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Public Culture and the Making of National Memory

Robert Burns in Contemporary Scotland

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

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Introduction

Summary

This thesis is concerned with the relationship between public culture, cultural memory and national identity. Its purpose is to develop a critical account of the ways in which contemporary culture acts as a site for cultural memory and participates in the construction and representation of cultural identity, specifically Scottish identity. While earlier approaches to public memory have emphasised the recording and preservation of the past, this study contributes to recent conceptual shifts in the field that focus on contemporary meanings and the mutable and fluid nature of cultural memory.[1] Here, cultural memory is viewed as a dynamic cultural process, in which the past is re-presented, reconfigured and meanings are reassigned in the context of the present and within wider cultural frames of relevance.[2]

An important implication of this dynamic conception of cultural memory is that while cultural memories are viewed (and studied) through their manifestation in cultural form (as artifacts, images, narratives and cultural practices), it is how those representations of and activities concerning the past 'are organized socially and culturally' that helps to explain what they might mean for those doing the remembering.[3] A further implication is that the technologies of remembering allow for memories to be shared and shaped across 'space and time' and for memories to interact across social and cultural environments in creating 'communality'.[4] The interest here is in the way in which memories can and do move across media, across generations, across borders and cultural spheres, and what happens to those memories in that process, especially as new media and technologies arise.[5]

The topic is addressed through a detailed investigation of contemporary representations of Robert Burns (the eighteenth century Scottish poet and song writer), who continues to maintain a substantial cultural 'afterlife' in the twenty first century, both within Scotland and beyond. As the late twentieth and early twenty first century has brought increased political independence, a global economic outlook and cultural buoyancy to Scotland, it has also has been marked by a renewed interest in Burns. Long established as a Scottish cultural icon, this literary figure from Scotland's past is attracting considerable new attention across the social spectrum: from politicians to artists, from scholars to roller derby teams, from cultural institutions to fashion designers, and from tourism agencies to bloggers and facebookers. Burns' cultural afterlife is also being expressed and represented in both Scottish and global terms in various cultural and social arenas, and through globally interconnected networks and technologies of meaning making.

This recent flourishing of interest and engagement raises questions about what it is that the figure of Burns does (in a cultural sense) and why and how an eighteenth century poet and song writer continues to be the object of such extensive and varied cultural elaboration at this time. In approaching this question, some fruitful lines of enquiry are being suggested in recent discussions and research that has looked at the nineteenth century Burns as a 'mobilizing agent in collective memory production'.[6] One such appraisal refers to him as not only 'a universal symbol of Scottish identity', but also as 'a metaphor for cultural memory'.[7] That analysis points to how his construction in the nineteenth century as 'an iconic figure of Scottish cultural memory' has the potential to 'be resignified as necessary in subsequent chronological and geographical sites'.[8] It is this potential for the resignification of Burns as a multivocal symbol of cultural memory and identity that will be explored in a contemporary context.

In addressing Burns' contemporary salience, the study addresses one of the key questions in the field of cultural memory, that is, how societies remember and why they do so.[9] Some of the theory and research that addresses this question has focused more specifically on the role of cultural memory in the construction and representation of national identities.[10] That work has shown how cultural memory not only represents identity but is also an important agent in constructing it.[11] It is this idea of cultural memory as a means through which definitions of the nation and

national identity 'are simultaneously established, questioned, and refigured' that frames this investigation.[12] Issues of the digital era together with interpretations of the effects of globalisation have also brought revised understandings of how cultural memory and identity operate not only within national borders, but also across borders.[13] Informed by these considerations, this nationally focused investigation will be pursued at the intersection of the national and the global. Its rationale is based on the conception of the nation as a 'changeable script' which accommodates the 'extraterritorial aspects of contemporary national life'.[14] In this ongoing scripting and reimagining of the nation, the expectations of both 'insiders and outsiders' help to shape and define the nation and account for its continued relevance.[15] In keeping with this view of the nation, it will be argued that national identity is established and maintained through a variety of memory practices and forms through which representations and narratives of nation are constructed and negotiated.

Working from this perspective, the study will explore how the defining and refiguring of Scottishness today relies on Robert Burns as its symbolic source. It will examine how recent representations contribute - explicitly/and or implicitly - to his ongoing construction as a symbolic site for Scottish cultural memory. It will do so by focusing on his representation in a variety of cultural and social arenas, popular forms and media texts, and their relationship to other cultural discourse about him. It will consider how Burns is being resignified through new cultural practices and technologies within (and beyond) Scotland, and the implications that this may have for his place in modern Scottish identity. By taking these features of his contemporary presence into account, it will examine how the figure of Burns that was established as a site of Scottish cultural memory in the nineteenth century, has become a 'reusable' historical cultural text, able to be mobilised, reframed, and reinvested with new meaning in response to shifting social, cultural, economic and political circumstances in the twenty first century.[16]

Background: locating Robert Burns in the twenty first century

Robert Burns, whose brief life of 37 years from 1759 to 1796, is celebrated all over the world. Achieving an international cult status in the nineteenth century, considered comparable to that of Elvis Presley, the power of the poet as a cultural icon of Scottish identity remains undiminished in the twenty first.[17] In both scholarly

assessments of his life and work, and in the arena of popular opinion, he continues to attract critical acclaim and to exert broad appeal. He was recently, for example, voted 'the greatest ever Scot' by academics and historians, and by a wider television viewing audience.[18] Memorialised and represented in a plethora of forms: in statues and portraits, Burns Clubs and Burns Suppers (where he is traditionally toasted as 'The Immortal Memory'), annual Burns birthday celebrations, in museums, souvenirs and products, art, currency and stamps, popular recordings of his songs, and in publications of his poetry and life; the figure of Burns permeates public culture today in both Scotland and beyond. Yet, despite his high visibility and cultural profile, little is understood about what these representations say about his place in contemporary Scotland.

In January 2009, on the occasion of the Robert Burns 250th birthday celebrations in Scotland, David McCrone, professor of sociology and co-founder of the University of Edinburgh's Institute of Governance, made the following remarks at a Burns Supper speech at the university: 'Burns is probably a more important national icon than Scotland's patron saint, St Andrew, but possibly just as accreted in myth'. Noting that 'our greatest poet and patriot' is celebrated from the United States to the former Soviet Union, he commented that 'it is remarkable, in retrospect, that it is a poet who is Scotland's national hero. Most other countries make do with politicians and war heroes'. McCrone went on to offer three main reasons for Burns' continuing importance to Scotland: his colourful life, his ambiguity, and his politics.[19]

As a measure of that contemporary relevance, McCrone also made reference to the renewed scholarly interest in recovering a fresh Burns from the nineteenth century's cult of nostalgia and sentimentality.[20] This current engagement with Burns and his potential for reinterpretation is evident across a wide range of cultural activity. In addition to the creation of the Centre for Robert Burns Studies at the University of Glasgow, there has been new scholarship and conferences, major research and publishing projects (including a two million dollar 12 volume edition of his work), international and interdisciplinary academic networks, and the establishment of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, considered to be the single most important Burns site in the world.[21] There has also been the interpretation of Burns by a new generation of poets and writers, designers, artists and architects.[22]

What McCrone did not mention in his speech was Burns' importance to the Scottish economy.[23] Burns has been identified by the Scottish government as 'an economic asset' with his value to domestic and international tourism, trade and international profile being assessed and translated into action.[24] The most notable feature of this has been his use in the marketing of Scotland as a tourism and business destination, focusing on the worldwide Scottish diaspora and opportunities in other international markets including China. A prominent recent example has been the *Homecoming Scotland 2009* international tourism campaign linked with the Robert Burns 250th birthday celebrations in that year. It represented the largest collaborative international tourism initiative Scotland has ever undertaken.[25] That year was also the occasion for the enhancement of Burns related websites, collections and heritage sites; the staging of academic conferences within and outside of Scotland, art exhibitions, travelling displays and local festivals; and new academic and popular publications. It also saw new commemorative Burns currency, stamps, shortbread, whisky and souvenirs; the launch of the BBC's Robert Burns website and BBC television's three part documentary, *The World According to Robert Burns*; and a special limited edition of Coca Cola featuring Burns.[26]

In the recent political and constitutional context of Scotland, Burns' presence is especially notable. At the opening of the first Scottish parliament in 300 years in 1999, it was Burns who took centre stage. The Scottish folk singer, Sheena Wellington, delivered her rendition of Burns' song, *A Man's a Man for a' That*, from the balcony overlooking the great hall, where the Queen, Prince Phillip, Scottish MP's and other dignitaries were assembled.[27] It symbolically defined the parliament as a 'new song' in the story of Scotland. In the words of Scotland's (then) First Minister:

... today there is a new voice in the land, the voice of a democratic parliament. A voice to shape Scotland, a voice above all for the future ... At the heart of (Burns') song is a very Scottish conviction: that honesty and simple dignity are priceless virtues, not imparted by rank or birth or privilege but part of the soul ... This is about who we are, how we carry ourselves. (Donald Dewar, First Minister)[28]

On the occasion of what could be considered as Scotland's most deeply sought after achievement, it was Robert Burns who spoke for the nation - its identity, its values, its past and traditions, and future aspirations.[29] Now, in the context of the Scottish

independence referendum in September 2014, his rhetorical and symbolic presence is notable on both sides of the political debate, in media coverage and online commentary, in pro-independence promotional material, and in the popular and scholarly discourse, art and theatrical performance work surrounding the issue.[30]

This recent attention to Burns in various forms and settings is all the more pertinent for this study, since for much of the twentieth century he was largely neglected in the scholarly sphere, Burns heritage sites had fallen into disrepair, the 200th anniversary of his death in 1996 was a lacklustre affair, and no new monuments were produced.[31] While remaining an immensely popular figure, he was judged to have become an all too familiar stereotype and 'a pleasantly vague and idealised public icon'.[32] The enthusiasm and adoration that marked his nineteenth century reception became the subject of considerable discussion and critique, with the 'Burns cult' being damned or dismissed as sentimental excess. Burns Clubs and Burns Suppers were derided, and Burns himself (together with Walter Scott) described as 'sham bards of a sham nation'.[33] In the twentieth century critiques of Scottish culture, Burns came to stand for romanticised, false or distorted traditions, signified by a sentimental and apolitical vision of Scotland of the past and a 'fossilised' and 'redundant literary tradition'.[34] As one of the 'arsenal of clichés of Scottish iconography' alongside tartan, whisky and heather, he came to be seen 'not so much as defining Scotland but as overshadowing it'.[35]

Towards the later part twentieth century, the broader cultural environment in which Burns operated in Scotland started to shift as issues of Scottish identity, history and culture became increasingly the focus of considerable critical reinterpretation. Attempts were made 'to explore and define Scotland in terms of its character, institutions and the myths that represented Scotland (as well as ascertain how relevant they still were)'.[36] The many new studies, critical accounts and publications that focused on reappraisals of Scotland's literature, art and music provided, as Alan Riach has noted, 'confident and panoramic views of territory that had been approached too tentatively, apologetically and only partially mapped'.[37] These new assessments of Scottish cultural life and history 'altered the ways in which Scotland's cultural production might be understood'.[38] In what Murray Pittock describes as 'a wide-ranging renewal of Scottish cultural life', the twentieth century's pessimistic cultural critique of Scotland's identity, history and self-

representation was shifting towards a more optimistic and internationalised view of Scotland's cultural and political possibilities.[39] It was in this context that a renewed scholarly and wider cultural engagement with Burns took hold.

While Burns is now back on the critical and cultural agenda, the climate surrounding him is not all unequivocally positive. His widespread celebration as Scotland's national poet has been deemed as being 'reduced to a ritual in which literary value plays little part', is often 'repetitive and critically undemanding', and permitting 'a safe celebration of Scottish identity which raises no awkward political or cultural questions'.[40] There are a great many concerns currently being voiced regarding his reputation and standing, his meaning for Scotland, the 'use and misuse' of his memory, and the need to more fully assert his literary contribution to Scotland and the world. Equally troubling for many is the misdirection of his 'true' meaning and worth in his appropriation as global commodity, as heritage, festival and tourism attraction, and as political 'poster boy'.[41]

At the same time as scholars and others proclaim, defend, reclaim, rescue and reinterpret his virtues and values (literary and otherwise), his 'cult' status as national icon and myth and its impact on Scottish cultural and political life and identity remain problematic. As recently as January 2013, the Scottish historian, Tom Devine has been reported as arguing that the enthusiasm for Burns 'distorts the real identity of Scots today', and that 'the myths that have grown up around him have submerged the realities of modern Scotland'.[42] Devine's concerns about the debilitating effects of the Burns cult on Scottish identity, and what he refers to as the 'Burns Supper School of Scottish History', echoes arguments that were being championed in the early part of the twenty century by writers such as Hugh MacDiarmid, whose 'attacks on the Burns cult became notorious; his attacks on Burns's legacy to Scottish literature became infamous; and his attacks on Burns himself became scandalous'.[43]

Indeed, challenging, debunking or reassessing the myths that have grown up around Burns continues to be an especially lively pursuit today in both scholarly and popular arenas. It forms an important part what of what this study will examine as an 'ongoing cultural discourse' about Burns and the meaning of his legacy, and where battle lines are drawn about how (and by whom) he should be remembered.

The social/cultural/political arousal and renewed interest in this national icon is also taking place when a 'heightened awareness of national identity' is especially apparent in Scotland.[44] Devine suggests that today, a sense of Scottish identity 'has apparently never been as strong since the eighteenth century'.[45] He cites a number of features of Scottish life that have contributed to this shift, including what he describes as an economic and social transformation in Scotland:

Quite simply, Scotland ... had been transformed to an extent unknown since the epoch of the Industrial Revolution of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries ... Scotland has reinvented itself as a post-modern economy in less than two decades ... new economic pillars are financial services, oil and gas, tourism, light engineering, public services, retailing and bio-services. (Tom Devine 2012(a), p 644)

This 'reinvention' of the nation into a postmodern economy that competes on the global stage where 'brainpower and talent are much more important than muscle power' is witnessing a more positive and outward economic outlook and a general increase in affluence and upward mobility.[46] Scotland's cities are also being reinvented through urban regeneration, and as international sites of culture, heritage and tourism.[47] Tourism, in particular, has become 'big business' as one of the top industry sectors.[48] There has been an unprecedented 'flourishing' of national culture and its international impact and following across the arts, including that which is 'emphatically Scottish in style' in the reinterpretations of traditional Scottish music in younger generation music markets, and in design and fashion, television and film. Increased cultural production, the establishment and reinvigoration of Scottish cultural and heritage institutions, and the expansion of research into Scottish history, literature, politics and society, are all 'signs of the times' in both reflecting and affirming this stronger sense of Scottishness.[49] In modern Scotland - aptly described by McCrone as a 'complex theatre of memory'- recent population surveys and studies are also reflecting increasing pride in being Scottish, in Scottish history, culture, landscape and cultural heroes such as Robert Burns; and while Scottish identity has become more culturally diverse, it is has also become stronger.[50]

The establishment of the devolved Scottish parliament and the rise of the Scottish National Party (SNP) to majority government in 2011 with its recent plans for Scottish independence have been especially germane signs of the political times.[51] As the historian Richard Finlay has suggested, the advent of devolution has

'politically legitimized Scottish national identity and nationhood and, although Scotland is still part of the United Kingdom, it is important to recognize that it is so under a *new* Union'. These developments have 'made Scottish history seem more relevant to its people' as they realise that Scotland 'has entered a new era in its historical development':

The nation, in keeping with its rediscovery of its political self, has embarked on a process of rediscovering its past. TV series, popular history magazines, serializations in newspapers and an upsurge in student numbers at the universities all testify to the growth of interest. (Richard Finlay 2001, pp 383-385)[52]

The engagement with Burns and the strengthening of Scottish identity is also being paralleled by a global 'explosion of Scottishness'. It is notable in the resurgence of Scottish events, such as highland games, the growth and profile of Scots associations and clan societies, and 'ancestral' tourism to Scotland, particularly in the USA, where National Tartan Day has been enacted into legislation. But the 'extraordinary contemporary allure' of Scottish culture and heritage is an even wider international phenomenon that 'reaches well beyond the United Sates and even the countries of traditional Scottish settlement'.[53] In a 'world of identities no longer confined in place, defined by language, or determined by the politics of Britishness', Scotland is 'only one site of Scottish identity'. Scottish identity is being 'diffused but not diminished' across the globe with global media technologies playing a major role. As suggested by one Scottish literature scholar: the 'enthusiastic assemblage' of Scottishness online and 'scattered across the internet poses questions not about the nation's transience, but about the extraordinary persistence of Scottishness as an idea'.[54] This 'persistence' of Scottishness as a memory site and its global 'contemporary allure' is bringing with it not only a heightened worldwide interest in Burns, but also a heightened recognition and interest within Scotland of his global following.

Recent developments are underscoring how remembering Burns today is both a national and transcultural phenomenon. His work continues to be translated into numerous languages, including Esperanto, Faroese, Latin, Bengali, Japanese, Norwegian, Ukrainian and Chinese, adding to the already significant range and volume of translated work.[55] Burns Suppers and Burns Night celebrations are being revitalised and reaching further across the globe producing culturally hybrid and

'fusion Burns' events - a phenomenon that is being mirrored in Scotland.[56] He is also being made over as a global youth icon in art, music, design and fashion. Within Scotland, there are efforts to capitalise economically on his international following, and academic attention to him is being conducted through global networks of research interest. Global communications technologies are also providing new platforms for the construction and transmission of memories associated with Burns; and his work, biography and artifacts, collections in galleries, museums and libraries are all becoming available to a worldwide online audience. In a world of growing 'interconnectedness and intervisuality', Burns as product and brand is not only increasingly available to mass global audiences and consumers online, his image and word are also being recaptured and shared as an online digital resource for a broad spectrum of cultural producers or 'prosumers' through social media.[57]

These features of Burns' contemporary presence that highlight the 'trajectories of memory' within and beyond the 'national' have implications for this study's analysis.[58] In particular, it is the questions they raise about the nature of Burns' role in Scottish identity and how he functions as a memory site at the intersection of the national and the global. Addressing these questions therefore presents the challenge of mapping how Burns is being remembered through processes and mechanisms that reflect and construct both a 'national' Scottish Burns and a global Scottish Burns.

Significance and rationale

By situating the analysis of the historical figure of Robert Burns in a contemporary context, the study brings a memory studies perspective and a multidisciplinary approach to bear on a much studied literary figure.[59] In doing so it addresses research areas that have been identified as deserving further attention.

Despite the recent resurgence of scholarly interest, there is little sustained research being undertaken that addresses Burns' cultural role and impact in the twenty first century. The gaze of scholarship has been, until relatively recently, concerned with literature, literary reception and biography.[60] While some important studies have begun to attend to broader cultural issues, identity and cultural memory, that work remains largely located in the cultural past.[61] Where that interest has shifted recently to encompass Burns' relationship to other national and global cultures, the bulk of those studies look to eighteenth, nineteenth and some early twentieth century

developments.[62] The cultural impact of Burns in modern Scotland, despite being a 'hot' topic, remains a major research gap.

More broadly, the study of contemporary Scottish culture has been described as being 'in its infancy' with 'massive gaps' in the understanding of various aspects of culture in Scotland.[63] The visual history of Scotland (in which Burns plays an important part) has also been judged as receiving inadequate attention.[64] Contemporary images of Burns are an as yet largely untapped research resource, even though images are possibly equally to the fore in the popular imagination as his work.[65]

With respect to this project's goal of bringing memory studies and insights from other fields to bear on his contemporary remembrance, the Burns scholar Carol McGuirk has advocated that 'the best hope for understanding' a complex figure such as Burns 'lies in a diversity of topics and approaches'.[66] Other Burns scholars have similarly suggested that a multidisciplinary approach provides 'an exceptionally efficacious model for getting at and exposing the many headed and polyphonic manifestations of the poet and his work'.[67] In the field of Burns studies, some of the recent work referred to above has also shown the value of interpreting and understanding Burns as a cultural figure (in the past) through a cultural memory lens. From the perspective of memory studies, Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning have commented that how literature and literary figures are remembered socially and institutionally has 'significant potential for further development'.[68] Ann Rigney has demonstrated how the cultural 'afterlives' of authors can be fruitfully approached within a cultural studies and cultural memory studies framework, which provides a broader perspective from that offered by 'traditional literary criticism' that typically focuses on 'critical impact or impact on other writers'.[69] This would mean taking account the afterlife of authors in a variety of cultural and media contexts, including digital and online settings.[70]

A recent collection of essays that has approached Burns as a cultural figure, refers to 'as yet little explored territories' in 'the protean phenomenon of Burns' that 'presents itself as an almost irresistible paradigm for study'.[71] It is the protean phenomenon of Burns - as image, icon, literary subject, object and myth - that offers a broader perspective on how he functions as a cultural figure. His appropriation in commerce

and popular culture, for example, has raised questions about the nature of his 'fundamental identity' and his contemporary cultural relevance and meaning. As this study will discuss, Burns' pervasive representation as tourism, heritage, event and product icon has been viewed by many as an unfortunate aberration, as inauthentic, detracting attention from his stature as a great poet and writer of national songs, and detaching him from his work and history:

In many respects, Burns has been neutered ... His memory is an excuse for conviviality and good cheer, his name a device for selling food and drink ... Robert Burns is today a global icon. His image is used to advertise a range of products, and to induce visitors to Scotland's places of interest, albeit some of which have only a faint link with the poet. (Christopher Whatley, University of Dundee)[72]

... his importance as everything but a poet seems only to have increased. A socio-cultural phenomenon, cult figure and national emblem - Burns has become them all ... But fundamental to any discussion of Burns must be his poetic craft. (David Sergeant and Fiona Stafford 2013, pp 1-2)

More broadly, there has been a concern that memory itself can be transformed, co-opted, and appropriated through popular culture forms, reconfiguring histories as consumerism and entertainment.[73] Nevertheless, Burns' 'commodification' and 'iconisation' as product and brand logo, heritage and cultural festival attraction and tourism industry selling point, is a significant part of his contemporary presence in Scottish (and world) culture and ought not be sidelined or ignored in an attempt to understand the figure of Burns today. If a major part of his representation takes the form of commodity and kitsch, then that needs to be taken into account and investigated in terms of how such objects and forms may function in terms of cultural memory and how that may relate to other representations. As Riach has observed, such stereotypical images and icons can 'be constricting', they can 'severely limit understanding', and 'yet they might be approached in certain ways and contextualised with purpose'.[74]

Marita Sturken has argued that in the modern world of pervasive commercialisation and marketing 'in which the boundaries of art, commodity, and remembrance are so easily traversed ... it no longer makes sense, if it ever did, to dismiss commodities as empty artifacts'.[75] Her studies, informed by the idea that cultural memory is

'articulated through processes of representation', have demonstrated that memory is produced not only through historical accounts, memorials and public art, but also through commodities and popular culture.[76] In her article in the journal, *Memory Studies*, she claims that the products of consumer and popular culture are a valid subject for memory studies:

One of the key aspects of the field of memory studies is that it can mine those areas of study, and those objects and images, that might seem most counter-intuitive to the study of memory. This means, for instance, to think about the capacity of objects and images that might be traditionally considered to be within the realm of the 'inauthentic' - such as commodities, mass-produced souvenirs, greeting cards, postcards and kitsch objects as well as forms of popular culture such as television dramas and feature films - to produce and maintain cultural memory. In contemporary society, the stuff of consumer culture is an integral component of the structures of feeling and affect of our times. (Marita Sturken 2008, p 77)

Many other recent studies are drawing attention to how contemporary cultural memory is dependent on media technologies and the circulation of media products.[77] As narrators of the past, the media also provide a public forum or platform for individuals and groups with an interest in how the past (and Robert Burns) is shaped and understood.[78] As Andrew Blaikie has observed in his study of modern Scotland, new technologies have altered the way societies remember, with 'memory-construction and memory-keeping ... increasingly dependent upon media representation'.[79] Rigney also comments that 'however one may judge the quality of the information conveyed, these modern media need to be taken into account as an integral factor in the production of cultural memory today'.[80]

Pauline Mackay and Murray Pittock have shown that consumer and material culture have played an important role in preserving and creating the reputation and cultural memory of Burns in the past, and how Burns as Scotland has been constructed and received in Scotland and elsewhere.[81] Pittock suggests that 'objects can be just as important as documents in the making of memory' and that 'much is to be gained from an understanding of the way in which different materials ... create and preserve the cultural memory of the poet and his works and influence biography'.[82] Similarly, McGuirk has claimed that 'Burnsiana' merits attention because it is important in understanding 'the evolution and persistence of the Burns myth'.[83]

Pittock has argued for the particular importance of examining consumer and material culture, especially in Scotland, since it has 'a major role in influencing how Scots see themselves and how the world sees them'. Moreover, the role of material culture in Scottish identity has been 'undertheorised' and deserves more thorough analysis than it has received since it is 'too popular, too powerful, influential and deep-seated to be dismissed as 'Scotch myth':[84]

The tendency has been simply to disassociate the country from its material representation in mass production. Tartan in particular and Scottish souvenirs in general have come to be seen as presenting a damaging 'myth' ... to be corrected by a tirade about authenticity. (Murray Pittock 2007, p 65)[85]

He suggests that understanding Scottish material culture is 'not a simple matter of polarities, authenticity/myth, actuality/invention'; and that 'more rigorous theoretical models are required' that address the complex context in which material culture itself operates. This would mean taking into account the 'historiosity of Scottish material self-representation', the cultural critique of such material culture, its appropriation and uses, and the 'modes of its symbolic representation'.[86]

It is this 'complex context' in which Burns functions in representations of Scottish identity that will be examined as part of his analysis in the twentieth first century. But as will be demonstrated, Burns' material and commercial presence is only one part of that complex context. His representation in other symbolic modes and cultural spheres contribute to and interact with the making and remaking of his memory today. In the 'working memory' associated with the figure of Burns, consumer and material culture is an important, but one of many '*various* cultural activities that feed into, repeat and reinforce each other'.[87] His representation in other cultural spheres, such as, academic, political and economic discourse, in museum practices, in the arts, news reportage, social media and so on, also participate in framing the ways in which any remembrance of him is conducted and interpreted.[88] It is across these types of social scales and modalities of memory production, that the public arena can be viewed as a site in which his meanings are generated 'from above and below, from both the centre and the periphery', intersect, and come into relationship with one another.[89] For this study, that requires attention not only to the memory forms and practices themselves but also importantly to the cultural and social contexts in which

they are generated, reproduced, represented and interpreted, and the relationships between them.[90]

In addressing how the memory and meaning of Burns is 'refracted' through social, cultural, economic and political factors, the thesis will contribute to existing literary approaches to Burns, building on the more recent cultural turn in literary studies and Burns studies, and offering a contemporary perspective on his place in cultural memory and identity. In locating Burns in a national frame that takes into account its transcultural and global dimensions, it makes a contribution to the 'huge hinterlands largely unexplored' in research on Burns in a global context.[91] Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad argue that today, memory and the global have to be studied together, 'as it has become impossible to understand the trajectories of memory outside a global frame of reference'.[92] While writers such as Erll remind us that 'transcultural remembering has a long genealogy', Assmann and Conrad argue that under the impact of globalising processes, 'both the spaces of memory and the composition of memory communities have been redefined'.[93] The territorial boundaries of memory communities and of nations 'have been pierced' through increased global tourism, the exchange of academic discourses, and the satellites of telecommunication, the channels of mass media, and the internet.[94] It is therefore important to consider the role that new media play in the construction and transmission of memories in 'a world of growing interconnectedness and intervisuality', a characteristic feature of which is the emergence of global icons.[95]

Within such a global context, 'national' memory can be fruitfully investigated by taking what Erll refers as a 'transcultural lens' that recognises the many 'fuzzy edges of national cultures of remembrance', that is, the many 'shared' sites of memory that have emerged through transnational media reception, travel, migration, trade and other forms of cultural exchange. By acknowledging the 'fuzzy edges' of national cultures through which cross border memories are shared, attention is drawn to, not only how those shared memories 'generate different, but in many ways interacting frameworks of memory' within a culture, but also how those travelling memories become 'localized', 'vernacularized' and 'recombined in often surprising ways'.[96] In this way, images and narratives of nation that circulate globally and have found other homes, may travel back to be 'reclaimed and worked over anew' in their 'original home' settings.[97]

These directions in memory studies that embrace the transcultural and global conditions of remembering and the impact of new media are particularly pertinent for an examination of Burns as a memory figure, especially since his cultural remembrance has, for centuries, been 'pierced' by the transnational flows of people, ideas, words, music, images, objects and the communications technologies of the time. Recent studies are in fact demonstrating that his remembrance and meaning in the past has been characterised by border crossings. As a collection of essays devoted to Burns in a transatlantic context reveals, his reception in the Americas, that 'refashioned' and 'refigured' him during the nineteenth century, 'doubled back to influence the construction of the Burns phenomenon in Great Britain', such that his reputation in the 'New World' has assured his continuing currency as a global commodity in the 'Old World'.[98] That doubling back was not only a two-way relationship but a multiplicity of linkages, characterised as 'a rhizomatic map of contacts'.[99] It is this idea of a 'doubling back' through a 'rhizomatic map of contacts' that this study is attempting to capture in how Burns is being remembered in contemporary Scotland.

