Authenticity Aujourd'hui

Thomas Fillitz and A. Jamie Saris

Introduction

It is difficult to live in Europe or North America and not be struck by the ubiquity of the notion of authenticity and cognate terms in the society at large. Modern consumer society in late capitalism is intimately entwined with debates about authenticity, not just with products, whose validity needs somehow to be authorized – from organic food to art (that is, the sense of authentic origins) – but also with respect to certain sorts of experiences and ways of being-in-the-world (that is, in the sense of the authentic correspondence of content). At this level, authenticity presents us with some productive ambiguities. The modern deployment of authenticity – from its use to sell certain kinds of food, exotic artefacts, works of art, to particular kinds of experiences, such as adventure holidays – presupposes that there is a downmarket variety of what is on offer. Cost is one of the ways of avoiding this part of the market, but connoisseurship is even more necessary. Some marketers such as Michael Silverstein, for example, discuss this phenomenon in terms of a 'Treasure Hunt': with consumers willing to spend considerable time saving money on some items in order to devote more time and resources to discover socially sanctioned value for specific purchases (Silverstein and Butman 2006). Yet, the basis of this connoisseurship is always imperilled as the market massifies, as the treks become easier, and as just what constitutes a genuine class of consumer item becomes subject to ever-greater scrutiny and scepticism (again, think of organic food). Authenticity, then, possesses a surprising social resonance at this moment in history – at once po-faced and ironic – its conditions of possibility seem to be constantly rendered untenable even as it enthusiastically engages more and more of our collective lifeworld.

Our starting point, then, is that authenticity and inauthenticity need to be understood as part of the same process of situated social actors engaging culturally salient ends. Its explosive growth in ideological importance may indeed be a recent concern,

as the philosophers tell us (especially Trilling 1971, Berman 2009, and Taylor 2003), but its social deployment always requires a specific type of work: an understanding of (and developing ways of avoiding) the inauthentic, whether this opposition exists as a barrier to personal achievement, as the nefarious resource of the despised other, as a challenge to the integrity of the self, or as the cunning fake that can, at times, fool even the most sophisticated connoisseur. In other words, the quest for authenticity (Lindholm 2008) requires collective work to discover, recognize and authorize the 'real thing', as well as collective effort to thrust away its opposite.

Into the Field: Anthropology and the Authentic

Viewed thought this optic, anthropology's engagement with authenticity has been complex and deep-rooted, precisely because of the way that debates about authenticity demonstrate the necessary connectedness of terms that are often taken to be far apart in other social sciences, such as individual and social or cultural and psychological. On the one hand, authenticity highlights the philosophical roots in various thinkers who can be loosely labelled 'Romantic', and, on the other, it exposes some of the peculiar ambiguities and opportunities that the primary methodological tools of the discipline, that is long-term ethnographic fieldwork, provided for its practitioners. In other words, anthropology has had, from the beginning, what one might call a professional interest in, and connection to, authenticity. Its subjects were understood to have had (for the most part) more of it than its practitioners, but, happily, some of this authenticity could be invested in both the experience of the Other and in bits of their material culture, and thus be assimilated into the person of the anthropologist. On the other hand, anthropology has had an equally long history of seeing the necessary relational quality of authenticity, as an integral part of any sort of truth claims. 'Genuine' genealogies that villages struggled over in order to invest legitimate political authority (Comaroff and Roberts 1986), or the socially recognized efficacy of magic, and hence the recognition of authentic workers of eldritch powers as distinct from the charlatans (Lévi-Strauss 1967) were the very stuff of classic anthropology constituting both the analysis and much of the drama to be found in ethnographic texts. Thus, the empiricist orientation of method (finding out what really was out there), the very-often individually jarring quality of fieldwork, and the theoretical background of the discipline intersected in mutually revealing ways.

These intersections provided a distinct register of academic writing, the ethnographic, some of whose impact we trace below. For example, analyses of how truth was established in radically different settings, e.g., how good and bad divinations were separated from one another amongst exotic people in far away places, say in witchcraft accusations, became one of the main ways that the strange could be rendered familiar (e.g., Evans-Pritchard 1976), providing a new conceptual lens through which one could examine both 'savage thought' and 'irrational belief' (see also Good 1994). At the same time, the familiar could also be rendered strange through this technique. Consider the effective way that Malinowski juxtaposes the attitude of

his readers towards the British Crown Jewels with the *kula* items he is interested in understanding, precisely to challenge the category of ownership seemingly so evident to the Western mind (Malinowski 1984). If there was not an obvious correspondence between a Western sense of ownership and alienability for certain very highly valued items, then perhaps, there might be room for a calculating individual rationality to authentically orient itself to other kinds of value besides that defined by marginal utility through the object's alienation.

It is therefore somewhat regrettable that recent anthropological work on this most protean but very socially relevant category has tended to move in an analytical direction, trying to get a handle on the defining features of authenticity, in order to properly study it. Lindholm (2008), for example, looks at authenticity for a modern, post-crisis anthropology. Through a series of comparisons, he attempts to develop a place for the anthropologist to investigate authenticity as a social fact (and in the process rehabilitate a comparative sensibility in the discipline at large). Each of his vignettes (encompassing, food, dance, national tradition, among many other phenomena), ends in a similar impasse, stressing what is sometimes called the paradox of authenticity. Subjects search for it in ways that are either contradictory, i.e., the sense of the authenticity of origins is often at odds with the sense of the term that comes from identity or correspondence, or authenticity appears in social life in ways that seem to self-interestedly conflate different social levels in the service of claiming specific socially desirable goods (how the Slow Food movement situates itself in the U.S.A., for example). Lindholm calls for a respect for the quest for authenticity, alongside a scepticism as to its possible achievement. His use of the term 'quest', however, seems rooted in a very Durkheimian discomfort with social change as such, as the desire for authenticity (whatever obvious and immediate upset, up to an including personal and social revolution, it entails) is supposedly but a means to an end of a new stability (a renewed Golden Age, becoming a better person, etc.). In a world where specific types of experience are ever more central to everything from specific productions of subjectivity to the mode of production itself, however, the problem of the inauthentic is clearly ever more fraught (and, of course, ever more interesting). In this case, it might be the quest itself, with its attendant temporalities, tensions and travails that should concern us, than either its beginnings or conclusions.

The Search for the Genuine, the Real and the True

The search for origins of the authentic leads us to some of the founding figures in the social sciences. It is worth recalling that two philosophers, who had a large impact on the nineteenth-century roots of anthropology, are also generally placed at the beginning of reflections of authenticity – Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder (e.g., Bendix 1998, Lindholm 2008). Rousseau developed the notion of *l'homme naturel*, in opposition to the malevolent effects of civilization he felt he observed in his own contemporaries, represented by the French Court. According to this argument, civilization had been degenerating and was continuing to do so,

degrading the body of the citizen with it, in the process inhibiting the free expression of his emotions and actions (see also Berman 2009). In *Emile*, for example, Rousseau contrasts the images of the machine and the tree to model this opposition. As Berman notes, these images were not opposites, per se, the tree had in fact given birth to the machine: the challenge for Rousseau was what to do with this situation (Berman 2009: 160–170).

