage, and to shape and bring to life its relationship with a society's identity. These goals may occur on a small scale within subgroups or cities, or may occur on a larger scale within regions and nations. Andalusia's museums are no exception. It is important to analyze the construction of cultural identity within museums and to examine their short-term and long-term goals. I visited a total of twenty-six museums throughout Andalusia, chosen primarily on the basis of subject matter—I chose museums that contained exhibits focusing on the history, archaeology, ethnography, and cultural heritage of some facet of Andalusia. This includes broader museums that detail long histories of multiple people-groups, or that cover a wide geographical range. My sample also includes more specialized museums that focus on very specific historical moments, themes, or events. I did not include art museums. I focused nearly all of my research on the capital cities of each province and chose the museums based on their visibility in the city's tourism

materials and based upon the themes of their exhibits. I set forth the first requirement because of practical research limitations, access to the information, and because the museums included in city materials are the most likely to be seen as representing that city and its identity.

The museums in my sample can be organized into one of the following four categories: archaeology museums, history museums, ethnographic museums, and cultural interpretation centers. Separating museums into distinct categories allows for a more in-depth analysis of museums with similar goals without over-individualizing institutions in a way that eludes relevant anthropological analysis. It is no easy task to label museums in such a broad manner due to the variety of content and focuses that they contain; however, for the purposes of this study I have labeled each museum based upon what appears to be the primary focus of the museum based upon its mission statement. In the following section, I will define each category and synthesize the information, illustrating broad trends by focusing on a few specific examples. A full list of the museums included in my observations is included in Appendix A.

The Junta de Andalucía serves as the broadest form of organization under which museums may function and plays a small part in all but three of the museums. The government devotes a great deal of attention and resources to the preservation of cultural heritage, as evidenced by the large amount of information that is readily available on their website. This information is not constrained to any one form of heritage and covers topics such as restoration, conservation, intervention, immaterial cultural heritage, architecture, and underwater archaeology. This diffusion of information is made relevant and tangible

by the number and variety of museums, tourist centers, monuments, restoration projects

and other forms of heritage the Junta de Andalucía supports. This organization plays a

role in the formation and dissemination of museum information in Spain, although it is

not the only government agency involved in cultural affairs.

The Consejería de Cultura (Regional Ministry of Culture) organizes a wide

variety of cultural events, oversees various conservation and cultural patrimony related

projects, and plays a central role in the management of nineteen museums throughout

Andalusia; I observed seven of these nineteen museums. Museums not included in this

list for the most part include the Consejería de Cultura among their list of sponsors, but

the nineteen museums in the consortium are more exclusive because the available

pamphlets and other information is more standardized and the Consejería de Cultura is

the only listed sponsor. In the standardized pamphlets, each museum details their

individual histories, exhibit content, and goals but also includes a letter addressed to the

visitor from the Regional Ministry of Culture of the Junta de Andalucía. It states that the

museums:

> welcome all those who wish to learn more about our homeland and our heritage
> through their collections and organised activities. This artistic, archaeological and
> ethnographic heritage reflects the way we were and how we have become what
> we are today. Through their exhibitions and activities, the institutions show what
> we aspire to be in the future.

The Consejería de Cultura not only works to preserve the region's cultural

heritage but also strives to spread awareness concerning the concept of heritage itself.

This educational effort establishes and reinforces the importance of cultural institutions

such as museums, thus elevating their relevance within Andalusia. The Consejería de

Cultura's attitude towards cultural heritage is epitomized in the following statement

appearing on their webpage:

> The concept of heritage is a subjective and dynamic one. It does not depend on objects or assets, but on the values that society attributes to it at any time of the history which also determines which assets must be protected and preserved for the future (Junta de Andalucía: *Patrimonio cultural*).

This statement recognizes the fact that histories and cultural representations are produced

and are subjective and fraught with societal influences such as power relationships,

hegemony, and political agendas. Determining which assets to protect and preserve is a

key component of identity construction and one of the primary purposes of this thesis is

to explore the way in which museums' selection and presentation of materials construct

Andalusian identity.

The next level of governmental organization situated within the Ministry of

Culture that influences the management of museums is el Instituto Andaluz de patrimonio

histórico (IAPH), or the Andalusian Historical Heritage Institute. According to their

website,

> The Andalusian Historical Heritage Institute (IAPH) is the scientific body of the Andalusian Ministry of Culture that has been working on cultural heritage since 1989.
>
> This public agency is a centre that comprises all the cultural heritage disciplines: historical heritage research, documentation, cultural assets preservation, historical heritage restoration, spreading and training in heritage, among others (Junta de Andalucía: *El Instituto:¿Qué es?*).

