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CHAPTER-2
METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Methods and Methodology

The proposed study is based on Memory Studies. The data collected is based on individual, social and collective memory of the proposed community. The data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected by conducting field studies. Primary data were collected from the field through an ethnographic approach of participant observation by actively taking part in the festivals, rituals, religious activities in and of the monastery. Interviews of people residing in the monastery (the monks) along with the people who visited the monastery were conducted. Most of the interviews were recorded using a professional digital camera and a recorder. Those interviews were later translated into English as most of the responses were given in the local dialect i.e. in Monpa. Based on the research objectives the transcribed data were later arranged and used under the appropriate chapters.

Interviews of the monks, especially the senior monks and the nuns from the nearby nunneries were conducted, local administrative officers, educators, people from local NGO s, elderly people of the community from different sections of Tawang District, Research Scholars from the community, retired Govt. officials and common people coming to attend the different rites and festivals of the Monastery. The field work was conducted in three Phases i.e., from January 2018 to March 2018, from January 2019 to March 2019 and from January 2020 to March 2020. Most of the primary data was collected by applying 'direct interview method' (open-ended) and 'participant observation' in the field. Other methods such as focused group discussions were used for collection of data. Interview of the Oral narratives were also used for collection of data. For interview schedules and other methods such as Recordings of the rituals; tape recorder, video recordings and video clips etc. were used. Photographs were taken for authentic documentation of the research topic.

The primary method of collection was through casual and formal interviews. With the nuns, the monks and elderly people of the society, the researcher opted for a casual conversation as the approach to get their perspectives. The researcher did not want to scare the elderly people by bombardment of serious questions. They are generally very timid and shy in nature especially the elderly nuns. Since the written records on the history of the monastery

was very hard to access because of the lack of script the researcher had to solely rely on the oral narratives of these elderly sections of the said community. The researcher chooses to sit beside them and have a casual conversation so that they are at ease while responding to the questions and thus the researcher was able to receive genuine answers which were later transcribed and added in the chapters.

Other than the primary sources, secondary sources were also consulted like the books on the Monpa tribe were consulted to see the influence of cultural memory on the tribe. Books, articles and internet sources on cultural memory were also consulted along with books available on the Tawang Monastery were also used for collection of data. Studying of primary historical and archival sources were also explored. Religious scriptures archival of the Tawang Monastery was also consulted. The religious scriptures were written in Bhoti script which needed translators for further translation to collect data related to the study topic.

2.2 Theoretical Perspective

2.2.1 Cultural Memory- A Concept

Over the past two decades the relationship between culture and memory has emerged in many parts of the world as a key issue of interdisciplinary research, involving fields of diverse research as history, sociology, art, literary and media studies, philosophy, theology, psychology, and the neurosciences, and thus bringing the humanities, social studies, and the natural sciences in a unique way. The importance of the notion of cultural memory is not only documented by the rapid growth, since the late 1980s, of publications on specific, national, social, religious, or family memories, but also by a more recent trend, namely attempts to provide overviews of the state of the art in this emerging field and to synthesize different research traditions (Erll,2005).

Cultural memory is certainly multifarious notion, a term often used in an ambiguous and vague way. Media, practices, and structures as diverse as myth, monuments, historiography, ritual, conversational remembering, configurations of cultural knowledge, and neuronal networks are nowadays subsumed under this wide umbrella term, because of its intricacy, cultural memory has been a highly controversial issue ever

since its very conception in Maurice Halbwachs studies on memoire collective (esp.1925,1941,1950).

Cultural memory is defined as "the interplay of present and past in socio cultural contexts". This understanding of the term allows an inclusion of broad spectrum of phenomena as possible objects of cultural memory studies- ranging from individual acts of remembering in a social context to group memory (of family, friends, veterans, etc.) to national memory with its "invented traditions", and finally to host of transnational lieux de memoire such as Holocaust and 9/11. Cultural memory studies are not restricted to the study of those ways of making sense of the past which are intentional and performed through narrative, and which go hand in hand with the construction of identities- although this very nexus (intentional remembering, narrative, identity) has certainly yielded the lion's share of research in memory studies so far. It is not the infinite multitude of possible topics which characterizes cultural memory studies, but instead its concept: the specific ways of conceiving of themes and of approaching objects. However, despite two decades of intensive research, the design of a conceptual toolbox for cultural memory studies is still a fledgling stage, because memory studies are currently "more practiced than theorized"- and practiced, at that, within an array of different disciplines and national academic cultures, with their own vocabularies, methods, and traditions. The various field who faces challenges are *memoire* collective/collective memory, *cadres sociaus*/social frameworks of memory, social memory, *Mnemosyne, ars memoriae, loci et imagines, lieux de memoire*/sites of memory, invented traditions, myth, *memoria*, heritage, commemoration, *kulturelles Gedanchtnis,* communicative memory, generationality, postmemory (Erll,2005).

