

PATRIMONY, THE CONCEPT, THE OBJECT, THE MEMORY, AND THE PALIMPSEST A View from the History of Architecture

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There seems to be a gap between French and English perspectives on heritage and/or patrimony. This is especially the case in architectural history, where "heritage" is this old thing that architectural historians have to document and to safeguard. From this standpoint, heritage may be a finality, a challenge, or a fact; certainly not an academic subject of its own. There is therefore a discontinuity between heritage theory—which mostly comes out of international forums of expert practitioners—and heritage practice, even larger between academic literature in French and English. This article partly aims at filling that gap by trying to understand what is heritage, or patrimony, or *patrimoine*, and how it can be studied, today, from a truly cross-cultural perspective.

In trying to grasp the French-language and English-language academic traditions, I will begin by explaining, through a brief epistemological overview of heritage research, the line of thought that led me to develop the concept of "patrimonial memory."¹ More specifically, I would like to reflect on the purposes and conceptual tools of Canadian heritage studies. The goal of this brief presentation is therefore to build a bridge of sorts between the reasons for studying the history of architecture and the reasons for studying heritage over time, that is, following the thread that weaves together the stories of objects and the stories of the ideas attached to them and us. There is therefore nothing revolutionary about my proposal here, because I'll be considering *le patrimoine*, and more specifically, the "historical monument," that is the origin and essence of the concept, from



FIG. 1. PLACE-ROYALE, QUÉBEC CITY, BEFORE AND AFTER ITS EXTENSIVE RESTORATION IN THE 1960S AND 1970S. | BIBLIOTHÈQUE ET ARCHIVES NATIONALES DU QUÉBEC; AND LUCIE K. MORISSET.



FIG. 2. PORT-ROYAL (NOVA SCOTIA), A RECONSTRUCTION OF EARLY 17TH-CENTURY BUILDINGS INITIATED IN 1939, FOLLOWING THE CRISIS, AS BOTH AN EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM AND A PRESERVATION CAMPAIGN. IT IS NOW KNOWN TO SOME PEOPLE AS A "LANDMARK IN CANADA'S PRESERVATION MOVEMENT." | LUC NOPPEN.



FIG. 3. LOUISBOURG NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE OF CANADA IS NOW KNOWN AS "THE LARGEST RECONSTRUCTED 18TH-CENTURY FRENCH FORTIFIED TOWN IN AMERICA"; PARCS CANADA WHO MANAGES THE SITE HAS PUT UP AN EXHIBITION ABOUT THE RECONSTRUCTION, BESIDES MORE USUAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PAST (THE 18TH-CENTURY IN THIS CASE). | LUC NOPPEN.

the perspective of the "study of what we built," as the well-known architectural historian Spiro Kostof put it. "The historian must go beyond [the] established reality of the buildings to understand what they are, how they came to be, and why they are the way they are."² This is what I want to do with *patrimony*. My goal then is to sketch out the role and methods of the architectural historian in the study of *patrimoine* and the role of *patrimoine* in the redeployment of architectural studies, using new interpretive keys that will enable us, here and now, to unlock some meanings.

HERITAGE VS. PATRIMONY

I will first briefly review and contrast studies on *le patrimoine* in the French- and English-speaking worlds. These two worlds are quite distinct, and have generated two distinct notions—the notion of heritage and the notion of *patrimoine*, or patrimony if you will. The question of *patrimoine*, in the Anglo-Saxon world, has been considered from the point of view of heritage: "something handed down from one's ancestors or from the past, as a characteristic, culture, tradition,

etc." On the one hand, as in the case of heredity, heritage is inherited. You cannot change it; you can only maintain it. On the other hand, *patrimoine*—patrimony—is something that you are responsible for developing. You may have inherited it, but beyond that, it has to be actively constituted in order to be handed on to future generations. Heritage thus comes from the past, while patrimony looks to the future. The word heritage is part of everyday language, while the word patrimony remained, at least until late in the twentieth century, restricted to specialized terminology, in this case the field of wills and estates, whose very purpose is the constitution and handing on of patrimony rather than the act of receiving it. It is this act of constitution that in French designates *patrimonialisation*, with its underlying assumption that patrimony has more to do with a mental construct than the heritage object's received materiality. From this standpoint it can be considered, as we have, that patrimony teaches us more about the people who have patrimonialized it than it does about that past to which the act of *patrimonialisation* supposedly refers.

In other words, when we talk about patrimony, Québec City's Place-Royale, which was rebuilt piece by piece in the 1960s and 1770s, tells us more about the Quiet Revolution than it does about New France, while Mont-Saint-Michel tells us about the nineteenth century that made it what we know today (more than it does about the Middle Ages), Port-Royal, a French colony of seventeenth-century Canada, about the 1930s, and Louisbourg, also in Nova Scotia but this time of the eighteenth century, about the 1960s. Notre-Dame de Paris speaks to us of Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Black Creek Pioneer Village tells us the story of the Toronto Conservation Authority, and on it goes (figs. 1-3, 9).