El Centro de Bienes Culturales y Patrimonio Mundial (CBC-PM), or the Center of

Cultural Assets and World Heritage, is located in Málaga and focuses on the history of

the IAPH and the goals of the organization: to preserve and promote Andalusia's cultural

heritage. It features various panels devoted to discussing the definition and importance of cultural heritage and then transitions to the role and history of the IAPH, continually looking towards the future of heritage preservation. The centrality of the history of heritage to Andalusian identity within museums will be expanded upon later, but it is important to keep this concept in mind as the discussion moves forward. In the following sections I will outline the results of my observations, organized by museum category.

Archaeology Museums

Each province of Andalusia, and indeed, nearly every major city, contains at least one archaeology museum. They are categorized as such because archaeological materials serve as the primary focus of their exhibits. Two key aspects of these museums that lend themselves to the molding of Andalusian identity are the following: 1. the presentation of the archaeological process and their incorporation of archaeological sites, and 2. the emphasis on classical archaeology. The time span covered in each museum varied, beginning as early as the Paleolithic Age and continuing as late as the Modern Era. Pottery, household wares and ceremonial objects were the most common and nearly every museum contained a display meant to provide insight into the archaeological process (see *Figure 1*). For example, El Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba (the Cordoba Archaeology Museum) rests on a Roman theater, offering a unique opportunity to illustrate the archaeological process. At one point during the walk through the site, a projected line repeatedly outlines the archaeological strata present in the wall, labeling each layer and providing information about the archaeological process and their findings

(see *Figure 2*). These types of displays move beyond merely conveying information as they delve into the processes used in gathering and analyzing that information.

One of the common features of the eight observed archaeology museums is that their exhibits begin their exhibits with prehistory, illustrating the early development of human society in the Iberian Peninsula with archaeological artifacts and extensive informational panels and reconstructions. El Museo de Almería (the Almería Museum) contains one of the most extensive prehistory sections and focused on the development of tools, agriculture and social organization via informational text, archaeological artifacts, and large dioramas. This emphasizes the longevity of human activity on the Iberian Peninsula and establishes a sense of deep history from the start of the exhibits. The prevalence of prehistory sections within the archaeological museums reveals its importance to the archaeological heritage of Andalusia along with its centrality in establishing deep roots within Andalusian cultural identity.

Five of the eight archaeology museums I observed emphasized classical archaeology, devoting at least half of the exhibit space to this particular era of Andalusia's material past. This includes materials connected to Phoenician, Greek and Roman cultures, although Roman materials appear the most frequently. Three of these five museums are either housed in classical-era buildings or incorporate archaeological sites pertaining to Roman or Phoenician culture, thus providing an even stronger emphasis on this time period. For example, El Museo Arqueológico de Almuñécar is housed within La Cueva de Siete Palacios, a Roman structure, and the entirety of its exhibit is devoted to Phoenician, Greek and especially Roman culture. This particular

museum does not operate within the Consejería de Cultura consortium, and it offered the least amount of wall text and the least extensive object labels of the eight observed museums. The museum takes full advantage of its surroundings by arranging objects and display cases in a manner that complements La Cueva de Siete Palacios, creating an environment that incorporates the visitor in the experience, despite the deficit of educational materials.

El Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (the Seville Archaeology Museum) serves as an excellent example of a museum with an emphasis on classical archaeology although the building itself does not incorporate any archaeological sites. Exhibits focusing on the Roman Empire cover approximately half of the total museum floor space, and other time periods include: Paleolithic to the Bronze Age, pre-Roman cultures, late Antiquity, and Medieval and Modern Ages. This museum is not alone in its emphasis on Classical Archaeology, and the wealth of archaeological materials available from this time period is extensive, suggesting that this aspect of Andalusian history holds a place of importance in the establishment of the region's identity. Having provided a description of museums with an emphasis on archaeology, I will now discuss the history museums.

History Museums

Every museum that I observed incorporated some amount of local history, but museums explicitly labeled "history museums" include those that emphasize historical events and processes in their exhibits and mission statements and limit the majority of their archaeological content. Twelve of the twenty-six observed museums fall under this category. These museums can be broad, spanning long periods of time and covering a

wide variety of eras and peoples within Andalusia (such as El Museo de la Memoria de Andalucía), but the majority focus on one specific era, theme, or culture. For example, la Casa de Sefarad (The Sephardi House) in the city of Cordoba is wholly devoted to conveying the history and culture of Sephardic Jews in Andalusia and specifically in Cordoba. Within this framework, one of the primary themes of the museum is the Inquisition and its effects on the Jewish population of Andalusia.