In a different context, in reaction to the German situation in which the nobility claimed civilization (generally articulated in French) for itself, as against the suppressed (or non-existent) German bourgeoisie, Herder developed a similar idea rather differently. For Herder, the inner qualities of the subject, expressed in the arts and humanities was allocated a specific collective reality. Subjects participated in a specific national genius as a condition of such expression and, in turn, the distinctiveness of national genius was developed through such expressions. The good, the true and the beautiful, then, would find specific expressions through the particular characteristics of each nation. This move was based on two important assumptions. First, some understanding of difference was categorical in understanding humans, or, to put it better, to be human, one needed to have collective specificities (language, custom, kinship, way of life), as a precondition of creativity. Second, these specificities grew organically (think of trees above) from stable physical and social soil, that is, a group of humans attached to a specific place for a long period of time. This take on authenticity relied heavily on the science of geography for its data, its metaphors and its anxieties. The data of geography could be understood theoretically through this sense of genius, as the harmonious connection between climate, landscape, way of life and artistic expression. Everything from traveller tales through to the published records of early scientific expeditions could then be read anew. The increasing conquest of space that made such descriptions possible (increasingly easy movement and technical innovations in transportation), however, were themselves disruptive and potentially fatal to this sense of genius. European crimes against natives were the most obvious ways that specific geniuses were being destroyed, but movement as such (of both people and ideas) could become a source of worry.

Both Rousseau and Herder value a connection between an inner state and an external expression. Hegel later conceived this relationship as central for the development of man. As described in his *Aesthetics*, the externalization of the inner state enables the individual to reflect upon her/himself and to get a step further in his spiritual being (Hegel 1986). As we well know, Marx reversed this relationship and considered the external state of social actors as determining their being. Thus, the alienation under the capitalist mode of production negated the subject's chance to enter human history as an authentic, self-conscious agent, unless and until external changes in the mode of production occurred. This sort of polarity has left the authenticity debate stranded in a series of hoary binarisms, even as it recognises the special quality of authenticity to precipitate out, and variably value, temporal, spatial and subjective formations: a lost Golden Age, the undesirable nature of other communities, getting the real thing and being more or less true to a self all jostle against one another because of the peculiar history of this term. Regina Bendix's thesis outlines, if not necessarily

resolves, this tension:'Authenticity, … , is generated not from the bounded classification of an Other, but from the probing comparison between self and Other, as well as between external and internal states of being' (Bendix 1998: 17).

Not surprisingly, it is now a commonplace in anthropology and related disciplines that artifice and authenticity are intimately related, and that real people in concrete social-historical circumstances spend as much time working on their understandings of inauthentic as they put into imagining the more valued part of the opposition. The irony is, as Berman has argued, in the increasing contradiction between

> The permanency of men's pretensions and the transience of their conditions, between the solidity of the identities they claimed for themselves and the fluidity of the roles they actually played. (Berman 2009: 118)

The leitmotif of the historical development of capitalism is how a particular sort of exchange models and remakes increasingly diverse spheres in its image in a fashion that seems designed to intensify this paradox. All that is marketable potentially (maybe inevitably) gravitates towards kitsch, and, of course, nearly everything is marketable. Yet, through it all the stock of authenticity rises. Thus, Benjamin's justly famous reflections on the aura of a work of art seems to need some modification, in the light of several decades. Aura now seems invested in increasing numbers of things and processes. Indeed, we live in an age where even our simulacra are subject to a high standard of perceived verisimilitude – from Hollywood movies to Disneyland rides to political reflections on what our collective heritage is or might mean.[1] But aura is transient, not because of mechanical or, indeed, digital modes of reproduction per se, but because of how aura has itself become a significant source of philosophical, social, and economic value, and therefore increasingly subject to understandings like 'inflation' and 'fraud'. Ironically, we are encouraged by the modern market to 'keep it real!' at a time when reality seems to be able to be replicated with ever-increasing virtuosity (see also Appadurai 1996).

On the Trail of the Authentic

Anthropology has had to regularly engage each of these facets of authenticity: from the search for personal and social genuineness to the authorization of specific objects, various types of connections, even claims of extraordinary experience as real. The results of this engagement have been both contradictory and productive. The salvage sensibility of the first decades of the discipline's existence, for example, now sits very uncomfortably with the scepticism and seeming humility of the post-*Writing Culture* critique (Clifford and Marcus 1987), but both of these sensibilities are specifically configured around productive ambiguities in the discipline's appreciation of authenticity.

For this reason, Franz Boas's conversion from scientific to humanistic approaches to knowledge in Baffinland still lives in the lore of the discipline, if only as a palimpsest. If all things were not exactly made new through this aphoristic conversion, then

at least many things were newly made anthropological. In a different time, however, a new understanding of authentity in anthropology (one based on a desired correspondence between the world-as-it-is and its representation) sees something almost sinister in another incident in Boas's long career, i.e., the cleansing of Kwakiutl Long Houses of certain white trade goods before taking their photographs (see the various contributors to Stocking 1985, also Fabian 1983). Somehow this depiction failed both the Kwakiutl and the discipline on a measure of authenticity. It is more rarely asked: what was the precise nature of Boas's failure in this photograph? Did his interest in taking an authentic picture of Kwakiutl with regard to his understandings of their origins override some sense of authenticity with respect to the correspondence between this series of photographs and the Kwakiutl life with which he had in fact observed and with which he had successfully interacted? Banks, following Dutton, considers precisely this question: how and in what sense can a photograph be labelled inauthentic (see Banks this volume). Yet, the modern disappointment in Boas's photograph seems to also construct a very naïve reader, incapable of decoding the framing of not just this work, but of any representation, and furthermore, seems to suggest that there might be a genre of more authentic representations somewhere, something closer to Rorty's 'Mirror of Nature' (1979), that what is on offer in this series of photographs.

More than anything else, the Kwakiutl photographs forces us to confront ethnography from the viewpoint of culture collecting. Clifford also draws our attention to the ways how social and cultural facts have been selected, and how they have been translated afterwards into monographs of authentic, isolated cultures, such as the famous ones written by Malinowski (Trobriand Islands, 1922), Evans-Pritchard (Nuer, 1940), of Griaule (Dogon, 1938), and well as many others.

