Heritage Matters is a series of edited and single-authored volumes which addresses the whole range of issues that confront the cultural heritage sector as we face the global challenges of the twenty-first century. The series follows the ethos of the International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies (ICCHS) at Newcastle University, where these issues are seen as part of an integrated whole, including both cultural and natural agendas, and thus encompasses challenges faced by all types of museums, art galleries, heritage sites and the organisations and individuals that work with, and are affected by, them.

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S. A. Archiving
This chapter is a case study of the tensions between international business, a powerful entrepreneurial drive and a dominating personality, and an Association football club which represents civic pride and provincial and regional identity, together with the aspirations to on-field success and glory of an extensive popular membership. It connects with debates about globalization and identities, the commercialization of sport and the exploitation of the club as brand and marketing tool and the multiple roles of sport in the economies and polities of advanced capitalist societies (Guillanotti and Robertson 2009). It has two central themes: the shifting and contested relationships between external capital on the one hand and local loyalty and sense of identity on the other, in the intensively commercial environment of professional football, and the relationships between clubs, management, fans and local and regional economic and political actors in the articulation and expression of cultures of pride, commemoration and celebration through representations of identity by way of history and heritage. The first has yet to attract sustained attention from academics, although some excellent investigative journalism has illuminated its hidden workings and disreputable corners (Conn 2005). The second intersects with an established area of debate on the applicability of the concept of topophilia, defined here as emotional attachment to places and their associations, to sporting arenas. This has particular force when clubs are moving to new locations or transforming existing stadiums, processes which require careful emotional as well as economic management (Bale 1993; Vamplew et al 1998). But this chapter adopts a different angle of approach, examining the role of the football museum as an expression of loyalty to and identification with a club, a celebration of its past, and, inevitably, a marketing opportunity. This reflects the importance of the stadium as "a tourist place", a heritage site or a museum, where visitors ... connect with the club's history and traditions through touring the ground or looking at material artefacts of the past (Taylor 2008, 352). The setting is Spanish, but the contextual literature deals largely with England, especially the English Premier League.

The case study focuses on the conflicts surrounding the development of a football museum at the Mendizorroza football stadium of Club Deportivo Alavés in Vitoria, the administrative capital of the Basque Country of northern Spain, when the club's new owner Dmitri Piterman tried to appropriate the museum's designated space to display his collection of Dalí reproductions. At the time, Alavés had just enjoyed its most successful period on the pitch, becoming internationally visible through an exciting 5–4 defeat against Liverpool in Dortmund in the
2001 UEFA Cup Final. The museum episode was a part of wider conflicts about the running of the club and the intentions of the owner which acquired political resonance through the involvement of municipal and provincial government and provincial financial institutions. Some details are specific to a particular culture and political system, but the story contributes to the understanding of widespread phenomena in football in the new millennium. It illuminates the tensions that arise when external, itinerant capital and entrepreneurs, increasingly international or transnational, buy into established football clubs for profit-seeking involving commitments of municipal and provincial authorities, and also in the sporting clubs, and may be intended as a working-out of tensions between the local and the globalising, between social enterprise whose goals are civic pride, success and indeed glory on the field, and the sporting representation of a collective identity, and a commercial enterprise whose aim is profit maximisation (and in some cases the creation or reinforcement of a global brand which may be intended to transcend the foundational local loyalties) (Giulianotti and Robertson 2004). For the former, commercial success is a means to sporting glory; for the latter, profit may be an end in itself, and civic pride and supporter loyalty are assets to be exploited for that purpose. This is a strong statement of the case: individual owners may be, or become, attached to ‘their’ clubs, and may also be more interested in reputation through glory than in direct commercial returns. But the basic dichotomy holds good.

FOOTBALL CLUBS AND GLOBALISATION

The involvement of international entrepreneurs and businesses in professional football clubs originates in the late 20th century. Historically, the relationships between clubs and businesses had generally been rooted in the localities in question. Bob Lord, ‘the Khrouchtchev of Burnley’, presiding over the club and his business from his office at his Lowerhouse meat factory’ (Bagchi 2009), is often regarded in England as the epitome of the local business magnate who also ran his town’s football club. The era of the local business bestriding provincial urban politics was in sharp decline by the 1970s, as was that of the successful English club rooted in a small or medium-sized industrial town. Lord was one of the last representatives of this culture in the top flight (ibid).

Lord gave up the chairmanship of Burnley in 1979 and died in 1981, as his club fell into the lower divisions. In the following year the Football Association removed the historic limit of 7.5 per cent on the level of dividend football club shareholders could receive, and a year later Tottenham Hotspur became the first club to be floated on the London Stock Exchange. These were not merely symbolic juxtapositions: they marked an incipient transition to football as profit-maximising ‘big business’, with a new breed of directors who saw clubs primarily as businesses, with their older functions as focus of supporter loyalty and emblem of civic pride increasingly subject to commercial exploitation and relegated to a subordinate role (Taylor 2008, 342; King 1998). This in turn reinforced existing trends towards the monetisation of playing success into a few big city clubs, opening the way to the secession of the Premier League in 1992 and the disproportionate concentration of television revenues into the coffers of a prosperous elite. This attracted international mobile capital in search of opportunities for profit and display, although the biggest multinational conglomerates tended to content themselves with shirt sponsorship and other product placement and public relations interventions. Even in the 21st century most direct investors in individual clubs were individuals and syndicates, outside the ‘big league’ of global capitalism.1

An early exception was the attempted purchase of Manchester United in 1998 by the genuinely global media magnate Rupert Murdoch; but up to that point external entrepreneurial ventures in football club ownership had involved purchasers and investors lowering down the food chain. Specific threats to the identity of historic clubs through the pursuit of profit maximisation had emerged in 1983, when the publishing and media tycoon Robert Maxwell attempted to merge Oxford United and Reading into the Thames Valley Royals, on a new site between the cities. Maxwell showed no insight into the fierce rivalry between the clubs and the strong identification of supporters with their grounds and traditions. The proposal collapsed after (but not because of) angry campaigns by both sets of fans. One commentator labelled the scheme ‘a move that has only since been undone for sheer braveness and disregard for history by those who relocated Wimbledon to Milton Keynes’ (Andrews 2008).