Another common theme that arose in the history museums is reflected in El Museo de la Memoria de Andalucía where one focus is the multiplicity of cultures that have inhabited the region of Andalusia throughout its history, although the presentation of this diversity varies from museum to museum. Major cultural groups that are common among Andalusia's museums include: Iberians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, Byzantines, Romani, Catholics and Muslims. The history museums tend to focus the majority of their attention either on Andalusia's history before or after the Reconquista. This approach to history and the emphasis on the historical diversity of the region influences the projection and perception of Andalusian identity and relegates certain cultural groups (such as Northern Africans) to the past.

The most extensive history museum that I visited is El Museo de la Memoria de Andalucía in Granada. The museum is composed of four rooms divided into the following categories: diversity of landscapes, land and cities, ways of life, and art and culture. Each of these rooms utilizes a range of resources to craft an interactive experience for the visitor and convey information that require various degrees of participation from the visitor. Each room contains an interactive map that allows the

visitor to select specific regions and cities of Andalusia, providing geographical, political, economic, and social information for each selection and focusing on the specific theme that defines the room. The second element in each room is a large timeline displaying signifiant events accompanied by photos ranging from 500 B.C.E. to 2009 C.E. The "Layers and Landscapes of History" are located opposite the timeline and are composed of a long three-dimensional model roughly mirroring the geographical layout of Andalusia. The surface is made up of cubes representing various ecological properties of the region in which it is located. These cubes are interspersed with objects, informational text, and interactive activities pertaining to that region and to the overarching theme of the room. A long video screen serves as the background for this display and brings to life many of the stationary images present throughout the landscapes. An element that makes this museum unique is the "Leading Figures of History" displays in each of the rooms at the museum. These displays allow the visitor to hear short personal narratives from fictional figures of various time periods, cultures, socioeconomic statuses, ages and genders that shed light on some small aspect of Andalusian society.

This museum is one of the region's newest museums and is the largest and most interactive history museum in my sample. The various lenses through which the museum approaches history, and the wide variety of interactive elements represent key components of the new museology, directed by the Junta de Andalucía. This type of interactive museum model allows history to come to life in a hands-on and personal manner, and is accessible to a wider range of visitors, offering a more holistic look at

Andalusian history and identity. Other museums focus on the everyday life of people and present a more cultural focus, leaning more towards an ethnographic approach.

Ethnographic Museums

Ethnographic museums are those focusing on the lives and customs of people groups and displaying ethnographic objects related to daily life and culture. The three ethnographic museums I observed illustrate a variety of aspects of daily life in Andalusia, all of which are central to molding the visitor's perception of the region's cultural identity. Exhibits featuring objects pertaining to the daily lives of people from multiple socioeconomic backgrounds are common, offering windows into the lives of groups such as farmers, aristocratic families, and middle-class laborers. The museums categorizing themselves as "traditional arts and customs" focus primarily on life during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The following statement made by El Museo de Artes y Costumbres Populares (the Seville Museum of Traditional Arts and Customs) in their informational pamphlet epitomizes the overarching goals of these ethnographic museums:

> [This museum] is part of the network of museums devoted to researching and disseminating our anthropological and ethnographic heritage. Spanish law protects this type of legacy, which is not limited purely to objects that can be displayed in a museum, but also includes the study and recording of the living knowledge and customs that perpetuate the traditional heritage of our daily lives.

Following this goal, each museum displays a wide variety of ethnographic items in an effort to paint a picture of daily life in Andalusia, incorporating elements central to the creation of regional identity. El Museo de Artes y Costumbres Populares de Sevilla is the most extensive ethnographic museum includes the following exhibit categories: the

functions of domestic furniture, the functions of domestic equipment, types of domestic containers, traditional crafts, pottery and tile manufacture, pottery manufacturing centers and uses of common ware, La Cartuja, weapons and firearms, metalworking, food preparation techniques and implements for domestic slaughter, weights and measures, lace and embroidery, reconstruction of the "Díaz Velázquez" family house, clothing, work, popular religion, and the rural house. This extensive list reflects a wide variety of aspects of the daily lives of Andalusians and, although there is some variation, is fairly consistent among the three ethnographic museums.