> From a complex historical reality (which includes current ethnographic encounters) the select what gives form, structure, and continuity of a world. What is hybrid or 'historical' has been less commonly collected and presented as a system of authenticity. (Clifford 1996: 231)

Clifford clearly sees this work as a way of awakening anthropology from the dream of authenticity, thus he critiques the research focus on isolated, 'primitive' societies grew out of this discursive production of an ethnographic timelessness as against a deracinated and disenchanted modernity. Indeed, until the 1940s, modernity was a theme of only limited interest to many anthropologists (with the qualified exception of those working in the U.S.A. on acculturation). Most of the scholars described societies as relatively unaffected by culture contacts and colonialism, more or less culturally homogeneous, in which every element functionally fitted within the general system. These descriptions were a result of their particular anthropological interest. Clifford extensively describes the strategies applied by researchers to produce these images of social and cultural realities, and, of course, during the past quarter-century the discipline has internalized these critiques (see e.g., Hymes 1972, Fabian 1983, Clifford and Marcus 1986, Amselle and M'Bokolo 1999, Sahlins 1999). The notion of culture, too, has been radically, sometimes painfully, refigured (e.g., Barth 1989;

Keesing 1994, Fox and King 2002) in the wake of this critique. Critical concepts of culture now have to consider that cultural traditions have ideological connotations, constitute a complex interplay with various subsumed and dominated traditions, and have to look at the production and reproduction of cultural forms as problematic in itself (Keesing 1994). Hannerz postulates combination and impurity as fundamental qualities of culture (1992; 1996). Culture, then, is now understood as 'contested, temporal and emergent' (Clifford and Marcus 1987) or a 'combination of diversity, interconnectedness, and innovation, in the context of centre-periphery relationships' (Hannerz 1996: 67), formulations that seem to confine authenticity as a concept and the search for it to the dustbin of history.

Fieldwork, of course, has been deconstructed in similar terms, by situating it within broad Western intellectual trends, as well as by highlighting its darker political impulses. In response to such critiques, new approaches have been elaborated, such as multi-sited fieldwork (Marcus 1995), fieldwork at home, or new ways of 'constructing the field' (Amit 1999), which may now be the Stockholm ballet (Wulff 1997) or a street in London (Miller 2008). These studies need to be understood, at least in part, as a response to the critical reflections outlined above. Concepts of reflexivity were introduced into the ethnographic research process, e.g., the shared social experience for a more general understanding of the culture under scrutiny (Hervik 1994), or in terms of 'participant objectivation' as proposed by Bourdieu '… to explore not the "lived experience" of the knowing subject but the social conditions of possibility – the effects and limits of the act of objectivation' (Bourdieu 2003: 282).

Reading Anthropology while Searching for Authenticity

Such critiques now have a canonical quality in the discipline and they live comfortably as the received wisdom passed on from elders to graduate students during the course of professional training. Nonetheless, the exceptional quality of this encounter with difference created by the intersection of this earlier moment of anthropological theorizing, with classic ethnographic fieldwork and a sense of authenticity should not be lightly discounted. Data and objects were collected and disseminated and new forms of knowledge were produced and circulated. Ideas of other, perhaps even better, more authentic, realities became widely available to reading publics, and certain very charged discussions (of sex and sexuality, of different forms of consciousness and of reflexive understandings of Western society) were given a certain scholarly space, and sometimes even a scientific imprimatur. Genuinely radical impulses (at least according to their followers and, indeed, according to some of their contemporary critics) found these products of fieldwork central to certain re-imaginings that clearly invoked an understanding of authenticity, even if such movements now provoke wry grins or embarrassed grimaces (indeed, if they are remembered at all). Reich's feverish annotating of Malinowski's observations on authentic sexuality amongst savages (Reich 1971) to distinguish sex-positive from sex-negative societies, Gauguin's exoticism (see van der Grijp, this volume), even Castaneda's kitsch reworking of south-western

American ethnography (e.g., 1975), now are subject to disciplinary erasure or derision, but they are not generally given their just due for how they functioned upon their release for at least some readers, at least some of the time, that is, as a scholarly sanction to entertain the idea that other people minding other sheep in other valleys, might indeed have some insights into living better, more genuine lives than 'we' do now. The romance of the other, while certainly not an anthropological innovation per se (see Dilley this volume), found a stable discursive platform in classic anthropological theory and ethnographic writing practices upon which some social critics found it possible to stand (see also the various contributors to Stocking 1989).

Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that the spectre of authenticity can still be found at the anthropological banquet: if not at the table, then at least as a ghostly presence in the room. The institutionalization of anthropology's twin crises of representation and legitimacy, for example, also demarcates a historical moment where politicized First Nations movements have scored a string of impressive political and economic victories in large part on the back of a discourse constructed around a seemingly naive sense of authenticity of origins (especially in Canada and parts of South America), often relying on data collected by an older generation of anthropologists. Indeed, during this period, some anthropologists have embraced this discourse as explicit activists (e.g., Turner 1989, Mayberry-Lewis and Howe 1980). More often, however, anthropology has become engaged, often very uncomfortably, in this process through the production of expert testimony that is almost always understood as an exercise in validation: certifying the continuity of a particular group or authorizing the provenance of an artefact within politically charged settings, where adjudicated claims of authenticity are the primary political stakes [think of the conflict around Kennewick Man in U.S.A. (see Thomas 2000; also Baumann 1999)]. At the same time, in other clashes, anthropology has been marshalled on the side of the state to critique land rights and compensation claims because the unit claiming was not really the same as the unit that was historically aggrieved.

The Contemporary Longing for Authenticity

The twentieth-century anthropological struggle with authenticity, however, was clearly a part of a much broader trend in Western societies' reimaginations of themselves. In the following section we want to scrutinize the contemporary quest for authenticity as a function of that hoary social science construct modernity and in particular its seeming acceleration under the aegis of the globalization processes that marked the end of the twentieth century.

The concept of the autonomous individual in European early modernity gave rise to the personal search for the proper external expression of inner states: direct correspondences were valued as sincere, pure, real, natural and their opposites were, of course, maligned. Art, in particular was seen as a privileged sphere of this search and artists as some of its pioneers. Thus, in the early twentieth century, a community of artists founded a colony on a hill above Ascona, Switzerland and named it Monte

Verità. They were searching for true expressions of emotions and ideas, which were inspired by alternative thinking to the then dominant social ideologies such as patriarchy and militarism.

Today, we are living in a time, in which this longing is not restricted to one dimension of the inner state as spiritual transcendence, or in terms of a more worldly, romantic valuing of the good-true-beautiful. It can mean the search for a natural expression like in Rousseau's meaning or in naturalist movements (e.g., various kinds of vegetarianism), an essentialist core as dealt with by Herder, a spiritual and religious truth in the context of Victor Turner's *communitas* (1969). It can be the longing for the purity of the physical body, e.g., ideals and ideologies of youth, health and beauty, which may be connected to wellness and fitness programmes and medical treatments. This search is often articulated in an anti-modern process, a rejection of ongoing modernity and the appropriation of some old traditions. We further would like to mention the ideal of body motricity[2] as it thrives for perfect mastery of learned movements, as in the case of standard dances (e.g., Viennese waltz, Argentine tango, or Cuban rumba).[3] However, its contrary, an hedonistic, uncoordinated expression fits into this domain as well. This relationship between inner state and external expression may as well take the form of a radical freeing from any values and norms, a 'revolt against convention' (Taylor 2003: 65), as we find it in avant-garde culture, or in many youth cultures (e.g., punk).