The case of Wimbledon is indeed revealing. This small club in south-west London rose rapidly from obscurity to become established in the Premier League, but lost its original ground to a speculative development transaction by the then owner in 1991, whereupon the club iterated through a series of ground-shares. As the turn of the millennium it was sold on to two Norwegian businessmen who intended it to become the Dublin ‘franchise’ of the Premier League; and when this failed the Football Association approved a move to the new city of Milton Keynes, more than 60 miles away. This was strenuously opposed by Wimbledon’s fans, who founded a new club, AFC Wimbledon, and started (successfully) all over again. The Milton Keynes ‘franchise’, as it was derisively labelled, changed its name to reflect the new location. Significantly, during 2005-6 pressure from the national Football Supporters’ Federation helped to ensure that Milton Keynes Dons renounced all claim to the original Wimbledon’s history, returning the ‘patrimony’ of replica trophies and memorabilia to its ‘spiritual home’ in the London Borough of Merton, to borrow the language used by the borough’s Deputy Leader at the official reparation ceremony on 2 August 2007 (Conn 2009a; Merton Council 2007; The Football Supporters’ Federation 2007).

Wimbledon’s sporting history had followed a similar trajectory to that of Alavés, and the episode demonstrates the determination and creative resistance that fans could muster against the power of international finance. A similar fans’ rebellion occurred when Manchester United was taken over by the Glazer family from the United States using borrowed finance, and then loaded with debt and ‘sweated’ to generate profit over and above the interest payments. For some fans, protests at matches were not enough: they formed their own breakaway club, FC United of Manchester, which was organised as a members’ club and registered as a co-operative UK as a co-operative mutual, and won the Co-operative Excellence Award of 2009 for its work with local communities in the deprived Newton Heath area (Bose 2007; Coman 2010). This is an excellent example of the powerful dialectic between the global and the local that both calls upon and recreates imagined relationships between club, history, heritage and ‘community’ in response to external threats (Blackshaw 2008). But, as a study of the recent geographical expansion of the West Ham United fan base shows, the nature of the ‘communities’ at issue is itself

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1 Taylor (2008), 426-7, has surprisingly little to say about this.
changing, becoming more virtual, 'liquid' and volatile, and containing more detached and physically distant elements (Fawbey 2005).

Such attacks on clubs’ traditions and links with their communities need not emanate from international capital, although there have been several recent cases in England, as clubs ranging from Liverpool to Notts County. They often originate closer to home. Some of the worst English examples have involved interventions at lower league clubs by corrupt or fraudulent local or regional business interests, as at Chesterfield, Doncaster Rovers and Chester City. But the role of international capital is especially seductive, and has been increasing, especially when clubs need access to additional resources to maintain or enhance their status, to finance ground improvements or to move to a new site. This is where globalization imparts its own additional momentum. All of this has direct relevance to the case of Alavés (Com 2009b).

Cultures of Commemoration and Celebration: The Rise of the Football Museum

The football museum fits into this picture as an aspect of the articulation of cultures of commemoration, pride in history and topophilia, and as part of the commercialisation and exploitation of heritage. Again, Britain set the pace in most respects. Potential tensions were expressed in England through controversies over the National Football Museum, originally located at the Deepdale stadium of Preston North End, pioneers of professionalism in English football and unbeaten winners of the FA Cup and League double in the first English League season in 1888–9. It opened in 2001 (seven years after the pioneer national football museum, that of the Scottish Football Association at Hampden Park, Glasgow), and won glowing reviews after initial teething troubles. But there was increasing pressure to move it to a higher-profile location. In 2010 it was controversially transferred to the Urbis museum site in Manchester, which had no links with football. Defenders of the Preston site emphasised its close relationship with the origins and grassroots of the game as well as the genuine accessibility of the setting; but Preston North End and the local sponsors, the city and county governments and the University of Central Lancashire lost out to more powerful external influences (see Culture24 2009). Meanwhile, the first purpose-built British football club museum, that of Manchester United, had opened as early as 1986, and Pelé opened an expanded and refurbished version in 1998. But it was easier for this, and subsequent club museums, to avoid controversy: there was no question about where they should be located or what they should display. The twin goals of commemoration and commerce were mutually compatible. By 2010 Liverpool, Manchester City, Chelsea, Arsenal and West Ham United also had club museums (Martucci 2010). Museum initiatives lower down the pecking order were more likely to come from fans than club managements and to be run on a shoestring: interesting British examples are those of Bradford City (founded in 2005) and Burnley, which remains a virtual online museum sustained by fans.

2 See: http://www.associationmuseum.org.uk/cho-museum/history.html [7 February 2012]
3 See: http://www.manchesterunitedmuseumguide.co.uk [25 December 2010]
4 See: http://www.burnleymuseum.co.uk [23 December 2010]
5 See: http://www.chealseamuseum.com [23 December 2010]

The Spanish Context

The first Spanish football club museum, that of Barcelona, was inaugurated in 1984, two years before that of Manchester United, and after amplifications in 1987, 1994 and 1998 it has become a staple element in the club’s attractions, becoming the most visited museum in Catalonia in 2009, with more than 1.2 million visitors (Cultvre.com n.d.). Martucci’s global survey, published towards the end of 2010, identified further club museums at Real Madrid, Atlético de Madrid, Real Zaragoza and Athletic Bilbao, but it could not hope to achieve total coverage and (for example) it missed the museums at Sevilla and Real Sociedad. The new museum at Las Rozas, dedicated specifically to the history of the Spanish national side, which opened on 24 May 2010, appeared too late for inclusion (Martucci 2010).