Two different ways of summing up the issue seem to echo this divide between the concept of *patrimoine* and heritage, according to which the first refers almost naturally to a process of creation, while the second carries that connotation of heredity. Leaving aside the recent contributions of cross-cultural and postcolonial studies, heritage studies—and by this I mean specifically built heritage—are

thus essentially oriented toward technical questions, such as preservation practices or adaptive re-use. Studies diverging from this approach, as David Lowenthal's, mostly do so to denounce "the spoils of history,"³ that is, to observe that heritage is lying when it ought to tell the truth. Lowenthal observes that heritage is really a creature of the present even as it claims to come from the past. He is no positivist; nevertheless, as a historian, he compares the condition of history with that of heritage, rather than patrimony.

This distinction between heritage and patrimony spills over beyond scientific considerations and into practices and legislation. All in all, we note, for example, that legislation dealing with heritage seems preoccupied with prescribing the makeup of the commissions and agencies responsible for it (this was, incidentally, the point of the first Québec act on historical monuments, in 1922⁴). Contrast this with, say, France, where laws on patrimony focus more on the definition of the object, that is, what makes up the patrimony, depending on the era. In the French-speaking world, legislation, under the effect of civil law (as opposed to common law), sets out what constitutes a historical monument, what constitutes an archaeological site, what constitutes cultural property, and so forth. Because, if we talk about patrimony, we acknowledge that the object and its attendant concept change over time. And this transformation of the idea of patrimony, with its impact on the constitution of patrimony, is what we call *patrimonialisation* in French. In the past, I have used "heritagization" in English, but "patrimonialization" could perhaps be a better term.

It is in this sense that I am now going to write instead about "patrimony," which is what Pierre Nora⁵ described as a "*projet daté qui a sa propre histoire*"—a time-

specific project with its own history. But that is about as far as the relationship goes between the patrimony in question here and the one found in Nora's *Lieux de mémoire* (translated as *Realms of Memory*) and other "places of memory" research—we will see why in a moment. I will also refer to what Françoise Choay sees as "the revealer of society and the spirits that possess it"⁶; and I will look at patrimony in the sense that Maurice Halbwachs considered the "power of the material surroundings"⁷ in the genesis of collective memory. It is here that we encounter the built landscape so familiar to architectural historians in the eschatological dimension that distinguishes patrimony from heritage—since patrimony aims at perpetuating ourselves in the future. Here the historical monument—that "built thing" traditionally documented by architectural history as the work and representation of the best of ourselves—takes a role as the paragon of patrimony. It is from this standpoint, not exclusively but at least as a starting point, that I think it would be interesting to look beyond heritage.

However, I should first note that the French-language scientific foundations I am using as references have significant failings. The first partly arises from the historian's approach. One effect of this is the neglect, in the *Realms of Memory*, the *Lieux de mémoire*, and other research initiatives on places of memory, of just these "realms," *lieux*, or places. In other words, heritage seems to be kicked out of heritage studies that have, to this day, preferred memory, narratives, institution history. The second problem with the scholarly literature on *patrimoine* and *patrimonialisation* comes from the near monopoly that France has developed, for a quarter century, on the questions of "what [patrimony] is, how it came to be, and why it is the way it is," to paraphrase

Kostof—a situation no doubt arising from the French having the word *patrimoine* at its disposal rather than the word heritage. We thus are confronted with a plethora of "histories of *patrimoine*" that begin with the French Revolution and conclude with the reflections of those involved in the institution of historical monuments—in France. Françoise Choay, who was probably the first person to attempt (in 1992) a comprehensive history of patrimony, could then write:

my examples are mostly taken from France. They remain nonetheless prototypical: as a European invention, historical *patrimoine* is part of a single mentality in all the countries of Europe. Insofar as it has become a world-wide institution, it is something every country in the world will have to face.⁸

And, I would add, "face with French examples." Thus the history of Québec *patrimoine* has mostly been a tale of ferreting out the traces of French history in Québec, beginning with Québec's first *Act Respecting the Preservation of Monuments and Objects of Art Having an Historic or Artistic Interest* in 1922⁹, which has been wrongly described as a copy of its French predecessor, when the most perfunctory comparison of the two of them shows the contrary.

Just as we are unlikely to find a Canadian-style house in France, we ought to remember, as Françoise Choay does, by the way, that "the notion [of *patrimoine*] cannot be separated from a mental context and world view." The idea and object of patrimony are specific to the time and place they belong to. This absolute specificity of patrimony arises out of a time and place, as well as it arises out of the times that, in a particular place, preceded the declaration of an idea and an object of *patrimoine*. Indeed, it is characteristic of the object of *patrimoine* to carry through

time the meanings that were invested in it and the ways in which they were invested. This is what, at the intersection of the absolute specificity of patrimony and patrimonialization, I call *mémoire patrimoniale*, or patrimonial memory.