Cultural memory study is a field to which many disciplines contribute, using their specific methodologies and perspective. Since its very inception the study of cultural memory can only be successful if it is based on cooperation among different disciplines. Cultural memory studies are therefore not merely a multidisciplinary field, but fundamentally an interdisciplinary project. Many exciting forms of collaboration have already been fostered. The strongest and the most striking studies in cultural memory are based on interdisciplinary exchange- between media studies, history and sociology, neuroscience and social psychology, cognitive psychology, and history or social psychology and linguistics. (*ibid*)

Cultural memory accentuates the connection of memory on the one hand and socio-cultural contexts on the other. "cultural" does not designate a specific affinity to Cultural Studies as conceived and practiced by the Birmingham School. Our notion of culture is instead more rooted in the German tradition of the studies of Culture (*Kulturwissenschaft*) and in anthropology, where culture is defined as a community's specific way of life, led within its self-spun webs of meaning (cf. Geertz,1973).

According to anthropological and semiotic theories, culture can be seen as a three-dimensional framework, comprising social, (people, social, relations, institutions), material (artifacts and media), and mental aspects (culturally defined ways of thinking, mentalities) (cf. Posner,1989). "Cultural memory" can serve as an umbrella term which comprises "social memory" (the starting point for memory research in the social sciences), "material or medial memory" (the focus of interest in literary and media studies), and "mental or cognitive memory" (the field of expertise in psychology and the neurosciences). This neat distinction is of course merely a heuristic tool. In reality, all three dimensions are involved in making cultural memories. Cultural memory studies are therefore characterized by the transcending of boundaries. Some scholars look at the interplay of material and social phenomena (for example, memorials and politics of memory) (Meyer,2002).

The concept of "remembering" (a cognitive process which takes place in individual brains) is metaphorically transferred to the level of culture. Jeffery K. Olick, draws a crucial distinction between two aspects of cultural memory studies," one sees culture as a subjective category of meanings contained in peoples mind versus one that sees culture as a pattern available symbol objectified". In other words, we have to differentiate between two levels of on which cultural and memory intersect: the individual and the collective or, more precisely, the level of cognitive on the one hand, and the levels of the social and the medial on the other.

The first level of cultural memory is concerned with biological memory. It draws attention to the fact that no memory is ever purely individual, but always inherently shaped by collective contexts. from the people we live with and from the media we use, we acquire schemata which helps us recall the past and encode new experiences. Our memories care always triggered or influenced by external factors, ranging from conversation among friends to books and to places. In short, we remember in socio cultural contexts. With

regard to this level, "memory" is used in a literal sense, whereas the attribute "cultural" is a metonymy standing for the "socio- cultural" contexts and their influence on memory". It is especially with oral history, social psychology, and neurosciences (Erll,2005)

The second level of cultural memory refers to the symbolic order, the media, institutions, and practices by which social groups construct a shared past. "memory", here, is used metaphorically. Societies do not remember literally; but much of what is done to reconstruct a shared past bears some resemblance to the processes of individual memory, such as the selectivity and perspectivity inherent in the creation of versions of the past according to the present knowledge and needs. In cultural history and the social sciences, much research has been done with regard to this aspect of collective memory, the most influential concepts to have emerged being Pierre Nora's *lieux de memoire* and Jan and Aleida Assmann's *kulturelles Gedanchtnis. (ibid)*

The two forms of cultural memory can be distinguished from each other on an analytical level; but in practice the cognitive and the social/medial continuously interact. There is no such thing as pre-cultural individual memory; but neither is there a Collective or Cultural Memory which is detached from individuals and embodied only in media and institutions. Just as socio-cultural contexts shape individual memories, a "memory" which is represented by media and institutions must be actualized by individuals, by members of a community of remembrance, who must be conceived of as points *de vue* (Maurice Halbwachs) on shared notions of the past. Without such actualizations, monuments, rituals, and books are nothing but dead material, failing to have any impact in societies. (*ibid*)

The notion of cultural memory has quite successfully directed the attention to the close connection that exists between, say, a nation's version of the past and its version of national identity. That memory and identity are closely linked on the individual level is a common place that goes back at least to John Locke, who maintained that there is no such thing as an essential identity, but the identities have to be constructed and reconstructed by the acts of memory, by remembering who one was and by setting this past Self in relation to the present Self. Cultural memory studies are decidedly concerned with social, medial and cognitive processes, and their ceaseless interplay. (*ibid*)

One of Halbwachs less felicitous legacies is the opposition between history and memory. Halbwachs conceives the former as an abstract, totalizing, and "dead" and the latter as particular, meaningful, and "lived". This popularity, itself a legacy of the nineteenth century historicism and its discontents, was taken up and popularized by Pierre Nora, who also distinguishes polemically between history and memory and positions his lieux de memoire in between. Studies on "history vs. memory" are usually loaded with emotionally charged binary oppositions; good vs bad, organic vs. artificial, living vs. dead, from below vs. above. And while the term "cultural memory" is already a multifarious notion, it is often less clear what is meant by the collective singular of "history" (Koselleck,1985). The useless opposition of history vs. memory must proceeds from the basic insights that the past is not given, but must instead continually be re constructed and represented. Thus, our memories of pasts events can vary to a great degree. This holds true not only for what is remembered (facts, data), but also for how it is remembered, that is, for the quality and meaning the past assumes., as a result there are different mode of remembering identical past events. A war, for example, can be remembered as a mythic event (the war of apocalypse), as part of political history (the first World War as "the great seminal catastrophe of the twentieth century"), as a traumatic experience (the horror of the trenches, the shells, the barrage of gunfire," as a part of family history, as a focus of bitter contestation)'the war which was waged by the old generation, by the fascists, by men"). Myth, religious memory, political history, trauma, family remembrance, or generational memory are different modes of referring to the past. History is yet another of cultural memory, and historiography its specific medium (Olick,1999).