Barcelona apart, the development of football club museums in Spain lagged a little behind that in England. The Alavés project was developed in a national setting where football club museums were still unusual, although in a region where such expressions of heritage and identity were emerging at two of the major neighbouring clubs (and standard-bearers for the pride of their provinces), Athletic Bilbao and Real Sociedad. The limited except and, above all, the nature of the football museum phenomenon in Spain is in keeping with more limited penetration of globalising influences in football finance in comparison with England. Even international player recruitment markets are dominated by Spanish-speaking parts of the world, away from the special cases of Barcelona and Real Madrid. Most clubs in the top divisions have been obliged to conform to a standard model of sporting limited company, the Societas Anónima Deportiva, although Real Madrid, Barcelona, Athletic Bilbao and Osasuna have kept to the older model of the club owned by its members and the influence of the membership remains a powerful force in other clubs, where the percentage size of shareholdings vested in particular individuals may be strictly limited. Grounds are often owned or part-owned by municipalities or other local public bodies and moves to new stadiums have also been unusual, certainly in comparison with England; since 1993 there have been only five cases. Clubs have usually met increasingly exacting expectations and requirements by redeveloping on the same site, without the challenges to heritage and identity that a move would entail (see, for example, Barba 2006).

Recent surveys have underlined that Spanish football clubs are not profit maximisers; that no club is publicly listed on the Stock Exchange; and that ‘clubs are backed by the financial institutions and authorities of their regions’, including elected local and provincial governing bodies as well as regional savings banks. Home-grown monsters such as Jesús Gil y Gallardo of Atlético Madrid appear occasionally, but their powers are usually limited by the ultimate veto of the members. Against this background, the Peterman affair at Alavés appeared even more lurid than it might have done in England, where both local malfeasance and controversial interventions on the part of global magnates were becoming commonplace in the early 21st century. Peterman fell squarely into neither category, which makes this case study even more interesting (Ascari and Gagnepain 2006; Barajas and Rodríguez 2010).
Local and Regional Background

To understand the Alavés case study we need some regional and local context. Alavés is the flagship club not just of Vitoria but also of Alavés, the Basque province of which it is the capital, following a common Spanish pattern of clubs representing provinces as well as cities. Alavés is the smallest of the three core Basque provinces which make up the Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco, or Euskadi, with 320,000 inhabitants; and Vitoria, also known by its Basque name of Gasteiz, is the capital not only of the province but of the whole autonomous community, while with 240,000 inhabitants it is also unusually dominant demographically in its province, containing three-quarters of the population. Within the autonomous community the unique Basque language (Euskera) is a key emblem of identity, although less so in Alavés than in the other two provinces, Guipúzcoa (whose capital is San Sebastián-Donostia) and Vizcaya (Bilbao); and questions of Basque identity are of central political and cultural importance, in ways that are also relevant to football (Mansvelt Beek 2004; Uria 1990).

Alavés is distinctive. It is land-locked, with no Atlantic seaboard. It has a smaller population than Guipúzcoa (700,000) or Vizcaya (1,150,000). Throughout the first half of the 20th century it retained an agrarian economy, less developed than the other provinces, which had modernised very quickly owing to mining in Vizcaya, the industrialisation of the district around Bilbao and of much of Guipúzcoa, and coastal tourism in San Sebastián. Although Alavés industrialised very rapidly from the 1960s, and has caught up with its Basque neighbours, people from Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa still refer jokingly (and disparagingly) to its inhabitants as ‘parientes’, a reference to the traditional cultivation of potatoes in the province (Rivera 2003).

Cultural differences between Alavés and the other Basque provinces are also important. Castilian Spanish influences carry more weight in Alavés than do traditional Basque culture and the Basque language. As a communications artery, the province has maintained intense relationships with Castilla and La Rioja. Even now, although Basque is more widely spoken owing to recent Basque Government linguistic policies, only 25 per cent of Alavés’ population speaks Basque, compared with 53 per cent in Guipúzcoa (Gobierno Vasco 2009, 35). Vitoria itself retains a ‘mixed’ identity owing to the heterogeneous origins of its inhabitants. Rapid industrialisation between 1960 and 1975 attracted huge numbers of migrants, drawn in much as from beyond the Basque Country in Castilla and León, Extremadura and Andalucía as from rural Guipúzcoa or Navarra. As the ‘least Basque’ among the Basque provinces, Alavés supports important affinities with such non-Basque territories. In 1975 only 40 per cent of Vitoria’s residents had been born there, and in recent years it has attracted immigrants from outside Spain, with 10 per cent of its inhabitants being foreigners, mainly from the Maghreb, Latin America and Eastern Europe (Rivera 2009).

Alavés’ politics are also distinctive. Basque nationalism has played an important part in the construction of footballing loyalties in the other two provinces, but less so in Alavés. From its origins in Bilbao in the 1890s, it sought the unification of Euskadi, Navarra and the French Basque Country in a single sovereign state. Within Basque nationalism a minority supports the violent revolutionary independence campaign of ETA, but most nationalists work peacefully towards enhancing sovereignty, especially through the dominant Christian democratic Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV). In most of the elections held after the death of Franco in 1975 and the subsequent ‘transition to democracy’, the nationalist parties have attracted the majority of votes cast in the Basque autonomous community, where the PNV was the ruling party, alone or in coalition, between 1980 and 2009 (Meets 2003; Woodworth 2007). But surveys of perceptions of identity indicate a broad spectrum of attitudes, from people who feel completely ‘Basque’ to those who are entirely ‘Spanish’, but with many gradations in between (De La Granja et al. 2011, 153).