Rather than assume that patrimony emerges from the memory, as Pierre Nora and others do, I will now suggest that memory in fact arises out of patrimony, which outlives it over the long term and thus conditions the way it is expressed. It is this inverted conception that is contained in the notion of patrimonial memory—which refers to both the successive adventures of a patrimonial object through time and the conception or idea of patrimony that is constituted in the place where patrimonial objects come to life.

This is, I believe, the perspective from which patrimony can be studied, beyond the tools of restoration and the technical dimensions of heritage—that is, by understanding patrimony as a phenomenon inscribed in a place and time. To do this, or in other words to grasp the meanings of an element of patrimony while understanding how the patrimonial memory determines its absolute specificity as patrimony, I will submit here three notions. First, I suggest that we refocus the study of heritage on patrimony (and not on memory or history), in order to conceive of the patrimonial object as a receptacle or vehicle of patrimonial investiture. Second, I propose that this patrimonial investiture is not terminal, but cyclical; that it proceeds as tied to the life of the patrimonial object—as in Focillon's life of forms—according to a process of accumulation and fossilization, so as to constitute, over time, patrimonial memory. Lastly, I suggest that one way to “unstack” this patrimonial memory in order to understand today both the patrimonial artefact and the idea of patrimony

would be to consider the patrimonial object, in its time, as the expression of a balance, in this case between relationships with Time, Space, and the Other. This is what, in the heuristic framework of the patrimonial memory, I call a “regime of authenticity.”

REFOCUSING THE STUDY OF HERITAGE ON PATRIMONY

Although it is more “natural,” as I suggested, to conceive of *patrimoine*, in French, as a creative process, the notion of *patrimonialisation* (as we understand it today, bearing in mind that in the beginning of the 1990s the term *patrimonialisation* was used to designate the excessive expansion of the patrimonial corpus) crossed the language barrier before the word even came to be used for this purpose. We find it under a different name in Dean MacCannell, who in 1976 suggested (admittedly from a structuralist perspective quite different from my own) that tourist attractions were the outcome of a process he called *sacralization*, which began with *naming* and was concluded in *social reproduction*.¹⁰ Jean Davallon's recent work follows a similar line, also in five steps, in which patrimonialization begins with the “find” (*trouvaille*) and is completed with the “transmission.”¹¹

Refocusing the study of heritage on patrimony to avoid the trap of the French-speaking world's *Lieux de mémoire* means, alongside this social life of patrimony, taking into account and encompassing the life of the patrimonial object. This goes according to stages well known in architectural studies: selection and characterization of the patrimonial artefact, its conservation and restoration, and its presentation, promotion, or development through such procedures as iconographic analysis, typomorphology, museography, landscape setting—these are the stock in

trade of architectural historians, among others. The idea here is that patrimony is, as Michel Foucault would say, a *chose dite* (thing said), a statement whose meaning is produced by the act of being stated, and that the key to understanding this act of stating—that is, patrimonialization—is found in the life of the patrimonial object as punctuated by the stages of characterization, conservation, and presentation.

That being the case, refocusing the study of heritage on patrimony does not merely involve looking in a different place. It means, as I suggested through the concept of patrimonial memory, facing patrimony's function as a bearer of meaning, given that patrimony's lifespan exceeds that of human beings. Because the patrimonial object—Mont-Saint-Michel as recreated around 1900 for example, or Bruges as reinvented in the nineteenth century—tends to outlive those who produce it, it tends to carry forward from generation to generation a part of their imaginary vision. Incidentally, it is precisely because of this “performative”¹² function as a substrate for the imagination that patrimony is so useful in the production of social constructs. An example: when Napoléon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French, brought back Veronese's *Wedding at Cana* with the spoils from his Italian campaign and placed it in a museum he named, for the occasion, the Napoléon Museum (later the Louvre), and so selected, conserved, and presented this painting, he made France's domination over Italy real: by appropriating Italian art for France, he sought to show that Italy was France, and always had been.¹³ This is the performative function of patrimony, to make things real for its makers.