As suggested by the listed exhibit categories, El Museo de Artes y Costumbres Populares de Sevilla displays ethnographic materials from various socioeconomic strata to present the most complete picture of life in Andalusia at the turn of the century. One of the most significant portions of the museum is devoted to the Díaz Velázquez collection, donated to the museum in 1979 and containing pieces belonging to the affluent Velázquez family (household objects as well as objects belonging to their private collection). Two rooms in the museum contain reconstructions of various rooms within the Velázquez family home, providing excellent insight into the daily lives of an upper middle class family at the turn of the century. However, the museum does not only present bourgeois living—it also includes exhibits portraying rural life as well as lower middle class life in Andalusia. Many of these exhibits focus on production, whether that be of traditional arts and crafts, food, clothing or household goods. El Museo de Artes y Costumbres Populares de Málaga (the Málaga Museum of Traditional Arts and Customs) contains similar ethnographic categories and also has a focus on production. This museum has a more

significant emphasis on rural life at the turn of the century and contains displays

concerning the production of wine and olive oil—two of Spain's most important imports

and two products which tend to be linked strongly with "Spanishness" and Mediterranean

culture more broadly. The production of ceramics, olive oil and wine were three common

categories within ethnographic museums, suggesting that these products and the

artisanship associated with their production is an important aspect of Andalusian identity,

past and present.

Overall, the museums were able to present aspects of daily life from a variety of

socioeconomic classes, but overlooked cultural diversity and foreign influence on

Andalusia. In determining which aspects of Andalusian life and culture to exhibit as

"traditional," ethnographic museums pass value judgements on those aspects. Integral

elements of daily life may be deemed unworthy of a place in the museum while others are

considered definitive of the Andalusian experience. For example, the production of

ceramics, olive oil and wine is central to Andalusian identity and is a feature that is

considered worthy of preserving and exhibiting, thus privileging this particular aspect of

life over others that may be equally important. Another important type of museum that

builds upon traditional museum models is the cultural interpretation center.

Cultural Interpretation Centers

Cultural interpretation centers are a distinct category of museum because of the

way that they utilize a variety of lenses to view their communities. One important lens is

to connect the past and present while continuously looking toward the future. These

centers are often linked with a city's tourism center and tend to be concerned specifically

with that particular city, rarely venturing further than the community's immediate surroundings. They contain few objects and are easily identifiable by the large amount of wall text, dioramas, videos, interactive tools, and other elements devoted to the dissemination of information. Each of the three cultural interpretation centers in my sample offer a unique lens in examining Andalusian identity because of their emphasis on the present and because they oftentimes serve as an introduction to the city.

Although each center is unique, the cultural interpretation center in Almuñécar, a town on the coast of the Granada province, serves as an excellent example of the overarching structure of these institutions. The museum is called Claves de Almuñécar: 3000 años de historia (Keys to Almuñécar: 3000 years of history) and is located within La Casa de Cultura. La Casa de Cultura is a cultural hub containing the museum, a theater, a restaurant, classrooms, and spaces for theater workshops and other educational resources. The museum itself is divided into four sections: history and culture, customs and traditions, the tropical world, and tourism. The history section begins by giving an overview of the long history of the city, which has been inhabited for over three thousand years. This portion features large panels containing timelines and informational text along with multi-media displays meant to bring history to life. The three interactive displays project three-dimensional images of a primary character who narrates information concerning the history and culture of the Phoenecians, the Romans and the Muslims in the region in a more personalized manner.

The second section of the museum focuses on the customs and traditions of Almuñécar as it exists today. It occasionally takes a more historical perspective as it

explores folklore and the roots of certain modern traditions such as Semana Santa (Holy or Easter Week). This room features a large video display showing a wide range of images of festivals and holidays specific to Almuñécar. Fishing, artisanship and folklore are other themes dealt with under this category, and although it is not as in-depth as the ethnographic museums, it provides good insight into the key cultural elements that distinguish Almuñécar from other cities in the region.

A section on the environment is common among cultural interpretation centers and Claves de Almuñécar is no exception. It explores various plants, fruits and animals native to the region before delving into topics of conservation, diet, tourism and their relationships with the economy. This room is filled with colorful panels portraying various aspects of the natural world offset by informational text.

The final section of the museum brings all of the previous elements together and examines Almuñécar through the lens of tourism. It highlights the aspects of Almuñécar's history, environment and culture that distinguish the town and increase its appeal to tourists. The most significant aspect of this section of the museum is the interactive screen that provides several layers of information about various aspects of Almuñécar. Visitors are able to explore the city's history, cuisine, tourist attractions, music scene and cultural heritage through the medium of photographs, videos, personal stories and informational text. These screens along with the interactive three-dimensional displays earlier in the museum help the visitor become more than a passive observer. Interactive elements encourage visitors to engage with the exhibit content in a way that resonates with them and caters to their specific interests by allowing them to choose to delve

deeper into particular topics. Each cultural interpretation center is distinct, but loosely

follows this basic model. They bring together various aspects, past and present, of the

culture and encourage visitors to become active participants and discover more for

themselves as they examine Andalusian communities through a variety of lenses.