Within the Basque autonomous community (and in contrast with Catalonia) there are strongly felt provincial identities. The historical traditions of the Basque provinces, linked to the ‘Fuerzas’ (traditional laws identified with each province, which were abolished at the end of the 19th century), ensured that Euskadi would be effectively a federation of three historic territories: Álava, Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya, each of which retained a strong internal autonomy, especially in fiscal matters. The Diputaciones Forales (provincial governments) retain important fiscal powers, and the Ayuntamientos (municipal governments) of the three provincial capitals are also important concentrations of political power, especially in Álava, given the macrocephalous nature of Vitoria.

These distinctive features have political consequences. For various reasons (historical traditions, limited use of the Basque language), Alavés has always been the Basque province where nationalism has made least headway. The nationalist movement began later here than in the other provincial capitals, in 1907, and grew slowly. In Vizcaya Basque nationalism had a political majority for the first time in 1917, in Guipúzcoa in 1933 and in Álava not until 1979, after Franco’s death. The nationalist share of the vote was always lower than in the other Basque provinces, but between 1979 and 1999 the PNV governed Vitoria and the province of Álava almost without interruption, during the most successful period for the nationalists throughout the Basque Country.

Although the dominant form of Basque nationalism in Álava was ‘galvanisée’ (that is, it supported a Basque nation but sustained the distinctive identity of Álava), some local people accused nationalism of being a product of Bilbao, alien to Alavés. In 1999 Unai Elorza, a conservative political party which defended the identity of Álava against the ‘centralising’ tendency of Bilbao and against the nationalist imposition of the ‘alien’ Basque language, emerged, and did well electorally during the 1990s. This anticipated the province’s change of political direction in 1999, when the national conservative Partido Popular (PP), in power nationally under José María Aznar, defeated the PNV in Álava, running minority administrations at both city and provincial level. This was a hammer blow to Basque nationalism, which did not recover until 2007, when a change of strategy by the socialist PSOE, another party organised at Spanish national level, allowed it to regain control of the provincial government. For eight years, (1999–2007) the fact that a conservative Spanish party ruled the two main institutions of Álava undermined nationalist claims of majority Basque support for independence and underlined that Alavés, although Basque, was different from Vizcaya or Guipúzcoa (De Pablo 2008).

Football, the Basques and Alavés

These complex Basque and provincial identities were also expressed through football. The Basque Country was one of the earliest Spanish regions to embrace the sport, thanks to English influences on Vizcayan industrialisation. Athletic Bilbao, founded in 1898, is regarded as the second oldest Spanish club behind Recreativo Huelva. But, in contrast with Catalonia, where FC Barcelona draws support from the whole autonomous community and has become a symbol of Catalan identity, in the Basque case the strength and endurance of provincial attachments has prevented the identity of the whole of Euskadi from being focused on a single club.
The two historic clubs, Athletic Bilbao and Real Sociedad of San Sebastián, always expressed the idiosyncrasies of, respectively, Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa, the provinces they represent as the flagship clubs of the capitals, although each kept a clearly defined Basque character. At key moments they joined forces to affirm Basque identity (as when in 1976 both teams took the field at Real's Atocha ground jointly carrying the ikurrina, the Basque national flag, whose display had been prohibited under Franco), but there is normally a fierce rivalry between the clubs and their fans, as displayed in local derby matches (Walton 1999; Walton 2001; Walton 2005; Uxueeta 1999; and see also Burns 2009; Colomé 1997).

While Athletic and Real Sociedad are the standard-bearer clubs of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa, Alavés Deportivo Alavés has this status. It was founded on 23 January 1921, replacing 'Sport Friend's Club', founded a year earlier. This replaced an 'exotic' English name by tapping into provincial identity. The name identified the club clearly with the province rather than the city or the Basque region.

The club's blue and white strip seems to have no significance for provincial identity, and nor does its heraldic shield, a triangular banner with the initials DA (Deportivo Alavés), although in some versions the shield of the province is added. But the club anthem or 'Himno al Deportivo Alavés', written by the local poet and composer Alfredo Donnay, expresses strong local and provincial sentiments.9

The limited extent of the club's ostentatious cultivation of Basque or even provincial identity may be symbolised by the problem of what its alternative nickname means. The official one is the grandiloquent (and Spanish) 'El Glorioso'; but fans also celebrate the club as the 'babazorro', which is widely used on websites. 'Babazorro' resembles a Spanish construction meaning 'slavering fox', and the club itself uses a fox as its mascot. But in Álava, and perhaps especially Vizcaya, 'babazorro' is the eating of broad beans as poverty food. The term is also used generically by Spaniards from outside Álava to imply backwardness and a lack of intelligence and urbanity (Noticias de Álava 2008; see also Sociedad Landázuri 2010). This suggests that fans were identifying with and celebrating the poverty of their province in a ritual of inversion, mocking external disparagement by embracing it. The British journalist Phil Ball noticed this, but preferred the idea that 'babí' is derived from the Spanish word for potato, while 'korro' would connote 'some kind of tick or aphid that blighted the crop from time to time'. Alavés would then be the 'potato aphid'. This piece of creative etymology was pure invention, but Ball managed to include it in a Guardian report before the 2001 UEFA final. The Daily Mirror took it up as gospel, and Liverpool fans apparently parodied through Dortmund before the match bearing banners reading 'Scousers eat aphids'. Ironically, Liverpool has its own kind of poverty food, the stew called 'couse', which gives its citizens their own (similar) label. The key point is that the source of the nickname remains unclear, not least at the club itself, which suggests at best a blurred sense of historical identity. This contrasts with the clear Basque communitarian identities of the Athletic and La Real, in spite of the latter's own Spanish and monarchist nomenclature (Basque nationalist fans prefer to refer to it as 'Erreala'). Ball has stuck to his invention, which could only gain traction in a setting where the club's Basque and provincial identities are blurred; and he reproduces it in the most recent edition of his book on Spanish football. Indeed, this story is also a warning against putting too much trust in journalists when writing 'historia actual' (Ball 2003, 200–201).