An important part of contextualising Burns and his role in Scottish identity is predicated on an understanding of the salience of national identity in general, and in contemporary Scotland, in particular. There is abundant evidence that national identity 'persists in a globalising world'.[100] As Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone note, national identity is 'one of the most basic social identities'.[101] They argue that national identity matters, that it seems to matter more as time goes on, and that it is 'one of the most important issues of our times'.[102] Anthony Smith, for example, has argued that while the 'massive acceleration of globalising trends - of economic interdependence, total militarisation, mass migration, global communications, and the diffusion of consumerism' - has for many theorists signalled the demise of the nation, these changes have not necessarily weakened or made obsolete the sense of nation and national identity.[103] Indeed, national bonds may even be being 'revitalised by globalisation and its perceived threats'.[104] Moreover, while the cultivation of national myths, memories and symbols may be undergoing challenge and reinterpretation, national identities remain 'pervasive and resilient' even as they are being redefined and reshaped.[105] In fact, it is through these new factors and processes that contemporary national identities may be being strengthened in countries like

Scotland, as the members of nations 'reflect upon and argue amongst themselves about the meaning and role of their national identities'.[106]

The investigation of Burns in Scotland, will also contribute to studies of the dynamics of cultural memory more generally. Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins have argued that there is a need for 'more studies of the way memory practices are central features of modern and postmodern life'.[107] They suggest that the value of research that takes into account the dynamics of both memory and of identity is that it will 'illuminate further how, when, and why individuals and groups turn toward their pasts'.[108] Furthermore, as Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy have argued, without attention to the dynamics of collective remembering, 'it is difficult to provide good explanations of why myths, tradition, and heritage, among other long-term symbolic patterns, are as robust as they are'. As they note, a key research task is 'to understand the mechanisms of this robustness, which are often far from obvious'.[109] Identity and 'contestation' have been identified as key factors in why the past continues to matter, and where it has been demonstrated that people and groups 'fight hard for their stories', their pasts and their identities.[110] Rigney also suggests that both consensus and contestation are vital ingredients in cultural memory's role in defining collective identities.[111] Indeed, she argues that debate and controversy, rather than consensus, may be more important in keeping memories and memory figures 'alive'.[112] This tension in the dynamics of cultural memory, between consensus and contestation, has been a characteristic feature of how Burns has been remembered in the past and will be explored further in this study in the contemporary context.

Attention to consensus and contestation in the dynamics of cultural memory and its role in the construction of collective identities, by itself however, does not explain adequately why the past continues to matter and why remembering the past should generate such dynamics. The social and cultural persistence (or otherwise) of remembering any particular past is motivated by 'the many projects that memory undertakes', including 'healing, denial, revision, invention, recreation and re-creation, forgetting'.[113] Sturken has argued that 'what memories tell us, more than anything, is the stakes held by individuals and institutions in attributing meaning to the past'.[114] Those memory stakes are crucial to the understanding of a culture and its identity because they indicate 'collective desires, needs, and self-definitions'.[115] The

implications of remembering the past are not only related to how that past is reshaped in the light of present day needs and concerns. As Tony Bennett has suggested, 'more than history is at stake' in how the past is represented, since 'the shape of the thinkable future depends on how the past is portrayed and on how its relations to the present are depicted'.[116] As such, sites of memory 'can only survive in the long term if they feed into the preoccupations of later generations, that is, if something is at stake for the future in appropriating them in one way rather than another'.[117] It is what is at stake in these cultural memory 'projects' that brings the tension between consensus and contestation into relief as suggestive of the salience of particular memories to the society in question. Attention to what might be at stake in the remembrance of Burns will therefore assist in the effort to explain his persistence as a memory figure.

Research design - a multimodal approach

The examination of the memorial forms and practices associated with Burns, and the relationships between them will be located within a conceptual framework that recognises that memories are constituted not only in the forms they take, but also by the agents and mechanisms that make those forms available, and the wider frames of relevance in which such memories are interpreted and made sense of.[118] Erll and Rigney refer to this ongoing production of cultural memory as a 'multimodal process' in which representations and performances of the past become shared and meaningful.[119] By adopting such a 'multimodal' approach, the analysis of Burns addresses what might usefully be referred to as the 'what', 'how', 'who' and 'why' of cultural memory making.

If cultural memory is a form of sense making in relationship to the past, then its study requires attention to 'what' past is being drawn upon in that process. For this investigation that means identifying and taking into account historical cultural constructions of Burns and their role in his contemporary remembrance. The rationale for doing so is that each remembrance of Burns, while different, is different 'in reference' to the others. As Olick argues, any present form of remembrance is a 'moment in an ongoing discourse' with other versions or images of the past. Or to put it another way, a crucial part of the context for any new act of remembrance is the 'residue' of earlier remembrance.[120] This is especially pertinent in the case of

Burns who has maintained a significant cultural afterlife for over 250 years. While this investigation is focussed on Burns in the twenty first century, it will be argued that what has been made of him in the past continues to exert a strong influence in his contemporary remembrance. What is remembered of Burns, what is forgotten, and what continues to be relevant and renewed is the outcome at any one time of complex reiterations and reinscriptions that have developed over centuries in imagery, words, music, social and institutional practices.[121]

The intention is not to embark on a comprehensive history of Burns' representation and role in the cultural memory of Scotland. Rather, the study will introduce the early mapping of the poet into cultural memory over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as historical background to his relationship with Scotland, and importantly to chart the ways in which his remembrance was constructed and represented. Its aim is to identify some of the dynamics at play in the establishment of Burns as a figure of Scottish cultural memory in order to gauge their impact and relevance for the analysis of the contemporary context.

The extent and the manner in which his remembrance today is informed and shaped by his remembrance in the past, and how that contemporary remembrance also refers back to 'critically reflect upon and renew' his meaning, underpins the overall analysis of Burns.[122] Drawing on this concept of a two way interaction between earlier and later memorial representations and practices, it will examine how long established representations are being 'made over' in new social, cultural, economic and political contexts. It will seek to demonstrate that in the process of incorporating and appropriating Burns into contemporary life, the new context mediates his forms, meanings and reception. It will be argued that while this 'new Burns' shares many of the features of the 'old Burns' that are its sources, the selection and shaping of those sources is producing a revised repertoire of representation with particular characteristics and contemporary cultural meanings. However, as will be demonstrated, this revised repertoire participates in and draws upon an ongoing cultural discourse about Burns. It is a 'dialogue with the past' that relies on long established 'parameters of meaning' and 'symbolic associations', representational conventions and narratives (the 'residue' of earlier remembrance) as sources for its 'new' meanings.[123] In doing so 'old' meanings are shifted and renewed.

'What' of Burns is remembered, and the manner and forms in which this occurs is also a matter of 'who' does the remembering and 'how'. In addition to the historical contextual account, the study will focus on a select number of cultural and social arenas in which Burns has a pronounced contemporary presence. In particular, it will examine his role in government policy making especially as it relates to economics and tourism; institutional spheres of literary studies and museum practice; and his iconography in art and design, products and marketing, publishing, and social media.[124] The goal is to provide a varied set of case studies which can serve as exemplars of the issues being addressed, with each of these case studies serving to highlight different, though related, aspects of how Burns functions as cultural memory figure.

Moreover, 'why' Burns continues to be remembered in particular forms and ways by particular groups and in particular contexts raises questions about what might be at stake in his remembrance at any one time. As Rigney has argued, the social/cultural processes in which cultural memories are interpreted and understood are located within wider discourses or narratives that provide the 'frames of relevance' for making sense of particular memories.[125] One of these 'frames of relevance' that has particular salience in the remembrance of Burns is that of his deeply ingrained association with Scotland and Scottish identity. It will be argued that a significant dimension of Burns as a memory figure is connected to his role in the ongoing construction of Scottish national/cultural identity, where Burns is deployed as a multivocal and malleable cultural resource to make sense of Scottishness; and where a multivocal and malleable Scottishness is deployed to make sense of Burns. Addressing this topic is not a quest to define Scottishness nor the figure of Robert Burns *per se*, but rather, it is a matter of charting how Scottishness and Burns are brought together in the public realm through his positioning as a 'shared instrument' of culture and as a vehicle of Scotland's imagined community.[126]

Of particular interest is his role as a 'highly flexible resource' which can accommodate 'multiple national identifications' - political and economic identities, institutional identities and social identities - and the various ways in which these identity contexts position Burns and Scotland.[127] The aim of examining these different identity arenas is to explore the different ways in which Burns and Scotland are brought together in the public sphere. In particular, it sets out to highlight the

ways in which this (multiform) association becomes shared and 'takes root' by being reproduced, recycled and redefined in different forms and contexts. Here, as will be discussed, attachments to nation and national identity continue to matter and that in the case of Scotland today, its past, its heritage and its valued cultural figures such as Burns continue to provide crucial 'identity resources'.

The investigation of how Burns serves as a symbolic source and referent of Scottish identity will also address how he is being positioned as global and transcultural in a number of cultural and social arenas within (and beyond) Scotland. This evolving investigation seeks to demonstrate two related features of his contemporary presence: how Burns is being deployed as globally Scottish; and how a Scottish Burns is being deployed globally. The attention to these 'uses' of Burns *as* global, and the global 'uses' *of* Burns is an important part of understanding how he functions as memory figure. Through this level of analysis, the relationship between Burns and Scottishness can be interrogated for how his representation as Scottish is made up of (and perhaps dependent upon) his global presence and functions. A major implication of this analysis to be investigated is that what has been made of Burns in the past and elsewhere effects what can be made of him today in contemporary Scotland.

As an appraisal of the cultural 'afterlife' of Robert Burns in the twenty first century, this thesis is primarily an investigation of issues, concepts, and ideas; its process is one of critical interpretation and synthesis; and its objectives are oriented towards developing/augmenting theoretical perspectives and conceptual schema. It constitutes a critical reading of theory and research, cultural and documentary materials, and institutional and social practices in order to produce a synthesised interpretive account of the workings of contemporary cultural memory. The 'data', which are the means of generating concepts, arguments and explanations, derive from a variety of sources: the literature, documents, images and objects, and fieldwork visits in Scotland to a number of Burns related institutions and settings.[128] As Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln have set out, qualitative research involves the 'studied use and collection' of a variety of 'empirical' materials, that may encompass cultural and historical texts, images and artifacts, cultural productions, and case study.[129]

Adopting a dialectical approach to the relationship between 'theory' and 'data', the analysis draws on the 'theoretical' and 'empirical' to bring the evolving understandings from one part of the inquiry to bear on the development of understandings in the other.[130] The research focus on particular cultural and social settings is both a starting point, that stimulates broader questions of culture, memory and identity, and a returning point for reviewing and developing those questions further in order to construct a critical account of Burns in the construction Scottish identity.

Located within this developing theoretical and conceptual framework, the investigation takes the overall form an essay, a genre of choice for cultural critics pursuing interpretation over measurement, and 'thick description' over observation, and serves as a vehicle for the investigation of issues, concepts, and ideas.[131] In order to take into account the various media, discourses, and cultural spheres through which cultural memories are made and transformed, it adopts a multidisciplinary approach drawing upon insights from the fields of memory studies, cultural studies, identity studies, art and literary studies, and tourism and museum studies.[132]

Given the scale, range and variety of representations, contexts and settings of Burns' contemporary presence, the study's scope has been determined by a selection of cultural and social arenas in which his presence is particularly notable and through which key issues of analysis might be constructively examined. While the initial research focus was the representation of Burns in the context of the 250th birthday celebrations in the 2009 Homecoming Scotland year, it became clear that the issues that were being raised in the preliminary examination of this one event would be more fruitfully examined by taking into account the discourses and practices in other cultural spheres where his recent renewed 'take up' has also been pronounced and which extend beyond the 2009 timeframe. This shift in focus and scope was also informed by a developing appreciation and recognition that the constellation of memory processes associated with Burns, that 2009 highlighted, could not be adequately understood or explained without addressing the wider context in which they operated. The 2009 year does however provide a useful reference point since it marks many of the developments in his remembrance that are characteristic of the early twenty first century.

Charting how Burns has been constructed, represented and interpreted in the public realm is a quest to better understand the workings of contemporary vehicles of cultural memory. It is informed by a theoretical stance that recognises that 'culture industries are a major site of ideological production, constructing powerful images, descriptions, definitions, frames of reference for understanding the world'.[133] As such, these representations can be interpreted as narrative discourses, or ways of making cultural meaning through language, imagery, codes and conventions.[134] The position taken in this study is that such discourses serve as cultural resources of meaning making available for use in a community at any given time. While they have the capacity to 'constitute social reality, forms of knowledge and identity within specific social contexts and power relations', they also provide 'spaces and possibilities for action'. They can thus be understood as reflecting 'a creative tension between agency and constraint' rather than as 'deterministic' structures.[135] Working from this perspective, the analysis pays attention to how these powerful images and narratives are deployed, 'made over' and remediated in particular social settings by individuals and groups. This means attending to the ways in which dominant cultural constructions and their modes of production and dissemination interact with social practices and meanings. Both perspectives are pertinent to an account of Burns and his relationship to formulations of Scottish identity in the public realm.

This approach to cultural memory as both public discourse and social meaning making centres on a concern with memory as narrative, examining how sites of memory construct and offer 'stories' about national identity that are 'enacted through and encoded into memory acts or texts'.[136] As 'objects' of analysis, these memory texts, acts and images will be treated as cultural texts, not as 'evidential tools of truth' but as sites of discursive formation of cultural meaning making.[137] Adopting a 'situated analysis', the investigation takes into account not only the content and forms of particular cultural texts, but also the practices and conventions that inform their production and dissemination, and the wider social and cultural context in which they operate, are received and responded to.[138] It therefore seeks 'likely interpretations', rather than assuming a single correct reading of cultural texts and discourses, and is based on developing an understanding of the conditions and contexts in which such texts and discourses are produced and circulated.[139]

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[1] Ann Rigney 2011, pp 20-23, and 2004, p 387. As Rigney notes, the term 'cultural memory' is 'being used to indicate the symbolic, mediated, and performative character of collective remembering' (Rigney 2012, p 6).

[2] Rigney 2005, p 14.

[3] Jeffrey Olick 2008, p 159.

[4] Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney 2009(b), p 1. See also Marita Sturken, who argues that although cultural memory is produced through objects, images and representations, these need to be understood as 'technologies' of memory, not as 'vessels' of memory in which memory passively resides (Sturken 1997, p 9).

[5] Rigney 2005, p 15.

[6] Rigney 2011, p 81.

[7] Leith Davis 2010, p 9.

[8] Davis 2010, p 14.

[9] Rigney 2012, p 6. See also Pierre Nora 1989; Paul Connerton 1989; Maurice Halbwachs 1992; Sturken 1997 and 2008; Olick 2008, 1999(a) and (b); Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins 1998; Jeffrey Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy 2011; Matthew Graves and Elizabeth Rechniewski 2010; Anthony Smith 1996 and 2007; Jan Assmann 1995; Aleida Assmann 2008 and 2011; Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad 2010; Erll and Rigney 2009(a); Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning 2008; Erll 2011(a); Rigney 2005, 2011 and 2012; Andrew Blaikie 2010; Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg 2011; Andrew Hoskins 2009 and 2011(a).

[10] 'There are many important case studies of the connections between memory and particular national identities' (Olick and Robbins 1998, p 124). For many writers, the concept of 'cultural memory' is closely tied to identity. Rigney has explained that the concept of cultural memory has developed as an investigative tool 'with which to describe how stories about the past emerge as common points of reference and, in the process, help to define collective identities' (Rigney 2012, p 17). In Jan Assmann's influential account of cultural memory, he has argued that it is through its cultural heritage that 'a society becomes visible to itself and to others' (Jan Assmann 1995, p 133). See also Stefan Berger, who has noted that the recent turn towards research on memory has deepened the interest in the diverse ways in which collective identities (such as national identities) are constructed (Berger 2011, p 2).

[11] See Rigney 2012, p 107.

[12] Sturken 1997, p 13.

[13] See Assmann and Conrad 2012; Hoskins 2009 and 2011(a); Erll 2011(a); and Tim Edensor 2000.

[14] See Sturken 1997, p 17; and Thomas Bender 2002, p 3.

[15] See Eric Zuelow 2007, p 143.

[16] As Jan Assmann has argued, cultural memory's 'cultivation' of 'reusable texts, images, and rituals' is variable in the 'manner of its organization, its media, and its institutions', and across cultures, contexts and time (Jan Assmann 1995, pp 132-133).

[17] Carol McGuirk compares the nineteenth century Burns to Elvis Presley, in that 'mere celebrity has been transcended and cult status achieved' (McGuirk 1997, p 137). See also Richard Finlay for Burns' continuing iconic status (Finlay 1997(b), p 69).

[18] See 'Robert Burns voted greatest Scot', *STV News*, 30 November 2009, http://scotland.stv.tv/greatest-scot/; and 'Fleming, Wallace, Bruce ... but Burns is the man for a' that', *The Scotsman*, 8 January 2006, http://www.scotsman.com/news/scottish-news/edinburgh-east-fife/fleming-wallace-bruce-but-burns-is-the-man-for-a-that.247047.

[19] McCrone 2009.

[20] Ian Duncan, Leith Davis and Janet Sorensen have noted the recent move by critics and scholars 'to salvage an attractively bawdy, rough, insurgent Burns from the Victorian cult of sentimentality' (Duncan, Davis and Sorensen 2004, p 6). Gordon Pentland has remarked that literary historians '(some of them too enthusiastically) have gone a considerable distance in trying to return the towering figure of Robert Burns to his appropriate ideological and political context' (Pentland 2012, p 444).

[21] The National Trust for Scotland refers to the museum as 'the world's most important collection of artefacts relating to Scotland's bard' (see 'Robert Burns Birthplace Museum', National Trust for Scotland, http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Robert-Burns-Birthplace-Museum/Pictures).

[22] See Johnny Rodger and Gerard Carruthers 2009(b), p 3.

[23] McCrone deals with such issues in McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely 1995.

[24] See 'Launch of Homecoming 2009', Scottish Government news release, 24 January 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Speeches/Speeches/First-Minister/homecoming-launch.

[25] See *Homecoming Scotland 2009: The Story* (VisitScotland 2009); and *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration* (EventScotland 2010).

[26] See the Robert Burns website, BBC, http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/robertburns; *The World According to Robert Burns*, BBC Two, http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00gtjs2. See also Alistair Mooney, 'Burns on the BBC', BBC Scotland Learning Blog, 13 January 2009, http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/legacy/scotlandlearning/2009/01/burns-on-the-bbc.shtml. See 'Robert Burns becomes first person to feature on Coke bottle', *The Telegraph*, 6 June 2009, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scotland/5454821/Robert-Burns-becomes-first-person-to-feature-on-Coke-bottle.html.

[27] The Burns song, *Is There for Honesty Poverty*, is more commonly called *A Man's a Man for a' That* (see McGuirk 1993, p 181).

[28] Dewar quoted in 'A moment anchored in history', *BBC News,* 1 July 1999, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/special_report/1999/06/99/scottish_parliament_opening/383029.stm.

[29] See also Valentina Bold (2007) for an account of the event.

[30] See, for example, 'Scottish referendum: Newspapers marked historic day with flags of UK, Scotland; quote poet Robert Burns', *DNA News*, 18 September 2014, http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report-scottish-referendum-newspapers-marked-historic-day-with-flags-of-uk-scotland-quote-poet-robert-burns-2019619; 'Scottish independence: MPs gripped by the question: was Rabbie Burns a Nat or a Unionist?', *The Scotsman*, 26 January 2012, http://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/top-stories/scottish-independence-mps-gripped-by-the-

question-was-rabbie-burns-a-nat-or-a-unionist-1-2077809; 'Battle over Burns: how would the Bard vote on Scottish independence?', *ITV News*, 21 January 2014, http://www.itv.com/news/border/update/2014-01-21/battle-over-burns-how-would-the-bard-vote-on-scottish-independence/; 'Scottish independence: Burns would be Yes - Salmond', *The Scotsman*, 23 June 2013, http://www.scotsman.com/news/scottish-independence-burns-would-be-yes-salmond-1-2973883; 'Academic says Robert Burns would have voted for independence', *The Courier*, 10 January 2014, http://www.thecourier.co.uk/news/politics/academic-says-robert-burns-would-have-voted-for-independence-1.175076; 'Of course Robert Burns would vote for Scottish independence', *The Guardian*, 25 January 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/24/robert-burns-vote-scottish-independence; 'Across the Festivals: Robert Burns Votes for Scotland', Across the Arts, 21 August 2013, http://www.acrossthearts.co.uk/news/artsblog/across-the-festivals-robert-burns-votes-for-scotland/; 'Robert Burns for Scottish independence in new play', *The Scotsman*, 25 April 2014, http://www.scotsman.com/what-s-on/theatre-comedy-dance/robert-burns-for-scottish-independence-in-new-play-1-3388177.

[31] See Pittock 2011, p13, and 2008, p 176; and Johnny Rodger 2009, p 73.

[32] McGuirk 1998(b), p 2.

[33] See Douglas Gifford 2007, p 339.

[34] Finlay 1997(b), p 75. For accounts of the critiques of Scottish culture, see Cairns Craig 2007; and McCrone 2001, pp 127-148.

[35] Riach 2004, p 20; and Alistair Braidwood 2009, p 86.

[36] Angela Bartie 2010, p 208.

[37] Riach 2004, p 20.

[38] Riach 2004, p 21.

[39] Pittock 2008, p 50 and p 176. For the internationalisation of Scottish literature and scholarship, see Pittock 2012(a), p 8 and p 11; Gerard Carruthers 2012, p 13; Davis 2012(b), pp 23-27; and Ian Brown, Thomas Owen Clancy, Susan Manning and Murray Pittock 2007, pp 4-6. Outside of Scotland, Scottish Studies centres, programs and networks have been established in countries such as Canada, USA, New Zealand, Ireland, France and Germany (see 'Scottish Studies Weblinks', Scottish Studies Centre, University Of Mainz, Germany, http://www.fb06.uni-mainz.de/anglistik/75.php).

[40] Craig 2012, p 102; Pittock 2003, p 196; and Finlay 1997(a), p 114.