We witness similar rearrangements in the new positioning of nation-states and the production of national cultures. In their formative period they attempted to create seemingly homogenous national cultures, entities shared by all and to which all could feel adherent. On these grounds, citizens were supposed to feel the particularity of their membership within a larger community of solidarity. Specific laws regulating membership were formulated, the rule of descent was decisive in some nation-tates, while in others, citizenship was connected to the principle of territory, and other states were combining both. Such processes could well be analysed in the case of the newly independent states, in Africa and elsewhere in the world. These new states faced the problem how to create such a national culture, given the many different regional ones, which did not allow easy production of emotions of national unity. What could constitute an authentic root?

Today's nationalisms have undergone further rearrangements: they appear more sophisticated (Gingrich and Banks 2006). It is very apparent in sports, e.g., in national football teams, which easily include (should one say appropriated?) sportsmen, with migratory backgrounds and/or colonial experiences. How to conceive of national culture, if, moreover, the present nation-states are entangled within wider, transnational formations (cultures), such as the European Union, the UN, WHO and others? Regarding African states, Anthony Kwame Appiah (1992) has critiqued concepts and ideologies, which conceive national culture in the singular, as one, collective, shared and integral entity. All these states, which emerged after the period of Independence, are not formed, and have never been formed, by one single culture. Affiliations of social actors are multiple, and so Appiah claims, should national culture be conceived in the plural.

These dimensions of culture(s), of spaces of modernity, and the interconnected nature of national cultures, are socio-cultural frameworks for the spaces social actors are living in. They may partly be subjugated within one or the other, but they are agents in the combination of the various fields as well, thus constituting their specific lifeworlds.[4] The multiple possibilities of expressing this 'being true to oneself' then, is a consequence or a mirror of the present breaking-off of so-called fixed concepts of the programme of early modernity in Europe.

Thus, diversity itself becomes 'central to the contemporary culture of authenticity' (Taylor 2003: 37). In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, authenticity is no longer exclusively connected to a pre-conceived homogenous, bounded, pure or original culture. We should however, be aware of what is meant by the interconnection between authenticity and diversity. In the form of a collecting of cultures, as Clifford has dealt with (1996: 23), it may refer to all the different expressions of pure and rooted cultures in spatio-temporal coordinates, a programme fitting the goal of Occidental science to create encompassing, universal cultural archives. In a contemporary meaning, this connection may refer to the coeval spatial distribution of a pure authentic. This is the case for instance with the many claims of minority groups, who are sometimes fighting for the political right to have and express their particular culture.

With the central role of diversity for contemporary authenticity, we refer to the particular forms of interconnecting and combining cultural elements within spaces of interstices, in order to produce a specific particularity, be it at an individual level or at the one of a social, collective entity. This latter resembles what we have mentioned earlier, Appiah's assertion of the fundamental cultural diversity of modern African states (see also Jackson, J. 1995).

Material Culture and Authenticity

In contrast to what James Clifford termed the collecting of culture, the scramble for the authentic object/artefact was apparent well before the emergence of anthropology as a discipline. The authenticity of material culture has to be approached from a double perspective, namely on the one hand the artwork and artefact as a means for collections, be they private or for museums and the authentic commodity of the mass consumption sphere on the other.

Which were the criteria of collecting applied by the researchers, how did local people respond to this interest in such characteristic objects? They have been acquired, purchased, extracted with the use of massive pressure, or simply stolen. The accounts of Michel Leiris on the stealing of artefacts and artworks by members of the Dakar-Djibouti expedition (1931–33; Leiris 1988) are a famous example of such practices. Other expeditions in different parts of the world acted in similar ways.

We are interested in which sense such collected artefacts and art works may be considered representations of specific cultures. For the Congo region, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Enid Schildkrout and Curtis Keim quote the

American traveller, collector, and anthropologist, Frederick Starr, who 'notes with frustration how Frobenius' recent purchases in the Pende area had affected both the quantity and quality of what was available' (Schildkrout and Keim 1998: 6). As the German traveller-researcher revealed in many of his publications, he was most interested in objects, which would conform to European high stylistic qualities, to valued materials such as ivory, and to ritual paraphernalia, related to religious beliefs and power practices.

In a further comparative study on collecting practices of two travellers, Richard Starr (1905–06) and Herbert Lang (1908–15), in the Congo in the first decade of the twentieth century, Enid Schildkrout deduces that both, in different ways, have influenced the production of artefacts and works of art by concentrating on some types of objects to the detriment of others (Schildkrout 1998). Lang acknowledged certain pieces as art, while Starr considered objects to be good only if they conformed to his idea of authenticity, i.e., if they coincided with his image of the so-called primitive character of African societies. Lang's focus on what was culturally going on, namely social change and innovation, encouraged the introduction of a certain type of art creation, a 'proto-tourist art, art produced in the "contact-zone" of the early colonial period' (Schildkrout 1998: 189). Starr's agenda of the primitive on the contrary favoured the production of 'fakes: objects made to simulate artefacts that were used in contexts "uncontaminated" by foreign influence' (Schildkrout 1998: 189).

There was a paradox: in the local arena, artists rapidly incorporated the physiognomic traits of these travellers, missionaries and colonizer agents into their stylistic expressions, as can be seen in *colon*-style art works. Beads, pieces of clothes, or various metals, which had been exchanged with European traders, were integrated in objects for local use (Schildkrout and Keim 1998: 26). In local contexts and for local consumption, works of art and artefacts were produced according to local, changing standards.

If we now turn to the mass consumption commodities, Jean-Pierre Warnier emphasizes the paradox character of the authentic commodity (Warnier 1994). How can a commodity be authentic, when it is integrated within the global capitalist market system with augmenting neo-liberal, so-called self-regulating price mechanisms? A commodity is an object or thing considered primarily as exchange value, whereas the authentic object is basically bound to a particular socio-cultural context. Warnier concludes that the authentic object is therefore inalienable, singular and/or personalized.

The authentic commodity thus displays some similarities with the luxury good.[5] One of its main functions is its social and cultural connotation. This may be in relationship to the production of the commodity. In these respects, the authenticity of a commodity is defined by its region of origin, the material used for its production, the production process and the local actors involved in it. The blood sausage from Mortagne in Franche-Comté, for instance, is authentic as it refers to the place or region of origin, is constructed around a whole complex of institutions and is part of the complex of cultural heritage (see Warnier this volume).