Maurice Halbwachs was the first to write explicitly and systematically about cultural memory. Halbwachs legacy to cultural memory studies is least threefold. Firstly, with his concept of cadres sociaux de la memoire (social framework of memory) he articulated the idea that individual memories are inherently shaped and will often be triggered by socio cultural contexts, or frameworks, thus already pointing to cultural schema theories and the contextual approaches of psychology. Secondly, his study of family memory and other private practices of remembering have been an important influence for oral history. And thirdly, with his research on the memory of religious communities (in La topographic legendaire) he accentuated topographical aspects of cultural memory, thus anticipating the notion of lieux de memoire, and he looked at communities whose memory reaches

back thousands of years, laying the foundation for Jan and Aleida Assmann's *kulturelles Gedachtnisd.* Later in the 1900s, scholars from different disciplines and countries became interested in the intersections between culture and memory: notably Sigmund Freud, Henri Bergson, Emile Durkheim, Maurice Halbwachs, Aby Warburg, Arnold Zweig, Karl Mannheim, Frederick Barlett, and Walter Benjamin (Erll,2005).

> "The *best aid to clearness of memory consists in orderly arrangements…[P]ersons desiring to train this faculty select localities[loci] and form mental images of the facts they wish to remember and store images in the localities, with the result that the arrangement of the localities will preserve the order of the facts, and the images of the facts will designate the facts themselves…*(Cicero,1967).

According to Cicero "the keenest of all our senses is the sense of light". Cicero writes about loci memoriae that "one must employ a large number of localities which must be clear and defined and at moderate intervals apart, and images that are effective and sharply outlined and distinctive, with the capacity of encountering and speedily penetrating the mind".

The natural memory is that memory which is imbedded in our minds, born simultaneously with thought. The artificial memory is that memory which is strengthened by a kind of training and system of discipline. The artificial memory includes a background[loci] and images. We can grasp […] for example, a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, an arch or the like. And that we may be no chance err in the number of backgrounds, each fifth background should be marked. For example, [if] in the fifth we should set a golden hand […], it will then be easy to station like marks in each successive fifth background (Cicero,1967).

Theoretical approaches to interpret the political, social, and cultural power of imagined communities and invented traditions in processes of nation building and community preservation offer the conceptual framework to assess the significance of cultural memories and collective commemorations for the formation and stabilization of a nation that was rhetorically and in historical acts of political and cultural opposition. The 19th century, saw the publication of innumerous historical novels which acted as literary sites of memory in the process of establishing and maintaining a national Culture and identity.

Autobiographical writings, read as a purposeful act of individual reverberance and collective identity construction in specific cultural and intercultural contexts. Visual sites of memory also remain as a part of ceremonial culture. They serve as an important attraction in the tourist business and commemorative industry. The rise of photography as a new documentary medium in the second half of the 19th century changed the configurations of visual memory and initiated the conceptualization of sites of memory as a part of modern media culture (Hebel,2003).

Sites of memory are places where groups of people engage in public activity through which they express "a collective shared knowledge [...] of the past, on which a group's sense of unity and individuality is based" (Assmann,1995). The group that goes to such sites inherits earlier meanings attached to the event, as well as adding new meanings. Their activity is crucial to the presentation and preservation of commemorative sites. Sites of memory operates on many levels of aggregation and touches many facets of associative life. While such sites were famous in the ancient and medieval period, they have proliferated in more recent times. Consequently, the subject has attracted much academic and popular discussion. We therefore concentrate here on the sites of memory in the epoch of nation state, primarily in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the modern period, most sites of memory were imbedded in events marked distinctively and separately from religious calendar. There has been though, some overlap. Commemoration at sites of memory is an act of a conviction, shared by a broad community, that the moment recalled is both significant and informed by a moral message. Sites of memory materialize that message. Moments of national humiliation are rarely commemorated or marked in material form, though here too there are exceptions of a hortatory kind. The critical point about the sites of memory is that they are there as points of reference not only for those who survived traumatic events, but also for those born long after them. The word "memory" becomes a metaphor for the fashioning or narratives about the past when those with direct experience of events die off. Sites of memory inevitably become sites of second order memory, that is, they are places where people remember the memories of others, those who survived the events marked there (Winter,2008).

Remembrance in local houses of worship or at a war memorial required that the public travel a short distance from their homes to sites of remembrance. But given the scale of losses in the two world wars, and the widely dispersed cemeteries around the world in

which lie the remains of millions of such men and women, the business of remembrance also entails international travel. Such voyages start as pilgrimage; many are mixed with tourism (Lloyd,1998).