Each category and analysis of the content of the museums and cultural centers

will be used to provide the foundation for a theoretical discussion on the presentation of

identity and nationalism in Andalusian museums. This analysis will discuss issues related

to nationalism, regionalism, the roles of archaeology, tradition, and critical cultural

studies. The goal is to examine the ways human beings with special interests select a

particular cultural periods, structure of feeling, and documentary culture to highlight.

THE PRESENTATION OF ANDALUSIAN IDENTITY

Regionalism Supersedes Nationalism

My primary research question was concerned with the way that Andalusian

museums produced a sense of identity and nationalism through their exhibits. By

analyzing the content of museum exhibitions within my sample, I conclude that cultural

regionalism supersedes cultural nationalism. Not one museum in my sample focuses on

Spain as a whole, and a small handful emphasize Andalusia. Every other museum

emphasizes the history and heritage of their own city or province and utilizes language

and themes focused on Spain to situate themselves within a broader context. For

example, archaeology museums such as el Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba derive the

majority of their artifacts either from the immediate area (e.g. the city of Cordoba) or

from their province (e.g. the province of Cordoba). Cultural Interpretation Centers, such as Claves de Almuñécar and el Centro de Interpretación in Arcos de la Frontera, heavily emphasize the cultural, historical and ecological factors that make their city or province unique. This focus on distinguishing a particular city or province from the rest of Andalusia and especially from the rest of Spain repeatedly emerged throughout my observations and reveals the importance of regionalism over nationalism in post-Franco Andalusia.

Archaeology and Deep History

In addition to establishing a long history of archaeological research, these museums strive to establish a sense of deep history through the presentation of prehistoric and classic archaeological artifacts. These two factors—the amount of time an area has been inhabited and the subsequent presence of classical cultures—are the primary emphasis of each archaeology museum in my sample. A sense of identity is derived from the establishment of "Andalusian Roots" (exhibit title in el Museo de Jaén) and through the presentation of archaeological artifacts dating back to prehistory. In fact, many museums not just within the archaeology category market themselves in this manner. The cultural interpretation center in Almuñécar conveys the idea of age through the second half of its name: 3000 años de historia (3000 years of history). Immediately presenting Almuñécar as a city which has been inhabited for such a long period of time distinguishes it from other cities and provides credibility and a stronger sense of established identity rooted in the past. The same trend can be seen across museum categories and is particularly prevalent in archaeological museums.

The reliance on classical archaeology that includes artifacts from Roman, Greek and Phoenician cultures plays an equally important role in establishing a rooted Andalusian identity. As previously discussed, these artifacts tend to be given more exhibit space than all other cultures and time periods, thus infusing classical cultures with more cultural value. Classical cultures are viewed as being wellsprings of philosophy, fine art, theater and many forms of "high" culture that are so valued in modern society. Museums that heavily associate Andalusia with these societies inherently associate themselves with "high" culture, a central aspect of Andalusian identity particularly within the context of western society and of increasing cultural tourism.

Andalusian museums are not confined to simply presenting a deep past with established roots, but also construct identity by establishing a history of preserving heritage. In archaeology museums this occurs through the presentation of the archaeological histories and processes (see *Figures 1 & 2*). Museums would highlight specific sites, archaeologists and methods to establish archaeology as a field, and legitimize the displayed artifacts and their interpretations. This approach creates an association between the museum and an academic approach to preserving cultural heritage. This cultural focus manifests itself in other categories by emphasizing various governmental and private efforts to preserve cultural heritage. Establishing Andalusia as a region that highly values its cultural heritage gives manifestations of that heritage (e.g. museums, historical buildings, etc.) more value and helps to define Andalusia as a sophisticated region which is willing to expend any number of resources to preserve and promote this valuable heritage.

"Traditional" Andalusian Culture and Dissonant Approaches

The concept of identity is nuanced and complex, but heritage and tradition have always played central roles in establishing familial, regional and national identities. Defining "traditional" Andalusian culture is a key step in the identity-building process as these aspects of culture become those with which the Andalusian population is assumed to identify. This phenomenon was demonstrated most clearly in the ethnographic museums that market themselves (in both online and print resources such as pamphlets) as being preservers of "traditional" Andalusian culture. In each case, this "traditional" culture referred to the arts, customs and livelihoods of Spaniards living in Andalusia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The "traditional arts and customs" museums that compose the majority of the ethnographic sample deal almost exclusively with this era, presenting it as the basis for contemporary Andalusian culture. This standard establishes a purely Andalusian identity and excludes customs and traditions which do not conform to this established identity. Marginalized cultures are represented in specialized museums such as la Casa de Sefarad but have no presence in museums attempting to portray "traditional" Spanish culture. Mention of "outside" cultures such as Jews and Northern Africans is relegated to history museums, thus placing these communities firmly in Andalusia's past without addressing their modern significance.