[41] See Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b); Robert Crawford 2009, p 406; and Pittock 2009, p 119. See also examples in news and media coverage: Alex Broadhead, 'A Robert Burns is for life, not just for 25 January', *The Conversation*, 25 January 2014, http://theconversation.com/a-robert-burns-is-for-life-not-just-for-25-january-22410; Brent Kennedy, 'Robert Burns, insurrectionary poet', *The Socialist*, 22 January 2014, http://www.socialistparty.org.uk/articles/18024/22-01-2014/robert-burns-insurrectionary-poet; 'Burns has hogged the limelight for far too long', *Carrick Gazette*, 17 May 2013, http://www.carricktoday.co.uk/what-s-on/burns-has-hogged-the-limelight-for-far-too-long-1-2930068; 'Scots pan Perfect Pippa's party guide to Burns Night for 'stifling the life' out of the celebration and its 'dull as dishwater' menu', *Daily Mail*, 29 October 2012, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2224695/Scots-pan-Pippa-Middletons-party-guide-Burns-

Night-stifling-life-celebration-dull-dishwater-menu.html#ixzz3FWjkOguy; Kevin McKenna, 'Poor Robert Burns. He deserves better than this', *The Observer*, 22 January 2012, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jan/22/kevin-mckenna-celebrate-robert-burns; 'Question of the week: Does Scotland do enough to promote Rabbie Burns?', *The Scotsman*, 22 January 2010, http://www.scotsman.com/news/question-of-the-week-does-scotland-do-enough-to-promote-rabbie-burns-1-473491; Stana Nenadic, 'History, Culture or Money?', *The Journal*, 20 January 2010, Issue 29, http://www.journal-online.co.uk/article/6221-history_culture_money; 'Robert Burns: satiric, visionary, commercialised', *The Times*, 11 April 2009, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/arts/books/article2454647.ece; 'Hi-jacked: Scots and the Contested Memory of Robert Burns', University of Dundee news release, 16 November 2009, http://app.dundee.ac.uk/pressreleases/2009/prnov09/hijacked.htm; Mike Wade, 'Academics clash with amateur scholar over Burns's legacy', *The Times*, 23 January 2009, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/article1896639.ece; 'Relatives say 'don't exploit Burns'', *The Sunday Times*, 1 February 2009, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article147121.ece; 'Poetic injustice?: Fear that Robert Burns has been sidelined in celebrations for his own 250th birthday', *Herald Scotland*, 31 May 2008, http://www.heraldscotland.com/poetic-injustice-1.828787; 'We celebrate Burns yearly, but what about his native language?', *The Scotsman*, 9 February 2009, http://www.scotsman.com/news/we-celebrate-burns-yearly-but-what-about-his-native-language-1-828576. 'Films and books on Burns 'distort his legacy': Academic blasts Burns industry's 'false mythology'', *Herald Scotland*, 11 September 2005, http://www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen/films-and-books-on-burns-distort-his-legacy-academic-blasts-burns-industry-s-false-mythology-1.43357; 'Immortal memory is being dimmed', *The Scotsman*, 8 November 2002, http://www.scotsman.com/news/scotland/top-stories/immortal-memory-is-being-dimmed-1-628268.

[42] Devine quoted in 'Time to drop Burns myths that disguise the true nature of Scotland', *The Times*, 24 January 2103, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/scotland/article3666750.ece.

[43] Riach 1997, p 204.

[44] Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone 2009(a), p 14.

[45] Devine 2012(a), p 662.

[46] Devine 2012(a), p 647. Despite overall positive indicators, there are still significant inequalities and disparities in education attainment, health, drug use and crime in some areas of Scotland (Devine 2012(a), pp 653-655).

[47] Devine 2012(a), p 644 and p 647. Glasgow was designated as European City of Culture in 1990, and UNESCO City of Music in 2008; and Edinburgh was designated the world's first UNESCO City of Literature in 2004. The Old and New towns of Edinburgh were listed as a world heritage site in 1995 (See Robert Crawford 2013, pp 36-37, and p 39).

[48] Devine 2012(a), p 596.

[49] Devine 2012(a), pp 608-609, and pp 643-644. Another example of the internationalisation of Scottish culture is the trend toward Scottish design and materials in fashion. See the annual Dressed To Kilt celebrity fashion show in New York (a highlight of Tartan Week), ''Dressed To Kilt' Runway

Sneak Peek', *CBS New York*, http://newyork.cbslocal.com/2013/04/08/dressed-to-kilt-runway-sneak-peek/; and 'Men's Fashion: The Scottish Are Coming', *The Wall Street Journal*, 31 August 2102, http://online.wsj.com/articles/SB10000872396390444443504577601744247428820.

[50] See McCrone 2001, p 147 and p 174; Bechhofer and McCrone 2010 and 2013; and Susan Condor and Jackie Abell 2006. See also Lynn Abrams and Callum Brown, who note that the twentieth century 'developed a diversity, fragmentation and multiplication of cultural experiences and identities in Scotland unheard of before' (Abrams and Brown 2010, p 13).

[51] Devine suggests that such 'Scottish' loyalties 'need not mean that political independence is inevitable'. He also notes that dissatisfaction with the social and economic policies of the central Westminster government in the later decades of the twentieth century contributed to the desire for devolution (Devine 2012(a), p 661-662).

[52] See also Caroline McCracken-Flesher, who refers to the 'cultural energy that Scotland derives from its past' (McCracken-Flesher 2007, p 9)

[53] Devine 2012(b), pp 276-284. See also Celeste Ray 2001; and Paul Basu 2006.

[54] McCracken-Flesher 2014, np.

[55] See Carruthers 2009(b), p1; and Pittock 2011(b), p 20, and 2011(c), p 28.

[56] Pittock 2011(b), pp 19-20. See also Clark McGinn 2011.

[57] Assmann and Conrad 2010, p 6.

[58] Assmann and Conrad 2010, p 2.

[59] As G Ross Roy (the Burns scholar) has observed, 'the writing about the poet seems without end: scholarly books and articles, entries in magazines, guidebooks to the poet's haunts, newspaper accounts, novels, plays, radio and television scripts, movies' (G Ross Roy 1997, p 53). See also Carruthers, who comments that 'Burns continues to struggle from under a weight of words which, as so often in the past, have nothing to do with the poet himself' (Carruthers 2009(d), p 36).

[60] See McGuirk 1998(b), p 12. There is some work, though not extensive, that discusses or refers to the representation of Burns in a contemporary Scottish context. See Kalyan Bhandari 2014; Braidwood 2009; and Rodger 2009. There are also some perspectives on Burns in twentieth century Scotland, see Donny O'Rourke 1994; David Hutchison 1997; Carl MacDougall 1997; and Finlay 1997(a) and (b). For contemporary Burns in cyberspace, see Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson 2012.

[61] See, for example, Davis 2010; Alex Tyrrell 2005; Rigney 2011; Nigel Leask 2011; Pauline Mackay 2012; Pauline Mackay and Murray Pittock 2011; Pittock 2007; Christopher Whatley 2010 and 2011(a); and Murray Pittock and Christopher Whatley 2014. See also the research project, *Robert Burns: Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909*, hosted by the University of Glasgow's Centre for Robert Burns Studies and conducted jointly with the University of Dundee, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/globalburnsnetwork/robert burnsinventingtraditionandsecuringmemory.

[62] See, for example, Tyrrell 2011; Davis 2009(a) and (b), and 2011; Whatley 2011(b); Leask 2011; McGinn 2011; Tanja Bueltmann 2012 and 2014; Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme

Morton 2013; Kirsteen McCue 2012; and other individual essays in Pittock 2011(a) and 2014; Sharon Alker, Leith Davis and Holly Faith Nelson 2012; and Robert Crawford 1997(a).

[63] Callum Brown 1996, p 211. See also Bartie 2007, p 207; and Riach 2004, p 9.

[64] See Murdo Macdonald 2005, p 62; and Fintan Cullen and John Morrison 2005, pp 2-4.

[65] Braidwood argues that Burns' iconography has endured possibly better than his poetry (Braidwood 2009, p 80). Macdonald (2005 and 2013(b)) discusses Burns' pervasive representation in art.

[66] McGuirk 1998(b), p 11.

[67] Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b), p 3.

[68] Erll and Nunning 2005, p 264.

[69] Rigney 2012, pp 11-12.

[70] Rigney 2012, p 45. See also Alker and Nelson, who argue for the value of investigating the digital mediation of Burns in cyberspace (Alker and Nelson 2012, p 260).

[71] Rodger and Caruthers 2009(b), p 6 and p 1.

[72] Whatley quoted in 'Hi-jacked: Scots and the Contested Memory of Robert Burns', University of Dundee news release, 16 November 2009,

http://app.dundee.ac.uk/pressreleases/2009/prnov09/hijacked.htm.

[73] Sturken 2008, p 75.

[74] Riach 2004, p xv.

[75] Sturken 1997, pp 11-12. Sturken also notes how 'cultural arenas such as art, popular culture, activism, and consumer culture intersect' (Sturken 1997, p 3).

[76] Sturken 1997, pp 11-12. Erll also notes how 'cultural memory can be approached via the level of material objects' (Erll 2008(a), p 9).

[77] Assmann and Conrad 2010, p 13. See Erll and Rigney 2009(a); Erll and Nunning 2008; Erll 2011(a); Rigney 2005; Neiger, Meyers and Zandberg 2011; Blaikie 2010; Hoskins 2009 and 2011(a); Alker and Nelson 2012; Edensor 2002.

[78] Neiger, Meyers and Zandberg 2011, p 10.

[79] Blaikie 2010, p 11.

[80] Rigney 2005, p 15.

[81] Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 150, p 152 and p 160.

[82] Pittock quoted in 'Burns' mistress Highland Mary invented by objects', University of Glasgow news release, 11 March 2011,

http://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2011/march/headline_192191_en.html. See also Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 149.

[83] McGuirk 1994, p 32.

[84] Pittock 2007, p 68.

[85] Pittock also refers to a disdain for the mass market in Scotland amongst cultural critics and commentators. He argues that the notion of 'invented' traditions, as espoused by writers such as Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger and Hugh Trevor-Roper, is 'contradictory, and far from as cutting edge as it sometimes represents itself' (Pittock 2007, p 65). See also Cullen and Morrison's critique of the invented traditions thesis (Cullen and Morrison 2005, pp 2-5).

[86] Pittock 2007, p 65.

[87] See Rigney 2005, p 20. Aleida Assmann refers to cultural memory as the 'working memory' of a society that defines the cultural identity of a group (Aleida Assmann 2008, p 100).

[88] Such things as stories, images, objects, museums, monuments, and cultural practices, such as rituals and festivals, all work together in creating and sustaining sites of memory (See Erll and Rigney 2006, p 111; and Rigney 2005).

[89] Olick and Robbins 1998, p 126.

[90] See Rigney, who has commented that 'most discussions of cultural memory have focused on isolated acts of remembrance rather than on the processes by which one type of remembrance feeds into another' (Rigney 2005, p 20). She also argues that the social/cultural frameworks in and through which those memories are interpreted and understood extend beyond any one or series of memory forms and technologies (Rigney 2005, pp 19-20).

[91] Pittock 2011, p 22.

[92] Assmann and Conrad 2010, p 2.

[93] Erll 2011(a), p 65. Assmann and Conrad 2010, p 1.

[94] Assmann and Conrad 2010, p 6.

[95] Assmann and Conrad 2010, p 6 and p 10.

[96] Erll 2011(a), p 65, and 2011(b), pp 14-15. See also Richard Crownshaw, who notes that 'although memory might travel, it is still received locally ... Memory Studies therefore must not lose sight of the significance of where memory arrives and how it is received there (Crownshaw 2011, pp 2-3).

[97] Edensor 2002, p 29.

[98] Leith Davis, Holly Faith Nelson and Sharon Alker 2012, p 2 and p 8.

[99] Davis, Nelson and Alker 2012, p 15.

[100] Edensor 2002, p vi. See also Berger 2011; and Bender 2002.

[101] Bechhofer and McCrone 2009(a), p1.

[102] Bechhofer and McCrone 2009(a), p 4 and p 15. They also note that 'the last decade has seen a heightened 'political' emphasis on being Scottish with the creation of a devolved Scottish parliament and the election of Scottish Nationalist governments' (Bechhofer and McCrone 2013, p 545).

[103] Smith 2007, p 16.

[104] Smith 2007, p 27.

[105] Smith 2007, p 27. There has been a renewed interest in the relationship between cultural memory and identity in the national domain. As Matthew Graves and Elizabeth Rechniewski have commented, 'the intensification of memorial activity at the national level seems to be characteristic of the contemporary world' (Graves and Rechniewski 2010, p12).

[106] Smith 2007, p 27. Smith also makes the case that Scottish nationalism is 'still a vital source of popular perception and action ... even if a majority of 'the people' do not opt for outright independence and state sovereignty' (Smith 2007, p 26).

[107] Olick and Robbins 1998, p 134.

[108] Olick and Robbins 1998, p 133. It has been noted that cultural studies generally has largely neglected memory as a topic (and method) and that contemporary representations of history and the

past are an untapped and important means for understanding cultural processes and the dynamics of cultural traditions and national identity (see Michael Pickering 2009, p 194). Barbara Henkes and Richard Johnson have observed that cultural studies has often been 'insufficiently concerned with the longer-term past of cultural forms and the ways they have changed their meanings and use with social or geographical location' (Henkes and Johnson 2002, pp 138-139). Rigney refers to how the 'dynamics of collective remembrance over a longer period has not yet received the sustained attention it deserves' (Rigney 2012, p 9).

[109] Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011, p 20. Connerton has referred to the need to address and understand the conditions of 'social persistence' of remembering as much as the factors that bring about change (Connerton 1989, pp 39-40).

[110] As they note, contestation 'is clearly at the center of both memory and identity' (Olick and Robbins 1998, p 126). See also Graves and Rechniewski 2010, p 13.

[111] Rigney 2012, p 19.

[112] Rigney 2012, p 16. See also Erll and Rigney, who note that 'the history of cultural memory is marked as much by crises and controversies running along social fault lines as it is by consensus and canon-building' (Erll and Rigney 2009(b), p 2).

[113] Jane Marie Law 2006, p 11. See also Olick and Robbins, who identify a number of theoretical orientations, 'Instrumental', 'Cultural' and 'Inertial', that seek to explain why some versions of the past remain, change, decay, die away or are forgotten (Olick and Robbins 1998, pp 129-130).

[114] Sturken 1997, p 9.

[115] Sturken 1997, p 2. Rigney also refers to the role of 'pleasure' in the dynamics of remembering (Rigney 2102, p 14).

[116] Bennett 1995, p 162.

[117] Rigney 2012, p 223.

[118] Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy summarise the dynamics of cultural memory as being 'situated in social frameworks', 'enabled by changing media technologies', 'confronted with cultural institutions', and shaped by historical/ political circumstances (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011, p 37). Rigney offers another way of capturing these dynamics that reflects a similar conceptual frame. She describes cultural memory as being 'dependent on being periodically reiterated and adapted to new circumstances through an interplay between particular memory sites ('reusable texts and images'), acts of remembrance, and shifting social frameworks' (Rigney 2012, p 19).

[119] Erll and Rigney 2009(b), p 10.

[120] Olick 1999(a), p 382. See also Olick and Robbins 1998, p 130.

[121] See also Rigney, who suggests that 'remembrance crystallizes into a limited number of sites of collective significance ... and that they do so by repeated over again, in different media and different forums which maximize their public presence' (Rigney 2012, p 18).

[122] Erll and Rigney 2009(b), p 5.

[123] See Linda Hutcheon 2013, p 116. See also Richard Middleton 1985; and Michael Pickering and Tony Green 1987. Middleton argues that while a new context mediates the meaning of cultural forms, the overall parameters of meaning move with them and are not lost (Middleton 1985, p 39). This has

particular relevance for the representations of Burns, since they carry with them what Middleton would describe as 'connotation-clusters' shaped by their particular social, production and cultural histories, or as Pickering and Green would describe them, 'symbolic associations', that mediate any new reception, and are, in turn, also mediated by that new context (Middleton 1985, p 13; Pickering and Green 1987, pp 11-13).

[124] As a consequence of this approach, some areas of relevant investigation, such news media coverage and publishing, are dealt with across these topic areas, rather than treated as separate case studies. Similarly, Burns Clubs and Burns Suppers are not the subject of a specific case study, but appear at various points as they relate to topic issues. At the time of writing, a major study of Burns Suppers is being undertaken that will provide the most up to date account and therefore this study does not treat this subject in detail (see McGinn 2011).

[125] Rigney 2005, pp 19-20.

[126] The 'shared instruments of the culture' is a term used by Jerome Bruner and Carol Fleisher Feldman to refer to culturally recognisable narrative properties like genre and plot type that are widely shared within a culture (Bruner and Fleisher Feldman 1996, p 293). I use it here to also encompass cultural images and symbols, what Barre Toelken refers to as 'a pool of culturally recognizable resources in language' (Toelken 1995, p 39).

[127] See Edensor 2002, p 29.

[128]'In historical, ethnographic, interpretive, or critical research, for example, the data are the means of generating explanations for what is observed' (Léonie J Rennie and Joan Gribble 2006, p 15). Consultations and visits were undertaken with a number of organisations and institutions, including the Centre for Robert Burns Studies at the University of Glasgow, Mitchell Library in Glasgow, National Library of Scotland, Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, National Museum of Scotland, National Trust for Scotland, Queen Margaret University Homecoming Scotland 2009 Archive, Robert Burns World Federation, EventScotland, VisitScotland, Scottish Government, local authorities, and a number of researchers, writers, artists and designers whose work is related to Burns. The fieldwork trips were also associated with locating and documenting research materials in various settings, including other Burns museums, heritage centres and collections, Burns Clubs, Burns statues and memorials, exhibitions and musical/theatrical performances, Scottish visitor centres, businesses, tourist merchandising and book shops. Consultations were also conducted with organisations and individuals outside of Scotland, including Scottish Studies centres, Burns Clubs and Scottish interest groups.

[129] Denzin and Lincoln 2011, pp 3-4.

[130] ''Theory' does not refer to a static collection of concepts that regulate research behavior but a set of practices in its own right … ideally, the content of our empirical research impinges back on our theorizing, shaping and informing the very ideas that are supposed to guide it. If this were not the case, it is not clear what the point of empirical research might be … social insights are best gleaned when scholars take a flexible and dialectical approach to the relationship between theory and data' (Harris Berger and Giovanna Del Negro 2004, pp ix-xi).

[131] 'Thick description' is a concept developed by Clifford Geertz (1973). Jeff Titon suggests that the best way to understand 'thick description' is as 'a method by which to apprehend and interpret cultural texts' - a method 'very much opposed to the then-dominant model based on the natural sciences (hypothesis, observations, measurements, conclusions)' (Titon 2003, p 174). In cultural anthropology, Geertz takes 'cultural representations and their meanings as its points of departure' where 'the essay as an art form' replaces 'the scientific article' (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p 18).

[132] See Rigney 2004, p 391.

[133] John Storey 2003, p 52. I employ the term 'culture industries' in a broad sense to encompass, not only broadcast, digital and print media, but also cultural institutions, such as museums and galleries, education and government agencies; and other industries, such as, heritage, tourism, the arts, product and events marketing, and publishing.

[134] See Aeron Davis 2009, pp 56-57.

[135] Lilie Chouliaraki 2008, pp 674-675.

[136] Emily Keightley 2009, p 184.

[137] Mieke Bal 2008, p 175.

[138] See, for example, Sarah Pink, who argues that research should pay attention to the context in which images are produced; the content of the image; the contexts in and through which images are viewed; and the materiality and agency of images (Pink 2006, p 31).

[139] See Alan McKee 2002, p 68. See also Martin Barker 2009, pp 163-165; and Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott 1987, p 4.

2

The Making of Burns' Reputation in the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

There are many sites of memory in Scotland, but a disproportionate number of them commemorate one man. In George Rosie's words, there has been an 'obsession with Robert Burns'. Beginning early in the nineteenth century when Burns Clubs were founded, biographies written and monuments built, the obsession strengthened during the 1840s, half a century after the poet's death, a time when he seemed to be closer to his countrymen than he had been while he was alive. Important original material was published in that decade to throw new light on Burns's life, and newspapers gave considerable attention to surviving members of his family. Something like a religious cult emerged with large numbers of visitors using the new railways and steamships to go on what were sometimes called 'pilgrimages' to the places with which the poet's memory was associated. (Alex Tyrrell 2005, p 42)

This extended quote from the historian Alex Tyrrell captures many of the features that have come to be associated with the cult of Burns - a phenomenon that reached its peak in the nineteenth century's response to Robert Burns as a figure of extraordinary symbolic importance to Scotland and beyond.[1] This 'obsession' with Burns was already underway during the poet's lifetime and its legacy continues to reverberate today in the cultural discourse surrounding him. Much has been said, written and argued about the influence of the Burns cult and its effects on his reputation as an iconic literary figure, most typically in attempts to liberate him from what is seen as its limiting and distorting influence. Even the most recent of twenty first century Burns scholarship finds the need to revisit and address in some fashion the long term impact of the Burns cult on his assessment and reputation.[2]

At the same time as efforts are being made to separate Burns from the myths that attach to him, there is an increasing interest in elucidating and understanding those myths rather than simply dismissing them as unfortunate aberrations. Some of this work has begun to deal explicitly with the processes and mechanisms through which he came to be established as a figure of cultural memory in the nineteenth century, focusing on his critical and literary reception, commemorative practices, and the part played by material culture. This work constitutes a relatively new direction in the arena of Burns studies that extends beyond a literacy focus to a wider cultural one. In addition, recent studies in the dynamics of cultural memory and artistic reputation are providing useful concepts and frameworks for examining how individuals may become sites for memory. It is the insights from these studies and the more specific Burns related research, together with the analysis of documentary material that informs this chapter.

It sets out to identify some of the important dynamics and processes in the early canonisation of the poet as a figure of national and global cultural significance; and to explain how he was taken up as a symbolic focus for a variety of social, cultural, economic and political purposes by those with a stake in his reputation. It will examine how the features of timing, location and 'ideological fit', together with a varied set of social, material, critical practices and discourses that formed and coalesced around Burns, were especially important in establishing and consolidating him as a complex site of 'symbolic investment' within Scotland and beyond.[3] In doing so, the chapter will also consider how, despite a diversity of claims made on his meanings, a range of representational conventions and particular ways of remembering him took shape and became well established by end of nineteenth century.

How certain individuals come to be singled out and preserved as particularly important to a society or culture is a matter of cultural valuing and selection. As Aleida Assmann has commented, the privileging of some cultural figures over others is a product of a selection process which endows certain persons 'a lasting place in the active working memory of a society'.[4] She refers to this process as 'canonization' in which such figures are 'set off from the rest as charged with the highest meaning and value' and which act as reference points across generations.[5] This ascription of value 'presupposes' ongoing decision making, contestations and power struggles.

While the process of canonisation is marked by 'selection, value, and duration', it is not fixed and closed but open to changes and exchanges. Unlike the 'archive' that stores and preserves what is valued intact, objects of the cultural canon are actively circulated and communicated in ever-new presentations and performances, and are continuously recycled and reaffirmed. This privileged repeated presentation and reception 'ensures its aura and supports its canonical status'.[6] Further, as Rigney explains, it is through these repeated presentations and representations in a variety of forms and processes that figures of memory can 'acquire shape, meaning, and a high public profile in particular communities'.[7] This ongoing process of mediation and remediation invests figures of memory with new meanings, without which they become obsolete or inert as active sites of memory.[8] Canonical memory figures 'come into being where many acts of remembrance converge' but 'only stay alive as long as people consider it worthwhile to argue about their meaning'.[9]

Whether or not an author becomes canonised in the working memory of a society is also influenced by the particular dynamics of artistic reputation. These dynamics are 'only loosely correlated with life-time achievements; not only talent, but social factors play a role in securing and maintaining the outstanding reputations of individuals'.[10] Gladys and Kurt Lang suggest that it is useful to distinguish between two aspects of reputation, which they refer to as 'recognition' and 'renown'. 'Recognition' refers to the esteem in which peers, close admirers and other 'significant insiders' hold the artist. 'Renown' signifies 'a more cosmopolitan form of recognition' beyond the circles in which the artist moves. It is measurable by how well a person is known outside a specific art world through measures such as media publicity and promotion, and other public attention to 'the work and persona of the artist'. The process 'is to a degree self-confirming' and 'greatness begins to feed on itself', frequently reinforced by legend and myth. Public adulation or notoriety turns the artist into a celebrity so that 'anything by his hand comes to have value for that reason alone'.[11]

While such visibility provides the initial 'momentum' for propelling an artist 'into posterity', by itself, it is not enough to ensure the longer term durability of reputation. There are a number of other factors that influence the posthumous survival of artistic reputation.[12] For example, reputation is closely linked to such things as the survival of the artist's work, records of it, and the availability of suitable

means for its dissemination.[13] While the artist's work itself provides an important reference point in the building of reputation, what comes to count and be remembered about an artist is 'refracted' through other social, economic and cultural and political factors, some of which assist in setting the groundwork for how an artist will be remembered even before his death. The artist's own efforts to project or protect his reputation through such strategies as self-promotion and forging links with patrons, publishers and reviewers, can assist in establishing the artist's public profile and a network of agents with an interest or stake in sustaining or boosting his reputation.[14] That network of interested others before and after the artist's death may include not only admirers and patrons, but also those who foster controversy associated with the artist's work or life, including critics and media reporting, where 'controversy can serve as a peg on which to hang references to the name'.[15] In addition, linkages to literary and artistic circles, and to political and cultural elites, facilitate entry into the cultural 'archives' such as museums and collections; increase the likelihood of the artist's work being reproduced, disseminated, discussed, and written about; and also enhance the chances of the artist becoming the subject or object of other artists' and writers' work.[16]

While reputation is refracted through such factors as initiatives taken in the artist's lifetime, the availability of his work, networks of agents with a stake in his reputation, and linkages to cultural circles and elite groups; the artist may also be co-opted as a 'symbolic focus for a variety of sentiments that may have nothing to do directly with art'.[17] These symbolic associations:

... make an artist stand out from the crowd give a boost to a posthumous reputation. The connection may be more or less fortuitous and a function, so to speak, of proximity. Or it may be because a part of the art public perceives a congruence between some relevant aspect of its own identity and the characteristics it finds in or ascribes to an artist. (Gladys Lang and Kurt Lang 1988, 98)

Symbolic associations can be based on origin or place, what Lang and Lang refer to as 'proximity'. An artist's locality, for example, may have a particular bearing on the nature and longevity of his reputation. Where an artist has established local or regional associations, and where his work is closely aligned with a place; that may be capitalised on and celebrated as representative of 'the particular place, ethos or culture', or as a 'conspicuous contributor to the national scene'.[18] Symbolic

associations may also be a matter of 'ideological congruence', where an artist or his work can be made to serve broader cultural and/or political purposes, such as defining an emerging cultural or political identity, or 'dramatizing new aspirations'. Artists who are taken up in this way are 'more likely to be granted a prominent place in the collective memory'.[19]

These features in the dynamics of reputation are highly pertinent in the case of Robert Burns, especially since his own efforts in forging a literary persona and establishing an effective network of supporters and like-minded associates were key to his early artistic recognition and wider renown. Moreover, the role played by others with a stake in his reputation played a crucial part in ensuring the availability of his work and biography, and in preserving the memory of his life and achievements. The impact of his immediate locale, his Scottish roots and use of the Scots language in his work, in a particular era, became a fundamental part of how he was remembered and valued. Burns also was made to serve broader ideological purposes, becoming a touchstone for a variety of cultural and political sentiments in his appropriation as the voice and champion of Scottish and universal values. It is to these dynamics, in the canonisation of Burns, that this chapter now turns in order to highlight some of the reputation making processes and mechanisms that served to establish and keep his memory alive throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Robert Burns: networker, PR man, business man and self-styled Scottish bard

It would be fair to say that Burns' iconic status as a cultural figure cannot be attributed to his literary and musical achievements alone. From his earliest artistic life he set out to establish himself as the nation's bard, along the way actively participating in the construction of a literary persona that might suit his ambition and endeavours. Through his work, his extensive correspondence and engagement with a networks of friends, Masonic associates, professional allies, patrons, publishers and critics, he developed and promoted a public image and rallied support and patronage for his literary and musical projects.