The club’s stadium, bearing the seemingly Basque name of Mendizorroza, was opened on 27 April 1924. It has been remodelled on several occasions (it currently accommodates 19,900 spectators), but Alavés has remained on the same site since that date. It has never been able to use the development value of its ground as a bargaining counter to finance expansion: during the 1930s, owing to economic problems, it had to sell Mendizorroza to the Vitoria Savings Bank, which was linked to the municipality, which is still the owner of the stadium. This was to prove highly significant.

Deportivo Alavés began convincingly. In 1930 it was promoted to the First Division of the Spanish League, founded in 1928 and consisting of only ten teams. This was when Alavés acquired the title of 'El Glorioso', although most of its subsequent history has been anything but 'glorious'. Since its foundation the club has spent 11 seasons in the First Division, 33 in the Second Division A, nine in the Second Division 'B' and 22 in the Third. This is much inferior to the record of the other Basque provincial flagship clubs, especially Athletic Bilbao, one of only three Spanish clubs (along with Real Madrid and FC Barcelona) never to have been relegated from the top flight.

After a roller-coaster career spent mainly in the second, third and fourth tiers of Spanish football, the golden age of Alavés was precipitated by successive promotions to the Second Division B in 1990, to the second tier in 1995, and finally to the First Division in 1998. These were genuinely glorious years, in which the club qualified for the UEFA Cup in 2000, reaching the final against Liverpool on 16 May 2001. Although Alavés lost 5–4 in extra time, they had the distinction of being the first team to reach a UEFA final at the first attempt. This final is now considered the best in the history of the UEFA Cup (now Europa League), and in 2001 Alavés won UEFA prize for having the best fans in Europe. These were years of sporting success, stadium improvements, prosperity and economic stability; but they proved short-lived.

In 2003 Alavés returned to the Second Division, and in the following year the then chairman Gonzalo Antón sold the club to the Ukrainian-American tycoon Dmitri Piterman. After a brief return to the top division Alavés was again relegated, in the middle of a series of scandals and outrageous comments by Piterman which ended, as we shall see, in 2007. Piterman's incompetence and management left the club severely wounded economically and it had to have recourse to a creditors' agreement through the 'Ley Concursal'. In 2009 the team was relegated to the Second Division B. As we write Alavés is battling to return to the Second Division A, to repair its financial situation and secure survival with economic assistance from provincial and city governments (Gómez Gómez 1994; Fernández Monje 2001).

Until Piterman arrived Alavés had been a humble club, firmly grounded in its city and province. The local institutions had recognised not only the economic benefits to the province from having a professional football club (Periancz 2002) but also its contribution to provincial pride, always with a jealous eye on Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa, on Athletic and Real Sociedad. The club’s survival on several occasions when it seemed likely to go under reflects the interests of local institutions or business leaders in maintaining the team as an emblem of Álava’s identity. Despite this, because of its modest history and the peculiarities of the province it has never aroused the overwhelming enthusiasm associated with Athletic or Real Sociedad; and it has never shared the nationalist pretensions of Athletic (especially) to recruit only Basque players.

Alavés is neither the only club in the province, nor in the city; but no rival has succeeded

9 Donnay began as an anarchist trade union activist, and was later a member of the Radical Socialist Republican Party, before abandoning politics to concentrate on apotithetical songs of provincial nostalgia. See: http://www. alfredodonnay.com [12 January 2011]
in displacing it as the club of Vitoria and Álava. The only serious challenger was C.D Aurrera of Vitoria, which in 1996–7 almost joined Alavés in the Second Division A. However, in 2003 Aurrera was relegated administratively to the Third Division, where it remains, for failing to pay its players. It fell into a profound economic crisis. While the PNV had assisted Aurrera when in power between 1979 and 1999, the PP resumed their support, claiming that the crisis arose from irregularities committed by Aurrera’s management. The nationalists in turn accused the PP of assisting only professional sport (in other words, Alavés) while allowing Aurrera to be relegated. But Aurrera had become a feeder club for Athletic Bilbao, which some saw as a betrayal of provincial identity. Indeed, the PNV accused the conservatives of undermining Aurrera, which they saw as a better representative of Basque identity in the province, when it fell into crisis. After regaining power in the province in 2007, the PNV resumed economic assistance to Aurrera, in detriment to Alavés, provoking new disputes between the parties in Álava (see de Arri 2003; Martínez Víguri 2010).