Underlying the concept of patrimonial memory, we thus have the extended time of patrimony. This is not time as projected onto an object when it is invested



FIG. 4. NOTRE-DAME-DES-VICTOIRES CHURCH, QUÉBEC CITY, A FEW YEARS BEFORE IT BECAME ONE OF THE FIRST THREE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS CLASSIFIED BY THE QUÉBEC GOVERNMENT, IN 1929. BY THAT TIME, IT HAD BEEN, FROM THE BUILDING ERECTED THERE IN THE 17TH CENTURY, DESTROYED AND REBUILT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 18TH CENTURY, AND REBUILT AGAIN IN THE 19TH CENTURY, WITH A NEW FAÇADE AND BELL TOWER IN 1818 AND A NEW INTERIOR IN 1854. BUT BY THEN (THE 1920S), THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE CHURCH WERE WELL-KNOWN TO THE TOURISTS FOR SMALL AND OLD-LOOKING STREETS, AMONGST WHICH THE *LITTLE CHAMPLAIN STREET*. THE CHURCH ITSELF WAS DESCRIBED, IN THE LAST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY, AS “ONE OF THE OLDEST BUILDINGS OF THE CITY.” | BIBLIOTHÈQUE ET ARCHIVES NATIONALES DU QUÉBEC.

as patrimonial—when we describe, for example, Notre-Dame-des-Victoires in Québec City, essentially a nineteenth-century building,¹⁴ as a church dating back to 1763, as the *Inventaire des lieux de culte du Québec*¹⁵—not time as projected and used to support a discourse on the age. It means rather the ability and fate of the patrimonial object to outlive human beings and thus carry, in itself, meaning, from generation to generation. Those who first came to consider the Notre-Dame-des-Victoires Church as a place of memory—or more precisely as a monument—in the beginning of the twentieth century are no longer there to

tell us about it, but the church remains as the trace of their patrimonial intention, a trace of the recognition they invested in the church and which is thus materially perpetuated unto us (fig. 4).

Thus these objects—patrimonial artefacts—are fossils, “the remains or impression of a creature, petrified while embedded in rock.”¹⁶ Sites become traces, traces of what has been collectively recognized by a certain collective intelligence at a particular time. Over the long term, patrimony retains successive traces of this recognition as it is renewed or forgotten.



FIG. 5. IN 1928, QUÉBEC'S COMMISSION OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS, INSTEAD OF BEING PREOCCUPIED, FOR EXAMPLE WITH MONUMENTS, AS ITS FEDERAL COUNTERPART WAS (THE HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD OF CANADA), PUBLISHED A BOOK, *L'ILE D'ORLÉANS*, PRESENTING LEGENDS AND GRASSROOTS HISTORY ILLUSTRATED EITHER BY PAINTINGS OR METICULOUSLY STAGED PHOTOGRAPHS. IT HAS OF COURSE BEEN THOUGHT, NOTABLY AMONG TOURISTS WHO READ THE FRENCH OF ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE BOOK, THAT THIS PORTRAIT SOMEWHAT REPRESENTED THE REALITY AND SINCE THEN PROTECTED THROUGH THIS IDEAL. | PRIVATE COLLECTION.

THE PATRIMONY STACK: THE CYCLICAL NATURE OF PATRIMONIAL INVESTITURE

“Renewed or forgotten,” indeed: I am suggesting that the patrimonialization process, the object life of patrimony, is not terminal, but cyclical. Patrimony is a fossil with an extended lifespan, but it is also an “*opera aperta*,” an open work. This Umberto Eco’s language indicates simply that patrimony is not finished the moment it is consecrated: patrimony changes from generation to generation with each new gaze cast upon it.



FIG. 6. THE FIRST KNOWN PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF ÎLE D'ORLÉANS WAS REALIZED IN THE 1920S BY EDGAR GARIÉPY, WHO IMMORTALIZED A NUMBER OF MILLS, CHURCHES, AND HOUSES, BUT ALSO PHOTOGRAPHED, PROBABLY IN LINE OF THE FORTHCOMING BOOK BY THE COMMISSION OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS, SURELY WITH A CAREFUL STAGING TO GRASP THE FOLKLORIC IMAGE IN THE ACTING, *MADAME GAGNON À SON FOUR À PAIN* AND THIS *MADAME JOSEPH PLANTE À SON ROUET*. | ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE MONTRÉAL



FIG. 7. STRANGELY, WHEN PHOTOGRAPHER RAYMOND AUDET CAME TO ÎLE D'ORLÉANS, ALMOST TWENTY YEARS AFTER EDGAR GARIÉPY, IT SEEMS HE WENT DIRECTLY TO REMARK, THROUGH THE SAME *MADAME JOSEPH PLANTE*, THE PERSISTENCY OF THE TRADITIONS OBSERVED BEFORE. | BIBLIOTHÈQUE ET ARCHIVES NATIONALES DU QUÉBEC.

As it comes down to us, patrimony is therefore a palimpsest, or to put it more clearly, a stack or pile: ceaselessly rewritten over its former layers, it continually changes while retaining traces of the semantic investments of which it is the receptacle and the product. This is what I like to describe as the “princess and the pea” model based on Hans Christian Andersen’s story of the princess’s stack of mattresses underneath which a pea had been placed to emerge, by permeating every layer, all the more strongly on the surface. Alongside the irritating role of the pea—which patrimonial creations sometimes endorse—it is the mattresses, the stacking up of patrimonial objects and ideas, that bring to us some initial patrimony, hidden like the pea within the palimpsest.