As Burns' biographer Robert Crawford has noted, it was prior to initiating the first publication of his poetry, *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, in 1786 that Burns was demonstrating the skills and talents of publicity and literary agent, publisher,

business man and shaper of his literary reception as 'Patriot-bard'. In early poetry and letters, Burns 'announces himself as a guardian and ornament to his nation ... telling his readership and his patron he wished to be seen not just a local but as a national poet'.[20] Drawing upon and enhancing his network of influential allies, who might further his quest for bardic 'fame', he wrote and dedicated poems and verses, and sought subscriptions for his first book, with significant support from his Masonic network.[21] In the preface to the book, he cast himself as a humble poet, 'a Rhymer from his earliest years' who was 'an obscure, nameless Bard', while (indirectly) associating himself with 'Theocrites' and 'Virgil', and the great Scottish poets of the past.[22] Nicholas Roe has commented that Burns' preface is 'one of the canniest exercises in literary self-promotion ever penned'.[23] Within weeks of publication, reviews of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* were appearing in Scottish and English periodicals and literary magazines in which the shaping of Burns' reputation as a poet of 'native genius' and as the 'ploughman poet' writing from 'feelings of the heart' with 'artless simplicity' was already taking hold.[24]

Aware of the popularity and the potential for expanding his regional poetic identity to that of a national one, Burns embarked on a second edition of his book in Edinburgh.[25] Seeking support, advice and potential patronage, he wrote to and met with the 'well-connected men' and women of his expanding circle of acquaintances, sending copies of poems and reviews, and proclaiming himself as 'king of the bards'.[26] Subscriptions to this edition were sought and received not only from supporters in Scotland, but also from those in London to Madrid.[27] Burns' dedication to the Edinburgh edition presents him to his readers as a proud 'Scottish Bard' seeking to 'sing in his Country's service'. As this dedication asserts, the source of his bardic impulse derives from the 'Poetic Genius of my Country' which he found 'at the plough', on and in the land. His poetry is made of 'wild, artless notes' that sings of 'the loves, the joys, the rural scenes and rural pleasures of my natal Soil, in my native tongue'.[28] Crawford remarks that although Burns was serious and ambitious in his self-styled bardic project, he could also reflect an amusing, convivial and self-deprecating version of himself that served to enhance his positive reception within Edinburgh's social circles in which he was now being feted.[29] His social manner, physical appearance and dress, as a rugged looking attractive poet in waistcoat and buckskin breeches, was a source of lively attention and fascination in Edinburgh

society.[30] Burns cut a dashing figure, and that image was in demand, with several portraits painted in this first Edinburgh visit, including the now famous Alexander Nasmyth portrait. In Edinburgh, 'which turned upon him for a season its 'dazzling blaze of favour'', Burns was the talk of the town.[31] His poems, extracts and reviews of his work were everywhere, as were his admirers, with details of his life becoming 'public property, sometimes in distorted form'.[32] His reputation had also begun to spread rapidly across the globe and his work was soon influencing other poets, song writers, musicians and literary movements.[33]

Already famously cast as the 'Heaven-taught ploughman' by Henry Mackenzie in a celebrated review, Ralph McLean suggests that Burns 'played' on this characterisation, styling himself as an unpolished rustic.[34] But, while Burns participated in this self-definition as 'noble savage', it was not simply a self-aggrandising project.[35] Nor was he merely 'playing along' with the image that Edinburgh society had created for him. As Johnny Rodger and Gerard Carruthers remark:

Burns's 'peasant' mantle was both self-mythology and, paradoxically, a brilliant aesthetic project calculated to garner success in a literary market-place where patronage otherwise remained crucial ... not for nothing might Burns be claimed to be the first of the 'Romantics' operating from a platform of carefully inscribed primitive authenticity. (Johnny Rodger and Gerard Carruthers 2009(b), p 2)

By the time of the publication of his Edinburgh edition of poetry, Burns had begun to focus on song collecting, writing and publishing. Marilyn Butler suggests that this shift of interest towards Scottish song was possibly a shrewd strategy on his part to diversify his market to a wider more popular one and to reduce his dependence on literary fashion.[36] But it was also a further development of his longstanding interest in folksong and his main creative and nationalist ambition 'to re-collect Scotland as a literary nation'.[37] He made known in the subscription appeals for his song publication that his impulse was patriotic rather than commercial and that the task was a collaborative one, to bring together likeminded men - 'to form a kind of common acquaintance among the genuine sons of Caledonian song'.[38] He toured Scotland gathering material, writing and rewriting songs, and meeting musicians and singers, while at the same extending his influential contacts and potential subscribers. It was a 'mixture of pilgrimage, publicity tour, and holiday'.[39] It was also a research

and learning project about Scotland's musical heritage that consequently shaped and enhanced his methods of song writing and of refining and improving songs.[40]

By this time, Burns had also established a friendship and professional relationship with the man who became co-editor and publisher of his first song project. Burns' contribution to the six volume *The Scots Musical Museum* (mostly published after Burns' death) and to a subsequent song collection, *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, became the centre of his artistic life.[41] For the *Museum* and the *Select Collection*, he contributed hundreds of songs as part of his antiquarian and nationalist agenda.[42] Working with musicians and his co-editors and publishers, he sought to tap into two levels of a flourishing music market 'aimed at polite young women ... improving their skills as singers, pianists or flautists' at home.[43] The *Museum* was published as a cheaper, pocket-sized collection with simpler musical settings to accommodate all abilities, while the *Select Collection* was designed as a more expensive 'coffee-table-sized' volume with settings by European composers including Haydn and Beethoven, and was aimed at a musically skilled amateur or the professional performer.[44] But the availability and circulation of his songs was made much wider through the sale of cheap song sheets and chap books that typically appeared without musical notation; and through the songs being published in newspapers, reviews and in other collections and books.[45]

Burns' stance toward the songs that he collected, rewrote and published was marked by a 'deliberate cloaking of his contributions'.[46] Unlike for his poetry, where he identified himself as author; for the songs, he represented himself as editor or collector rather than as writer. McGuirk refers to his unsigned songs as a 'secret triumph' in his commitment to a bardic role.[47] By presenting and publishing the songs as those of a living Scottish folk heritage preserved and made available through his custodianship, he was positioning himself as 'the bard who defined and disseminated, to all places and for all time, a vision of Scotland transfigured and perfected: Scottish language, Scottish history and Scottish character'.[48] The fact that his Scots songs 'came to symbolise, over the course of the nineteenth century, the power and purity of Scotland itself ... was exactly what he intended for his song-revision project'.[49]

It could be said that Burns was in the right place at the right time.

Butler suggests that the conditions were right for Burns to reach an early receptive audience and to succeed in his quest to become the nation's poet.[50] In the wake of the Union with England, a cultural revival was taking place in Scotland in which poets and scholars were turning to the past, 'ancestral origins, and regional popular traditions in a series of attempts to reimagine Scottish identity' and to assert its distinctiveness, especially from England.[51] The Union with England opened up massive trade opportunities with the New World and Europe, but it also brought with it cultural pressures. On the one hand, there was a desire and good reasons for closer links with England, and London, in particular.[52] On the other hand, serious concerns grew in Scotland about the culturally damaging effects of Anglicisation:

Paradoxically, when Scots became Britons they became more aware of what it was to be a Scot. Political union presented a threat to cultural identity; hence the need to preserve or revitalize the modes, forms, and language of the native tradition. (Kenneth Simpson 2009, p 91)[53]

A feature of this Scottish cultural consciousness was the eighteenth century revival of Scottish vernacular poetry to which Burns was seen as a major contributor.[54] His work drew from and fed into the renewed interest in Scottish literary and lyrical traditions, the antiquarian and 'folk' culture movement, the 'romance' of the highlands and an evolving post-Jacobite national sentiment, and the literary and social ideals of the Enlightenment.[55]

It was his ascribed persona as the ploughman poet that was particularly appealing to 'an enlightenment agenda' that was focused on 'finding the noble savage', and for the literati of the time to exploit as a marketing ploy.[56] As Carruthers has explained, the theory of the noble savage associated with Jean Jacques Rousseau 'found enthusiastic reception' in the Scottish Enlightenment because it offered an opportunity, through Burns, for Scotland to 'add to its canon of primitivist literary output'. The idea of a spontaneous 'expressive genius' was seen to counteract the notion of Scotland as a 'backward, uncultured location' compared to England's 'civilised' culture.[57] As a poet expressing the 'peasant voice' of the nation, Burns as Scottish bard could also be located within a wider European romantic national 'essentialism' at the dawn of the Romantic era:

The stage was set by Mackenzie (and later Currie) for a bardic native genius ... representative of Scotland as Shakespeare was of England ... Both Currie and Mackenzie set up the framework for the comparisons between Burns and Shakespeare that were to be such a feature of nineteenth-century criticism and appreciation, and the view of Burns as a cultural entrepreneur, who had won international fame and respectability by immortalising the values of his background. (Murray Pittock 2011(c), p 31)

Pittock suggests that the 'value of Scotland' (and to some extent the Scots language) was 'high' in the early Romantic era.[58] Burns and his work appealed to many well known poets and writers of the time including Walter Scott, William Wordsworth, Samuel Coleridge, Byron, Charles Lamb, John Keats, William Hazlitt and Thomas Moore, who wrote about and were influenced by him. Lamb wrote of 'the god of my idolatry', Coleridge - 'Nature's own beloved bard', and Scott referred to Burns as 'the child of passion and feeling' who had been 'gifted' with the 'extravagance of genius'.[59] Through these and other literary and critical responses (and Burns' own efforts) the idea of the poet as Scotland's bard, as 'Scotia's Shakespeare', became firmly established within and outside of Scotland soon after his death.[60] Importantly too at this time, the idea of Burns as both a national and a universal poet took hold and became the 'conventional wisdom' throughout the nineteenth century.[61] As Pittock notes, 'his critics accepted both his role as national bard and a transcending one as one of the great geniuses of the Anglophone and indeed global tradition'.[62] In this, the image of Burns as a poet of 'universal truth' was not merely initiated in Scotland and then transported to other places. Rather, it developed 'as a consequence of the fact that he found currency not just in Scotland and Great Britain but also abroad'.[63]

It was also during this period that Scotland was establishing itself as a literary cultural centre with increased wealth and a growing educated elite that could support and participate in these literary enterprises.[64] The growth of printing and publishing industries, especially in Edinburgh, meant that this new national vision could be manifest and disseminated in print.[65] Increasing levels of literacy among the 'labouring classes' and a 'hunger for writing' and reading, serviced by provincial printers and publishers all over Scotland, also meant that there was a large and ready market for Burns' work in mass produced cheaper forms.[66] His songs, which were

part of a song culture that was part of the daily lives of people of all classes, also had a 'particular resonance for working people':

Song was the sound of everyday life, in the home, on the fields and in the workshop, and for many, an alternative to the sermon ... an art form that was accessible to virtually everyone, simply by being sung, or printed in cheap and therefore affordable broadsheets and chapbooks. (Christopher Whatley 2010, p 8)[67]

Christopher Whatley suggests that 'as the standard bearer of the Scots language', Burns appealed (albeit in different ways) 'across the factions, parties, and social classes'.[68] The sentiments expressed in his songs, such as the dignity of the working man and of 'human self-worth regardless of background or class', were especially appealing to working people and those of 'lowly social rank' who were 'largely vote-less' in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scotland.[69] His reputation as the ploughman poet, as 'a man of modest rank', was also readily shaped into the image of the 'people's poet'.[70] As the people's poet, Burns and his associations with anti-establishment causes could also be adopted by social and political reformers in Scotland, England and Ireland 'who drew on Burns for his articulation of their humanitarian social vision'.[71] As such, Burns was 'included in the pantheon of Scottish, English, French, and American liberty-espousing radical philosophers and writers'.[72] But it was the conservatives in the early nineteenth century who 'led the way in commandeering and shaping in their own interests the memory of Burns'.[73] Scotland's dominant classes, attempted to 'corral Burns's legacy in the service of the political and social status quo against what many of them saw as the dangers of unbridled 'democratic ambition''.[74]

If for the reformers, Burns' songs, *A Man's a Man* and *Scots Wha Hae*, became their rallying cry; for the conservatives, it was his, *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, that became 'a manifesto for Scotland's conservative elite'.[75] Their reading of the poem provided 'a powerful recipe for social contentment within a secure homeland' and was used as a model for extolling the virtues of a humble, pious, loyal and stoic peasantry. According to Whatley, these were the attributes that Scotland's leading conservatives wished to 'inculcate into the hearts and minds of Scotland's present-day country and small-town dwellers, tomorrow's big-city migrants' and 'which were toasted when members of Scotland's upper and middling classes ... met in the early nineteenth century to honor Burns's birthday'.[76] While Burns was used to

champion and legitimate what were adjudged to be traditional Scottish values in the cause of conservative agendas, the virtues expressed in *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, of 'moral worth, integrity, independent labour, and rural living', also had a powerful appeal for radicals and reformers.[77] The various and competing claims that Burns was subject to were also evident in how he was used soon after his death to 'galvanize the powerful pro-British patriotic sentiment ... in the wake of the threat of French invasion'.[78]

Burns as 'a socio-literary phenomenon'

But with the appropriations and the praise came approbation. The idea of Burns' native genius that was established during his lifetime, evolved after his death to include the conflict between genius and morality. Donald Low's account of Burns' critical reception is that, although nearly all nineteenth century critics and commentators agreed that Burns was an inspired poet, that 'he had genius', much of his early criticism was:

... compounded of praise for his genius, sympathy with his lot, disapproval of the man on moral, social, religious or political grounds, and failure to examine the art of individual poems and songs. (Donald Low 1995, p 1)

The subject most often under discussion was not Burns' work, but 'a socio-literary phenomenon' where his artistic 'personality' and biography came under intense scrutiny, fascination and judgement, not all of which was positive.[79] His perceived genius was proclaimed at the same time as his moral flaws as a dissipated artist were railed against. As Low remarks, critics 'paid tribute, then took fright'.[80] A 'widespread ethical conservatism' disapproved of Burns' 'unguarded talk about revolutionary politics', his criticism of the church, and his social/sexual behaviour.[81] Rumour and gossip about his alleged faults, in which 'tongues wagged about his private life, and eyebrows were raised' were echoed in published pieces, letters, essays and biographical accounts that had the effect of intensifying biographical discussion that swung 'between extremes of condemnation and indignant defence'.[82] In this, Burns came to be seen as 'a figure of symbolic importance to admirers and detractors alike', with those admirers and critics often voicing their judgements through critical exchanges that appeared in reviews and commentaries across Britain, Ireland and the United States.[83] As Corey Andrews notes, in the process of

interpreting the poet's cultural and national significance beginning soon after his death, the ties between his genius and biography became 'increasingly knotted'. While his 'original poetic genius' was viewed as an overriding character trait, it was also understood as a source of both power and weakness. In the critical attempts to reconcile the 'man' with his 'work', a combination of 'myth-building and moralising' took hold and shaped the contours of his critical reception.[84]

The first official biography and collected works of Burns, by James Currie in 1800, played a significant role in shaping that critical reception throughout the nineteenth century providing the 'prototype' for later biographical assessments and other interpretations of Burns.[85] As Leith Davis notes, Currie's representation of Burns proved remarkably popular:

Currie's 'Life of Burns' also became the standard which all subsequent biographers of Burns cited (either positively or negatively) and against which they measured their achievement ... Consumed by readers, reprinted by publishers, and referred to by other biographers, Currie's perspective on Burns dominated representations of the poet in the early to mid years of the nineteenth century. (Leith Davis 2010, pp 10-11)

Currie's perspective on Burns not only set the critical agenda, but his *Works of Burns* also provided the 'raw materials' concerning Burns.[86] Currie's editorial choices in the selection and publication of poems, songs and letters, became the orthodoxy of Burns' work that was read and reproduced throughout the nineteenth century within and beyond Scotland.[87] Currie's editorial judgements about what was appropriate and relevant in a national poet also produced a somewhat morally and politically conservative 'safe' version of the 'native genius' of Burns that became the dominant nineteenth century view.[88]

Davis also sees Currie's work as 'staging Burns in cultural memory' in a manner that 'proved remarkably durable for the rest of the nineteenth century'.[89] The idea that Burns was the voice of Scotland, that his work was the embodiment Scottish life and values, had already been part of his critical reception; but Currie's work forged the link between the poet and a Scotland that firmly located Burns as a central figure in Scottish cultural memory. According to Davis, Currie 'effected a crucial transformation of Burns that prepared the way for his reception as an iconic figure of Scottish cultural memory'.[90] Currie represented Burns' work as a direct record of

experience - 'the transcript of his own musings on the real incidents of his humble life'.[91] This 'real' Scotland that Burns depicted and preserved in poetic form was seen by Currie as a patriotic act on Burns' part. What Burns did was to 'embalm' a valued Scottish identity and to 'represent that identity to the rest of the English-speaking world'.[92] For Currie, Burns' poetry was 'a monument, not to his own name only, but to the expiring genius of an ancient and once independent nation'.[93] While Currie depicted Burns as a victim of his own heightened passions, he nonetheless presented him as a potent symbol of Scottish cultural memory at home and abroad. Burns' 'love of country' conveyed in poetry was deemed as the means by which the nation's members could be connected:

In Currie's *Works*, Burns is represented as preserving 'the peculiar manners of his country,' a Scotland lost in space through emigration and in time through cultural change, but he is also depicted as reuniting members of the Scottish community through memory. By representing the process whereby communicative memory of Burns solidifies into cultural memory and by depicting Burns as the 'embalming' receptacle and connective tissue of Scottishness, Currie's *Works of Burns* made Burns not only a universal symbol of Scottish identity but also a metaphor for cultural memory itself. (Leith Davis 2010, p 9)

Davis suggests that while Burns was used by Currie to assert a Scottish distinctiveness, it was a distinctiveness located 'within' a united Britain that was also expanding its empire. Burns was positioned as a 'transnational link', an 'object of cultural exchange in a global system', where he became 'emblematic' of Scotland's global influence. The 'template' for understanding Burns that Currie provided meant that his poetry could be appreciated not just by Scots, but by all people affected by the 'forces of modernity' and the 'increasing migration of peoples around the globe'.[94]

The age of 'Burnomania'[95]

Currie's critical legacy and that of other biographers, publishers and commentators was also played out in what Gerard Carruthers describes as a 'burgeoning, crass populist cult of Burns'.[96] This veneration of Burns was 'determined to separate the bad from the good in the poet's moral and political behaviour ... the unspoken desire ... was that Burns might finally be held up as an exemplar of essentially good-hearted, morally sober and plain-talking Scoto-Britishness'.[97] This age of

'Burnomania' in the nineteenth century witnessed his increasing popular appeal to Scots of all classes including those that Andrews describes as 'Burnsian Men of Action' who honoured and commemorated Burns as the Scottish national poet through their founding of Burns Clubs and hosting of annual Burns Suppers.[98] Within a few short years of his death, such clubs were established for the purpose of cherishing his memory. Their members came together to honour, to pay tribute, recite poetry and make speeches. As ardent worshippers at the throne of his genius, club members constructed Burns as an icon for veneration and worship. They also came to emulate the poet, who by then was seen as providing 'a model for exemplary conduct that is insuperable'.[99] Andrews suggests that Burns Clubs (local, national, and international), 'more than any other public organisation ... have promoted an idealised representation of Robert Burns as Scotland's bard'.[100] By means of a highly idealised image of the poet, the Burns Clubs of the nineteenth century offered members an opportunity to experience 'contemporaneous community', at the centre of which was 'their' national poet and a Scotland of which they and the rest of the world could be proud.[101] In this, their promotion of Burns contributed to the received cultural memory of his genius as a 'national honour'.[102]

Davis also notes the role of Burns Clubs in contributing to the received cultural memory of Burns and their part in making biography pre-eminent in commemorating the poet. Here, too, Currie's biography was influential. The speeches that were a core part of Burns' ritual commemoration, notably the 'Immortal Speech', drew on Currie as a textual source and echoed Currie's positioning of Burns as an 'iconized receptacle of Scottish cultural memory', and as a symbol who unites Scots around the globe.[103] But these immortal speeches also mark a shift in the way that Burns and his work was being received by the middle of the nineteenth century. What for Currie had been Burns' work as a 'reflection' of Scottish patriotism, had now become the 'source' of that patriotism. Burns' poetry and songs are referred to in these speeches as having 'sunk into the character and hearts of the people of Scotland', so deeply affecting the 'national mind' that 'in another hundred years (national feeling) may be fed entirely by the songs of Burns'.[104] In a further shift reflected in these speeches, Burns emerges as the poet not only of Scottish nationality, but of nationality in general. His reputation is seen 'to embrace not only his countrymen but all who can admire genius and venerate lofty feelings in every country of the civilised globe'.[105]

These Burnsian 'men of action' not only made speeches in their self-declared 'unique propaganda for keeping Burns's memory green in the heart of the world', they 'worked diligently throughout the nineteenth century to promote their national bard in active fashion', initiating and rallying support for the construction of monuments and memorials, not only in Scotland, but across the globe, most numerously in America, Australia and New Zealand.[106] As part of a nineteenth century fashion for erecting public monuments to writers and national heroes, these memorials helped to construct and reinforce in very public ways, collective identities, with Burns acting as 'a prompt to intensify the expression of a series of shared values and convictions within Scottish society, even if at times that consensus had been exposed as illusory'.[107] As Devine has described the period, the Victorian era saw 'the reinvention of Scotland, when new or refurbished icons continued to provide the nation with crucial symbols of identity and distinctiveness within the union'.[108] The cult of national heroes, like Burns, served to reinforce 'the idea of Scotland as a national entity through appeals to the nation's distinctive past'.[109] Most of the Scottish statues and memorials to Burns were constructed during 'the high water mark of Scottish nationalism', the timing of which, Whatley suggests 'is unlikely to have been simply coincidental':

Amongst the panoply of cultural icons upon which nationalists in Scotland drew for inspiration were Sir Walter Scott, William Wallace and Robert Bruce. Above them all however, as measured by the sheer number of life-sized statues and substantial memorials erected in the second half of the nineteenth century, stood Robert Burns. (Christopher Whatley 2010, pp 4-5)

For many of these statues, the Nasmyth portrait provided the model, often accompanied by various 'symbolic accoutrements' associated with Burns, such as the pen, the book and the plough, references to characters and themes in his poetry and songs, and Scottish icons such as the thistle, the plaid, the daisy.[110] While these types of Scottish and Burns related motifs became symbolic conventions in sculptural form, they were also complemented by other symbolic motifs that referred to his global significance and meaning. His statue in Ayr, for example, depicted 'the shamrock of Ireland, England's rose, a palm leaf to represent India and the colonies, and for North America, a hawthorn, or mayflower', which were intended to 'symbolise Burns's power over the English speaking race'.[111]

The early memorials were initiated and largely funded by Scotland's social elite, led by aristocrats and the landed gentry, with members of the mercantile classes and prominent townsmen also playing a part.[112] The drive to initiate and erect statues was often a competitive one with individual towns vying with each other to be first to commemorate him in physical form, to 'assert their place in the vanguard of Scottish national sentiment, and proclaim their associations with the most charismatic Scot of the century'.[113] In this, Burns 'played an important voice in giving voice to provincial Scotland'.[114] The motivations associated with these early memorials also reflected a mix of other concerns, including a sense of guilt for his plight at the end of his life; the assertion of Scottish literary and cultural achievement; and 'civic improvement' and commercial interests to take advantage of the economic benefits expected to derive from increased local and international literary tourism:

... a profound sense of guilt - that Burns had been allowed to die in poverty - that had to be assuaged; patriotic regard for Burns as a Scottish poet who could compare with the best English and Irish writers; the opportunity Burns' fame provided to extol the virtues of Scotland's educational system, and the values of its Presbyterianism; a desire to exploit the growing band of literary tourists and thereby enhance the fortunes of those towns that could claim a link with Burns. (Christopher Whatley 2010, pp 2-3)[115]

While the impetus for these early statues typically came from prominent citizens who were also Burns enthusiasts, there was also growing interest and participation of 'relatively ordinary people', such as, town councillors, lawyers, employers and other local leaders, artisans, clerks, works overseers and managers and small employers.[116] Subscription appeals for small contributions were also aimed at the general public, in part, as recognition of 'an anxiety of all ranks to offer tribute to the Memory of Burns'.[117]