Public commemoration is an activity defined by the gestures and words of those who come together at the sites of memory to recall particular aspects of the past, their past. Such moments are rarely the simple reflection of a fixed text, a script rigidly prepared by political leaders determined to fortify their positions of power. Inevitably, commemoration overlaps with political conflicts, but it can never be reduced to a direct function of power relationships. There are at least three stages in the history of rituals surrounding public commemoration. The first we have already dealt with: the construction of a commemorative form. But there are two other levels in the life history of monuments which needs attention. The second is the grounding of ritual action in the calendar, and the routinization of such activities; the third is their transformation or their disappearances as active sites of memory (Winter,2008).

Febvre and Bloch called for a new kind of history that explored, beyond the usual political history of states and kings, the social and economic structures of a society as well as its "mental tools" (outillage mental), namely, the system of beliefs and collective emotions with which people in the past understood and gave meaning to the world. Memory studies have been transnational and international in their scope, interests, origins, and historiographical foundation. They have been influenced by the growing interest in the Holocaust; by new approaches to nationhood and to the ways nations construct their pasts; and by a diffused body of work called cultural studies, which often centered on issues of identity.

In the mid-1990s the notion of "memory" had taken its place as a leading term, perhaps the leading term, in cultural history. Used with various degrees of sophistication, the notion of memory, more practiced than theorized, has been used to denote very different things which nonetheless share a topical common denominator: the ways in which people construct a sense of the past. As such, it has contributed tremendously to our historical knowledge. Memory studies uncovered new knowledge about the past, and brought to the fore topics that were simply not known a generation ago (Confino,1997).

The idea of interconnecting "culture" and "memory" is not particularly new. In 1910, Arnold van Gennep pointed to the tenacious longevity of the "*memoire des faits d'ordre culturel*", which allows technical knowhow and religious traditions, but also rules and regulations of social and political organizations, to outlast historical "expiration dates". Nor may one forget Maurice Halbwachs, important for the early history of the concept even beyond the aforementioned aspects. For sound reasons, the editor of the critical edition of La Memoire collective emphasizes the French sociologist's tendency to cross the conventional borders of "*memoire psychologique*" in the direction of "memoire cultuirelle" (Namer,1997).

When thinking about memory, we must start forgetting. The dynamics of individual memory consists in a perpetual interaction between remembering and forgetting (Esposito,2002). In order to remember some things, other things must be forgotten. Our memory is highly selective. Memory capacity is limited by neural and cultural constraints such as force and bias. It is also limited by psychological pressures, with the effect that painful or incongruent memories are hidden, displaced, overwritten, and possibly effaced. On the level of cultural memory, there is a similar dynamic at work. The continuous process of forgetting is a part of social normality. Jurji Lotman and Boris Uspenskij have defined culture as "the memory of a society that is not genetically transmitted". Through culture, humans create a temporal framework that transcends the individual life span relating past, present, and future. Cultures create a contract between the living, the dead, and the not yet living. In recalling, iterating, reading, commenting, criticizing, discussing what was deposited in remote or recent past, human participate in extended horizons of meaning production. The continuous process of forgetting is a part of social normality. As in the head of the individual, also in the communication of society much must be continuously forgotten to make place for new information, new challenges, and new ideas to face the present and future. Not only individual memories are irretrievably lost with the death of their owners, also a large part of material possessions and remains are lost after the death of a person when households are dissolved and personal belongings dispersed in flea markets, trashed, or recycled (Assmann,2006).

When looking more closely at these cultural practices, we can distinguish between two forms of forgetting, a more active and a more passive one. Active forgetting is implied in intentional acts such as trashing and destroying. Acts of forgetting are a necessary and