Despite this confrontation, Deportivo Alavés has never been identified with a particular political ideology. From its inception the club has been run by people with diverse political affiliations, although conservatives have predominated. The first chairman was a journalist and newspaper proprietor from the political centre and centre-left. Others included a leader of traditional Catholic conservatism and a high-profile member of Acción Nacionalista Vasca, a left-wing nationalist party founded in 1930. During the Franco era the club was inevitably headed by ‘suitable’ monarchists, conservatives and Falangists. Many Alavés leaders were not defined by their politics, but were well-known provincial businessmen who saw the club not so much as an investment but as a way of identifying with local interests.12

Until Piterman’s arrival the management of Alavés presented a serious image, closely tied in with local culture, drawing support from local and provincial institutions which saw it as representing provincial pride and values. The political and cultural differences between Alavés and Euskadi as a whole sometimes produced confrontations. Some fans protested because the Basque Government, under PNV control between 1980 and 2009, gave more support to Athletic and Real Sociedad than Alavés, even when the latter was also in the First Division. They thought that Alavés was considered less ‘Basque’ than Athletic or Real, lacking as it did their links with nationalism. This was supported by the limited coverage Euskal Telebista (ETB), the public Basque television channel, gave to Alavés compared with Athletic and Real.13

Origins of the Alavés Football Museum

The UEFA Cup success of 2001 and the apparent consolidation of Alavés’s position in the First Division seemed an appropriate moment for recovering the club’s history and stimulating the pride of local supporters. The favourable economic state of club and local financial institutions opened up projects, including the museum, which would have been unthinkable with the return of economic crisis.

The museum project was entrusted to the Fundación Deportivo Alavés, a non-profit-making organisation which looked after aspects of the club’s work that were not strictly economic nor based on competitive sport, such as football in schools and the community or Third World solidarity campaigns. The Fundación had a social policy committee, with representatives from the main provincial institutions, including the provincial government, the city council of Vitoria, the savings bank of Vitoria and Álava and the University of the Basque Country.

Early in 2002 the director of the Fundación Deportivo Alavés, Álvaro Arriola, approached Antonio Rivera, a history professor who specialised in the province’s history and was currently vice-rector of the Álava campus, to entrust the University with a preparatory study for the future museum. As the club itself had few trophies and historical materials to display, a research project was needed to catalogue suitable objects, photographs, documents and other items that were scattered in other locations or in private hands. The provincial government undertook to provide financial support given the social, historical and cultural significance of the project for the province. The designated project director was Santiago de Pablo, professor of Contemporary History and author of several books on 20th-century Álava, and on 2 September 2002 the parties concerned signed a collaboration agreement by which he was to undertake ‘the completion of a study which would identify the documentary sources and historical inheritance of Club Deportivo Alavés, which would then enable future consideration of a club museum’ (Departamento de Juventud y Deporte de la Diputación Foral de Álava y el Departamento de Historia Contemporánea de la Universidad del País Vasco-Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea 2002).14

In January 2003 a press conference announced that the future museum would be situated under the stand, next to the official club shop (Pereras 2003). This location reflected the dual role of the museum: conserving the historical memory of Alavés, but also stimulating trade at the shop. De Pablo’s team brought together a variety of memorabilia which were donated by institutions and individual fans (Deportivo Alavés Bizirik 2003). On 30 December 2003 the club vice-chairman announced that the museum would open in 2005.

In March 2004 Deportivo Alavés selected specialist companies to present suitable projects, together with a budget. The club would choose its preferred option and hand the task over to the successful company. In July three projects were submitted, and the club announced that in the autumn one would be selected, and financial support finalised, for a 2005 opening. But at the same time (12 July 2004) Dmitri Piterman took charge of the company that ran the club, SAD Deportivo Alavés, after buying 51 per cent of the shares. His arrival stopped the museum project, with its focus on the history of the club and its relationship with the society of its province, in its tracks. On the same site, Piterman would propose a very different kind of exhibition.

Piterman and Deportivo Alavés

When he took charge of Deportivo Alavés Dmitri Piterman was already well known in Spanish football. Born in the Ukraine in 1963, he was a United States citizen, having moved with his family to California when he was 12 years old. In 1990 he had moved to the Catalan city of Girona, where he continued the residential property speculations which had made his fortune, while becoming interested in football. In 1999 he took control of Palamós CF, a Third Division team from Girona province. His musas operandi in Palamós foreshadowed his activities in bigger...
clubs: he looked for clubs with economic problems, or whose owners needed ready money, took complete control of the organisation, ran it as if it were his own private property, brought in his own trusted manager (especially Chuchi Cos) and took personal charge of the team, despite having no official qualifications for the role.

After a frustrated attempt to acquire Badajoz, then in the Second Division A, in January 2003 Piterman bought 24 per cent of the shares of First Division Racing Santander. As the remaining shares were held in small parcels, Piterman took control of the team, presenting himself as a photographer or kitman to gain access to the bench, and managing in such a 'hands-on' way that the League took proceedings against him for acting as a manager without a licence. His unusual personality soon ensured the deterioration of his relationship with the other Racing shareholders, and he was driven out.

Piterman continued his search for control of a professional football club. Alavés became a preferred target because it played in the Second Division A and its chairman, the hotelier Gonzalo Anrón, was desperately seeking a buyer to solve his personal problems. Having no trustor manager (especially Chuchi Cos) and he was a preferred target because his relationship with the powerful local institutions broke off relations with Piterman, who threatened to take legal action against the Vitoria city government, which owned the stadium. Not content with barracking the chairman at matches, the fans organised demonstrations against him (Fig 9.1). Piterman reacted by referring to the campaigning group 'Sentimiento Albiazul' ('Blue-and-White Passion') as 'riffraff' ('gentuza'). This organisation had been established to recover the 'real' Alavés, freeing the club from Piterman's control; and his response merely made matters worse. Finally, Piterman also fell out with the squad when he threatened and illegally dismissed one of the players, for which he was legally punished (Fig 9.2). Further eccentricities also disgusted the fans, such as posing nude for the magazine Interuox in the city government's Mendizorroza stadium.

Economic problems were added to the list, including the non-payment of players' wages, and the situation became unsustainable. After further protests by the fans (Fig 9.3), pressure from the local institutions and complex negotiations, in March 2007 Piterman sold his majority share in Alavés to a group of investors led by the new chairman, Fernando Orrit de Zárbez. Apparently, during Piterman's four years in charge of Alavés the club's debt multiplied threefold, reaching 23 million euros. Piterman's financial record at the club is currently sub judice, but in 2008 the commercial court of Vitoria embargoed his assets in Spain to the value of 13 million euros. So far, the only judgement presented has required him to return 120,000 euros for having used club funds for personal expenditure (EFE/Vitoria 2009; Mallo 2010).