The *Gitanos* (the Spanish Roma/Gypsy population) present an interesting case study dealing with cultural inequality and would provide an excellent topic for future research within the museums. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1997) explores the inequalities that are often produced by the production of history, noting that each choice concerning

presented material is deliberate, including the decisions made concerning which histories

are bypassed. By establishing the concept of "mentions," Trouillot notes that both the

mere mentioning and the silencing of particular versions and aspects of history are active

processes that both succeed in marginalizing and suppressing those narratives (1995:48).

Narratives produced about *Gitanos* in the museum setting are largely composed of

"mentions" that primarily relate to their contributions to Andalusian culture, particularly

to flamenco music. Only two museums, el Museo cuevas del Sacromonte (The

Sacromonte Cave Museum) and el Museo de la Memoria de Andalucía, prominently

feature the *Gitanos* in a way that moves beyond mere mentions. El Museo cuevas del

Sacromonte strives to provide a glimpse into the daily lives of *Gitanos* living in the caves

of the Sacromonte (one of Granada's neighborhoods), still with an element of

romanticization but delving deeper than the mere mentions which appear in other

museums. A temporary exhibit in el Museo de la Memoria de Andalucía was unique in

providing the most comprehensive look at *Gitano* culture, history, representations in the

popular media and ended by examining their place in contemporary Spanish

communities. Although stereotypes and romanticization continue to define

representations of this particular population, dissonant approaches are being employed

that emphasize the culture of their daily lives (rather than focusing entirely upon

flamenco or nomadic tendencies) and that begin to address the marginalization and

oppression they continue to face.

Cultural hegemony can be created and sustained by dominant narratives but can

be combatted by dissonant approaches and alternative narratives that challenge existing

assumptions. For example, museums like la Casa de Sefarad provide visitors with alternative approaches to history and culture. La Casa de Sefarad and el Castillo de San Jorge are key examples of dissonant approaches to the dominant, hegemonic narrative and both museums heavily emphasized the Inquisition to achieve their goals. El Castillo de San Jorge is defined by an attempt to draw attention to the "value judgements" and "abuses of power." This focuses on actions taken during the Inquisition and pointedly challenges the visitor to consider these concepts with respect to their own lives. In this way, el Castillo de San Jorge not only strives to draw attention to aspects of Spain's past that are often minimized in dominant narratives, but it actively connects the past with the present in an effort to prevent history from repeating itself. The same trend can be seen in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, as their websites describes the institution as "a living memorial to the Holocaust, [the museum] inspires citizens and leaders worldwide to confront hatred, prevent genocide, and promote human dignity" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). In a similar vein, the Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center's mantra is "Remember the past, transform the future" (Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center). El Castillo de San Jorge, along with both of the Holocaust museums, use collective memory, dissonant approaches to the past, and connections with the audience to achieve the same end goals: 1. commemorate the victims of past wrongs, and 2. "promote human dignity" in the face of existing power structures to prevent similarly blatant violations of human rights from occurring in the future.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of my research, I was able to address my original research question: How does the selection and presentation of history and culture in Andalusia's museums reflect and mold the region's identity and sense of nationalism? This is a complex topic that cannot be answered from a single perspective, but it is my hope that this thesis will add another strand of analysis to the anthropological tapestry that attempts to paint a fuller picture of the role of museums in crafting and reflecting identity.

Andalusian museums tend to construct the region's (or imagined community's) collective identity from three primary sources: the promotion of the local and regional over the national, the establishment of a deep past (one that emphasizes the classical world) and a history of preserving that past, and the defining of what is and is not considered "traditional." Identity, history and memory are malleable concepts subject to the same power dynamics and subjectivity as the rest of society. It is important to analyze the way that museums go about navigating the construction of these concepts to ensure continued relevance and to reduce hegemonic tendencies arising from the exclusion, misrepresentation, or romanticization of particular groups. Refusing to allow the hegemonic, dominant narratives of the past to be presented as the only narratives is vital in the fight for empowerment and equality in the present.