constructive part of internal social transformations; they are, however, violently destructive when directed at an alien culture or a persecuted minority. If we concede that forgetting is the normality of personal and cultural life, then remembering is the exception, which-especially in the cultural sphere- requires special and costly precautions. These precautions take the shape of cultural institutions. As forgetting, remembering also has an active and passive side. The institution of active memory preserves the past as present while the institutions of passive memory preserve the past as past. The tension between the pastness of the past and its presence is an important key to understanding the dynamics of cultural memory. Cultural memory contains a number of cultural messages that are addressed to posterity and intended for continuous repetition of and re-use. (*ibid)*
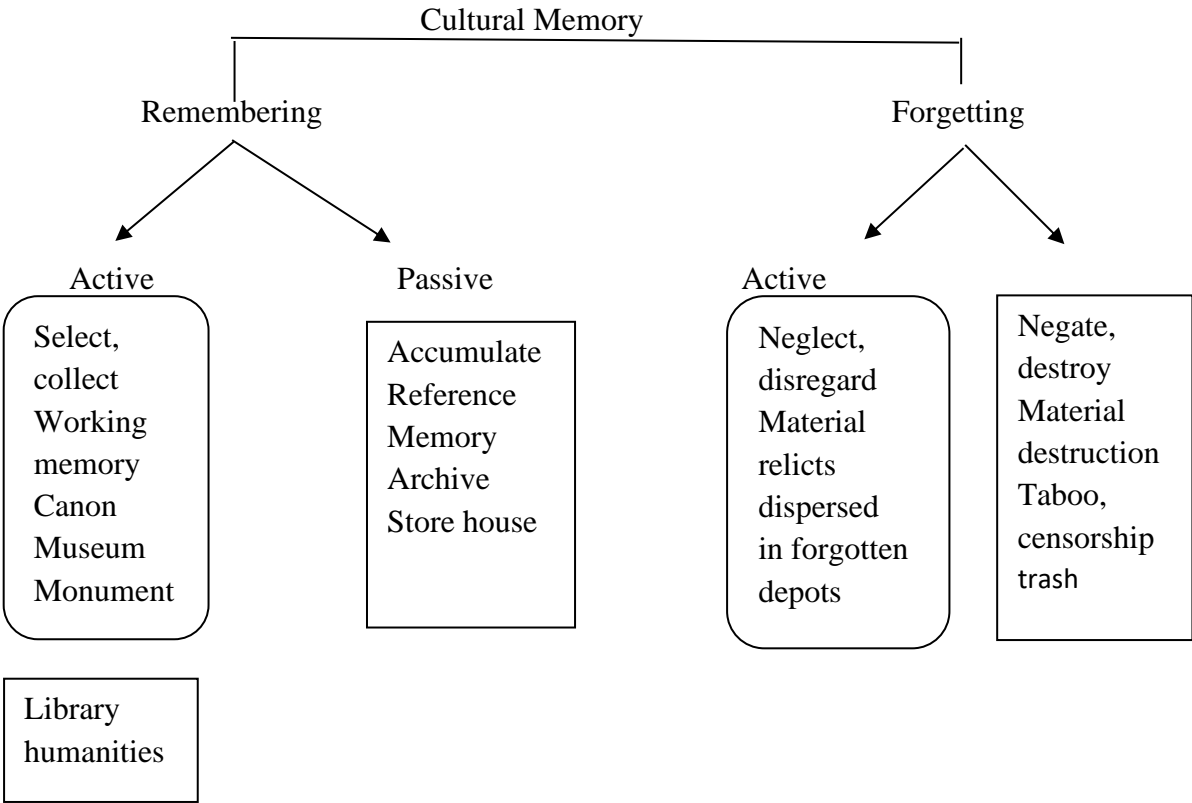
Cultural Memory

Remembering   Forgetting

Active   Passive   Active

Select,
collect
Working
memory
Canon
Museum
Monument

Accumulate
Reference
Memory
Archive
Store house

Neglect,
disregard
Material
relicts
dispersed
in forgotten
depots

Negate,
destroy
Material
destruction
Taboo,
censorship
trash

Library
humanities

Table:1 Dimension of Cultural Memory by Aleida Assmann

The active dimension of cultural memory supports a collective identity and is defined by a notorious shortage of space. It is built on a small number of normative and formative texts, places, persons, artifacts, and myths which are meant to be actively circulated and communicated in ever new presentations and performances. The working memory stores and reproduces the cultural capital of a society that is continuously recycled and re-

affirmed. Whatever has been made it into the active cultural memory has passed rigorous processes of selection, which secure for certain artifacts a lasting place in the cultural working memory of a society. This process is called canonization. The word means sanctification; to endow texts, persons, artifacts, and monuments with a sanctified status is to set them off from the rest as charged with the highest meaning and value. Elements of the canon are marked by three qualities: selection, value, and duration. There are three core areas of collective memory: religion, art, and history of religion; it is used there to refer to a text or a body of texts that is decreed to be sacred and must not be changed nor exchanged for anybody of texts. (*ibid*)

Cultural memory, then, is based in two separate functions: the presentation of a narrow selection of sacred texts, artistic masterpieces, or historic key events in a timeless framework; and the storing of documents and artifacts of the past that do not at all meet these standards but are nevertheless deemed interesting or important enough to not let them vanish on the highway to total oblivion. (*ibid*)

Memory is the faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level. Identity, in its turn, is related to time. A human self is a "diachronic identity" built "of the stuff of time" (Luckmann,1983). This synthesis of time and identity is effectuated by memory. For time, identity, and memory we may distinguish among three levels:

Level	Time	Identity	Memory
Inner (neuro-mental)	Inner, subjective time	Inner self	Individual memory
Social	Social time	Social Self, person as carrier of social roles	Communicative memory
Cultural	Historical, mythical, Cultural time	Cultural identity	Cultural memory

Table:2 Levels of Memory by Thomas Luckmann

On the inner level, memory is a matter of our neuro-mental system. This is our personal memory, the only form of memory that had been recognized as such until the 1920s. on the social level, memory is a matter of communication and social interaction.it was the great achievement of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs to show that our memory

depends, like social consciousness in general, on socialization and communication, and that memory can be analyzed as a function of our social life. Memory enables us to live in groups and communities, and living in groups and communities enables us to build a memory.