The unveiling ceremonies associated with these statues and memorials demonstrate the extent of the 'public, popular display of ardour for Burns', where his appeal was 'broad and deep'.[118] Tens of thousands assembled in the small towns for these events, with numbers close to a hundred thousand in the major cities, a pattern that was reflected in similar events in the United States and in the colonies where Burns statues were erected.[119] The commemoration and celebration of Burns in statues and memorials was only part of a 'nationwide efflorescence' of celebrations that took place over the nineteenth century. The Ayr Burns Festival of 1844, the centenary of

Burns' birth in 1859, and the centenary of his death in 1896, were marked by large scale participation not in only Scotland, but also overseas.[120] People 'organised and then participated in processions, meetings, concerts, soirees, dinners and dances' which 'stunned and perplexed London journalists and commentators who sought to account for the literally hundreds of such events'.[121] And as Whatley notes, this level of interest and engagement was not unprecedented. Much earlier, the town of Dumfries was 'besieged' for Burns' funeral in 1796.[122]

In the speeches made, Burns' poetry and songs were quoted expressing nationalist sentiments that were often at the fore in public events such as these, where he was hailed as the saviour of Scotland and the Scots language. He 'exalted our race' and 'hallowed Scotland and the Scottish tongue'. When 'we had been falling out of the recollection and recognition of the world ... Burns seemed at this juncture to start to his feet and re-assert Scotland's claim to national existence'.[123] In these events, Burns was also proclaimed as 'our greatest King of Song', 'whose patriotic verses and love songs are among the chief glories of the nation'.[124] In these public settings, 'the chief glories of the nation' were not those of Burns' bawdy verse, *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*, which circulated at the time only in 'underground' private editions.[125] The old 'rough coarse and obscene' songs that 'no decent man would recite' were largely hidden from polite Victorian society. The songs that were publically identified with him may have had their 'vulgar' origins, but through his 'touch of inspired alchemy', they had been rescued and purified, and 'sweetened the breath of Scotland'.[126]

These 'highly ritualized' ceremonies can 'rightly be interpreted as elements of paternalist strategies adopted by urban elites to soften class antagonisms and bind together their disparate communities'.[127] But this public performance of Burns' memory 'was pluralist, not monolithic'.[128] For one thing, there were the churchmen and 'teetotallers' who 'deplored the Burns cult' and Burns' elevation to the status of 'secular saint'.[129] For some of the radicals and reformers, who honoured him but criticised the motives of the upper classes, Burns monuments and festivals were at risk of being viewed by posterity as 'so many hideous mockeries ... vile attempts of hypocrisy to appropriate a portion of those honours due only to genius'.[130] For the throngs of working class people who attended and participated in these events, and marched in trade groups as part of the ceremonial parades, Burns was 'a revered

figure'.[131] On their flags and banners were his words conveying 'sentiments that reflected the understanding of those who displayed them what Burns stood for: independence, the dignity of man, and universal brotherhood'.[132] The championing of Burns as the hero of the Scottish 'working man' in speeches 'induced the loudest acclaim', and offered dramatic confirmation of what Burns represented to working people, which Whatley describes as:

... a lost Scottish past with which they could indentify; a present of which they felt part, and proud - as individuals, as members of trade and other mutual aid societies, and as Scots; and a future in which they might find themselves in an even better world. (Christopher Whatley 2011(b), pp 222-223)

While the themes of national pride and praise of Burns' contribution to Scottish worth and dignity were commonly expressed, these occasions were also marked by allegiance to, or at least recognition of, Scotland's place in the grand vision of the British empire:

... the name and fame of Robert Burns, like his immortal soul, liveth and reigneth and is enshrined in the hearts of the Scottish people assembled here to-day - (cheers) - and wherever Scotsmen gather; wherever the Union Jack floats, proudly proclaiming the sovereignty of our beloved Queen. (Joseph Glover, Provost of Dumfries, *Burns Centenary 21st July 1896: Great Demonstration at Dumfries*, 1896, p 69)

Burns and Britishness were often 'conjoined by leading nineteenth century celebrants of the poet', with the Union Jack flag and other symbols of Britain and empire much in evidence.[133] Within what was a 'heightened sense of Scottishness', Whatley suggests that 'Scottish nationalism in the period was directed not at independence from the Union and empire, but rather at parity within these frameworks'.[134] Devine has also noted that Scottish allegiance to and pride in the British empire 'ran in close parallel' with the cult of national heroes like Burns, and the notion of Scots as 'a pre-eminent race of empire builders, heroic soldiers, educators, doctors and engineers'.[135] The British empire did not 'dilute' the sense of Scottish identity but strengthened it by 'powerfully reinforcing the sense of national esteem and demonstrating that the Scots were equal partners with the English in the great imperial mission'.[136] Indeed, empire-building was depicted as 'peculiarly Scottish and as the fulfilment of a national destiny'.[137] Empire for the Scots was also 'a route to self-respect as well as

to enhanced prosperity.'[138] Burns himself too had imperial connections. His Ayrshire home, 'far from being an obscure provincial backwater' was deeply connected to, and 'massively profited' from, the colonial trade in which Scotland was a significant player.[139]

Burns' early international reach was in fact largely facilitated by his 'imperial distribution and consumption' amongst the Scottish diaspora in the colonies of the British empire, where he served as a 'culturally unifying force' by 'buttressing Scottish identity' and 'reinforcing colonial ideologies'.[140] This feature of his global 'positioning' and his contribution to a sense of universal Scottish worth was a common theme in the ceremonies and events that took place over the nineteenth century. In these events Burns was located within an expanding realm that reached out from the local to the national and to 'the imagined 'universal' community of Scotsmen':[141]

There is the keenest interest in this national sentiment throughout our people of Scottish blood and descent. Many of us who have never trod on Scottish heather can admire and appreciate the poet's genius as fully as their fathers. Our English, Irish, Welsh, and Australian cousins are joining heartily with us, so that we shall have no narrow, one-sided celebration. (Cheers). (Philip Sulley, Honorary Secretary of the Centenary Executive, *Burns Centenary 21st July 1896*, p 136)

That universal community embraced not only 'Scotsmen' who spoke 'his native tongue' but also those 'from all quarters of the globe' who share a 'common allegiance' to 'the champion and the patron saint of democracy', and he who 'bears aloft the banner the essential equality of men':

It is not only Scotsmen honouring the greatest of Scotsmen. We stretch far beyond a kingdom or a race. We are rather a sort of poetical Mohammedans gathered at a sort of poetical Mecca. (Applause) ... His birthday is celebrated a hundred and thirty-seven years after its occurrence more universally than that of any other human being. He reigns over a greater dominion than any empire that the world has ever seen. (Lord Rosebery, *Burns Centenary 21st July 1896*, p 7 and p 78)

The recognition and pride in Burns' international following was also demonstrated in how the organisers of 1896 centenary celebrations invited 'all the Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies', 'the leading newspapers of America, Australia, and New

Zealand', and 'memorial wreaths from all parts of the World' to 'assist us in doing honour to the memory of our great national poet'.[142] The importance of Burns' links to America were also publicly recognised and celebrated. The streets were decorated with the 'the stars and stripes of America' and deputations from America attended the event 'in order to bear fraternal greetings to Scotsmen in 'the old country''.[143] In 'An American Tribute' at the event, the speaker from Boston referred to 'how firm a hold the Ayrshire poet has on the imagination and life of his countrymen abroad'.[144] America has come 'to consider him more distinctively American that any other poet not American born ... due to his passionate love of liberty'.[145] Drawing on Burns' song, *A Man's a Man*, he declared how the 'lowly minstrel ... sang of an age, now near at hand, when 'man to man the world o'er shall brothers be for a' that''.[146] Towards this 'union', the 'fellowship of all lands, especially in the unbroken brotherhood of Great Britain and America', the 'songs of Robert Burns compel us'.[147]

The organisers also invited 'tributes from the poets and literati of the world' to 'honour Scotland' and to provide an 'estimate of the genius of Robert Burns and his influence'.[148] The 'Queen of Roumania', who knew 'his songs by heart', offered her own poetic dedication that opened with lines taken from Burns:

Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled,

Scots, wham Bruce has aften led.

Scots, your Burns is not yet dead;

His wondrous song has never fled.[149]

Other written tributes (that were published in translation) were also received from across Europe, including France, Belgium, Hungary and Italy. In these accolades, Burns was hailed as 'your great national bard', 'a child of nature', 'a poet of humanity' and one of 'the poets of nature, artists, and born geniuses'.[150]

These events were not only the subject of direct participation, speeches, tributes, lively press interest and commentary in periodicals in the new 'pictorial journalism' of the time in Scotland, Britain and overseas. They were also the occasion for the production of commemorative newspaper editions, poetry and medals, official memorial publications and programs, and paraphernalia such as postcards and souvenirs.[151] The production and consumption of this type of material formed part of

the Burnomania of the nineteenth century that was also fuelled by literary tourism and domestic/household commodity industries. As Pittock outlines, this was part of a huge expansion in the mass production of 'stereotypical artefacts linked to particular people and places', where Scotland in particular was 'arguably the first nation to locate itself not only by but through artefacts'.[152] The importance of this material culture to Scotland's sense of self and to international perception was manifest in its relationship to Scotland's canonical literature and its authors, which provided the raw materials for their commodification and memorialisation.[153]

Pauline Mackay and Pittock suggest that Burns was central to literary tourism and to the commercial success of the associated commodity industries.[154] By the mid nineteenth century, that success was benefiting manufacturers of Burnsiana, not only in Scotland and England but also 'as far afield as Germany and Austria'.[155] Burns' work and biography was commodified into mass produced souvenirs and private objects in an 'orgy of mixed media' and production technologies that became available in the Victorian period in ceramics, glass, pottery, wood and in steel engraving, lithography and photography.[156] This Burnomania, generated by nineteenth century tourism, also bore 'witness to a habit of memorial that outdoes the memorialisation of any other writer dead or alive'.[157]

These souvenirs and domestic products, which depicted or claimed associations with Burns, his work and the places where he lived, emphasised his local and national associations and 'supported a cult of secular sainthood' in 'the market's version of memory'.[158] In stressing the particular locale of the poet, such objects served both as souvenirs of and advertisements for 'Burns Country'. Through their 'intensive composition of biography through memorabilia' these objects fed into the cultural nationalism of the nineteenth century where Scotland (represented by Ayrshire) was 'the land of Burns'.[159]

While Burns' local and national associations, and his identity as both a local and national bard, were reflected and reinforced in this material culture, the land of Burns was also firmly emplaced within a domestic cultural sphere of 'snuff boxes, drinking ephemera and razor hones for male consumers, powder boxes and knitting/sewing paraphernalia for ladies, pop guns for children and miniature cradle-shaped souvenirs to celebrate an infant's birth or christening'.[160] This domestic realm of representation

contributed to locating Burns as an 'everyman', and a character of 'universal appeal'.[161] Many of these male oriented items, such a snuff boxes, whisky jugs and glasses, and smoking paraphernalia, also contributed to establishing Burns as 'an icon of convivial masculinity, fraternity, drinking culture, sexuality', attaching those qualities to a Scottish identity.[162] Decorated with illustrations from his poetry depicting drinking and sexual scenes, they celebrated an overt masculine social culture. Mackay and Pittock argue that such aspects of material culture 'helped reinforce the gendering of Burns's poetry towards the celebration of masculine appetites' that was 'untypical of nineteenth century biography and criticism'.[163] In locating Burns as a 'figure of masculine adulation', such aspects of Burns' material cultural afterlife not only represent a divergence from the moral censorship of literary and public discourse, but also demonstrate how his appeal was multifaceted in the market place.[164]

The picture postcard industry also offered an alternative representational space in which Burns could be treated in a humorous and more ribald fashion.[165] Alongside the familiar imagery of the land of Burns, portraits and sculptures, illustrations and lines of his poetry and songs; there was a genre of postcards, often in cartoon form, that poked fun at Burns Suppers and caricatured the sentiments and depictions of Scottish life that had come to be associated with Burns' work. Exaggerated and playfully risqué 'scenes' of couples in kilts located in the hills and heather were captioned with lines from Burns that not only displayed a somewhat irreverent treatment of the nation's bard, but which also located him within a burgeoning array of popular Scottish icons and stereotypes.

The proliferation of statues and memorials, domestic goods, souvenirs and postcards demonstrates how the visual and material memorialisation of Burns had come to permeate day-to-day life in nineteenth century Scotland. These media also highlight how his image, his work and life were the subject of remediation in differing forms, the content of which was further recycled and adapted. Painted portraits, for example, were made over as statues, as postcard emblems, as transfers, mouldings and carvings on domestic objects, and in product advertising. His poetry and songs were 'quoted' as sculptural motifs on statues, and deployed as captions on postcards and objects; and aspects of his life and locale became the focus of a whole gamut of

visual representation in etchings, engravings, sketches and photography, and in publications, medals and commodities.[166]

Burns' poems and songs served, not only as visual and textual memorial media, but also as aural memorial media, conveyed by word of mouth and learnt by heart.[167] In the speeches associated with festivals and ceremonies, his meaning and significance was typically invoked by quoting lines and verses of poems and songs. They also acted as rhetorical dramatic devices - as cues for audience response and applause. In the associated social events and musical interludes, the performance and participation in his songs was a particular feature. In these events, 'reminiscences' about Burns 'were fed by the memory of his poems and songs'.[168] Yet for all of these diverse occasions in which his work was 'cited', performed and represented in visual, material and textual form, attention tended to focus on certain poems and songs that became 'standards' in the popular Burns canon. *The Cotter's Saturday Night* and *Tam o' Shanter*, for example, emerged as the most commemorated of his work in domestic goods, memorabilia, statues and memorials; and quotations from *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, *Scots Wha Hae*, *A Man's a Man*, and the singing of *Auld Lang Syne* were particularly prominent in ceremonial events.[169] *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, in particular, was the most widely lauded, quoted and individually printed poem, becoming the most canonised of his work in the early nineteenth century.[170]

As Burns was being commemorated in an 'orgy' of mixed and new media, in two and three dimensional forms, performed in ceremonial events, in speeches and commentary, and in Burns Club rituals; he was also being remembered in theatrical and musical performance in Scotland, England, America, Canada and Europe.[171] At the same time, fascination with his life and work continued apace in publishing and print. New editions of poetry and songs, together with cheap song and poetry sheets, and sheet music; poetic 'homages' to Burns by other poets, including 'worker poets'; new biographies and criticism; press and popular accounts of his life, his family, and his contemporaries; and illustrated editions of his work and the land of Burns flooded the market.[172] The sheer scale of such material that was in circulation over the course of the nineteenth century is impossible to accurately estimate, but one event towards the end of the century gives a dramatic indication of not only its volume, but also the level of interest in its collection, conservation and public display.

Recording Burns' 'gift' to Scotland

That event was the 1896 *Burns Exhibition* in Glasgow that was part of the centennial commemorations of the poet's death. The exhibition ran for over three months at the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts and was hailed as a great success.[173] Its grand goal was to bring together all of the published and unpublished works by Burns, and those other books 'relating to his life, personality, genius, and influence', including every edition of his work published in Scotland, England and Ireland, USA, and in translation and in 'continental editions'.[174] Together with his letters and other manuscripts, the exhibition sought to make all of these documents available to the general public and to provide an accurate record of their provenance for posterity. As part of that comprehensive endeavour, the exhibition also sought to represent the fullest possible range of portraiture and other pictorial items, as well as artifacts and 'relics' from Burns' life. The truly massive display, arranged across several galleries, contained thousands of items gathered from all over Scotland and around the world. The exhibits were borrowed from hundreds of contributors that included Queen Victoria, libraries, museums, universities and galleries, newspaper companies and publishers, Burns Clubs, Scots associations, private collectors and individuals.[175] The exhibition was intended to illustrate his life and achievements, to bring visitors into a 'nearer and more personal relation with the Poet', and to preserve his reputation 'in the affections of his fellow-countrymen' for a hundred years to come.[176]

Hailed as the one of 'the greatest popular tributes ever paid to the memory of a Poet', the exhibition paid homage on behalf of the Scottish nation to Burns, whose work had endowed the nation with a voice and identity to be treasured for all future generations. Burns had 'for all time':

... expressed the emotions and aspirations that are the distinction and character of the nation's life. He is our own Poet: he voiced our humour and our pathos, our sympathies and our prejudices, our virtues and our shortcomings and we in Scotland, grateful for his encouragement and counsel, treasure his words as precious possessions, and thank God for the gift of Robert Burns. (*Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition 1896*, 1898, p xxiii)

Not only his work, but his life too had wrought a kind of magic, making decent and worthy all that it touched:

The places he lived in, the people he mixed with, the books he read, all the common surroundings of his daily life, have, in virtue of his association with them, acquired a classic fame. His hand has ennobled whatever it touched, and conferred upon it something of immortality. (*Memorial Catalogue*, p xxiii)

The exhibition catalogue that was published to mark the event sought to provide another form of 'memorial' to the poet as documentary archive and record of the publication history of his work in Scotland and around the world:

Many monuments have been raised to commemorate the genius of Burns; many and diverse are the ways in which the admiration and affection of his countrymen, and of the English-speaking world, have found expression. But it may be doubted if any such memorial is more truly significant than this catalogue. (*Memorial Catalogue*, p 193)

The catalogue was indeed monumental. It included listings and details for every item in the exhibition; introductory essays for sections on paintings, books, manuscripts, relics, and special collections; an index of writers on Burns: including his editors, translators, biographers and critics from around the world; and listed the hundreds of patrons, organisers and contributors.[177] Together with the editions of his work in exhibits, the catalogue provided a separate chronological listing of all editions, describing the type of publication, date and place of publication and publisher, including Scottish, English, Irish and American editions and translations in 'thirteen different tongues'.[178] The highlight of the exhibition was the original Kilmarnock edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, which 'conferred singular distinction on the Exhibition'.[179] For the British editions, the catalogue identified 696 separate published editions in 1017 volumes, (including 150 special editions in 'beautiful bindings'), produced by 243 publishers across Britain.[180] This collection and documentation of Burns' published works was considered to be the most important achievement of the exhibition and to be the most accurate and complete record of his works in the United Kingdom to that date:

That the collection of Burns books here described is by far the largest ever brought together it is hardly necessary to say. The most important division, namely, that comprising British editions of the Poet's works, probably does not come very far short of completeness ... As it stands, this part of the collection may be accepted as representing what has been done in the United Kingdom in the publication of Burns's works. (*Memorial Catalogue*, p 193)

The catalogue's description of his published work also reflected the demand for Burns 'which exists among the masses' in the form of cheap broadsheets and chapbooks:

The books here recorded were produced to meet and satisfy a popular demand, and in the incessant and perpetual issue and re-issue of editions of every kind and grade, from the hasty reprint to the elaborately and exhaustively edited, from the stately quarto to the humble chap-book of the hawker, we see as in no other way how universally his influence is felt ... here we have the most direct and unchallengeable evidence of the extent, the depth, and the permanence of the sway and sovereignty which Burns possesses over the general mind. (*Memorial Catalogue*, p 193)

In addition to the published works were hundreds of manuscripts and letters and private documents, some bearing his 'hand' and signature. Notable individual editors, translators, biographers, critics and reviewers, together with their published work, numbered in their hundreds, as did accounts by Burns' contemporaries, friends, famous poets and authors. There was also the substantial visual and material record in the form of hundreds of portraits, illustrations of his work and locale, images and models of statues and memorials, commodities, and 'almost innumerable' relics including items of clothing, writing implements, chairs, desks, mugs, decanters, Masonic medals, pipes, walking sticks, doors and windows.[181] The over 700 portraits and images, were 'without doubt, the supreme attraction' with the Nasmyth portrait being a notable feature.[182] The imagery of Ayr and the towns associated with Burns, 'which can assuredly lay claim to much of the finest scenery in Southern Scotland', also 'found rich pictorial record in this notable exhibition'.[183] Another feature that cuts across this documentary spectrum was the extensive range of material, the subject of which was not Burns directly, but the satellite of people associated with him: objects, images and accounts of and about family members, friends, the women in his life; and the writers, works and ideas that he engaged with.

The *Burns Exhibition* and its *Memorial Catalogue* offer a sort of public 'time capsule' of the state of Burns memory making in the late nineteenth century. Together with the documents, images and artifacts that provide an indication of the extent and range of memorial forms and processes associated with him, is the fact that these thousands of display items were sourced from groups, institutions and

members of the public from around the world who had kept and preserved them, 'carefully handed down from generation to generation':

Hence it is that everything connected, in the remotest degree, with his earthly pilgrimage is guarded by all sorts and conditions of men with a solicitude that is apt to evoke a smile from those outwith the pale of the national feeling. (*Memorial Catalogue*, p 92)

Further, as contributors, they clearly had an interest in a wider public sharing of that material and to be part of the memorial event. The efforts of organisers in mounting such an exhibition also demonstrate the crucial role of those with an interest or stake in sustaining Burns' reputation. The makeup of contributors and organisers, represented as it was by members of the elite, cultural, collecting and financial institutions, the press, Burns related organisations and interested individuals, also reflects the range of interests that were involved.[184] The exhibition (and catalogue) therefore stands as an example of memory making that relied on the (available) material traces of his life and work; the documentary evidence of responses of others to that life and work; the motivated efforts of a network of interested parties and individuals; and the participation of a wider general public as organisers, contributors and visitors.[185]

But the exhibition not only provides a picture of the documents, processes and people that were involved in his commemoration, it demonstrates 'the remarkable urge' to memorialise Burns.[186] It also provides further insight into the grounds upon which Burns was being claimed for Scotland in the late nineteenth century.

What was absent from the exhibition is also as telling as what was included. Amongst the publications and artifacts, was a notable absence of his 'most fugitive' work, *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*, and the less reverential responses to him in the form of cheeky picture postcards and satirical cartoons.[187] While these gaps in his representation is perhaps more apparent from a contemporary perspective, they nevertheless do point to what has come to be regarded as characteristic of a broad Victorian sensibility towards Burns, that Crawford has referred to as a 'gentlemanly agenda'.[188] For Burns to be 'the national expression of Scotland', who performed an ennobling and ethical function as national poet and 'national Messiah', the material record needed to sit comfortably with that wishful aspiration.[189] That material record in the *Burns Exhibition* did however include some of the commodities that associated

the poet with a more convivial popular symbolic role. This 'icon for everyman', whose representation was anchored in the themes of love and drink through such commodities, thus complicated the reverential version of Burns that the framers of the exhibition and its memorial catalogue presented.[190]

Another aspect of this Victorian disposition towards Burns, revealed in the exhibition, is the reinterpretation of his literary achievement. What had been claimed and understood earlier in the century as his 'inspired genius' springing spontaneously from a depth of feeling, becomes inflected to one of technical and educated artistry. The catalogue commentaries reveal an awareness that Burns 'self-styled' himself as a ploughman poet, and that his works were 'no untutored woodnote wild, but in large measure an educated product'. What 'is sufficiently well known' and what Burns' manuscripts 'show' is 'the selective and self-critical processes at work. That Burns, like all artists truly so called, was fastidious and by no means easily satisfied with himself'.[191] By the end of the nineteenth century, Burns had shifted from a Romantic poet to a Victorian one. The 'lad o pairts' had had an education, worked hard and responsibly in order to produce a morally uplifting art (and identity) for Scotland.[192]

Scotland personified

This late nineteenth century Burns was the product of the 'constant and fragmentary process' of reputation building surrounding him.[193] It also owed its shape and direction, currents and cross currents as much to Burns himself as to those with a stake in boosting, contesting and preserving it. Rigney has commented that memory sites come into being where many acts of remembrance converge and coalesce.[194] As this conception encompasses the idea of convergence as one that includes practices that run with the dominant flow and those run counter to it, the heightened responses to Burns over the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries converged around Burns as 'a contested site of memory'.[195] The many acts of remembrance associated with him were not always unitary or consistent. The 'initial mapping' of Burns as symbol of cultural memory was a varied set of cultural practices, performances, discourses, texts and artifacts that played differing, and at times 'subversive' or oppositional roles in his commemoration and reputation building.[196]

In this, Burns' work was clearly an important locus around which these many acts of remembrance converged, either in agreement or in opposition.[197] But the mapping of

Burns as a symbol of cultural memory was equally, if not predominantly, shaped and informed by a narrative of 'biography'. It was around Burns himself that much of the symbolic investment accrued.[198] If, as a literary figure, Burns stood as a metaphor for cultural memory in the nineteenth century, it was a metaphor that inextricably combined both 'voice' and 'verse'. What was widely venerated and canonised (debated and mythologised) was a Burns as creator of ideas and works. The secular saint that he was deemed to be, circumscribed the 'man' and his 'word' as one, even if that meant often awkward and tricky balancing acts in reconciling the details of his life with his work.[199]

Seeing Burns through the prism of biography lent itself to locating him within his social milieu and within his physical, material, and 'natural' topographical world, especially as it could be so readily 'read' through his work. When 'pictured' in the social imagination in forms such as painting, sculpture, illustration and commodities, Burns and his work was staged, in the theatrical sense, in the 'land of Burns'. It was a place of art and tourism imagination but it was also a larger metaphoric Scottish space in which the idea of Burns could be located as the bard of the 'national landscape'.[200] Identified as the national expression of Scotland, his work was seen as 'a mimetic description of life in Scotland and of what it meant to be Scottish'. Burns became Scotland personified - 'what was said about Burns's character was understood as Scottish character', and what he wrote about was seen as 'recording' Scotland as a place and a people.[201] In this way, his work was received as 'social history', and Burns' poetic topography - shaped by artists and exploited by the tourist industries - *was* Scotland.[202]

While Burns was Scotland, shifting conceptions of Scottish identity also shaped how he was received, understood and represented. As Richard Finlay has commented, 'it is not so much how Burns has shaped Scottish identity as how Scottish identity has shaped our vision of Burns', with the nineteenth century constructing him as 'an emblem of imagined Scottish traditions and characteristics'.[203] Burns and his work was 'used by Scots to bolster particular perceptions of Scottish national identity' and in that process, Burns was 'shaped and reshaped to give credence and authority to particular ideologies in Scotland'.[204] Burns was taken up and articulated to the needs of philosophical/political theories and literary markets, with different political, social and cultural agendas drawing on him to serve different purposes and to draw

different conclusions.[205] Those appropriations served a wide a range of interests in deploying Burns as: a political radical and a conservative; emblematic of an older, purer and uncorrupted Scotland untouched by the effects of urbanisation and industrialisation; representative of an entrepreneurial and modern future oriented global Scotland; a paradigm of Scottish bourgeois virtue; a Scottish voice of freedom, liberty and the dignity of mankind; a Scottish patriot and a British patriot; and by the end of nineteenth century, an ennobling and ethical function as national poet and national Messiah.[206]