This active connection between the past and the present, such as the one created by el Castillo de San Jorge, is vital if museums are to continue to occupy a relevant place within modern society. Many museums construct a sense of identity by establishing a deep past and associating Andalusia with "cultured" classical societies. They also tend to

present the past in a static manner, relying entirely on preexisting assumptions and associations (such as associating high culture with ancient Greek society) for relevance in the modern world. To become more dynamic and foster more relevant relationships between exhibit material and contemporary society, it is necessary for museums to present a past that constantly encourages the visitor to examine the present and think about the future. Museums following the general model of the cultural interpretation centers exhibit the past (in the form of interactive displays, archaeological artifacts, information panels, etc.) in conjunction with the present. This approach makes the preservation of collective memory a more dynamic and relevant endeavor. Additionally, it is vital to recognize the selective nature of the production of history so that steps can be made to minimize the power of a single, authoritative narrative by incorporating alternative narratives. Creating a strong and active relationship between the past and the present and allowing for a wide variety of narratives to be diffused in a museum setting will greatly increase the relevance and potency of museums in communities today.

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APPENDIX

Table 1
List of museums observed

Province/Museum	City	Type/Content	Management/Listed Sponsors
Almería			
Museo de Almería	Almería	Archaeology	Consejería de Cultura
Cádiz			
Museo taller litográfico	Cádiz	History; history of the printing press	Ayuntamiento de Cádiz, Delegación Municipal de Cultura
Museo de las cortes de Cádiz	Cádiz	History; 18th and 19th century history in Cádiz, especially the Constituent Assembly and Constitution	Ayuntamiento de Cádiz, Delegación Municipal de Cultura
Torre de Poniente	Cádiz	Archaeology; Phonecian burial site and roman sanctuary; 8th century B.C.E. to 18th century C.E.	Consejería de Cultura (not part of consortium), FEDER
Centro de interpretación	Arcos de la Frontera	Cultural interpretation center	Consejería de Cultura (not part of consortium), Ayuntamiento de Arcos de la Frontera, Pueblos Blancos, Sierra de Cádiz, FEDER
Córdoba			
Conjunto arqueológico de Madinat al-Zahra	Córdoba	Archaeology	Consejería de Cultura (not part of consortium)

Province/Museum	City	Type/Content	Management/Listed Sponsors
Casa de sefarad	Córdoba	History; history of Sephardic Jews in Andalusia, Inquisition	Private
Catedral de Córdoba	Córdoba	History	UNESCO; Patrimonio Mundial, Consejería de Cultura (not part of consortium)
Museo arqueológico	Córdoba	Archaeology	Consejería de Cultura
Torre de la Calahorra (Museo vivo de al-Andalus)	Córdoba	History	Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, Fundación Paradigma Córdoba
Huelva			
Museo de Huelva	Huelva	Archaeology & fine arts	Consejería de Cultura
Granada			
Museo San Juan de Dios	Granada	History; religious and biographical content surrounding the life and person of San Juan de Dios	Fundación Albaicín Granada
Museo de la Casa de los Tiros	Granada	History; history of la Casa de los Tiros and of Granada	Consejería de Cultura
Museo cuevas del Sacromonte (Centro de Interpretación del Sacromonte)	Granada	Ethnographic; culture of the Sacromonte, particularly focusing on life in the caves	Vaivén-Paraíso

Province/Museum	City	Type/Content	Management/Listed Sponsors
Museo CajaGranada Memoria de Andalucía	Granada	History; history, culture, landscape of Andalusia	Caja Granada Fundación
Museo de la Alhambra	Granada	History; history of the Alhambra	Consejería de Cultura (not part of consortium but included on the "Portal de Museos" webpage), Patrimonio Mundial, Alhambra Cervezas
Museo arqueológico	Almuñécar	Archaeology	Unknown
Claves de Almuñécar (Casa de cultura)	Almuñécar	Cultural interpretation center	Unknown
Jaén			
Museo de Jaén	Jaén	Archaeology;	Consejería de Cultura
Archivo histórico provincial	Jaén	History; historical archive	Consejería de Cultura (not part of consortium)
Málaga			
Museo de artes populares	Málaga	Ethnographic; focus on the daily lives of the people of Málaga at the end of the 19th century	Unicaja Fundación
Centro de bienes culturales y patrimonio mundial/Museo del puerto	Málaga	Interpretation center; cultural patrimony in Andalusia, IAPH	IAPH
Sevilla			
Museo de artes y costumbres populares	Sevilla	Ethnographic	Consejería de Cultura