Thus, we could view Île d’Orléans (in front of Québec City), to take this example, as a creation newly classified as a heritage

site in 1970. Yet this is the same object that was protected by the *Act respecting the Island of Orleans* passed in 1935¹⁷; the same object recognized by the Commission of Historical Monuments in 1928 (Commission des Monuments Historiques de la Province de Québec); the same object that in the 1920s became the Cradle of New France.¹⁸ None of these are the same place; but today’s island—the 1970 version—retains, on the surface of things, the imprint of the early twentieth century’s patrimonial intentions. This is what I call, paraphrasing Regis Debray’s categories of monument,¹⁹ the patrimony stack.

A further example of the patrimony stack is Place-Royale. Place-Royale is first of all a church, the church of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, classified in 1929 and among the first three Québec monuments to be designated.²⁰ As seen by the patrimonial institution in the 1920s—Québec

Commission of Historical Monuments in this case—Place-Royale is first and foremost this very old church, thought to date back to the New France era. Then, after being decorated with a bust of Louis XIV,²¹ Place-Royale became the cradle of French Canadians “urbanized” by the Quiet Revolution and no longer willing to identify with a “rural” cradle like Île d’Orléans.²² This patrimony has therefore constantly been built, physically and ideologically, on top of previous strata, toward the figure of a (more and more) French cradle; it now comes as no great surprise that Steven Spielberg chose to film, there, in Québec City, a scene supposedly taking place in a French village.²³ Yet, in the *opera aperta*, part of the original work lives on in its reception and in subsequent patrimonializations: it is thus said with perfect sincerity that Notre-Dame-des-Victoires is a “French church” or at least a church from the French Regime, built in 1763. This makes

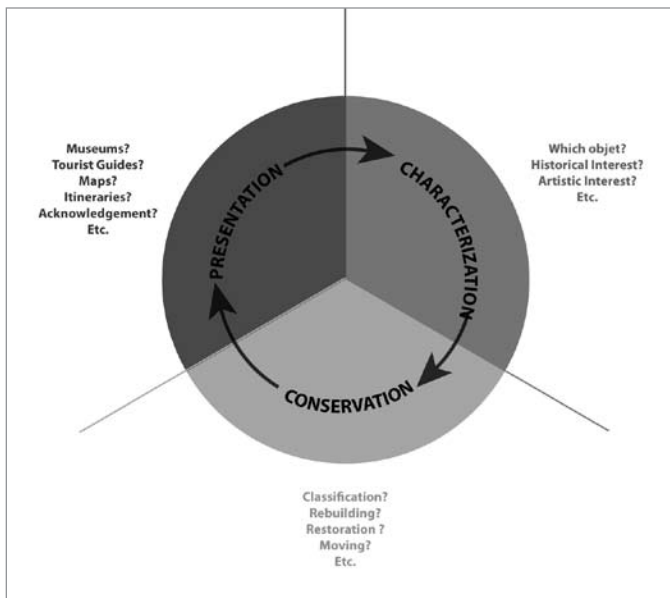


FIG. 8. THE CYCLE OF PATRIMONIAL INVESTITURE. | MARIKE PARADIS.



FIG. 9. BLACK CREEK PIONEER VILLAGE PUT UP IN THE 1960S AS A COLLECTION OF ENDANGERED BUILDINGS, ASSEMBLED IN A HISTORIC VILLAGE/OPEN-AIR MUSEUM BY THE TORONTO CONSERVATION AUTHORITY. IT SHOWS CLEARLY TO THE IDEA OF A BROKEN-OFF TIME OR TO A RELATIONSHIP TO A TIME SITUATED IN A DISTANT AND NEVER-COMING-BACK PAST. | COURTESY OF BLACK CREEK PIONEER VILLAGE.

Place-Royale undoubtedly the site fore-ordained to become the “cradle” of the French Canadians, because the thought-to-be-oldest-still-standing church of New France is there as proof, the French character of which Steven Spielberg recognized in 2002.

It is this stacking up that we can decode as successive cycles of patrimonial investiture comprising characterization, conservation, and presentation that change their point of view, approach, and methodology according to the episteme²⁴ or Zeitgeist. I will not here go into neither the ecosystem of patrimony nor the economy and ecology that enable us to decode the episteme and to document patrimony. I will simply evoke that, at the core of patrimonial investiture, patrimony can resemble an ecosystem, a system in which actions and thoughts can be identified according to whether or not they are part of the ecology of patrimony (that is, part of the patrimonial environment with its actors and their motivations), or part of the economy of

patrimony (that is, its administration, for example the technical and regulatory apparatus of patrimonialization). In short, the Zeitgeist of patrimony could be understood through the representation of a system, like a systemic model that makes it possible for us to analyse documents.