Shelly Errington mentions another aspect how in our time a commodity might be viewed as authentic. Authenticity, she advocates, designates more and more that the

artist or the craftsman is an 'authentic Australian Aboriginal, Native American, or whatever' (Errington 1998: 141). U.S. legislation has been adapted to guarantee this fact. 'Authentic Navajo Jewelry' is thereafter only legal as label, if the objects truly have been produced by 'authentic Navajos' (Errington 1998: 141). Judith Okely shows a similar scenario in her contribution. For a commodity to become authentic, Gypsies appropriate mass consumer goods and through their work they transform these 'ready-mades' into characteristic (authentic) Gypsy objects (see Okely this volume).

Authenticating Material Culture

The irony in this understanding of the material is that, a social science understanding that the authenticity of an object is clearly not an inherent quality or essence coexists with the social production of authenticity investing various experts with the ability to discover precisely such a quality or essence. The singular object, the social and cultural value attributed to it is the result of social activities, which are then misrecognized as belonging inherently to the object. In this section, therefore, we would like to emphasize the processes of exclusion, selection and of recontextualization by which particular commodities acquire the status of being authentic. Producers, traders, local governments, marketing agencies, even consumers may in different ways value aspects of the production, the singularity of the natural resource it consists of, any special techniques or specific tools used to its production, or the regionally specific forms of its consumption. Commodities are transformed into authentic ones insofar as they are singularized, they are declared as characteristic for a region, for a culture, they may be individually and/or collectively appropriated. We shall, therefore, look at such processes of defining an object's authenticity.

Joseph Cornet defines three elements, which have to be fulfilled for such objects. First, the object has to meet general aesthetic values; second it has to be created according to characteristic elements of style of a specific society, and, third, there has to be an evidence of use, a patina and certain degradations, like scratches in the texture (Cornet 1975: 52). 'Authentic African art is that art which is produced by a traditional artist for a traditional purpose and *conforms to traditional forms*' (Cornet 1975: 55). Most of the definitions of the authentic African traditional work of art mention in a way or another these elements. In a wider perspective, these criteria are applied to all authentic art, i.e., 'primitive' art and folk art.

In all statements, whether by anthropologists, art historians, art traders, or art collectors, the crucial element is that the work of art has been used in a traditional way. In the European-American art world, this anthropological criterion takes priority over the art historical question of the formal qualities of the object. According to Frank Willett, qualitative aesthetic aspects only come into consideration once the authenticity of the work of art has been acknowledged (Willett 1976: 8).

This criterion may actually lead to some strange issues and decisions. William Bascom mentions that an object may have been carved years ago, but may never have been used, as the person who had commissioned it had died. In respect to the

understanding of the European-American art world it would be inauthentic (Bascom 1976: 316). Or, what if an artist has carved several traditional works of art for the same traditional cultural context, one being bought by locals for local use, the other ones by tourists for display in their living room? Are the former authentic and the latter suddenly inauthentic (see Hammersley-Houlberg 1976: 15)?

The claim of the traditional context of an object for its authentication raises other issues in relation to the particular knowledge involved. Arjun Appadurai sees possible discrepancies of the knowledge about the commodity, which may increase with the distance the commodities are moving from their place of origin. Appadurai differentiates between two broad forms of knowledge, the knowledge connected to production and the knowledge connected to the appropriate consumption (Appadurai 1995: 41ff).

The vast majority of traditional art is nevertheless sold either by art dealers in African metropolises such as Lagos, Kinshasa, Dakar, or Abidjan, or in galleries in the European-American art world. The knowledge of the claimed traditional contexts has to be provided by the dealers and specialists: the biography (pedigree) of the work of art. In an overall perspective, such a biography includes 'the correct identification of the origins, authorship, or provenance of an object' (Dutton 2003). According to Price this includes all the persons who have disposed of the work of art, or who have owned it, the various prices it was exchanged for, in which institutions and places it was exhibited (Price 1989: 155). Many scholars however emphasize that it is nearly impossible to get such provenance for African traditional art. One reason is the missing of collection data (Sieber 1976: 22). Another one is that the works of art have often passed through different hands of dealers, until they are offered to potential purchasers (Steiner 1995). Given the number of people involved in bringing the object into the art market, information about this same object may be altered in one way or another. The knowledge, which is authenticating the work of art therefore gets into an ambivalent situation while travelling. The anthropological contextualization is on the one hand of prime importance for cultural validation by the European-American art world. At the same time, art dealers consciously manipulate aspects of this contextualization. In other words, there is a breach between the flow of objects, which are suspected to have a high cultural and social value if they are authentic, and the flow of the corresponding knowledge.

For the commodity in general, Jean-Pierre Warnier defines three strategies for authenticating them: the domestication, the singularization, and the certification (Warnier 1994: 20ff). Domestication refers to the process by means of which the consumer her/himself appropriate a commodity after having purchased it into their personal environment (the home). By doing so, they produce a system of objects which becomes unique and peculiar to them, although the things are mass consumption products. This can be the case with the souvenir bought in Spain as a representation of 'Spanishness', which is decorating the wall of the living room (see Grau Rebollo, this volume). Another example is the mass-produced do-it-yourself bookshelf, which is painted in a colour dear to the owner and is used as display for plants, for family pictures and other collected paraphernalia.

Singularization is the process within the exchange situation, by means of which traders, marketing agencies, other specialists and specialized institutions create the authentic quality of the commodity. Such an institution is the Tribal and Folk Art Exhibition (alternately in Marin and San Francisco), an annual show that 'contains a tremendous mixture of objects, from Amish quilts to North African jewelry' (Errington 1998: 121). Flee markets (Warnier 1994: 23) are other such spaces, which sell commodities with the label of the singular, authentic. Other institutions, which produce commodity individualization are marketing agencies, mostly hired by local (regional) governments. Foodstuff, garments, furniture are transformed in such a way into products of cultural heritage. All in all, individualization concerns the selection of some commodities to the detriment of other ones, and by referencing the objects to a region, or to a past, which is assumed as characterizing the local culture, thus creating cultural heritage, or by positioning the object in some distant society.

Another practice of certification may be in respect to its production. This may be the place of origin, the singular materiality, the particular production process, the local people involved in it, or the combination of all of these aspects. The country jacket of a famous Scottish brand, although produced in a factory in Lithuania ('made in Lithuania'), is authentic insofar as the yarn of the garment is still from original, especially cared for, Scottish sheep. Major strategies actually consist in accentuating the labels as a means of authenticating: Lacoste's crocodile, the jumping Puma for sportswear, etc., all operate to individualize and certify mass commodities. The immense market potentials of such brands may be seen by the recently introduced fines in the European Union for even purchasing, from street traders, copies of illegally marked commodities. In the centre of Florence, we recently passed prominent warnings, on large columns, alerting tourists against purchasing such objects:'Buying counterfeit goods knowingly is punishable with fines from €500 up to €10,000'.[6]

There are however other forms of certification, which involve modern technologies. In Austria, organic meat is authenticated only if the natural breeding of the animal is certified by a veterinary, and if the region of production is clearly identified on the product's packaging, by the trader or the supermarket. Referring to wine certification, in France AOC (*Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée*), assigned by the *Institut National des Appellations Contrôlées,*[7] and referring to the preservative corresponding to technical norms, Warnier emphasizes that such an authentication is produced neither with reference to any past, nor to any imagined exotic, but on the grounds of a modern, technical process, which is certifying the 'good object' (Warnier 1994: 13; 25f). We have to acknowledge that techniques and processes of authenticating appear in this light as an immense, economically highly profitable, machinery that has prominently positioned itself in national and transnational systems.