The term "communicative memory" was introduced in order to delineate the difference between Halbwachs concept of "collective memory" and our understanding of "cultural memory" (Assmann, 2006). Cultural memory is a form of collective memory, in the sense that it is shared by a number of people and that it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural, identity. Halbwachs, however, the inventor of the term "collective memory"' was careful to keep his concept of collective memory apart from the realm of traditions, transmissions, transferences which we purpose to subsume under the term "cultural memory". Cultural memory is a kind of institution. It is exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms that, unlike the sounds of words or the sight of gestures, are stable and situation- transcendent: they may be transferred from one situation to another and transmitted from one generation to another. External objects as carriers of memory play a role already on the level of personal memory. Our memory, which we possess as beings equipped with a human mind, exists only in constant interaction not only with other human memories but also with "things"' outward symbols. Marcel Proust's famous madeleine, or artifacts, objects, anniversaries, feasts, icons, symbols, or landscapes, the term "memory" is not a metaphor but a metonymy based on material contact between a remembering mind and a reminding object. Things do not have a memory of its own, but they may remind us, may trigger our memory because they carry memories which we have invested into them, things such as dishes, feasts, rites, images, stories and other texts, landscapes, and other: *lieux de memoire*" (Assmann, 2006).

For the most remote past, however, there is again a profusion of information dealing with traditions about the origin of the world and the early history of the tribe. This information, however, is not committed to everyday communication but intensely formalized. It exists in narratives, songs, dance, rituals, masks, and symbols; specialists such as narrators, bards, mask carvers, and others are organized in guilds and have to undergo long period of initiation, instruction, and examination. In oral societies, as Jan Vasina (is an anthropologist who worked with oral societies in Africa) has shown, there is a gap between the informal generational memory referring to the recent past and the formal

cultural memory which refers to the remote past, the origin of the world, and the history of the tribe, and since this gap shifts with the succession of generations, Vasina calls it the "floating gap". Historical consciousness, Vasina resumes, operates in oral societies on only two levels: the time of origins and the recent past. Vasina's "floating gap" illustrates the difference between social and cultural frames of memory or communicative and cultural memory. The communicative memory contains memories referring to Vasina's "recent past". These are the memories that an individual shares with his contemporaries. All studies in oral history confirm the even in literate societies living memory goes no further back than eighty years after which, separated by the floating gap, come, instead of myths of origin, the dates from school books and monuments (Assmann,2006).

The cultural memory always has its specialists, both in oral and in literate societies. These include shamans, bards, and griots, as well as priests, teachers, artist, clerks, scholars, mandarins, rabbis, mullahs, and other names for specialized carriers of memory. In oral societies, the degree of specialization of these carriers depends on the magnitude of the demands that are made of their memory. Human memory is used as a "data base" in a sense approaching the use of writing: a fixed text is verbally "written" into the highly specialized and trained memory of these specialists. In the context of rituals, therefore, we observe the rise of the oldest systems of memorization or mnemotechnies, with or without the help of systems of notation like knotted chords, tchuringas, and other forms of pre writing. Even where the sacred text is committed to writing, memorization plays the central role (*ibid*).

For an individual, as well as for nation, cultural memory is a complex and stratified entity connected not only to the history and the experience of either the individual or the nation, but also to the way in which that very history and experience are read in time, individually and collectively. Each time, the past acquires new meanings and the same fact, even though it stays the same, is nevertheless shaped through remembrance; inevitably, it is juxtaposed against new backgrounds, new biographies, and new collections. Hence, following the theoretical debate which has characterized the last decades of the 20th century and which has determined ontological categories and disciplinary statutes, it is possible to argue that it is no longer possible to offer a final and absolute vision of the past. The breaking of all canons, the juxtaposition of macro and micro history, the

questioning of the ideas of objectivity and subjectivity in the historic rendering, as well as in literature, have taught us all to be prudent observers and to use the plural instead of the singular: no longer a unique "memory", but many "memories", many traces left by the same event which in time sediment in the individual consciousness, as well as the collective consciousness, and that are often- consciously or unconsciously- hidden or removed; traces that nevertheless stay and that suddenly or predictably re-emerge each time the historical, political, or cultural context changes. It has become evident through memory studies that no unitary definition of memory exists and that memory is dynamic (Rigney,2010). It is memory as a process (over the course of time) which is reshaped according to the present- hence its pivotal role in interdisciplinary studies of both the notion of historical context and that of the context of the dialectics of temporality (*ibid*).

Therefore, research on memory in the humanities and in literary studies has marked the breakdown of disciplinary barriers, thus giving rise to a comparison between disciplines such as history, philosophy, anthropology, social sciences, and the hard sciences. Memory is a complex subject of research, which, for its investigation, requires an orchestration drawing on various branches of knowledge. For instance, memory studies have brought to the light the crisis of history as a discipline, the difficulty of giving an ultimate meaning to the concepts of "document", "source", "truth". For these the relationship between memory and history has received more and more attention in recent years, since faith in existence of objective historical truth has lost its hold and the idea that historical statement is a construction which draws on fictional paradigms has been put forward (White,1978).