Let us turn back to patrimonial investiture and its cyclical nature by returning to the case of Île d’Orléans. In order to isolate the links between two cycles, we can turn to certain photo essays made through the institution of historical monuments. An initial characterization originated when Edgar Gariépy conducted a survey, which served notably—with a bit of staging—to illustrate a book called *L’île d’Orléans*, a collection of legends and folklore published oddly enough by the Commission of Historical Monuments in 1928. It contained the (since) celebrated *Madame Joseph Plante at Her Spinning Wheel*. It was this characterization—the combined survey and its partial publishing, that is, the selection of objects—that

undoubtedly helped create an image of the island as a reservoir of ethnographic traditions—from then on preferred to the churches, mills, and other objects more common in Gariépy’s survey. It was these folkloric expressions that were targeted for protection against outside contamination by legislators in 1935 when they passed the *Act Respecting the Island of Orleans*, even as these expressions were being exposed to the public eye through the construction of a bridge connecting the island to the mainland.

But when photographer Raymond Audet headed for Île d’Orléans twenty years later in the wake of major natural resource inventories—including crafts and works of art, through the *Inventaire des œuvres d’art*—what did he survey? *Madame Joseph Plante at Her Spinning Wheel*. In this new cycle, Île d’Orléans, probably because of the disappearance of the traditions that the Commission of Historical Monuments wanted to uncover through living beings and fictional images, fell somewhat by the wayside,

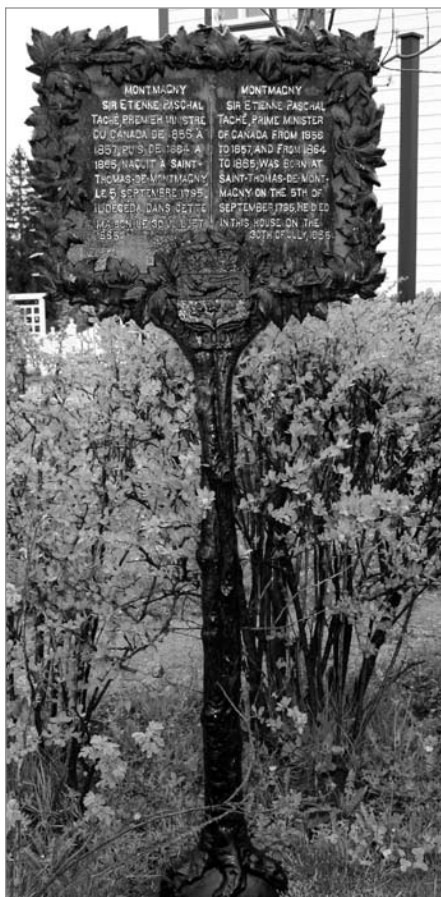


FIG. 10. IN THE 1920S, QUÉBEC'S COMMISSION OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS BECAME OBSESSED WITH "HISTORICAL GUIDEPOSTS" LIKE THIS ONE, WHICH THE COMMISSIONERS FELT IT WAS THEIR "PATRIMONIAL" MISSION TO PUT OUT ON THE HIGHWAYS FOR THE HUNDRED THOUSANDS (AMERICAN) TOURISTS THAT WOULD PASS BY EVERY YEAR. IT WAS DURING THIS PERIOD THAT QUÉBEC BECAME KNOWN, THROUGH GOVERNMENT PROMOTION, AS "THE GOOD ROADS PROVINCE." | LUCIE K. MORISSET.

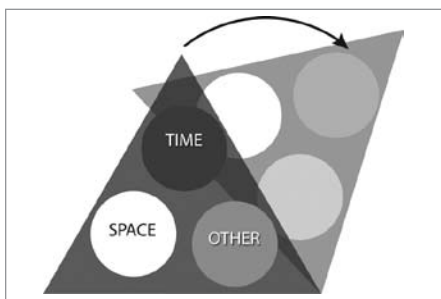


FIG. 11. A REPRESENTATION OF A REGIME OF AUTHENTICITY HYPOTHETICALLY BALANCED AND THEN DISBALANCED BY THE CHANGING LEAD OF ONE OF THE THREE RELATIONSHIPS, TILTING OVER TO BRING PART OF THE PREVIOUS PATRIMONIAL IDEAS AND OBJECTS INTO ANOTHER REGIME. | MARIKE PARADIS.

sliding more or less into oblivion. After the 1935 act, no major conservation campaigns—apart from the Church of Saint-Pierre, considered as a single monument more than a part of the mythical island—took place there until the 1970s. From the 1940s, Île d'Orléans might have become nothing more than a fossil, lost in the mists of memory through never having been taken up in a new cycle, under a new patrimonial Zeitgeist. But, no, it was recovered. The result, in the wake of the *savoir-faire* of Madame Joseph Plante, is however something other than an artefact—a somewhat evanescent folkloric production like the legends presented in 1928 with the *L'île d'Orléans* book—typified by Île d'Orléans blackcurrant syrup, strawberries, *Savoir-faire île d'Orléans* label, and so on (figs. 5-7).