Cultural Stories and Politics of Authenticity

All these spheres of the longing for authenticity are related to the relationship between an inner state and an external expression. Second, they further are connected to a first meaning of diversity. Individuals are longing to be authentic in various con-

texts, as we have shown above. To be true to oneself does not have the meaning it had with Rousseau or Herder anymore. In our times, there is a proliferation of external expression and activities, for what should stand for true, real, original inner states. At a similar token, the idea of the authentic object as well shifted into multiple connotations. In these contexts, diversity refers to the distribution and selection of what fits one's desire for the authentic, be it a behaviour, a state of mind, a particular type of object. For one individual it is the Jackson Pollock painting in the living room, for the other it may be the antique furniture, or the regional foodstuff in the refrigerator. It is a matter of the possibilities at one's disposition.

We have, however discriminated with another notion of diversity. This latter emphasizes the plural arenas of the individual's lifeworlds, where authenticity is searched and produced. Generally, it is expected that authenticity is constituted in an essentialist cultural context: turning objects into what is considered traditional, whether by referring to the craftsman from a specific region, or to the old technique, the material used, or the knowledge materialized in an authentic object, or to self-determination according to a set of values, of customs, of specific body motricities and so forth. This too is the domain which has been dealt with by Hobsbawm and Ranger with the concept of the 'invention of tradition', invention mainly as a reappropriation of elements from the past and their recontextualization within the present modernity (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

On the other side of the spectrum, the authentic may be searched as well from within avant-garde culture. That is for instance the case for alternative movements (Feminist movement, Green movement, World Social Forum), with their refusal of the dominant cultural values and norms and the claim for new ones. In the present, it is a search for the new but is less concerned with taking examples from other pure, original cultures, as it was the case in the early twentieth century. Today, this 'revolt against convention' (Taylor 2003: 65) is more informed by transnational interconnections, as expressed in post-colonial critical theories.[8] Finally, we would like to cite popular mass consumption culture[9] as a cultural space for the search of authenticity. The tourist industry (Selwyn 1996), the enacting of history in theme parks (e.g., in Williamsburg, Virginia), new simulation techniques for experiencing extreme situations, or the transformation of mass commodity into an authentic, individualized thing through consumption may be mentioned in these respects.

Against positioning the authentic quest solely within the pre-modern, Regina Bendix proposes a combination of modern and anti-modern dimensions. According to her model, the quest for authenticity is a longing for the modern and the anti-modern at the same time. 'It is oriented toward the recovery of an essence whose loss has been realized only through modernity, and whose recovery is feasible only through methods and sentiments created in modernity' (Bendix 1997: 8). We feel however that the longing for authenticity is not only an orientation into local history and is more than a pre-modern process. The search for self-determination may also consist of an idealized vision of geographically other (distant) cultural spaces.

We therefore suggest that the idea of authenticity is embedded in the ongoing project of modernity and that this idea is best investigated ethnographically in the

sense of descriptively integrating human subjects and the stakes to which they are oriented in local moral worlds. Above all, authenticity is a fundamental expression of reflexivity. The production of cultural stories for characterizing the authentic object, which, like its provenance are often manipulated by traders, consumers, craftsmen and heritage officials, are what Appadurai calls mythologies (1995: 48). The cultural adjustment of an individual's lifeworld, following the experience of an unsatisfactory cultural situation (Warnier 1996: 17), counter-, or alternative movements, are all products of conscious reflections on the inappropriate character of the present dominant norms and values of social life.

Politics of authenticity constitute another modern strategy of authentication (see Appadurai 1995: 56ff). This involves nation-states, meta-state formations and socialities. Nation-states are powerful systems producing normative systems of authentic forms of life, national ideologies and of authentic material culture. We however do not understand the modern nation-state as a monolith, covering all aspects of social and cultural life of a given society. In order to analyse its ramifications in the context of authenticity, we follow James Ferguson's and Akhil Gupta's concept of the spatialization of the state: its characteristics may be considered to be in which social, economic, cultural, or political fields the state is intervening and how, where it leaves the spaces for other socialities or institutions to act (Ferguson and Gupta 2002). We have already mentioned a major task of the state in the formulation of national culture. But in this realm, political parties, culture associations, legally acknowledged minority groups and other stake-holders are active as well. The age of globalization has actually brought new challenges, to which the state has to adjust its representation as an authentic, particular social formation. The disciplining power of the state has well been analysed. In many situations, however, the state must rather act as a broker between various interest groups. It is determining so far how these socialities may articulate their interests for self-determination in asymmetrical power relations. In education, laws and regulations regarding intercultural teaching and learning may be considered as such a social field.

Further, the nation-state is producing, regulating and protecting tangible and intangible cultural property. By doing so it determines specific goods as such, but it also includes the circulation and flows of these latter within its territory and beyond its borders. Artworks, which are considered as national culture (property), may for instance not be exported, or at least their export has to be negotiated with state agencies. Restitution of cultural property also belongs to this sphere of activity, including objects of colonial exploitation, like the famous Benin bronzes in museums in Europe and North America, which were taken by the British 'Punitive Expedition' (1897), while in Germany and Austria, for instance, the restitution of cultural property involves items stolen during the Nazi regime.

Thus, cultural heritage constitutes another field, where state institutions have to assume activities of protection, conservation, documentation and exhibition. These institutions do not just take care of historical sites or monuments. All forms of historical and present cultural creations may be included in their agenda, for example, film and photography. In most of these heritage activities, the state is obliged to interact with transnational organizations. These latter may force states to adopt new,

protective, legal requirements . UNESCO long ago put the theme of authenticity on its agenda. ICOMOS, UNESCO's 'International Council on Monuments and Sites' has launched in 1994 the NARA Document on Authenticity. Authenticity thereby appears as those values attributed to cultural heritage within the cultural contexts to which they belong (Lemaire and Strovel 1994, §11). It is noteworthy that the various paragraphs of the document deal less with cultural purity or with a bounded, separated cultural entity, but rather with the diversity of a locally authenticated heritage within a pluralistic framework. More revealing is UNESCO's 'Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity' (2002), which affirms that culture is subject to change in time and space and that cultural diversity is 'a source of exchange, innovation and creativity'.[10] Both the NARA-document and UNESCO's declaration are placed in the context of present-day flows of peoples, commodities, technologies and images.