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**Fig 9.1.** A demonstration of Alavés members passes through the centre of Vitoria, with a banner displaying the slogan 'Dmitry Kanpora' ('Dmitri Piterman out') in the Basque language.

**Fig 9.2.** The Alavés players hold a press conference in opposition to Piterman, 30 November 2006.
A fortnight later Piterman dismissed Arriola as general manager of Deportivo Alavés. This was a further step in a clear-out of former employees, as the new management replaced them with trusted collaborators of Piterman. A little later the press learned of the Dali museum project and the abandonment of the Alavés museum, sparking widespread opposition (de Esquide 2004). As the PNV was then in opposition both in the city and provincial government (which were run by the PP), this was an opportunity to put pressure on both institutions, which were pressured as proprietor of the stadium and provider of financial support for the football museum research project. The nationalists had already accused the PP of having assisted the professional and "globalised" Alavés in detriment to the voluntarist and "Basque" Aurerra. A PNV councillor in Vitoria, Íñigo Antúa, asked Encina Serrano, who held the municipal Culture and Sport portfolio, for explanations about the Deportivo Alavés museum project. He wanted to know specifically whether the city government had authorised the work on the Dali museum, now being installed in a building that it owned, and what had happened to the Alavés museum. Responding to the pressure from the PNV, the city government opened an investigation to find out whether Piterman's project was actually legal ("A M V", 2004). It then instructed Alavés to stop the building work until the nature of the museum had been clarified. Antúa accused Piterman, and indirectly the PP of "throwing so many years of history out with the rubbish" by abandoning the Alavés museum (de Arruzza 2004).

Now that the museum question had gone public the provincial and city governments tried to rectify the injustice, interviewing members of Piterman's management team (Rivera 2004; Loza 2004). Each institution had different objectives, although both were governed by the PP. The provincial government, led by Federico Verástegui, the portfolio holder for Culture and Sport, required Alavés to comply with the agreement signed two years previously and move ahead with the football museum. The city government, through its own Culture and Sport cabinet member, Encina Serrano, displayed its anger because the planning of both museums had taken place behind its back, in spite of its ownership of Mendizorroza. Serrano was right: the club, supported by the provincial government, had indeed prepared the original project without the city government's consent. Piterman had begun the work without proper permission, presenting it as 'minor alterations' when it actually entailed a fundamental reconstruction of the foundations of the stadium. As the PNV was threatening to use the museum issue as a weapon against the PP, the conservative politicians sought an agreement with Alavés to avoid opening a new front in their hidden struggle between the parties.

At last, on 2 December 2004 a meeting of all interested parties (Deportivo Alavés, the provincial and city governments, and De Pablo as director of the original project) was called to seek resolution of the conflict. Piterman's management team claimed that the previous management had told them nothing about the Alavés museum project. This was hard to believe, as although Piterman had been removing the trusted employees of Gonzalez Antón others knew about the project had continued working for Piterman for some time and some remained in post, including his legal adviser. It seemed more likely that nobody within Alavés wanted to defy the new chairman by reminding him of the existing project and that the stadium was not the club's property. Piterman's representatives accused Antón of having removed the club's most precious trophy (the plaque for the UEFA runners-up, which was in the chairman's office and was said to have vanished at the moment of Piterman's arrival) and insisted that all documentation relating to the Alavés museum had disappeared from the club offices. Piterman's team, which consisted of people from Palamos or Santander with no connection with Alavés, was only interested in
opening the Dali museum as soon as possible. The Alavés museum was irrelevant to them, as
they had no interest in the club’s history.

In the end a compromise was reached: Mendizorroza would house a museum which would
reflect the history of Alavés but, in one or two rooms allocated to temporary exhibitions, Piter-
man’s Dali collection could be displayed first.14 The problem was that, although completing the
Dali section of the museum would be easy, the Alavés section required more preparation time.
The Piterman team proposed that the Dali section should be opened first and that of Alavés some
months later, confirming that the museum was really a pretext for displaying the chairman’s art
collection. But both the city and provincial government rejected the proposal, thinking about the
political cost to the PP of appearing to support Piterman against a project linked to local history
(Serrano said there had to be ‘something’ of Alavés, because otherwise ‘the PNV people will kill
me’). The institutions wanted above all to reach an agreement, avoiding political confrontations
with either Piterman or the opposition (especially the PNV).

On 27 December the city government and Alavés announced that a final agreement had been
reached, and that the museum – dedicated partly to Alavés and partly to Dali – would open at
the end of January 2005. In reality this proved impossible, above all because the Alavés section,
held back by Piterman’s intervention, needed extra time. Piterman’s deputy tried to bring back
De Pablo, the historian who had directed the Alavés project, but he refused. In the end a young
journalist took charge of the Alavés part of the museum, while a trusted confidante of Piterman
prepared the Dali part.

The museum was inaugurated on 18 March 2005. As envisaged, it contained some rooms
displaying works by Dali – basically lithographs – and others dedicated to the history of Alavés,
with trophies, shirts, photographs and memorabilia. Among those present were representatives
of local institutions (provincial and city government), etc) and political parties, the local business
and cultural worlds, sporting figures and former Alavés players. Piterman – accompanied by his
family – emphasised the legacy of the Catalan artist, reminding those present that, like Dali, they
should keep an open mind and that ‘in many cases the purest mind is that of the sports player’.