It is this idea that the cyclical nature of patrimonialization refers to (fig. 8): to link together one process of semantic investment with the next, echoing like the pea through this palimpsest, through patrimony's extended time. To take that other (and last) example, we could note again that the Mont-Saint-Michel of today, being less an offshoot of the Mont-Saint-Michel of the Middle Ages than of the one restored/rebuilt at the turn of the twentieth century, was at that time added a spire, which is now essential—during the illumination of Mont-Saint-Michel notably—and it undoubtedly coloured Mont-Saint-Michel's inclusion, this time in 1979, on the list of World Heritage Sites.

REGIMES OF AUTHENTICITY

From there, to conclude this brief essay, I would suggest that to unstack patrimony and retrace its construction—that of the patrimonial idea *and* object—we might think about each cycle of patrimonial investiture as the result of a balance, a

focus of the patrimonial intention at a given time. This balance I call a "regime of authenticity," based on François Hartog's²⁵ "regimes of historicity."

I will briefly expand on such an idea. According to this, the open work of patrimony, the perpetual stacking up, as it were, is mapped out by "orders"—"orders of time" in the sense of Michel Foucault and particularly Krzysztof Pomian²⁶—and, more generally, of "regimes" that frame the patrimonial memory, that is, the idea and object of patrimony in the short and long term.

In order to describe these "regimes," which extend beyond the sole consideration of time, I talk about "authenticity." "Regimes of authenticity" associate relationships with Time, Space, and the Other. Why "authenticity"? Because it is there that the performative act of patrimony is found: patrimony produces reality, the fact of being real in relation to an origin of some kind. Recognizing a patrimonial artefact means somehow ruling on the characteristics that make it real in relation to that origin, while also ruling on that origin, the source of that realness. Patrimony, a creature of the present destined for the future, is linked in most instances with the past, but always with an origin to which it provides a connection: New France, Antiquity, colonization, etc.

Even though, for a given artefact at a given time, it is the patrimonial ecology and economy that ensure this connection, the link to authenticity is articulated in the three relationships I previously mentioned—Time, Space, and the Other. There is a relationship with Time, for example that linear and continuous time in which the act of commemoration occurs or the broken-off time of restoration, and especially of architectural

re-enactments (ex.: Williamsburg, Black Creek Pioneer Village (fig. 9), Louisbourg, Port-Royal, Place-Royale); there is a relationship with Space, like that tourist's space that obsessed Québec's Commission of Historical Monuments in the 1920s as it set to work punctuating the province's new highways, travelled by a million Americans each year, with bilingual "historical guideposts,"²⁷ (fig. 10) each recounting a page or two of history, or the space conquered in Italy by Napoleonic France. Lastly, there is the relationship with the Other, the French conquerors' relationship with the Italians, for example, or the Quebecers' relationship with the Americans they welcomed, then feared, and even, beginning in the 1930s, cursed. That, of course, is another story.²⁸

A regime of authenticity thus makes it possible to understand the meaning of patrimony and the patrimonial object in three ways, but is even more a question of depicting the balance among these relationships, as one or the other takes the lead in the act of patrimonialization (fig. 11). For this reason, I draw a diagram of the regimes of authenticity as a triangle on its base: it thus represents the balance of the patrimonial ecosystem at any given time or, more simply, the balance of the patrimonial thought underlying the patrimonialization process.

For patrimony—inasmuch as we refocus our analysis on the patrimonial object, as I said earlier—this, I think, corresponds to what Kostof called the "total context of architecture," that is, the ideal and material world that underlies patrimony and through which we gain access to our world's knowledge and ideals. More simply, thinking the patrimonial statement within its "total" production context enables us, I believe, to unstack the palimpsest and uncover, through the cycles

of patrimonial investiture, the regimes of authenticity that interact with each other and constitute the patrimonial memory in time. Consequently we can, I believe, grasp this patrimonial memory and understand it, in order to shed light both on a society's unique spirit and the contribution or contributions of a particular patrimonial artefact to the representation mechanism that gives it—gives us—meaning.

As a result, the history of architecture can fully contribute to a history of patrimony beyond the technical knowledge required for heritage preservation. Thus, too, can the history of architecture be enriched to create a situation in which—outside the French-speaking world and, in particular, outside the France of patrimonialization, *a fortiori* in Canada where so many traditions beyond the French and English are combined—other histories of patrimony from other parts of the world are possible.