Such appropriations can be seen in 'instrumental' terms as serving ideological and political interests, but they also demonstrate how Burns was continuously reinterpreted and refashioned in the light of social, cultural and political change.[207] In that process, Burns became established as a canonical point of reference for articulating, reconciling and challenging shifting, and often contradictory, contemporary values.[208] As a canonical point of reference, the cultural meanings of Burns and his work were shaped not only by how he was remembered in literary criticism, critical discourse and commentary, and the publication of his work in 'official' form.[209] What Carruthers refers to as Burns' 'unofficial' canon, that is, the circulation of 'unauthorized' versions of his work in cheap mass produced chapbooks and broad sheets, together with 'word of mouth' also played an important role.[210] His visual and material presence, and the performance of Burns in celebrations and events also had a major impact on how and what of him came to be remembered. Indeed, Pittock and Whatley argue that Burns' reputation was 'substantially created by iconic objects, celebrations and events, rather than literary criticism'.[211] Moreover, they suggest that these more 'banal' forms of remembrance, rather than literary criticism, had a greater influence on his role in shaping Scottish identity; and that Burns' reputation 'was ultimately beyond the control of those who sought to stage-manage it'.[212]

While the canonisation of Burns and his work was articulated through 'instrumental' and 'banal', 'official' and 'unofficial', 'elite' and 'popular' forces, it also came to rely on what might be described as 'inertial' forces.[213] The complex social, cultural and political matrix of meaning making associated with Burns formed into a series of accepted truths, representational conventions, ritualised and customary practices, that evolved out the 'residue' of his earlier remembrance.[214] The identification of Burns

as 'the ploughman poet', as 'Scotland's bard', as 'the people's poet', as 'a universal poet', together with particular poems and songs became the lingua franca for remembering Burns even as their meanings were inflected differently over time and by those who used them.[215] The residue of his earlier remembrance as 'the radical bard of the democratic revolution' also increasingly lost its 'sting' (albeit that it was then rekindled in the early twentieth century and again in the twenty first).[216] The appearance of Burns himself as a young, handsome and 'dashing' rural poet (largely determined by the recycling of Nasmyth portrait) became the dominant iconic mode of his visual representation. Contributing to the many cross currents in the customary ways in which Burns was remembered, was what became the prevailing idea of Burns as a poet of love and romance, as the 'laureate of love' and the 'greatest love poet of modern times'.[217] That 'noble' idea of Burns as a love poet operated alongside the equally widespread idea of a 'convivial' Burns: the lover of the lassies and 'a man's man' who enjoyed the pleasures of the flesh, male company and drinking, that became popular early 'markers' of Burns' identity as a Scot and of his 'universality as a human being'.[218] In a further inflection of Burns' Scottishness, the picturing of the land of Burns - of Scotland as a rural (and highland) place and of community and family values - not only became the conventional wisdom of Scottish life, but also of Burns' 'love of country'.[219]

As Burns and Scotland became 'intimately identified one with the other', his Scottish worth and meaning was also intimately connected to his global reach and regard.[220] While Burns played a key role in shaping and defining a multiform Scottishness, he operated, as Rigney has said of Walter Scott, 'in both national and transnational frameworks'. Burns, like Scott after him, became 'a common point of reference in defining affiliations both within the national framework of Scotland and within the multinational and transnational framework of Great Britain and the Empire'.[221] In this, Burns functioned variously as 'a mediator between memory communities': as a paradigm of imperial values across the British empire; a 'figure to flag communality across borders' within the British Isles and across the Atlantic; and as 'the poet of all countries and all times' and champion of universal fraternity.[222]

Mackay and Pittock have suggested that through his material afterlife, 'Burns projected a nation to the world'.[223] But the world also projected Burns back to the nation, and the nation readily adopted and adapted the image that the world offered

back.[224] The Scotland that Burns came to be intimately identified with was an imagined Scotland, imagined by Burns himself, and then reimagined by the Scots and by others to be the Scotland that they wished it to be. In that reimagining, Burns and his work served as an emblematic source for a sought after Scotland - a Scotland of wishful thinking - or as Carol McGuirk has put it, Burns became a site for 'wishful reconstruction' of a desired Scotland 'through the vision of Scotland he projects'.[225]

If, as McGuirk argues, Burns' poetic vision of Scotland was an 'idealised and liberated vision' of the nation as a 'utopian space'; its 'wishful reconstruction' by others came to be viewed by many later critics and commentators as a backward looking, nostalgic impulse that not only sentimentalised Burns and his work, but also turned Scottish culture into stereotype and kitsch.[226] But the wishful reconstruction of the nineteenth century can be equally understood as an aspiration. The sense of national pride associated with Burns has been characterised as part of a cultural narrative of agency and empowerment, in which Scottish cultural icons, symbols and literary and historical figures were represented as objects of pride, and as multivocal icons of national achievement on the world stage.[227] In the late nineteenth century, the salience of Burns can thus be seen as tied to the sense of national agency. But whether the making of Scottish cultural memory in the nineteenth century was a backward looking glance or a forward projection, it nevertheless 'closely tied the poet's life, language, and nation together in a complex bond that shows little sign of breaking' in the twenty first century.[228] It is the dynamics of this complex bond and how they may be continuing to underwrite Burns as a memory site for Scotland that this study will examine in the chapters that follow.

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[1] As Pittock and Whatley note, 'the commemoration and celebration of the life and work of Robert Burns has for many years been identified as one of the keys to nineteenth-century Scottish identity' (Pittock and Whatley 2014, p 56).

[2] See, for example, Crawford 2009; Rodger and Carruthers 2009(a); Carruthers 2006(a) and 2009(a); Davis 2010; Rigney 2011; Mackay and Pittock 2011; Pittock 2011(a); Mackay 2012; Pittock and Whatley 2014; Alker, Davis and Nelson 2012; Tyrrell 2005; Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg 2001; Whatley 2010, 2011(a) and (b); Corey Andrews 2010(a) and (b); Leask 2010; and Liam

McIlvanney 2002. See also late twentieth century accounts by Ronald D S Jack and Andrew Noble 1982; Finlay 1997(a) and (b); Crawford 1997(a); McGuirk 1994, and 1998(a) and (b); and Kenneth Simpson 1994 and 1997.

[3] See Rigney for how sites of memory are 'defined by the fact that they elicit intense attention on the part of those doing the remembering and thereby become a self-perpetuating vortex of symbolic investment' (Rigney 2005, p 18).

[4] Aleida Assmann 2008, p 100.

[5] Aleida Assmann 2008, p 100.

[6] Aleida Assmann 2008, p 101.

[7] Rigney 2008, p 345.

[8] Erll and Rigney 2009(b), p 2.

[9] Rigney 2008, p 346.

[10] Olick and Robbins 1998, p 130. See also Jesseka Batteau 2009, p 232.

[11] Lang and Lang 1988, pp 84-85.

[12] Lang and Lang 1988, p 86.

[13] Lang and Lang 1988, pp 87-91.

[14] Lang and Lang 1988, p 75, pp 86-88, and p 94.

[15] Lang and Lang 1988, p 99.

[16] Lang and Lang 1988, pp 95-98.

[17] Lang and Lang 1988, p 106.

[18] Lang and Lang 1988, p 99.

[19] Lang and Lang 1988, p 100.

[20] Crawford 2009, p 204.

[21] Crawford 2009, p 193, pp 208-212, and p 220.

[22] Burns (1786) 2009, pp 9-10. The Scottish poets Burns refers to are Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson.

[23] Roe 1997, p 163.

[24] See Crawford 2009, pp 234-235, and p 238; Low 1995, p1, p 64, and pp 70-72.

[25] Carruthers 2009(b), pp 3-4.

[26] Crawford 2009, pp 234-235, p 240, and pp 243-244

[27] Crawford 2009, p 260.

[28] Burns 1787, p vi.

[29] Crawford 2009, p3, p 247, and p 252.

[30] Crawford 2009, p 248, p 257, and p 259.

[31] *Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition 1896*, 1898, p 2.

[32] Crawford 2009, p 261.

[33] Reviews of the Edinburgh edition and publication of Burns' poems appeared in literary magazines and periodicals in Scotland, England and America (Low 1995, pp17-18, p 33, p 36, p 86). See also Crawford 2009, pp 260-261; Kirsteen McCue 1997, p 41; Tim Burke 2009, p 14; Pittock 2011(c), p

32; Leask 2012, p 71; Fiona Stafford 2009, pp 98-106; and Rhona Brown 2012, pp 78-83. See Fiona Black (2012) for the early reception of Burns' work in Canada. For examples of newspaper coverage, see Newspaper Appearances by and about Robert Burns, 1786-1896, the G Ross Roy Collection, University of South Carolina Libraries Digital Collections, http://library.sc.edu/digital/collections/burnsnews.html.

[34] McLean 2009, p 113. See also Burke 2009, p 21.

[35] Crawford 2009, pp 245-254.

[36] Butler 1997, p 89.

[37] Crawford 2009, p 266.

[38] Butler 1997, p 108.

[39] Crawford 2009, p 266.

[40] McCue 2009, p 83.

[41] Crawford 2009, p 277; and Butler 1997, p 107.

[42] McCue 2009, p 83.

[43] McCue 2009, p 83.

[44] McCue 2009, p 84.

[45] Whatley 2011(a), p 658. Thomas Crawford 1979, pp 5-7. McCue notes that Burns' songs 'have been included, almost without exception, in every general and /or specific volume of Scots songs published since the end of the eighteenth century' (McCue 1997, p 40).

[46] Andrews 2009, p 124.

[47] McGuirk 1997, p 154. See also Davis 1998, pp 121-122.

[48] McGuirk 1997, p 155.

[49] McGuirk 1997, p 155.

[50] Butler 1997, p 103.

[51] Duncan, Davis and Sorensen 2004, p 3. See also Butler 1997, p 104. As Simpson notes, that national self-identification was not only directed toward the Scots themselves but also to 'their English partners in union' (Simpson 2009, p 91).

[52] Devine 1999, pp 24-25.

[53] See also Colin Kidd 1997, pp 110-111.

[54] See Alex Broadhead 2013, p 16; Roe 1997, p 162; Carruthers 2006(a), p 4; Leask 2012, p 71; and Craig 2012, p 101.

[55] Butler 1997, pp 103-105; McLean 2009, p 105; McCue 1997, p 41; Pittock 2009, pp 119-120; Simpson 2009, p 101; and Carruthers 2006(a), pp 2-4, and p 103. As Carruthers comments, Burns' 'path-breaking impetus as a poet' derived from his 'Enlightenment mindset' and the doctrine of 'sympathy', of 'putting oneself in the shoes of others' (Carruthers 2006(a), p 4).

[56] McLean 2009, p 113.

[57] Carruthers 2006(a), pp 13-14.

[58] Pittock 2011(c), p 31. Leask remarks that Burns was 'a vital influence on the British Romantics, especially Wordsworth, in championing the values of rural and peasant life, and ... attacking the generalist aesthetics and poetic diction of much eighteenth-century Augustan poetry' (Leask 2012, p

71). See also Stafford 2009. Andrew Hook refers to how Burns (and other Scottish writers of the Enlightenment and the Romantic period) found enthusiastic reception in America (Hook 2012, p 46).

[59] See Donald Low 1995, p 22 and p 31; and Pittock 2011(c), pp 31-33.

[60] Pittock 2011(c), pp 36. See also Rhona Brown for how the idea of Burns as a rustic poet appeared in eighteenth century American periodicals, and that Burns' 'rustic legitimacy' was just as important in America as it was in Edinburgh (Rhona Brown 2012, p 79).

[61] Pittock 2011(b), pp 32-33.

[62] Pittock 2011(b), p 33.

[63] Davis, Nelson and Alker 2012, p 8.

[64] Devine 1999, p 80 and p 82. See also Duncan, Davis and Sorensen, who note that: 'Far from being peripheral ... Lowland Scotland became one of the generative centers of European and North Atlantic literary culture in the century between ... 1739-40 ... and 1837' (Duncan, Davis and Sorensen 2004, p 2).

[65] See McLean 2009, p 113; David Johnson 2003, p 13; R A Houston and W W J Knox 2001, p 328; McCue 1997, pp 40-41; Richard Middleton 1985, p 10; and Devine 1999, p 160.

[66] See Burke 2009, p 13 and p 22. See also Robert Burns Chapbooks from the G Ross Roy Collection, University of South Carolina Digital Collections, http://library.sc.edu/digital/collections/sldp/burns-chapbooks.html; and Thomas Crawford 1979, pp 5-7. Whatley notes how cheap editions of Burns work and 'the unauthorized appearance of some of his poems and songs in chapbooks costing a penny and in equally cheap broadsheet form meant that Burns was accessible to thousands of ordinary people' (Whatley 2011(a), p 658).

[67] See also Thomas Crawford 1979, pp viii-ix.

[68] Whatley 2011(b), p 214.

[69] Whatley 2010, p 9. Whatley also notes how Burns' work was a staple reading matter for Scots abroad (Whatley 2011(b), p 221).

[70] Whatley 2010, p 9. See also Whatley 2011(b), pp 218-223. As the ploughman poet and people's poet, Burns also 'inspired generations of worker-poet-imitators' (Whatley 2010, p 9).

[71] Whatley 2011(a), p 640 and p 652. Burns also became identified as the 'poor man's poet' (Whatley 2011(a), 653).

[72] Whatley 2011(a), p 653.

[73] Whatley 2011(a), p 640.

[74] Whatley 2011(a), p 640, and 2011(b), p 216. As Whatley notes, in the wake of the revolutions in France, concerns grew about the potential for social unrest amongst those 'lower orders' affected by rapid industrialisation and urbanisation (Whatley 2011(a), pp 640-641).

[75] See Whatley 2011(a). Whatley describes *Scots Wha Hae* as 'proudly patriotic but also a defiant rejection of slavery and tyranny and a hymn to liberty' (Whatley 2011(a), p 652).

[76] Whatley 2011(a), p 647. See also Tyrrell, who argues that the conservatives 'who proclaimed the 'sentimental' values of 'rural virtue and domestic piety' were not performing an 'apolitical' act. They were going to the heart of some of the most strongly contested ideological divisions of the day: country versus city; agriculture versus industry; romanticism versus rationality; the 'wisdom of our

ancestors' versus 'the march of mind'; and traditional Toryism versus liberal and radical versions of modernity' (Tyrrell 2005, p 44).

[77] Whatley 2011(a), p 649. See also Finlay 1997(a), and Tyrrell 2005.

[78] Whatley 2011(a), p 646.

[79] Low 1995, p 1.

[80] Low 1995, p 1.

[81] Low 1995, p 21.

[82] Low 1995, p 21 and pp 1-2.

[83] Low 1995, pp 17-18, pp 21-22, pp 31-36, and p 86.

[84] Andrews 2010(a), pp 2-3.

[85] Davis 2010, p 4. About 10,000 copies of Currie's *Works of Robert Burns* were produced within five years (Leask 2010, p 276). Material from Currie's *Works of Robert Burns* soon appeared in other collections of Burns' work (Davis 2010, p 10)

[86] Davis 2010, p 4.

[87] Davis 2010, pp 10-11. As Leask notes: 'Currie's edition was the main portal through which Burns's life and poetry reached the Romantic and nineteenth-century reader, the standard Burns edition for Romantic writers including Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, Scott, Hogg, Moore, Jane Austen, Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Hazlitt. Despite the critical campaign mounted against it by its many critics, it continued to influence the reception of Burns well into the twentieth century' (Leask 2010, pp 276-277). Early pirated copies also appeared in America, Belfast and Canada (Davis 2010, p 10). See Davis (2011) for the influence of Currie's work in the American context.

[88] Low refers to how Burns' poems were 'often selected for praise on moral grounds alone' and that 'the habit of representing Burns only by inoffensive poems' grew, so that by the Victorian period, it 'became a very common practice of editors and critics alike' (Low 1995, p 36). See also Carruthers 2009(c), p 16 and p 19; and 2009(d), p 31; Whatley 2011(a), pp 645-646; and Pauline Gray 2009, p 132.

[89] Davis 2010, p 6.

[90] Davis 2010, p 2.

[91] Currie 1809, p 264.

[92] Davis 2010, p 6.

[93] Currie 1809, p 31.

[94] Davis 2009(a), pp 161-163. See also Leask, who refers to how various enlightenment figures 'all contributed copious materials and were fulsome in their praise for the finished product. To this extent the 'Life of Burns' might be regarded as a composite production of the late Scottish Enlightenment rather than the work of a single author, providing a full cultural, biographical, and literary context for Burns's poetry and song, rendering it more intelligible to non-Scottish readers' (Leask 2010, p 281).

[95] The term 'Burnomania' was coined in 1811 by William Peebles, who was part of 'a growing chorus of naysayers who sought to repudiate the idealisation of Burns' (Andrews 2010(b), p 97). Low argues that Peebles' criticism of the adoration of Burns went largely unheeded (Low 1995, p 34).

[96] Carruthers 2009(d), p 31.

[97] Carruthers 2009(d), p 31.

[98] Andrews 2010(b), pp 97-98.

[99] Andrews 2010(b), p 99.

[100] Andrews 2010(b), p 98.

[101] Andrews 2010(b), p 101.

[102] Andrews 2010(b), p 97.

[103] Davis 2010, p 12.

[104] Davis 2010, p 13.

[105] Davis 2010, p 13.

[106] Andrews 2010(b), p 101 and p 99, and quoting from John Dawson Ross, *The Memory of Burns*, Glasgow: William Hodge, 1899. See also Whatley 2010, p 2.

[107] Whatley 2010, pp 3-4.

[108] Devine 1999, p 287.

[109] Devine 1999, p 292. See also Graeme Morton, who remarks that Burns and William Wallace were 'modern democratic heroes who also personified the unchanging humanity of the Scottish character and the nation's social structure' (Morton 2012, p 486).

[110] Whatley 2010, p 10 and pp 14-15; and Rodger 2009, pp 50-51.

[111] Whatley 2010, p 15.

[112] Whatley 2010, p 2.

[113] Whatley 2011(b), p 212.

[114] Whatley 2011(b), pp 211- 212.

[115] Whatley notes that there was also 'a desire to counter criticism from English commentators that the Scots had been neglectful by failing to intercede as Burns had descended into poverty and illness' (Whatley 2011(b), p 212).

[116] Whatley 2010, p 6.

[117] Whatley 2010, p 4.

[118] Whatley 2010, p 8. See also Whatley 2011(a), p 661.

[119] Whatley 2011(b), pp 206-208. See also Pittock 2011(c), p 40.

[120] Whatley 2010, p 3. See also Rigney 2011; Davis 2009(a); Tyrrell 2005; *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns* (James Ballantine 1859); and *Burns Centenary 21st July 1896: Great Demonstration at Dumfries* (1896).

[121] Whatley 2010, p3.

[122] Whatley 2010, p 8.

[123] *Burns Centenary 1896*, p 78.

[124] Philip Sulley 1896, p 74; and *Burns Centenary 1896*, p 13.

[125] Gray 2009, p 132; and Carruthers 2009(c), pp 17-18.

[126] *Burns Centenary 1896*, p 99.

[127] Whatley 2011(a), p 656.

[128] Whatley 2011(a), p 656. See also Tyrrell 2005, p 43.

[129] Whatley 2011(a), p 656. See also McGinn 2011, p 198.

[130] Whatley 2011(a), p 655.

[131] Whatley 2011(b), p 216.

[132] Whatley 2010, p 7.

[133] Whatley 2011(a), p 646, and 2011(b), p 213. Whatley suggests that the association of Burns with Britishness was 'secondary to Burns's function as a counterweight to Anglo-Britishness' (Whatley 2011(b), p 213).

[134] See Whatley 2010, p 4.

[135] Devine 2012(a), pp 659-660.

[136] Devine 1999, p 289.

[137] Devine 1999, p 290.

[138] Devine 1999, p 289.

[139] Leask 2011, p 174.

[140] Leask 2011, p 174; Pittock 2011(c), p 39; and Whatley 2011(b), pp 181-182. At the same time, the 'patriot Bard' could also serve as a source of dissent. As Leask has examined, Burns' 'sturdy democratic sentiments and vernacular challenge to standard English' played a part in proto-nationalist, and anticolonial views in British Bengal in India in the nineteenth century (Leask 2011, pp 181-182, and p 185).

[141] Rigney 2011, p 90.

[142] *Burns Centenary 1896*, p 135.

[143] *Burns Centenary 1896*, p 36. The floral tribute from the Pennsylvania 'Tam o' Shanter' club was 'composed of laurel and ivy leaves taken from the grave of the American poet, Walt Whitman ... the great American poet of democracy' (*Burns Centenary 1896*, p 33 and p 65). For accounts of Burns' reception in America, see Alker, Davis and Nelson 2012.

[144] *Burns Centenary 1896*, p 84.

[145] *Burns Centenary 1896*, p 85.

[146] *Burns Centenary 1896*, pp 87-88.

[147] *Burns Centenary 1896*, p 88.

[148] *Burns Centenary 1896*, p 13.

[149] *Burns Centenary 1896*, pp 13-14.

[150] *Burns Centenary 1896*, pp 14-21. For accounts of Burns reception in Europe, see Pittock 2014, and a number of the essays in Pittock 2011(a).

[151] See Tyrrell 2005, p 45. *The Bibliography of Robert Burns* lists over 90 publications associated with the Burns 1859 centenary (James Gibson 1881, pp 184-200). See also *Memorial Catalogue*; and *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns*. The *Chronicle* was used 'as a personal souvenir and includes pencil notes, annotated book markers, news cuttings and an annual dinner programme' (see 'Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns', Burns Scotland, http://www.burnsscotland.com/items/c/chronicle-of-the-hundredth-birthday-of-robert-burns,-1859.aspx). See also Burns Scotland; Future Museum; and Robert Burns Birthplace Museum websites for examples of commemorative publications, objects and medals. See also Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 157.

[152] Pittock 2007, p 64.

[153] Pittock 2007, pp 65-66.

[154] Burns' music and song also played an important role (see Lesley Stevenson 2003).

[155] Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 152.

[156] Mackay and Pittock (2011, p 151) quoting Peter Mandler 1999, pp 135-136.

[157] Mackay and Pittock (2011, p 150) quoting Nicola Watson 2009, p 3.

[158] Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 152.

[159] Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 152.

[160] Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 150.

[161] Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 157 and p 151.

[162] Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 154.

[163] Mackay and Pittock 2011, pp 154-155. See also Pittock and Whatley 2014, p 65.

[164] Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 154.

[165] See Peter J Westwood 1994. See also Burns Scotland; Robert Burns Birthplace Museum; and Future Museum websites for examples of Burns postcards.

[166] See, for example, *The Land of Burns* (John Wilson, Robert Chambers and David Hill 1840); *The Bibliography of Robert Burns*; and *Memorial Catalogue*.

[167] Whatley refers to how word of mouth played an important role in the dissemination of Burns' poems and songs (Whatley 2011(a), p 658).

[168] Rigney 2011, p 82.

[169] See Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 158. See also 'Introduction to the Web Resources' (Robert Burns: Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909), which refers to the recurrent use of a small number of Burns works, and how 'Burns was remembered in a relatively limited number of ways ... that are principally the ways in which he is still remembered in popular memory' (http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/ourres earch/burns/introductiontothewebresources). Another indication of the popularity of *Tam o' Shanter* was the transformation of the poem into head wear, ie the Tam o' Shanter cap. See Whatley, who refers to participants in the Dundee Burns statue unveiling ceremony who 'sported Tam o' Shanters as a mark of respect for one of Burns' best-known poems' (Whatley 2010, p 7). See also Rigney, who notes that Burns' 'eulogizers in fact worked from a limited canon of poems', including *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, *Scots Wha Hae*, and, 'invariably', *A Man's a Man* and *Auld Lang Syne*. She also notes that 'the love poems regularly figured in the musical interludes, but they were less prominent in the actual speechmaking' (Rigney 2011, p 82). See also Pittock and Whatley 2014, p 67. Low notes that 'a small number of his songs have always been popular' (Low 2005, p 2).

[170] Carruthers 2009(c), pp 13-14.

[171] See *Memorial Catalogue* for references to dramatic works and theatrical productions, including, *Robert Burns*, Adelphi Theatre, Edinburgh (14 August, 1844); *Tam o' Shanter; or. Harlequin and the witches of Alloway's auld haunted kirk : a national comico-serio harlequinade*, Queen's Theatre and Opera House, Edinburgh (186-?); *Tam o' Shanter: A musical farce*, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (1834); *Lights and Shadows, Or Episodes in the Life of Robert Burns*, Dundee (1878); *Burns in*

Drama, Together with Saved Leaves (1878). See also Davis 2011; McCue 2009, pp 83-84; and McCue and Rycroft (2014) for international theatrical and musical performances of Burns.

[172] For worker poets inspired by Burns, see Whatley 2010, p 9; Burke 2009 p 14; Whatley 2011(a), p 662, and 2011(b), p 205.

[173] See *Memorial Catalogue*, pp xxiii-xxiv.

[174] *Memorial Catalogue*, p 193.

[175] See Index of Lenders (*Memorial Catalogue*, pp 489-506).

[176] *Memorial Catalogue,* p 193 and p xxiv.

[177] Among the 120 writers represented were Walt Whitman, Wordsworth, Byron, Longfellow and Scott.

[178] In 1896 there were 902 editions of Burns work in translation, and by the end of the century, 1009. Today, there are 3063 (see Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (BOSLIT), National Library of Scotland,
http://boslit.nls.uk/vwebv/search?searchType=7&searchId=6&maxResultsPerPage=25&recCount=25&recPointer=0&resultPointer=1&headingId=19843).