The study of memory and remembering has made rapid progress overall, yet despite the extensive findings and advances in theory, there remain considerable gaps in the research on non- intentional, casual, social procedures of memory. The texture of memory seems so complex and so ephemeral that scientific instruments simply fail in attempting to determine what memory is made of and how it is created every day. At the same time, it is established knowledge that individual memory only takes on form within social and cultural frameworks, that countless aspects of the past have a direct and lasting impact on current interpretations and decisions, that there are transgenerational transmissions of experiences whose impact reaches even into the biochemistry of neuronal processes in later generations, and that non simultaneous bonds can suddenly and un expectedly guide action and become historically significant: The passing down of tradition, non-

simultaneity, and the history of wishes and hopes form the subjective side of social memory (Fentress and Wickham, 1992). Everyday practices in dealing with those things that themselves transport history and memory-architecture, landscapes, wastelands, etc.-form its objective side. "Social Memory" refers to everything which transports and communicates the past and interpretations of the past in a non-intentional manner. Four media of the social practice of forming the past can be distinguished: records, (moving) images, spaces, and direct interactions. Each refers to things which were not produced for the purpose of forming tradition, but which nonetheless transport history and shape the past in social contexts.

Memory sites neither come "naturally" into being nor all at once. Instead, they are the product of a selection process that has privileged some "figures of memory" above others (Assmann,1992) and, linked to this, of multiple acts of remembrance in a variety of genres and media. For it is only through the mediation of cultural practices that figures of memory can acquire shape, meaning, and high public profile within particular communities. The repertoire of such cultural practices changes over time together with technological and aesthetic innovations.

If memory is intrinsically social, as Maurice Halbwachs has pointed out, then the formation of any memory does rely fundamentally on means of exchanging and sharing of knowledge (cf. Assmann, 1992). It cannot be without symbols that represent or embody knowledge of the past and are capable of circulating in a social group. In other words, the extension and complexity of collective memory is to a large extent dependent on the available media. This contribution will take the case of photography to show how memory and media interact.

Photographs can become canonized as veritable *lieux de memoire* that enter cultural memory, and end up in history textbooks. Vicki Goldberg has argued that photographic images increasingly function as summaries of complex historical phenomena, "partially displacing the public monument" (Goldberg,1991).

2.2.2. Memory and Oral Text

The concept of "remembering" is metaphorically transferred to the level of culture. In this metaphorical sense, scholars speak of a "nation's memory", a "religious community's

memory", or even of "literature's memory" (which according to Renate Lachmann, is its intertextuality) (Erill,2008).

The social framework of memory includes 'the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society' (Halbwachs,1992). An individual remembers assuming the point of view of the group he/she belongs to, but, on the other hand, the memory of the group finds its reflection in what its individual members remember.

Memory and oral culture have been examined on the grounds of culture studies, linguistics and ethnology. In oral communication, thoughts come into being and linger as long as they are communicated. Orality should be understood in terms of the original (etymological) meaning of communication and communicating- the Latin *communicare* means 'to share, to participate, to unite, to bring into common use'. David Reisman (2004) argues that while written communication projects a zone of personal space around people and even imposes a certain amount of isolation, oral discourse makes people feel closer to one another. Jack Goosy (2010) sees the difference between writing/ reading and speaking, as the former isolating people from one another and the latter bringing them together and making them one. Oral communication is collective, dialogic, and interactive, whereas written discourse- to use Reisman's (2004)- leaves the inside door ajar but shuts the outside door, thus inviting alienation and isolation. The speaker enters into a direct relationship with the audience who, in a way, become spontaneous co-authors of the speaker's narration because their responses and reactions contribute to the ultimate shape of the speaker's message. 'Performing delivers a text' (Zumthor, 2010)

Oral memory abides in communication. Remembering fleeting and elusive messages of oral culture requires a specific kind of memory, something different from mere learning by heart because there is, in fact, nothing ready made to memorize and recite in orality. Walter Ong (2002) makes it clear that 'oral memorization is subject to variation from direct social pressures. Narrators narrate what audiences call for or will tolerate', which is why 'skilled oral narrators deliberately vary their traditional narratives because part of their skill is their ability to adjust to new audiences and new situations or simply to be coquettish'.

In an oral culture, to think through something in non-formulaic, non-patterned, non-mnemonic terms, even if it were possible, would be a waste of time, for such thought, once worked through, could never be recovered with any effectiveness, as it could be with the aid of writing (Ong,2002). Paul Zumthor and Jean McGarry make a distinction between 'archival storage' and 'memorization' (Zumthor and Garry 1984). The former has to do with 'fixing all or part of the elements of the work (through writing or electronic recording)', whereas the latter, be it direct or indirect, 'necessities an interiorization of the text'(*ibid*). this gives us a twofold function of oral texts: for the group, that which people express/ remember in oral texts is their source of knowledge, while for an individual manner of the group oral texts provide an opportunity of enriching and extending that which is expressed/remembered.

Oral societies must invest great energy in saying over and over again what has been learned arduously over the ages. This need establishes a highly traditionalist or conservative set of minds that with good reason inhibits intellectual experimentation. Knowledge is hard to come by and precious, and society regards highly those wise old men and women who specialize in conserving it, who know and can tell the stories of the days of old. By storing knowledge outside the mind, writing and, woven more, print downgrade the figures of the wise old man and the wise old woman, repeaters of the past, in favor of younger discovers of something new (Ong,2002).