| Province/Museum	City	Type/Content	Management/Listed Sponsors
Museo arqueológico	Sevilla	Archaeology	Consejería de Cultura
Castillo de San Jorge	Sevilla	History; the Inquisition; the Castle of Saint George	Turismo de Sevilla, Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Sevilla Plan Turístico, Confederación de Empresarios de Sevilla; Consejería de Cultura (not part of consortium)
Museo de Santiponce	Santiponce	History; archaeology (Itálica) portion of museum closed for renovations, focus on San Isidoro del Campo Monastery	Turismo Andaluz, Ruta Bética Romana, Fondo Europeo de Desarrollo Regional Comunidad Europea; Consejería de Cultura (not part of consortium)
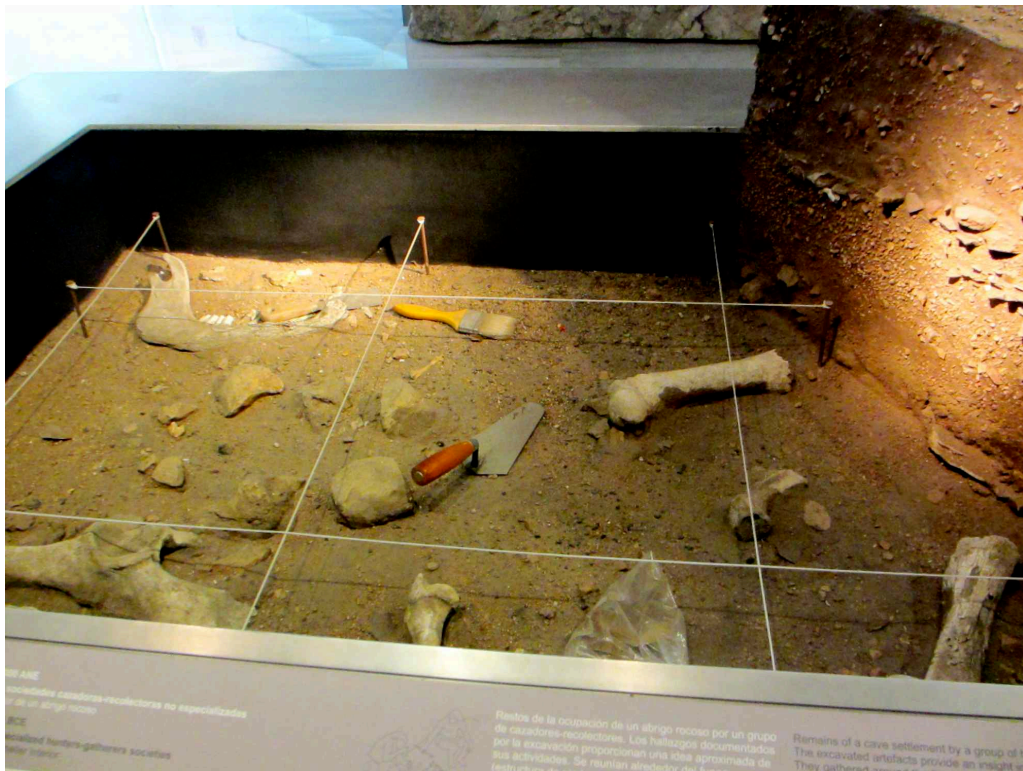
Figure 1: El museo de Almería
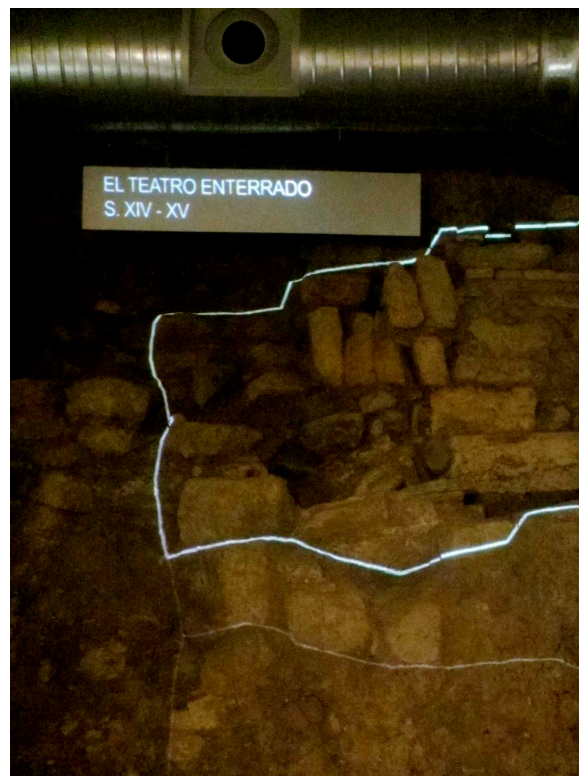
Figure 2: El museo arqueológico de Córdoba