[179] *Memorial Catalogue*, p 197. The catalogue notes that an original copy of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* had been sold 'for the not only unheard-of but unthought-of sum of £572, and Burns thus, in the court of the auctioneer, offered a challenge to Shakespeare himself' (*Memorial Catalogue*, p 197).

[180] *Memorial Catalogue,* pp 194-196. Among the collection of published works were also articles in periodicals, song and poem sheets, broadsheets, chapbooks and publications of music.

[181] *Memorial Catalogue*, pp 92-93.

[182] *Memorial Catalogue*, p 1.

[183] *Memorial Catalogue*, p 2.

[184] See List of Office Bearers and Committees (*Memorial Catalogue*, pp xii-xx).

[185] Carruthers refers to the 'textual availability' of Burns' work and its role in shaping Burns' reputation (Carruthers 2009(c), p 6).

[186] Whatley 2010, p 2.

[187] Carruthers refers to *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* in this way (Carruthers 2009(c), p 17). For satirical cartoons associated with Burns, see Burns Scotland; Future Museum; and The Word on the Street (National Library of Scotland) websites.

[188] Crawford 2009, p7. Carruthers also refers to the collection of Burns' work in the Victorian era in terms of a 'gentleman's' collection (see Carruthers, 'The Mitchell Burns Collection: The Best in the World?'*,* nd).

[189] See Andrew Nash 1997, p 192.

[190] See Pittock and Whatley 2014, pp 74-75, and pp 78-79.

[191] *Memorial Catalogue*, pp 145-146. Carruthers also notes how the notion of Burns 'as an essentially untutored rustic poet has gradually receded (though it took until well into the nineteenth century before a 'literary' Burns began to be appreciated)' (Carruthers 2006(a), p 43).

[192] See Pittock 2011(c), p 31; and Finlay 1997(a), p 111. As a poet from humble origins who had 'made good', Burns could was aligned with the powerful meritocratic Scottish myth of the 'lad o pairts'. The 'lad o pairts' was the epitome of the worthy peasant - 'a talented youth (almost always male) who had the talent but not the financial means to improve himself'. He embodied the idea of the Scottish myth of social advancement (McCrone 2001, p 20).

[193] Andrews 2010(a), p 12.

[194] Rigney 2005, p 18.

[195] Tyrrell 2005, p 61. See also Pittock and Whatley 2014, p 57.

[196] Davis 2010, p 14. See also Pittock and Whatley 2014, p 58.

[197] See also 'Introduction to the Web Resources'.

[198] Stafford also notes how, by the early nineteenth century, Burns' poetry had become 'inseparable from ideas about his life' (Stafford 2009, p 97).

[199] Davis also refers to Currie performing a balancing act with respect to Burns, 'of garnering sympathy for the poet and vindicating the Scottish reading public' (Davis 2010, p 5).

[200] See Macdonald 2013(a), p 89; and Pittock and Whatley 2014, pp 69-70.

[201] Nash 1997, p 186.

[202] Nash 1997, pp 183-184. See also Penny Fielding (2004) for Burns as an 'icon of locality' and for his complex role in the 'writing of place'.

[203] Finlay 1997(b), p 69.

[204] Finlay 1997(b), p 69. See also Nash 1997, p 181. Over the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Burns, who had 'so slyly contested cultural authority in his work' was made into 'a posthumous patron whose name might validate a bewildering variety of projects' (Crawford 1997(b), p ix).

[205] Whatley refers to how Burns was 'appropriated and manipulated by individuals, interest groups, factions, political causes, and political parties' (Whatley 2011(b), p 210).

[206] See Finlay 1997(a); and Nash 1997, p 192.

[207] For the concept of 'instrumental' and 'cultural' features in the dynamics of cultural memory, see Olick and Robbins 1998, p 129. See also Finlay, who notes how Burns has been able accommodate ideological and political change (Finlay, 1997(a), p 109). Scott Lyall and Margery Palmer McCulloch refer to how Burns' 'work and personality have gone through many critical and cultural transformations in relation to changing times from his early identity as the 'heaven-taught' ploughman ... to his recent reincarnation as a Scottish radical socialist reformer' (Lyall and McCulloch 2011, p 4).

[208] See Rigney, who argues that these responses to Burns 'fed into a readiness to see him as a resource for articulating contemporary values or, what this comes down to in practice, as someone who had already expressed those values' (Rigney 2011, p 80).

[209] Carruthers has discussed how some of Burns' writings on politics, the church and sexual matters were slow 'to emerge fully into the light', especially political works, with many pieces not 'officially' published until the nineteenth century. *The Fornicators' Court* and *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* were not published until the twentieth century (Carruthers 2009(c), p 10-19).

[210] Carruthers 2009(c), p 16. See also Whatley 2011(a), p 658.

[211] Pittock and Whatley 2014, p 56. See also 'Introduction to the Web Resources'.

[212] Pittock and Whatley 2014, p 56 and p 62. See also Whatley 2011(a) and (b).

[213] See Olick and Robbins (1998, p 129) for the concept of 'inertial persistence'.

[214] Whatley refers to the Burns ceremonies and celebratory events as 'civic rituals' where 'a pattern had been established' of 'processional pageants that, through drama-inducing emotion and their common focus, served to bind together the urban community ... to exploit common bonds' (Whatley 2011(b), p 208 and p 216).

[215] Whatley 2011(b), p 218. Leask also suggests that 'Mackenzie's view, later supported by Carlyle's version of the 'peasant hero', still prevails in the popular view of Burns, despite having being constantly challenged by scholars and biographers' (Leask 2010, p 6). *Tam o' Shanter* remains one of Burns' most popular works. In 2012 it was voted as Scotland's favourite poem, with *A Man's a Man* coming in second (see 'Tam o' Shanter is nation's favourite', Scottish Government news release, 23 January 2012, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2012/01/Burns23012012).

[216] McIlvanney 2002, pp 1-2; and Whatley 2011(a), p 666. Finlay comments that 'as the dominant individualist Liberalism of the nineteenth century gave way to the politics of class and collectivist socialism in the twentieth century, Burns was remoulded to suit those ends' (Finlay 1997(a), p 114). Andrews notes how recently 'the significance of politics has assumed a primary role in critical and popular cultural analyses of the poet ... his endorsement or denunciation of radical politics in particular has continued to be a major bone of contention in discussions of his reputation' (Andrews 2010(b), p 102). Carruthers refers to the recent attempts 'to present an impeccably 'leftist' bard', as the 'New Bardolatry' (Carruthers 2006(a), p 6).

[217] Writing in the late nineteenth century, the Burns biographer, JS Blackie, described Burns as 'the greatest love poet of modern times' (Blackie 1888, p 20). See also, *The Laureate of Love: Lines read at Aston Hall, Birmingham, at the Celebration of the Burns Centenary, 25th January, 1859* (*Memorial Catalogue*, p 425). Low remarks that in the nineteenth century, Burns 'was held to have written of love in an incomparable way' (Low 1995, p 34). John Brown, a well known Scottish writer of the Victorian era, wrote that 'Burns makes you feel the reality, the depth and the truth of his passion. We have no love-songs in English of the same class as those of Burns' (John Brown quoted in A F Goodwillie 1911, p 168). Burns' reputation as a great love poet continues to frame his remembrance. Crawford refers to Burns as 'Scotland's greatest eighteenth century love poet' (Crawford 2008, p 373); and 'the world's most popular love poet' (Crawford 2009, p 3). Low also comments that 'love is overwhelmingly the predominant theme' of Burns' songs (Low 1992, p 136). Thomas Crawford has identified 25 different categories of love in Burns' songs (Thomas Crawford 1960, pp 366-368).

[218] Pittock and Whatley argue that early in the nineteenth century 'markers of Burns' identity as a Scot were already strongly linked to love, male conviviality and alcohol' (Pittock and Whatley 2014, pp 63-64). Mackay refers to how Burns was celebrated as an 'impulsive, energetic lover', as 'a man's man', and was 'celebrated for his sociability and for his perceived common humanity' (Mackay 2012, p 27 and p 31). Leask also refers to Burns' early reputation as 'a famous lover' (Leask 2010, p 6). Kidd suggests that as a result of the nineteenth century, Burns 'has become successfully portrayed to

the world as an apolitical poet of conviviality, carnality and the unchanging rhythms of the natural world' (Kidd 2009, p 61).

[219] See Davis 2010, p 9; and Nash 1997, pp 183-187. Pittock and Whatley refer to how Burns was symbolised as both a lowland and a highland poet (Pittock and Whatley 2014, p 66). See also Pittock and Mackay 2012. Leask notes that "the Heaven-taught Ploughman' also promotes a pastoral view of the poet as elegist of a 'world we have lost', a Scotland of love, drink, and rural community destroyed by the forces of modern life' (Leask 2010, p 1). McIlvanney refers to how Burns was transformed into 'an anodyne icon of rural virtue and domestic piety' (McIlvanney 2002, pp 1-2).

[220] Craig 2012, p 99.

[221] Rigney 2012, p 14 and p 8.

[222] Davis 2012(a), p 188; Rigney 2005, p 26; Rigney 2011, p 89; and *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns*, p 538.

[223] Mackay and Pittock 2011, p 160.

[224] See also McGuirk, who observes that, as Burns remembered a Scotland on behalf of the Scots abroad, 'in their turn, the Scots remembered Burns' (McGuirk, 1994, p 60).

[225] McGuirk 1994, p 60, and 2007, p 166.

[226] McGuirk 2007, p 166. Carruthers notes that the reaction against the 'fabrication of a highly conservative Burns ... was most aggressively seen in the 1920s and 1930s, when Scottish modernist writers such as Hugh MacDiarmid and Edwin Muir saw the influence of Burns as largely harmful in Scottish literary consciousness'(Carruthers 2006(a), p 5). Riach refers to critics, such as Hugh MacDiarmid, attempting 'to demolish the weight of convention suffocating creativity in the adoration of Burns' (Riach 2004, p xxi). For other accounts of the sentimental and nostalgic shaping of Burns in the nineteenth century, see Nash 1997; McGuirk 1994; McIlvanney 2002; Kidd 2009; and Finlay 1997(a) and (b). See also McCrone for a general account of the critiques of Scottish culture (2001, pp 127-148). Carruthers refers to how some of Burns' work fell out of fashion in the twentieth century, which 'saw a nationalist roughening in taste for 'Scottish literature' that effectively decanonised the centrality of the *The Cotter's Saturday Night* in Burns's oeuvre' (Carruthers 2009(c), p 14).

[227] See Devine 1999, pp 287-292; and Jonathan Hearn 2002, pp 745-747.

[228] Andrews 2010(a), p12. McGuirk has referred to the role of Burns' songs in Scottish cultural consciousness as 'hopeful projections forward' (McGuirk 2006, p 254).

3

Robert Burns in the 'National Interest' in Contemporary Scotland

Culture is the beating heart of this nation. It is part of the way we understand and project ourselves and Scotland's place in the world … It is clear Scotland's favourite son now forms a substantial part of the articulation of Scottish identity. (Alex Salmond, Scotland's First Minister, 25 May 2009)[1]

The previous chapter sought to identify some of the dynamics at play in the establishment of Burns as a figure of Scottish cultural memory in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It highlighted the role of various agents with a stake in preserving and promoting his reputation and how the poet's locale and language were capitalised on in the booming literary tourism and associated commodity industries. It also discussed how Burns was made to serve broader ideological purposes, becoming a touchstone for a variety of cultural and political sentiments in his appropriation as the voice and champion of Scotland. At a time of tremendous national pride in Scotland's history and cultural achievements, Burns played a key symbolic role in this reimagining of Scotland, becoming a 'specific nexus' around which dialogue about the nation was 'inspired and carried out'.[2] This chapter will examine how these particular dynamics, while continuing to feature in the twenty first century's mapping of Burns, have taken on an explicit economic policy focus in the national interest. Its aim is to demonstrate the contemporary role of government and national economic policy in the mapping of Burns as a figure of not only Scottish cultural memory, but also of economic memory.

In pursuit of an economic agenda and the strengthening of its international image, Scotland's national government is now a key agent with a stake in the preservation

and promotion of Burns' reputation and memory. The analysis in this chapter of the Scottish government's international tourism initiative focused on Burns' 250th birthday celebrations, *Homecoming Scotland 2009*, sheds light on how Burns functions not only as an important national cultural asset but also as an economic one with international marketing value. This case study highlights how Burns, as a key figure in the nation's cultural memory, is mobilised by government agencies, in partnership with tourism bodies, corporations and local authorities as an economic asset with potential to bring advantage in the global market place. In this economic mobilisation of the poet, Burns' memory itself comes to be reinterpreted and remade as part of the reimagining of the nation's national interest.

Burns' global legacy as a national economic resource

In 2001, the recently formed Scottish parliament debated the following motion:

That the Parliament recognises the immeasurable contribution which the life and works of Robert Burns have made to the history and culture of Scotland; commends the activities of the Robert Burns World Federation, individual Burns Clubs and the many other organisations and individuals who are dedicated to preserving and promoting Burns' memory and work in Scotland and abroad, and believes that the Scottish Executive should do all it can to ensure that the maximum educational, cultural and economic, particularly from tourism, benefits are gained by the people of Scotland from Robert Burns' global legacy.[3]

Occurring as it did in the evening of the annual day of celebration in Scotland of the birth of Burns on the 25th of January, it was to be expected that this debate was more of an opportunity for the ritual expression of regard for Burns rather than as a setting for a formal debate of issues. Indeed the exchanges were often light hearted with some members breaking into song. But at the core of the motion and the responses that followed was a recognition, not only of his cultural value to Scotland, but also of his value to the Scottish economy. Across the political spectrum there was a general consensus that economic benefits were to be gained by Scotland from his enduring national and international reputation. Burns was described as 'an integral part of our economic development processes, particularly tourism'. While in another response: 'Undoubtedly, Robert Burns is a great asset to Scotland, and our tourist industry will certainly ignore Scotland's interests if it does not maximise that asset'. In this parliamentary recognition of Burns as the 'brightest star in our cultural firmament',

keeping his memory alive was seen as bringing not only cultural but also economic benefits. Scottish interests, that is the national interest, was seen to be served by maximising Burns as an economic asset and building on his already established national and global reputation.[4]

This example of Burns being mobilised as a national asset with potential for greater economic benefit demonstrates a particular feature in his salience in contemporary Scotland. He is a cultural resource that can be deployed for the greater good of the Scottish people at a time of challenging domestic and global economic circumstances. Indeed, he has become a key part of the Scottish government's 'six point economic recovery program' that will 'assist our tourism industry through the current downturn'.[5] It is a recovery program that relies significantly on tourism and Burns to bring in revenues, capture new markets, and enhance Scotland's international image. As Scotland's First Minister commented at the launch of Homecoming:

We know that in Scotland, and across the world these are difficult and uncertain times. What will provide sustenance for any nation, and indeed spur recovery, is using its assets fully and creatively. Scotland is a nation blessed with a wealth of assets. And among these, our culture, our remarkable global reputation, the legacy of our foremost poet - these carry tremendous value. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[6]

In a highly competitive global market place, the strength and nature of the cultural assets that go to make up the national image and reputation are crucial factors for governments seeking competitive advantage for their territories in the modern world.[7] The Scottish government has set out a policy framework for managing Scotland's international reputation through which it intends 'to bring a sharp economic growth focus' to the promotion of Scotland abroad as 'a distinctive global identity'. Its objective is to improve Scotland's global international profile and promote Scotland 'as a great place to live, learn, visit, work, do business and invest':

We are putting in place ways of developing our understanding of Scotland's reputation internationally. This knowledge will allow us to develop ways of managing Scotland's reputation more effectively. We will set out a clear and consistent statement of Scotland's story - what we are and how we want to be perceived ... This will allow us to be clear where we have a competitive advantage and where Scotland can truly describe what it has to offer

as 'excellent'. (*Scottish Government International Framework*, Scottish Government, April 2008, np)

This strategy also recognises that Scotland's cultural identity and heritage are 'strong differentiating factors' in the promotion of Scotland abroad and which offer a competitive advantage in the market place. Through this strategy, the Scottish government has set out a commitment to 'ensure expanded use of our cultural assets as a means to communicate with a wider audience about Scotland and its role in the world'.[8]

Scotland is especially fortunate in this regard, having at its disposal, what Ross Bond, David McCrone and Alice Brown of the Institute of Governance at Edinburgh University, refer to as high levels of 'identity resources', or 'cultural capital'.[9] These resources, which derive from Scotland's history, culture, landscape and figures such as Burns, provide the vocabulary of a unique 'nation-ness'. In this language of national distinctiveness, it is often the past in the form of historical attributes that provide the imagery and vocabulary for positioning the nation's story.[10] The characteristics of the nation (real or imagined) that make up the dominant imagery associated with a given nation tend therefore to be those attached to the nation's cultural memory. Contrary to much recent cultural critique regarding Scotland's reliance on its historical past, Bond, McCrone and Brown suggest that this mobilisation of the national vocabulary is not simply 'cynical instrumentalism or empty rhetoric', but reflects dominant, often 'taken for granted' conceptions of key features of national identity.[11]

Moreover, the mobilisation of these identity resources provide not only the language of a national distinctiveness, they also provide the mechanisms for economic development and renewal.[12] In other words, cultural assets serve not only a symbolic function in the nation's story, but may also function as the means for translating that story into economic action. In the context of tourism, for example, identity resources (such as Robert Burns) are deployed as economic tools:

Scotland's tourism industry benefits greatly from its cultural history, and Burns is one of Scotland's best known figures. His work is well known and loved around the world and presents an excellent opportunity for the promotion of Scotland as a top quality tourist destination. (Patricia Ferguson, Culture Minister)[13]

This mobilising of 'imputed' national characteristics for economic ends, takes place not solely as part of campaigns for greater political autonomy, but also within the operations and rhetoric of those bodies forming the institutional fabric of the nation such as economic development agencies.[14] In the case of Scotland, as discussed further below, there is a strong relationship between government and its key economic agents whose brief is to promote Scotland as an attractive visitor and business destination. In doing so, these agents draw on Scotland's historical cultural assets to define and position Scotland as a unique marketing 'proposition':

Scotland's natural assets, culture, history and people give the bedrock on which the tourism industry is built ... In the promotion of the country, a whole new marketing strategy is now built around a strong brand. The brand is built around attributes people associate with Scotland. Visitors to Scotland come for an experience that is rooted in our hills and glens, our castles and towns, our history, our culture, our way of life and our people. (*The Tourism Prospectus: Investing for Growth*, VisitScotland, May 2007, p 4)

In this ongoing iteration of national identity, not only is history, language and culture reinterpreted and remade to suit a contemporary economic agenda, but so too are economic features. What has been perceived as an economic asset in the past may continue to be judged as relevant to current circumstances, or it may have lost some of its salience and needs to be refreshed, or it may no longer be seen to offer a current economic advantage and is excluded or denied as relevant. Alternatively, in some cases, what has been an economic disadvantage in the past is recast as an advantage in new contexts.[15]

In Scotland, many of its historical attributes are deployed for economic ends. Scotland's historical reputation in the fields of education, scientific discovery and 'brain power' is being mobilised to support Scotland's international trade and business agenda. The promotion of Scotland's institutions and their innovative capabilities is a key facet of the government's 'overall brand promotion strategy abroad'.[16] Similarly, Scotland's reputation in the arts and culture is being promoted in order to 'champion' Scotland's 'creative industries' as one of a number of identified growth industries:

Scotland's creativity is recognised throughout the world and we have a strong international reputation for excellence. The creative industries are worth more than £5 billion to Scotland,

support over 60,000 jobs; and overall creative industry exports represent around 5% of Scotland's total international exports. Scottish art, film, fashion, music and literature are well recognised as its design, IT and computer gaming industries. The sector has grown rapidly over the past 10 years and with appropriate support has potential to grow further, as was underlined in the creative industries strategy that I launched in March of this year. (Fiona Hyslop, Cabinet Secretary for Culture and External Affairs, quoted in *The Government Economic Strategy*, Scottish Government, September 2011, p 46)[17]

Scotland's cultural heritage too has become the focus of policy and strategy development that recognises the contribution it makes to 'a modern, dynamic and flourishing Scotland', its economic wellbeing, and which makes Scotland 'distinctive as a nation'. It is seen as playing 'a crucial part in the sustainability of communities and in promoting a positive image of Scotland across the world' especially through international tourism.[18]

Other historical attributes, such as the Scottish landscape, particularly the highlands and islands, continue to be a source of both pride and identity, and tourism revenue.[19] They also serve as an example of where an historic disadvantage has been ameliorated.[20] The remoteness of the highlands and islands has long been viewed as a developmental obstacle, but their physical location and its association with environmental quality is now seen as a key asset from which an expanded contemporary economic advantage can be 'extracted' to support identified 'growth industries' especially in tourism and the food and drink industries:

Scotland's rich and diverse natural environment is a national asset and a source of significant international competitive advantage. We trade on its quality, so its continuing health and improvement is vital to sustainable economic growth. Many of Scotland's growth sectors such as tourism, and food and drink depend on high quality air, land and water. (*The Government Economic Strategy*, Scottish Government, September 2011, p 55)

Similarly, the historical outward flow of Scots to other places and the global spread of the Scottish diaspora are being recast from a historic disadvantage to a source of potential economic advantage for Scotland.[21]

In this economic reimagining of the nation, the national past continues to have a strong influence upon the means by which economic agents mobilise national identity for contemporary economic ends. The question that arises here, that Bond,

McCrone and Brown identify, is that since both political and economic agents are likely to favour the presentation of a contemporary image of the nation appropriate to the twenty first century, how then do these agents reconcile this need with their use of the nation's (historic) identity in furthering their economic objectives? In addressing this question Bond, McCrone and Brown describe a number of processes that help to explain how historic national characteristics are reconciled with (or excluded from) contemporary economic discourse and strategy. They suggest that this reconciliation is done through processes they describe as 'reiteration', 'recapture', 'reinterpretation' and 'repudiation':

'Reiteration' refers to agents' belief that a historic attribute confers contemporary economic advantage. Where such positive historic attributes are felt to have diminished (currently problematic), but remain positive in their potential economic effects, they are 'recaptured'. 'Reinterpretation', on the other hand, involves turning a historic disadvantage into a contemporary advantage. Finally, 'repudiation' indicates aspects of identity which are inappropriate or deleterious in their contemporary effects. (Ross Bond, David McCrone and Alice Brown 2003, p 377)

These processes derive from economic agents' '*perceptions* of their nation's economic attributes, and their *normative beliefs* regarding the qualities necessary for economic success'.[22] They are also 'selectively employed as appropriate to the identity feature in question'.[23] In other words, there is a differential mobilisation of national identity in the economic sector that reflects the nature of the 'fit' between the products and services in question and the contemporary relevance of their association with specific aspects of the nation's past. For example, Burns' association with Scotland's long held belief and pride in its literary and cultural achievements can be seen as consistent with Scotland's current aspiration to construct a contemporary Scottish identity based on the nation's intellectual and creative strengths. Whereas, the association of Burns with stuffy, conservative and elitist parochial Burns Suppers of the past is unlikely to be perceived as consistent with a Scotland that is seeking to project a modern and globally connected face to the world. On the other hand, Burns' global following and regard, particularly amongst the Scottish diaspora, can be construed as a new potential economic opportunity.

This chapter will develop these ideas further through a case study of the recent Scottish government tourism initiative, *Homecoming Scotland 2009*. It will examine

how the cultural past is being mobilised through the figure of Robert Burns as an 'identity resource' to provide Scotland with an economic advantage in the global market place. In doing so, it will also consider how certain historic attributes associated with Burns are being 'reiterated', 'recaptured', 'reinterpreted' (and in some cases 'repudiated') in the mapping of Burns' relationship to Scottish cultural memory and identity today. But before moving on to those specifics it will be useful to provide some contextual background to recent developments in the relationship between government and tourism in general and the state of affairs in Scotland.

National tourism

As a recent OECD report outlines, governments in recent years have increasingly recognised the economic and social importance of tourism:

Tourism's ability to create employment, stimulate capital markets, attract foreign investment, earn foreign currency and add value nationally, regionally and locally has been generally accepted. (*OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2012*, p 116)

This has led to the development of a range of policies and programs 'in which government intervention in the stimulation and support of the tourism sector has increased' and where 'increasingly, tourism is seen as a whole-of-government responsibility to be advanced and supported in the national interest'.[24]

Typically, tourism is directed towards a set of national priorities associated with the economy, business and employment; skills and local community development and capacity building; facilities, infrastructure and the environment; and the profile and branding of the national image - particularly on the international stage. The management and planning of tourism is also often undertaken through partnership with local and regional governments, cultural and heritage bodies, voluntary organisations and the private sector.[25]

This trend towards governments taking a lead role in tourism for advancing the national interest and the national image, and acting as a catalyst, co-ordinator and provider of public funds is very much in evidence in Scotland. The national tourism agency, VisitScotland (and its events arm EventScotland), is the key public sector tourism marketing agency in Scotland, with a brief to promote Scotland as a leisure and business destination, domestically in the UK and overseas. It is one of the largest

national tourism organisations in the world, and like other national tourism bodies its focus is primarily on marketing to promote destinations and regions and places.[26] VisitScotland has three core activities:

- market Scotland to all parts of the world to attract visitors
- provide information and inspiration to visitors and potential visitors so they get the best out of a visit to Scotland
- provide quality assurance to visitors and quality advice to the industry and partners to help the industry meet and strive to exceed customer expectations.[27]

In recognition that economic, employment and development benefits will flow from effective marketing and promotion of Scotland as an attractive visitor, business and investment destination, VisitScotland's key function is 'to maximise the economic benefit of tourism to Scotland'.[28] This task is being undertaken in a global context where tourism is one of the world's most competitive industries with 'some 200 countries battling for essentially the same customers, all offering similar products':

We have to nurture and responsibly exploit our assets ... there is a constant need to excite visitors and potential visitors with innovation and new products. This is not about throwing out what we have and replacing with something completely new. Quite the reverse, it is mostly about building on our many strengths and applying effort and imagination to better development, packaging and presentation. (*The Tourism Prospectus: Investing for Growth*, VisitScotland, May 2007, p 4)

Tourism is an important part of the Scottish economy. It not only contributes 11.6 billion pounds to the Scottish economy (10.4% of the total economy), but is also responsible for over 290,000 jobs.[29] Tourism ranks fifth in the fifteen top industry sectors identified in the government's business statistics.[30] The Scottish government recognises that tourism is central to the Scottish economy and that the industry's health is vital for the country's future. In recognition of tourism as one of the main drivers of the economy, the Scottish government's tourism policy has identified an overarching ambition to grow tourism revenues by 50% by 2015 and 'in that same timescale, to make the country one of the world's foremost tourism destinations'.[31] Linked to that 'ambition', the Scottish government has also identified the Scottish diaspora as a 'new key priority' in its economic and international policy framework.