The Structure of the Volume

The debate is launched with the paper of Jamie Saris. He offers a rereading of Edward Sapir's intriguing essay 'Culture, Genuine and Spurious', in pursuit of a definition of authenticity that might prove more anthropologically relevant than those that have gone before. Connecting Sapir's thinking to the problem of alienation, he argues, allows us to re-conceptualize authenticity outside of stale metaphors of purity and violation. Such a re-conceptualization allows us to come to better address the role of the market and the circulation of commodities. In his ethnographic example, following two periods of political struggle in Ireland that coalesced around the attachment of discrete class fragments to particular objects – middle-class interest in Irish-themed jewellery in the mid-nineteenth century and what we might label underclass elements' attachment to horses in urban and suburban environments in late twentieth- and early twenty-first century Dublin – Saris applies Sapir's notion of genuine culture, which he defines as a sense of individual access, if not control, over the means of cultural value production, as a way of thinking about the simultaneity of cultural and political struggle. Authenticity, then, emerges as a quality of experience with respect to an object or a life-episode. It is best contrasted with alienation and fetish.

Rajko Muršič rejects the term authenticity altogether, and rather focuses on the politics of authenticating and its consequences. The key problem, according to him, is that it may not be possible to think of authenticity without (social) exclusionism. Muršič mentions examples of authenticating exclusionism in music, especially rock and its roots, and, briefly, in anthropology. In the first case authenticity is inseparable from racism, in the second it is inseparable from culturalism (or nationalism). He considers the discourse of authenticity in both cases as essentializing, establishing the grounds for the essentialist notions of culture, nation and race. He proposes to abolish the notion from academic discourse insofar as the notion of authenticity has a political, manipulative character and is accompanied by a seemingly unproblematic use and therefore belongs to other seemingly non-problematic, essentializing notions that support regimes of exclusion and latent violence.

The second section of the volume opens on reflections of so-called moral discourses of authenticity. Lawrence Taylor analyses the search for authentic wilderness in Arizona's Sonora Desert of the American West. He sees it in the context of a larger struggle over the meaning and moral valence of the landscape involving national organizations dedicated to the preservation and proper use of wilderness environments. Taylor calls this contention a moral geography. This notion refers to a kind of social/cultural practice, rather than a passive cultural tradition or condition of the land itself, and draws on three disparate theoretical and disciplinary traditions, the critical geography of Lefèbvre, Harvey, and Soja, further Becker's notion of moral entrepreneur and his contemporary ethnography.

In these moral geographies, the role of authenticity is signaled in popular discourses as authentic wilderness, authentic Christians and authentic (real). In these the term authenticity carries a moral dimension. Taylor concludes that the lone pilgrim is the ideal person to experience wilderness. Here, the pilgrimage represents a moral geography that seeks inward authenticity in outward journey.

Jean-Pierre Warnier suggests the notion of a moral economy of authenticity. The first point of his argument is that there are two dimensions of authenticity, that is, politics and economy and he concludes that there is a political economy of authenticity. There is, however a moral economy of authenticity, that results from the fact that the quest for authenticity is pervaded with moral issues concerning forgery, truthfulness, good and evil, right or wrong. Warnier's contribution is based upon field research he has done with students in the region of Franche-Comté, in north-eastern France. Taking the example of the blood sausage of Mortagne, he shows that over the last thirty or forty years, the moral economy of the quest for authenticity triggered a process of quasi-ethnogenesis and definitely a process of invention of traditions in the region, which include various other contexts. Warnier ends with a few theoretical points regarding the question: 'Why the quest for authenticity at the end of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first?'

Jorge Grau Rebollo scrutinises some of the repertoires of typical Spanish souvenirs. Some of these images are also part of the 'Spain' brand abroad and some are displayed on tourist-aimed websites. Some of these so-called cultural icons were actually also made up inside Spain, as an exaltation of a notion of Spanishness as a moral distinctive trait. Grau Rebollo asks what these Spanish essences actually consist of, how and why certain images have become so closely associated to an essence of a whole country. He therefore has a twofold purpose. On one hand, Grau Rebollo exposes contradictions of the representation of certain authentic cultural icons. On the other, he deals with mainstream Spanish cinema as a fundamental cornerstone in the process of shaping, spreading and even contesting essentialist national values. Grau Rebollo concludes that some authenticities may be no more than the result of an intentional distortion. He suggests stressing and analysing not only that deformation, but the underlying reason for it: how and why an item is selected and afterwards presented in a particular way.

The third section is placed under considerations of the academic conceptual use of the notion, the investigation of the criteria used for its use and social practices of

collective discourses. Inger Sjørslev considers the notion as an analytical concept and not only a concept of different emic discourses to be dealt with anthropologically. In doing so, she both seeks to deconstruct authenticity as a discursive formation and at the same time realizes that this does not make the search for that, which is covered by the term authentic meaningless. It cannot be used from the outset to determine whether things are essentially authentic or not. She aims to move the idea of authenticity away from its Western linking, out into sociality, the collective and (outer) form. Sjørslev deals with these issues in the context of the ethnographic example of Brazilian *Candomblé*, a religion sustained by sociality, which is reflected mainly in the practice of ritual possession, while at the same time celebrating the individual. She aims at illuminating three points about what makes things authentic. First, form and content, in *Candomblé* illustrated most clearly in the phenomena of possession; second, authentication processes in relation to material objects as illustrated by the fetish, and, third, the characters of the sociality in ritual performance as pointing towards a subjective experience of authenticity.

Paul van der Grijp questions whether we should reject the notion of authenticity altogether as purely ideological. Authenticity is a slippery concept for anthropologists and is usually presented in emic rather than etic terms. The use of the notion of authenticity is indeed particularly doubtful when applied to peoples from non-Western cultures that have adopted and adapted elements of modernization and have become 'less traditional' and thus 'less authentic'. Van der Grijp's approaches the topic by looking first at contemporary art production in the Polynesian kingdom of Tonga and local ideas about authenticity, and, second, at Primitivism in Western art and the set of ideas related to it. In doing so, he deals with the authentic, the natural and the exotic respectively, and the way they overlap. Van der Grijp contents that art (e.g., Orientalism, Japanism, Primitivism) has become the laboratory par excellence to cope with this alienated feeling in its different manifestations, which drives people to search for authenticity either elsewhere, in other cultures, or in the social and professional margins of our own society, in nature or even in our own subconscious.