Orality is not simply how an oral text functions or how it is communicated, but how it also embraces an axiological, or moral ethic dimension, which makes it an interpretation of the worldview characteristics of a given culture, its aesthetic and axiological norms and standards. Orality is then, marked with (i) subjectivity entrenched in collectivity, (ii) spontaneity, (iii) situatedness, (iv) ethology (Sulima,1995; Ozog,2001).

The oral/written opposition is binary only on the all-embracing level of culture. On the linguistic level, however, which is in the sense of performance and implementation, there seems to be cline of orality-vis-à-vis- literacy, extending the two extremes (Bartminski,2004). There seems to be no other way of arriving at collective memory than by examining texts. This corresponds with the psychologically- based threefold division of memory phases: (1) encoding, (2) storage, and (3) retrieval. 'The storage phase is implicit and we can know of it only on the basis of the next phase' (Kurcz,1992), which means that we can infer about memory structure from what it is retrieved and what is

retrieved is the structure of a text. Text organization which reflects memory structure is based on the relationship between a verbal text and the text of culture, with the latter being referred to by the former. The obtained intertextuality is then understood here as the relationship between texts as such, not only linguistic ones but also cultural ones. Ryszard Nycz (2000), states a verbal text is a realization/ manifestation of the characteristics of the corresponding text of culture. In this sense, verbal text is attributed with traits typical of texts culture.

Associative memory is a kind of declarative and episodic memory that facilitates the relating of unrelated item by bringing them together in one whole and identifying the relationship between them. The phenomenon was previously recognized by Plato and Aristotle.

Texts of folklore have a unique structure and function in a potentially unique way. On the one hand, they present a temporal and procedural succession of individual sentences yet, on the other hand, they constitute a whole which has been organized and integrated according to a paradigm of its own. In folklore, this whole happens to be recognized in the process of reproduction correlated necessarily with the context of adaptation to specific coding situations (Bartminski,1992). Texts of folklore are reiterative, dialogue like, oral, syncretic, multi textured, and referential, the latter involving all the aspects of a given situation (such as the speaker, the listener, the place, the time, and the perceived objects). Folklore texts can then, be given 'a systemic as much as a performative aspect because they belong to the competence of culture as well as the competence of implementation' (Bartminski, 1992). The texts of folklore have double nature can be a source of information on collective memory. More specifically, the matrix is built upon, points to a kind of continuous memory, that is, the stable elements of collective memory that happen to be recalled through generations. Texts of folklore does not only evidence, record and transmit memory, but it also- through its many variants- a witness to the selectivity and polymorphism of memory. Texts of folklore reveal transformations of memory, unveil changes in the value system of a social group which assumes the role of a depository of memory, and show what is forgotten and what is implanted. Folklorism has been ascribed to three main characteristics: (1) extracting those elements of traditional folk culture which appear attractive in some sense, because of their artistic form or emotional import; (2) presenting these elements to an audience in a form which is either

more or less authentic or processed, or even combining them with foreign elements, for the sake of satisfying individual and/or collective needs, for example aesthetic ones; (3) employing these elements outside the contexts in which they were originally used (Burszta, 1974).

Folklorism can further be characterized by derivative nature in relation to folklore, institutionalization, commonality (in the sense that it features widely in different spheres of culture: music, literature, dance, fine arts, applied art), and selectivity (i.e., only selected elements happen to be singled out for revival) (cf. Rokosz,2009). Folklorism is, in fact, a memory-aiding phenomenon on the one hand, and on the other hand, a dialogue with many traditions, a play of genre conventions.

Texts of folklore are carriers of various kinds of collective memory. If folklore undergoes changes, these changes can be assumed to be forms of collective memory. Both Folklorism and collective memory work by selectivity. In addition, what also brings Folklorism and collective memory together is that they are socially grounded, interesting and polymorphic. Folklorism could be argued to constitute forms of collective memory because transformations in folklore foreground those elements of collective memory which are considered to be useful or necessary from the perspective of current needs and interests (Golka,2009). Folklorism constitute the part of collective memory that A. Assmann calls *inhabited memory* (i.e., the one that is barter-bound, bridges the past, present, and the future, acts selectively and communicates values or, in short, builds identity and shapes patterns of behavior. Folklorism performs numerous functions (cultural, aesthetic, social, political), one of which is concerned with 'a national remedy for the unification processes fostered by mass culture and for the process of cosmopolitanism of the world culture' (Krawczyk-Wasilewska,1986). To memory, Folklorism is an expression of collective identity and as such, is conditioned by the need of 'abiding in tradition' (Krawczyk-Wasilewska 1986). Folklore and collective memory are social in nature and thus, can build a group's identity. Though both serve the function of identity- building, 'in modern world, it seems that Folklorism is only secondary in importance as a way of manifesting ethnic distinctiveness, its function reduced to sustaining and fostering tradition'(Krawczyk-Wasilewska,1986).

Like orality, memory can be regarded as a constitutive category of folk culture (Sulima,1995). The characteristics features of orality can also be ascribed to memory.

Orality has a clear moral ethic slant, serves as an index of the worldview entrenched in respective cultures and expresses its aesthetic and axiological norms. Specifically, orality is marked with the following: subjectivity anchored in community, spontaneity, situatedness, ethology (Sulima,1995).

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