NOTES

1. Except where otherwise indicated, references for this article together with a more complete discussion of its subject matter can be found in Morisset, Lucie K., 2009, *Des régimes d'authenticité. Essai sur la mémoire patrimoniale*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.
2. Kostof, Spiro, 1985, *A History of Architecture. Settings and Rituals*, New York, Oxford University Press, p. 3.
3. Lowenthal, David, 1998, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; and Lowenthal, David, 1988, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
4. *Act Respecting the Preservation of Monuments and Objects of Art Having an Historic or Artistic Interest*. The logic I refer to here is manifest in the United States and Canada, where the agency responsible for conservation was created (which is also characteristic of *common law*, in some ways) well before the adoption of legislation to frame actions aimed

at protection: in Canada, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada was created in 1919, while the *National Parks Act* was not passed until 1930 and the *Historic Sites and Monuments Act* in 1953.

5. Nora, Pierre (ed.), 1997, *Les lieux de mémoire*, Paris, Gallimard (3 vol.).
6. [My translation] "Révéléateur de la société et des états qui l'habitent." (Choay, Françoise, 1992, *L'allégorie du patrimoine*, Paris, Seuil.)
7. [My translation] "Puissance du milieu matériel." (Halbwachs, Maurice, 1967 [2nd ed.], *La mémoire collective*, Paris, Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine.)
8. [My translation] "Mes exemples sont souvent empruntés à la France. Ils n'en demeurent pas moins exemplaires : en tant qu'invention européenne, le *patrimoine* historique relève d'une même mentalité dans tous les pays d'Europe. Dans la mesure où il est devenu une institution planétaire, il confronte à terme tous les pays du monde." (Choay : 25.)
9. As during that period acts were often bilingual or even written first in English and then translated into French, I will use their English titles.
10. MacCannell, Dean, 1976, *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York, Schocken Books.
11. Davallon, Jean, 2006 *Le don du patrimoine*, Paris, Lavoisier.
12. Austin, John, 1975, *How to Do Things with Words*, Harvard, Harvard University Press.
13. That case—as in general—of the spoils taken by the *Grande Armée* is well known and abundantly documented by those who have investigated mechanisms of representation and investiture of meaning as in the historiography of architecture and "patrimonial" conservation (*avant-la-lettre*), beginning of course with the writings of Antoine Quatremère de Quincy.
14. Noppen, Luc, 1978 *Les églises du Québec, 1600-1850*, Québec, Fides / Éditeur officiel.
15. [Lieuxdeculte.qc.ca], accessed May 7, 2009.
16. *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*.
17. Aside from the *Act Respecting the Preservation of Monuments and Objects of Art Having an Historic or Artistic Interest* of 1922: this was the first genuine Québec law regarding historical monuments in the modern sense, as it was the first that provided for effective protection of objects or sites through coercive measures, for example, by authorizing the

government to order the demolition of any "intrusion" judged in violation of the island's landscape.

18. See Morisset, Lucie K. and Luc Noppen, 2007, "Les berceaux de la Nouvelle-France," In Jeannette den Toonder (ed.), *Les voix du temps et de l'espace*, Québec, Nota Bene, p. 233-268. See also Morisset, Lucie K., 2011, "Fabriquer le patrimoine et l'identité au Québec," In Jean-Yves Andrieux (ed.), *Patrimoine et identités*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.
19. Debray, Régis, 1999, "Le monument ou la transmission comme tragédie," In *L'abus monumental ?*, Paris, Fayard, p. 11-32. I am grateful to Jean-Michel Leniaud who alerted me to this analogy of a "patrimoine pile" to Debray's *monument message, monument trace*, and so forth.
20. And I have to admit that the semiogenesis of Place-Royale, beginning in the eighteenth century, would be a full topic in itself. (See Morisset, Lucie K. and Luc Noppen, 2003, "De la ville idéale à la ville idéelle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, vol. 56, no. 4, p. 453-480.)
21. Morisset and Noppen : 453-480.
22. Noppen, Luc, 1989, "L'île d'Orléans, mythe ou monument ?" *Cap-aux-Diamants*, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 23-26.
23. Spielberg, Steven (ed.), 2002, *Catch Me if You Can*, 141 min. The village is Montrichard, in Touraine.
24. This is the term, borrowed from the Greek ἐπιστήμη (knowledge), that Michel Foucault (1966, *Les mots et les choses. Une archéologie des sciences humaines*, Paris, Gallimard, 1966. [Translated in 1970 as *The Order of Things*]) uses to designate the historical *a priori* that serves as the foundation of knowledge and the conditions of its construction in a given age, or more simply, that make thought and its statement possible.
25. Hartog, François, 2003, *Régimes d'historicité. Présentisme et expérience du temps*, Paris, Seuil.
26. Pomian, Krzysztof, 1984, *L'ordre du temps*, Paris, Gallimard. See also Kosseleck, Reinhardt, 1980, *Le futur passé. Contribution à la sémantique des temps modernes*, Paris, Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales. [*Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* in the original German edition.]
27. "Poteaux historiques" as they were called.
28. Morisset, 2011.