One of the politicians remarked that this ‘cocktail of sport and art’ was an ‘attractive proposition’
de Esquide 2005; Fierros 2005). Both Piterman and the local institutions had finally achieved
their objectives: that of Piterman, to display his collection and gain publicity; that of the city
and provincial governments, to avoid a major dispute and silence the nationalist opposition. The
best news was the reappearance of the UEFA runners-up plaque. Its whereabouts had remained
unknown until, on the opening day, someone left it in a Vitoria church, informing the priest to
be returned it to the club (Fig 9.4). This strange occurrence encapsulated the history of the
project as a full-scale soap opera.

In practice, things did not run smoothly. The museum’s design was less than elegant, put
together by someone who lacked expertise, as illustrated by the lighting, low ceilings and round
arches. In private, the politician who had described the combination of art and sport as an
‘attractive proposition’ commented that the museum’s design ‘was like a breath’ (anonymous pers
comm). If Piterman thought that ‘thousands of people’ would come to see Dali’s works (and not

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14 The city government announced that each exhibition of art works could last for a maximum of three months; Piter-
man would not be able to keep his Dali collection on show for ever (L. M., 2004 El Ayuntamiento
limitó a tres meses las muestras artisticas en Mendizorroza, El Correo (Alava edition), 28 December, 45).
This requirement was not enforced when the museum opened.
CONCLUSION

This has been an essay in the perils associated with globalisation for football clubs, especially modest ones, which seek to continue to punch above their weight and need injections of capital to do so. The case of Alavés does not fit readily into predetermined boxes. The club is not a bearer of strong cultural traditions, at least when compared with other provincial standard-bearers in Spain, and especially the Basque Country. Its nemesis, Dmitri Piterman, was neither an indigeneous manipulator of needs and opportunities 'on the make' in unscrupulous pursuit of profit, as in so many English cases, nor on a more elevated sporting plane, the representative of powerful global industrial and financial interests in search of sporting glory to promote themselves or their brand. He fell between these categories, and his sporting and cultural aspirations outran his resources and abilities, although it was always clear that he had no particular attachment to Alavés as a club with a history and a local and provincial identity. But the strange affair of the Alavés football museum does shed an interesting, and sometimes lurid, light on the potential political and cultural repercussions of this kind of external intervention in local sporting cultures and on the problematic relationships between commemoration and commerce, heritage and hubris. It presents itself as both a landmark and a warning for those who seek to negotiate the perilous waters of globalisation from which might appear to be the most secure, and on their own terms, successful of starting points, especially if they value the history and heritage that constitutes the essence of their club's identity and meaning.

FIG 9.5. A group of children visits the trophy section of the Deportivo Alavés museum.

(Big 9.5). Pictures by pupils of the School of Arts and Crafts replaced Dalí’s works. This was symbolic of the values of the new museum, which the mayor described as ‘cosy and attractive’, unpretentious like the city and completely remote from the idea, linked with the forces of capitalism and globalisation, which had impelled Piterman to install Dalí in a local football museum (El Correo 2010).

The new management intended to open the museum to the public from September 2010, coinciding with the start of the new football season, but the club’s difficult economic circumstances made it difficult to promote it. Apparently the income from tickets did not cover staff and maintenance costs, and as we write the museum has closed its doors again, although it reopens for specially arranged visits by schools, Third Age groups and other organised parties. This is, ultimately, a highly cautionary tale.

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Replacing the Divots: Guarding Britain’s Golfing Heritage

Wray Vamplew

Material Culture, Collections and Museums

An essential aspect of golfing heritage is the legacy of material culture from the three centuries or so that the sport has been played in Britain. This is broad and covers most of the categories outlined in Hardy et al’s (2009) recent typology. The focus is playing equipment, with golfers changing over time from using fully wooden clubs to those with metal heads and (later) shafts and now the oxymoronic ‘metal wood’. The ball that they strike with these implements has developed from the 18th-century version, stuffed with feathers, through the 19th-century gutta-percha to the rubber core, invented in the early 20th century and the basis of the modern golf ball, each of them promising the user longer distance and greater control. Then we have prize: the Claret Jug, denoting the connection of golf with alcohol, awarded to the winner of the Open Championship; the medals for club champions attached to the shaft of a club displayed in the clubhouse; and the plethora of engraved spoons given to those who overcame their handicap in the monthly club tournament. As for sportswear, club regulations have usually reinforced social conventions in terms of golfing attire. Edwardian men played in suits and ties while women wore long skirts and bonnets. These are brought to us in photographs and film, the latter capturing bodily movement, an essence of sport. Golf magazines of the time, as well as being material culture in their own right, advertised the latest in training equipment and sports medicine technology, the latter being still primarily liminents and embrocations. Vennes are often still in existence, though rarely in their original form as club and ball ‘improvements’ have rendered old distances and hazards redundant and as members have demanded better facilities in the clubhouses. Nevertheless, the sites show the shift from seaside links to inland courses and the move from courses almost as nature intended to ones that were artificial ‘natural’ environments created by golf architects. Finally there is the mass of ephemera and detritus, ranging from autographs to artworks, from broken tees to old scorecards.

Compilations of such heritage material are labelled memorabilia by Hardy and his colleagues. There are many collectors of golf memorabilia. Some pursue it for investment reasons, looking for rare books and equipment, but most are hobbyists, people simply passionate, occasionally obsessive, about an aspect of the game’s history. Some collectors are intensely private, indulging in self-gratification; others, such as the 700 or so members of the British Golf Collectors’ Society (BGCS, formed in 1987), are enthusiastically open about their hobby. This group’s aim was ‘to introduce golf collectors to one another, to encourage them to meet to correspond and to disseminate news and information about our hobby through a newsletter’ (BGCS 2010). This...