Andre Gingrich differentiates between two uses of the notion: first, it is used by several groups in the world we interact with; second, it is also a term regularly used by some academic fields outside anthropology. Gingrich's own use of authenticity is kept to the term's local and wider 'expressive' meanings that is, to some indigenous and public discourses. He discusses decorated wooden pillars and mural paintings from southwestern Saudi Arabia. While there is a seemingly smooth continuity inherent to the unchanged patterns of Hijazi wooden decorations, those bright industrial colours to the outside and inside of Asiri walls seem to indicate recent ruptures and upheavals in Asiri families and in fact, in local social life at large. Gingrich interprets these differences as communicating a fairly smooth process of Hijazi integration into the Saudi kingdom, as opposed to a relatively tumultuous and dramatic process of Asiri integration. Gingrich argues that these processes of integration into national Saudi statehood, and into the transnational and global forces of a Sunni Islam in its *Wahhabi* variant, represent an appropriate perspective in order to understand, i.e., deconstruct and reconstruct continuity and discontinuity in, what is seen as authentic folk art.

Marcus Banks questions in his paper what visual inauthenticity might look like. He starts off with considering the varied meanings and implications of authenticity for anthropology when it comes to a consideration of the visual image. Banks relies on the distinction between nominal and expressive authenticity as proposed by Denis Dutton (2003). Whereas most of his paper deals with the nominal dimension, the relevance of expressive authenticity will be considered at the end of his contribution. With respect to photomechanical images, he separates two aspects to nominal authenticity: The authenticity of the image-as-object; and the authority of the image content. In respect to expressive authenticity, Banks asserts that, in all the cases he mentions, the representations created are hybrids or fusions of a western-colonizing technology and changed indigenous notions of the self under techno-political domination. Thus, coming back to his initial question, what might be expressive inauthenticity, Banks concludes that given the historical and ethnographic evidence, it is unclear how the idea of establishing authenticity in the abstract is helpful to anthropology. In investigating the issue, revealing ethnographic understandings are discovered, not least the criteria by which we as observers consider the truth claims of images.

The papers of the last section finally categorically reject any genuine dimension of culture and emphasize encounter, the contact out of which images of authenticity are produced. Roy Dilley's story is one of hybridity, of *métissage* and of dialogic relations. His meaning of authenticity is an emergent quality engendered by a series of generative social relations, here, relationships of knowledge production and the cultural and political struggles entailed within that production. Key social processes in Dilley's analysis are colonial knowledge practices and the diverse ways of knowing that are implied by them. The construction of ethnographic and other forms of knowledge within colonialism cannot be divorced from the political contexts in which these forms of knowledge were created, or from the purposes to which they were put. Dilley's focus is upon knowledge practices and upon some of the products of those knowledge practices by considering the colonial officer Henri Gaden's ethnographic photographs of peoples and places within West Africa. The quality of authenticity arises in the matrix of a cultural and political struggle over the means of production of cultural value.

Judith Okely's presentation is a critique of culture as resting on isolation, which has influenced notions of authenticity. Instead, objects are transformed as cultural artefacts through opposition and encounters with the Other. She considers the Gypsies a prime example of selective creativity: they are brilliant *bricoleurs*. Gypsies, she asserts, survive by learning and fulfilling various needs of the sedentary population. They recycle the *gorgios'* rubbish, while the latter seek exoticism from a once nomadic group, who are credited with mysterious powers, re-consume these objects as personalized and 'hand-made' Gypsified objects. Ironically, many of these hawked goods are not valued within the group itself. While non-Gypsies are sold such real Gypsy objects, the Gypsies select and commission from the larger society alternatively valued material objects, which they transform into symbols of separate ethnicity. Thus on each side of the ethnic divide there are contrasting uses and interpretations of material objects.

Finally, Thomas Fillitz scrutinises expressive authenticity. In doing so, he connects images social actors have of societies and cultures, which drives them to search for specific representative objects. Considering discourses about contemporary art of Africa, his main hypothesis is that cultural regimes affirm a power of display, of a making visible within the global art world or of negating visibility, and hindering the public to see and experience such other works. Fillitz argues that authenticity refers to a construction, to cultural classifications, which are dynamic and changeable. What may be labelled authentic contemporary artistic expression has as referent the context of African post-colonial modernities and forms interconnections with many different cultural fields. These latter cannot be reduced to binary dichotomies between tradition and modernity. The question is one of articulating Afrocentric modernities as differentiated from European/North-American modernity. The contemporary quest for authenticity thus becomes, in the end, a matter of cultural diversity.

We would like to end these remarks to emphasize that the analysis of the uses of authenticity should be positioned within the framework of transnational complex networks. This however enhances how we look at different processes and discourses, constituting interconnections with transnational organizations, or with more local forms of socialities, such as cultural expressions, or claims of minority groups. In the early twenty-first century, the modern state operates in these contexts as agent of control, of subjugation, of production of new normative systems, but as well as intermediate or cultural broker among the negotiations between various social groups which are connected to it. Another aspect worth noting is becoming evident, the reference to diversity. Authenticity is most of the time linked to the idea of a cultural core, to the essence of a thing. In the recent past, maybe as a consequence of globalization flows, we witness strategies of producing authenticity and of processes of authentication, which are rather embedded in creative activities of social agents in selecting cultural spheres where to articulate their longing for 'being-true-to-oneself'. Authenticity then is more related to the production of the cultural stories in particular fields, within which the gaze into past times is but one option.

The particular anthropological approach, common to all contributions to this volume, is the central focus on people and their activities in the various cultural settings around the globe, who are reflecting and producing a division between authenticity and its opposite.

Notes

1. The efforts that marketers make to connect sale items to movie events, to bestow authenticity, are easily dismissed as simple hucksterism in most academic discourse. The ideological weight of terms like authentic for modern advertising is almost impossible to overestimate. This trend is most obvious in the production of authentic but technically impossible items, such as light sabres from the Star Wars series. These are produced according to exacting blueprints and even more exacting confirmation of this production process (Brandweek 2006). Anthropology engaged similar issues in the 1990s, especially in the debate concerning the relationship of national simulacra to real history (e.g., the exchange between Handler (1986), Gable and Handler (1996) and Bruner (1994) in the U.S.A.

Jackson (1995) goes over some of the same issues in her analysis of a political struggle between settlers and Amerindians in the north-west Amazon region of South America).

2. We borrow this notion from Jean-Pierre Warnier (2001), who defines this body motricity as a 'sensory, affective, motor-conduct;'; see also Marcel Mauss, who characterizes such body masteries in particular social spheres as specifically culture-determined (1936).

3. Eduardo Archetti has analysed the cultural specificity of Tango for Argentine masculinities (1999). For authentic dance in general, see Lindholm (2008: 88–97).

4. It is worth reminding that Ruth Benedict had already postulated in *Patterns of Culture* (1935) that members of cultures were combining apparently incongruent elements.

5. See Appadurai (1995: 38).

6. Personal observation in October 2008.

7. The Austrian DAC (*Districtus Austriae Controllatus*) is a certificate allocated in sixteen wine-producing districts to only one particular wine, which is determined as specific for that region.

8. See Bhabha (1994); Bensmaïa (1997); Spivak (2002), et al.

9. Parts of it are called entertainment culture as well.

10. UNESCO. 2002. 'Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity', Article 1, p.4.

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