Tourism is identified as a crucial means for 'energising' and 'engaging' the Scottish diaspora and as a vehicle for 'strategic development and profile raising'.[32] Scotland's vast diaspora 'matters because having affinity with Scotland is not just about sentimentality. Diaspora connections can be readily translated into mutually-beneficial hard-edged business partnerships'.[33]

Homecoming Scotland 2009

This is Scotland's year of homecoming, a celebration of Scottish success stories to mark the 250th anniversary of our national poet Robert Burns. From Burns Night through to St Andrews Day over 300 inspirational events are taking place across the country as we encourage Scots at home and abroad to take pride in their country. (Fiona Hyslop, Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning)[34]

The Scottish government's determination to make Scotland one of the world's foremost tourism destinations provided a strong impetus for a planned major tourism initiative in 2009, with the 250th anniversary of Burns' birth as its theme, and which had been on the drawing board since the previous administration.[35] As Scotland's (then) Tourism and Culture Minister remarked, the international appeal of Burns and the forthcoming 250th anniversary offered a significant tourism opportunity:

Robert Burns is an international beacon of Scotland's cultural life, and generates enormous revenues for Scotland ... The potential to use the 250th anniversary of Robert Burns' birth is significant, and could be used to encourage Scots to come home to Scotland and to maximise the appeal of Scotland as a place to visit. (Patricia Ferguson, Tourism and Culture Minister)[36]

With support from local councils and business interests in those parts of Scotland with strong Burns links and heritage attractions, especially in Ayrshire where Burns was born, the Scottish government undertook to use the 250th anniversary of Burns' birth as a tourism focus for promoting Scotland and to support improvements to existing Burns heritage infrastructure.[37]

The thinking and planning for the project started early with the (then) Labour government in 2004 commissioning a study, the purpose of which was to scope how the 250th anniversary in 2009 could be used to encourage Scots to return to Scotland and maximise the appeal of Scotland as a visitor destination.[38] As part of that scoping exercise, a key task was to undertake a national audit and economic impact study of the scale and nature of the Burns 'industry' and the 'Robert Burns brand' in Scotland

and internationally, 'from a cultural, business and global perspective'. It was found that Burns was worth 160 million pounds to the Scottish economy, with two thirds of that coming from tourism, especially in Ayrshire.[39] In making the announcement of this report finding, the Tourism and Culture Minister urged local businesses to build on 'the benefits we already enjoy through Burns' legacy' and highlighted the economic opportunities that could accrue from the 250th anniversary through the generation of 'increased tourism visitors, additional spend and supporting increased jobs'.[40]

Another part of the brief for the study was to propose an action plan for the 2009 Burns birthday celebrations that had already been identified as the year of 'homecoming' - a year that was to engage and encourage the estimated 40 million members of the Scottish diaspora worldwide to visit Scotland.[41] In support of this aim, the study was required to make suggestions for a year long program of activities and events, and to 'identify key individuals, organisations, resources and businesses which could have a connection to Burns and may wish to be involved' and to provide 'identified, costed and proposed development opportunities'.[42]

Under the broad umbrella of the Burns birthday celebrations, the key objectives for Homecoming were to:

- deliver additional tourism visits and revenue for Scotland
- engage and mobilise the Scottish Diaspora
- promote pride in Scots at home and abroad
- celebrate Scotland's outstanding contributions to the world.[43]

Homecoming had a core budget of 5.5 million pounds, which was made up of 3 million pounds for the events program, 1.75 million pounds for marketing and PR, and .75 million pounds for overheads. The government's stated target was to deliver an 8:1 return on that budget by generating 44 million pounds of additional tourism revenue. It also set out to attract 100,000 additional visitors to Scotland.[44]

In its planning, funding, coordination and delivery, Homecoming relied on a complex network of both formal and informal partnership arrangements between government agencies, the private sector, local government, interest groups and voluntary sector organisations both in Scotland and overseas. The core management

team comprised VisitScotland, EventScotland, Scottish Enterprise and the Scottish Arts Council, with VisitScotland taking the role as the 'lead entrepreneur'. Formal partnerships were undertaken with a wide range of agencies including Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Scottish Natural Heritage, Historic Scotland, Forestry Commission, Convention Scotland, SportScotland, as well as the National Trust for Scotland. Large corporations, travel agents, hospitality and tourism companies, and celebrity spokespeople also engaged in partnership agreements. In addition to these formal arrangements, Homecoming relied on the participation and support of a wide range of others including cultural, arts, academic and educational institutions, domestic and international media agencies, travel and trade organisations and representative groups, local and international Scots associations, and Burns Clubs.[45]

While the Burns 250th birthday celebrations were designed to provide the central 'inspirational' concept for Homecoming, as the project developed five key themes were established around which the program of events for the year and the extensive public relations and marketing strategy revolved: Robert Burns, Whisky, Golf, Great Minds and Innovations, Heritage and Culture. Each of these themes shaped the events program, with Burns' birthday providing the key theme and marketing message throughout the year. 400 events were staged across Scotland throughout 2009 with Burns the explicit focus for many of them. Funding support was provided to about a quarter of these events through a competitive grant scheme that was designed to spread events activity across all of Scotland as part of Homecoming's regional development agenda.[46] Other funded events were specially commissioned 'signature events', and the remainder, the larger proportion, were 'partner events' that received no direct funding but were included as part of the Homecoming program and marketing strategy.[47]

The promotion of the Burns theme and the program of events was part of the overarching Homecoming campaign and its extensive international visitor and tourism trade marketing program. A major domestic and international public relations and marketing campaign made up of broad and targeted strategies was put in place to raise awareness, attract overseas and UK visitors, secure local and international travel and tourism industry, events and media support, together with overseas and international Scots associational involvement. Briefings and workshops were conducted for domestic and international media, travel, tourism and trade

groups. Developing and enhancing existing and emerging overseas tourism and trade markets was a key feature of the Homecoming strategy.[48]

The scale and breadth of Homecoming's media and marketing strategy was considerable. The Homecoming TV advertisement featuring Sean Connery and other Scottish celebrities was aired across Scotland, the USA and other countries including China, to coincide with the Burns anniversary weekend. Local and international travel hubs for rail, ferries and airports carried Homecoming banners, and international travel, trade and tourism magazines and websites carried advertisements and features. The Homecoming events guide was mailed to Scottish households, and distributed in the USA, Canada, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, and links to the Homecoming website were made available through the international VisitScotland websites. Burns Night celebrations and other Homecoming events were also promoted across the globe through Burns and Scottish associational groups, magazines, websites and events.[49]

Other specific Burns events were also supported by extensive media publicity, and through print, radio and TV advertising. Information was provided through the wide distribution of the Homecoming events guide and website, the VisitScotland website, the dedicated Global Burns Supper website and through a host of other media and online channels and websites. Newspapers, television and radio also ran Burns related features and competitions including voting for a favourite Burns song, and how to host a Burns Supper.[50]

Burns and Homecoming: a narrative of Scottish achievement and success

In such a media saturated environment it is not surprising that Burns' profile was at a heightened level during 2009. In the extensive media coverage that surrounded the Burns Homecoming events, the 'voice' of the Scottish executive was especially prominent at launches, in speeches, statements, interviews and in press releases. Indeed Scotland's First Minister, Alex Salmond, was the main source of all Homecoming reported media news stories. Other government ministers and representatives of VisitScotland made up the rest of the top ten media sources.[51] In addition, comments from local and regional authorities, corporate sponsors, event organisers, and other participants contributed to a media and marketing story that delivered a narrative of Scottish achievement and success.

The focus and subject of much of this media coverage and promotion was Burns as a cultural beacon and economic asset to Scotland, both internationally and locally. The events themselves also contributed to positioning him in particular ways that supported Homecoming's strategic goals of positioning Scotland as a modern outward looking nation whose strong cultural tradition of creativity, innovation and 'great minds' was continuing to contribute to the world.

Burns' profile was made especially prominent in the launch of Homecoming that was staged on the 25 January, the anniversary of his birth. Its geographical focus was the town of Alloway in Ayrshire, the site of his birthplace. It was here that three of Homecoming's signature events were held. A grand Homecoming Burns Supper was hosted by Scotland's First Minister and attended by other dignitaries, including the Chief Executive of the Robert Burns World Federation, the Chair of VisitScotland and EventScotland, the Chair of the National Trust for Scotland, and the representative of the Robert Burns Humanitarian Award, and the winners of a public ticket ballot.[52] Launching the Homecoming year, the First Minister's Burns Supper speech announced that this was 'the start of an extraordinary, celebration - a once in a 250 year celebration - of the lasting legacy of Robert Burns and the country that he loved':

... this weekend kick-starts a celebration of Scotland's wealth of assets, among these our culture, our remarkable global reputation and the legacy of our foremost poet. It is these assets that promise to turn 2009 into a significant boost for Scottish tourism and the Scottish economy. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[53]

In his speech, the First Minister also paid tribute to 'some of those who help to keep the legacy of Burns alive' including local authorities, Burns Clubs and the Robert Burns World Federation, and the many large corporate sponsors of the Homecoming year; some of which were the Clydesdale Bank, Tesco supermarket chain, Coca Cola, Walkers Shortbread, the Irn Bru drink company, the Stena ferry company, and the Scottish whisky company, The Famous Grouse.[54]

The Homecoming Burns Supper at Alloway was the centre piece of another form of Burns Night celebration, the *World Famous Burns Supper*, sponsored by one of the corporate sponsors, The Famous Grouse. This global Burns Supper linked up 3,600 Burns Suppers around the world in eighty countries via a dedicated website and was

designed to encourage innovative and fresh approaches to the ways and places in which Burns Suppers were held. Its aim was 'to show the world that Burns' legacy is still alive and kicking today and that his message of friendship and Auld Lang Syne lives on, joining people all over the world'.[55] The website registered entrants, offered prizes for the most unusual/largest/smallest supper, provided ideas for hosting a Burns Supper and directed site visitors to sources of Scottish food and whisky.[56] To mark the occasion, The Famous Grouse commissioned a limited edition of its whisky to be auctioned for charity at Burns Suppers around the world.[57]

The Homecoming launch at Alloway also featured *Iconic Burns*, an outdoor festive event of light and sound installations and fire sculptors representing scenes from his poetry. In another part of the launch weekend, the town of Dumfries where Burns spent the last years of this life, hosted a 3000 lantern procession and fire show, *Burns Light*, inspired by his work. Over the launch weekend in Glasgow, as part of the international *Celtic Connections* music festival, a series of large music and dance events featuring contemporary interpretations of Burns' music, outdoor dramatisations of his poetry, a multicultural Burns Night and a Jamaican Burns Night concert were held.[58] The Glasgow City Chambers was the setting for *Burns Illuminated*, where his story was told via a sound and light projection onto the building. In Edinburgh, the National Library of Scotland hosted the exhibition, *Zig Zag: The Paths of Robert Burns*, made up of material drawn from the National Burns Collection on the eve of its Scotland wide tour; and the Scottish Parliament hosted another travelling exhibition, *As Others See Us*, a photographic exhibition featuring contemporary portraits of famous Scots with commentary on their favourite Burns poetry and songs, which also travelled to Brussels.[59] Described by the First Minister as a showcase for Scotland's 'current creative talent', it was also seen as a celebration of 'Scotland's greatest cultural icon' and his inspiring legacy. As one of the artists involved commented, 'as we discovered during the time spent on this project, Robert Burns is just as relevant, entertaining and inspiring today as he was 250 years ago'.[60]

In addition to these signature and other launch events, around thirty other specific Burns events were staged throughout the year across Scotland, including the unveiling of a large outdoor public art work, the *Burns Banner*, and other major Burns related art exhibitions at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the Dick

Institute, the Mitchell Library and the National Library of Scotland and in various other regional locations. Many of these exhibitions featured new work by contemporary artists and were promoted with themes such as 'Creative Burns' and 'Inspired by Burns'.[61] The *Creative Burns* exhibition at the Dick Institute in East Ayrshire presented specially commissioned art works that examined his 'continued influence as a creative inspiration for artists today'.[62] It was also an opportunity for promoting the region's links to Burns and its artistic and cultural credentials:

I am delighted that 250 years on from the birth of Scotland's national poet, Ayrshire is still playing an important role in inspiring and promoting new artistic talents to further enrich our cultural heritage. We are looking forward to welcoming visitors to our key events in East Ayrshire and are urging people to celebrate Homecoming in Ayrshire - the home of Robert Burns. (Douglas Reid, East Ayrshire Council)[63]

In Ayrshire, more festivals and events were held. In the tiny town of Mauchline, its Burns Club hosted the *Holy Fair* (inspired by a well known Burns poem set in that area) attracting 10,000 visitors and setting a new world record for the largest haggis. In Ayr, the eighth *Burns an' a' that Festival* was held. The festival, which is managed by the Burns Festival Company, and funded by South Ayrshire Council, Scottish Enterprise, VisitScotland and EventScotland, and advised by the Robert Burns World Federation, is described as 'one of the world's largest celebrations of the life and work of Scotland's national bard'. Like other Homecoming events in the region, its connections with Burns were recognised as not only vital to the local economy, but also as a source of local pride and achievement:

We've been very proud to watch our local Festival go from strength to strength each and every year. The quality and variety of events on offer this year mean that there truly is something for every taste. This year's focus is an exciting one, as we aim to bring Burns back to his birthplace with poetry, comedy and song. I look forward to local residents and visitors to South Ayrshire equally enjoying and supporting the Festival even more than ever in 2009. (Graham Peterkin, South Ayrshire Council Executive Director of Development and Environment and Chair of the Burns Festival Board)[64]

That festival was also the setting for the announcement of the *Robert Burns Humanitarian Award* which is funded by EventScotland. Presenting the award, the First Minister spoke of the enduring international influence of Burns as the national bard of Scotland:

The Burns Humanitarian Award recognises those whose compassion and affinity for their fellow human beings echoes the spirit of our national bard Robert Burns. As we celebrate the 250th anniversary of Robert Burns birth this year, it is especially fitting that each of the nominees has made a significant impact internationally to promote empathy and compassion for others through their work, like Burns himself. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[65]

In Kilmarnock, where Burns' first edition of poetry was published in 1786, a new Scottish ancestral research centre was opened attached to a large nineteenth century Burns monument. The five million dollar Burns Monument Centre, which also houses a collection of the poet's work, was launched as 'Scotland's first custom-built ancestral history hub'.[66] At its opening, reference was made to 'Scotland's rich culture, history and heritage'; and the benefits to both the national and local economy from Burns and international ancestral tourism were extolled by the First Minister:

Ancestral tourism is worth £64 million annually to the Scottish economy and has the potential for significant growth with Homecoming, and its legacy, igniting interest in Scotland's past and future. This fantastic new centre will provide a significant boost to local tourism and will help entice some of the 40 million strong Scots Diaspora back to Scotland to explore their heritage and roots further. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[67]

The Robert Burns World Federation annual conference, with representatives from around the world, was held in Edinburgh where Scotland's First Minister spoke of Burns' enduring value and appeal to those 'far beyond the shores of his homeland'.[68] The conference was also the setting for the unveiling for a new Burns sculpture and the rededication of the Burns monument in the city. On this occasion, his celebration was linked with a celebration of Scottish heritage, Scottish skill and craftsmanship:

We have had an incredible Year of Homecoming celebrating Scotland's culture, with Burns at the forefront of these events. The work to repair this monument is another success story in the partnership between Edinburgh World Heritage, Historic Scotland and the City of Edinburgh Council to promote the exceptional history and craftsmanship we have here in our unique capital city. (Michael Russell, Culture Minister)[69]

Several other local and larger international Burns conferences were held at universities and other venues during the year, bringing together Scottish and international speakers and addressing topics such as his global relevance and impact, Burns and Europe, Burns and the Scottish diaspora, transatlantic Burns, Burns in the

twenty first century, sex and Burns, and Burns and the Scots language.[70] Described as the largest conference of its kind, the *Robert Burns 1759-2009* conference at Glasgow University's Centre for Robert Burns Studies brought Scottish and international experts together to discuss the latest academic developments concerning the study of the poet and to view a rare copy of his first poetry collection - the 'holy grail of Burns' books'.[71] Launching the conference, Scotland's Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning emphasised Burns' international literary status:

I am delighted to help begin this year of celebration by launching the Robert Burns Conference. Robert Burns is truly an international cultural icon, as reflected by the high interest in this conference from scholars and Burns enthusiasts from around the world. (Fiona Hyslop, Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning)[72]

Burns' contribution to Scotland as 'a literary nation' and his 'bardic' status was also highlighted at the *StAnza Poetry Festival* where poets from around the world gathered 'to explore the poetic legacy of Robert Burns':

Robert Burns was committed to safeguarding the literature, culture and spirit of the nation he loved ... preserving the oral tradition and honouring Scotland as a literary nation ... This year, our Homecoming year, is the perfect time to truly discover Robert Burns and the love of poetry ... to commemorate Burns and the country of which he was proud to call himself 'Bard'. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[73]

Many new books about Burns were published during the year, including a special edition of the 'holy grail' of Burns' books, and a Ukrainian translation of Burns' work produced by the Burns Howff Club, Dumfries.[74] Although most of these new books were not formally part of the Homecoming program, they were released to coincide with the 250th anniversary year. Two of these publications were attached to Homecoming, including one published by the University of Dundee, *For A' That*, which the First Minister described as a tribute to the 'universal and timeless appeal of Burns words'.[75] The other was the first major biography of Burns in several decades and was the recipient of the prestigious Saltire Society Literary award for Scottish Book of the Year. Presenting the award, Scotland's Culture Minister drew attention to Scotland's intellectual and literary strengths as a source of national pride:

The Awards play a huge part in celebrating Scotland's literary heritage and the incredible strength of talent displayed by our contemporary writers. It is fitting that we applaud this

talent on St Andrew's Day - our national day - particularly when this year's winning entries reflect the rich cultural, natural and intellectual heritage of this nation. (Michael Russell, Culture Minister)[76]

A plethora of other events that included Burns themes in their programs were held. Many of these musical, poetry, storytelling, theatrical and dance performances were focused on and performed by school students and youth groups.[77] New Burns school curriculum materials were also released, and the winner of the *Burnsong International Song Contest* was announced.[78] A tiny miniature book of his poetry, designed by the Department of Electronic and Electrical Engineering at the University of Strathclyde, was launched into space by a group of Scottish school students. Like many other speeches delivered at Homecoming events, Burns' global value was reiterated and linkages were drawn between Burns and Scotland's reputation for innovation and intellectual strength:

In the year of Homecoming, when we celebrate the global influence of Robert Burns, it is fantastic to see our national poet's legacy travel even further. Launching this miniature book of poems into space is an excellent way to highlight the many great contributions that Scotland has given to the world. Great Scottish minds have been at the forefront of innovation for centuries and our excellent reputation continues today. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[79]

Products and merchandising played a major role in promoting Burns' profile and associating him with other key Homecoming marketing themes. The Clydesdale Bank released a new set of banknotes with a portrait of Burns featuring on the ten pound note. Each note was designed to 'honour a prominent and innovative Scot' while the reverse of each note depicted one of Scotland's five World Heritage sites. It was also the first time that a new 'depth image' hologram security feature was used on a UK banknote. The Chief Operating Officer of Clydesdale Bank described the new Burns banknote as 'a fitting tribute' and commented that the 'innovative and striking set of notes ... showcases the best of Scotland - its people and its heritage'.[80] The First Minister too took the opportunity to refer to the historic resilience of Scotland's financial sector and how these new notes were an indication of Scotland's economic optimism:

Scotland has produced banknotes for hundreds of years, marking the culture, heritage, tradition and resilience of Scotland, its people and our financial sector. Clydesdale Bank's

launch of a new banknote family, commemorating the 250th anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns and Homecoming 2009, is an indication of its strength and commitment to Scotland in the current economic climate. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[81]

At another corporate Burns product event, the First Minister acknowledged that 'one of the most important aspects of Homecoming 2009 is corporate engagement'. Providing some 'free' publicity for the Walkers Shortbread company, whose commemorative Burns shortbread tin was being launched, the First Minister drew attention to Walkers as an example of successful Scottish enterprise and its international reputation:

Walkers is an internationally recognised Scottish company, their products are consumed in more than 70 countries, and they will now be sending Scotland's Homecoming message to many thousands of customers across the globe. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[82]

The theme of Scotland as 'a land of culture and enterprise' was also echoed by the Managing Director of Walkers, who reinforced the idea of Scotland's reputation for quality food and drink products:

Homecoming 2009 gives Scots the world over an opportunity to pause and reflect on the many great achievements past and present that have established Scotland firmly on the world map as a land of culture and enterprise. Not least of these is Scotland's status as 'land of food and drink'. Walkers is long recognised the world over as Scotland's finest and we are proud to support this initiative. (Jim Walker, Managing Director of Walkers Shortbread)[83]

Burns' importance to Scotland's international trade and business markets was made especially evident with the release of the new Coca Cola bottle featuring Burns. Again Scotland's First Minster took the lead in accentuating the brand value of Burns to Scotland:

Coca Cola's support is a huge vote of confidence in the pulling-power of Scotland's Year of Homecoming - as a party with huge commercial potential. This new design is a fantastic way of tapping into the Scottish market and its global connections. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[84]

Woven into this speech was also a reference to the forthcoming meeting in Scotland of the Forbes European CEO Forum that would attract 'the highest level of business leaders and influencers from leading European and global companies'. As the First Minister remarked, the meeting 'will offer an unparalleled showcase for this

celebratory product, as well as Scotland as a tourist destination and a business environment'.[85]

As these examples demonstrate, in the public rhetoric associated with Burns and Homecoming, the economic goals and benefits to Scotland were repeatedly emphasised. As part of the Scottish Government's economic recovery plan, Homecoming was pursued as a 'narrative of economic success' that would not only help 'the Government and its agencies sell Scottish tourism and Scottish businesses abroad' but also assist in 'promoting investment in Scotland and increased in-migration and retention that will help us meet our Purpose target for population growth'.[86] The approach was often to make support of Homecoming a patriotic act with Burns serving as the symbolic focus:

At times like this, therefore, it is even more important that we pull together as a nation. The economic storm clouds are gathering. But I know that we will weather this storm - and emerge even stronger, and well placed to prosper ... So get behind Homecoming and make 2009 a year to remember, for Auld Lang Syne, and for Scotland. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[87]

Even before the year was over, Homecoming was being promoted by the Scottish government as a great success for the tourism industry and for the Scottish economy:

Homecoming 2009 has captured the imagination of people throughout the country and across the globe. More than 400 events have taken place since January, celebrating our national bard, Robert Burns, and many of Scotland's greatest contributions to the world. As we approach the finale weekend, I am delighted that an independent interim analysis indicated that the Year of Homecoming 2009 will be a success both for Scottish tourism and the economy. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[88]

The final evaluation of Homecoming was equally positive.[89] Against the backdrop of a worldwide recession, Homecoming was deemed to have helped cushion Scotland's tourism industry against the worst effects of the downturn.[90] According to VisitScotland, Homecoming's 5.5 million pound investment generated 53.7 million pounds in additional tourism revenue; exceeded the 44 million target by 22 percent; attracted 95,000 additional visitors to Scotland and generated 154 million pounds worth of positive global media coverage. Among the many other indicators of success that were reported included raising the profile of Burns; the level of

corporate support; the positive response of events organisers; the numbers of visits to events; the 'most comprehensive Diaspora and Scots interest group database ever developed with more than 6,000 organisations worldwide'; and the reach of the media and marketing campaign in Scotland and in 40 other countries.[91] It was estimated that the Homecoming media campaign reached 1.8 billion people worldwide with Robert Burns and the 250th birthday celebrations registering as the top thematic topics.[92]

Mapping Burns onto the Scottish economy

As part of the Scottish government's narrative of economic success, Homecoming provided a vehicle to tell and sell Scotland's story to the market place. It was a story in which Burns was linked to other attributes of Scottish achievement and deployed 'to raise Scotland's profile' and give the country a 'distinctive voice and a unique proposition in a crowded and highly competitive global market place'.[93] In the staging of Homecoming it is possible to discern how Burns, as an historical cultural asset, was reconciled to suit and support this contemporary tourism agenda, and how in that process Burns was variously mapped onto the Scottish economy. In that mapping, certain historic attributes associated with Burns were, in Bond, McCrone and Brown's terms, 'reiterated', 'recaptured', 'reinterpreted' and 'repudiated'.

Reiterating Burns as an economic asset

Through Homecoming, the Scottish government 'reiterated' the positive value of Burns as a distinctive feature of Scottish culture and achievement. As a well known high value 'identity resource', Burns was clearly seen to offer the Scottish government a contemporary economic advantage. His popularity and status within Scotland and his international reputation and following, especially amongst the Scottish diaspora, meant that there was a ready alignment between Burns and the government's aspiration to capitalise on Scotland's unique profile based on its known historic attributes. The American and wider global Scottish diaspora and those 'affinity Scots' also offered an available and substantial market of potential tourism and business 'prospects' who already had an attachment to Burns.[94]

The businesses and corporations that enthusiastically engaged with the Homecoming initiative could also capitalise on the brand value of Burns to enhance their domestic

and international markets. The Famous Grouse whisky company for example, which sponsored the *World Famous Burns Supper*, was the top selling whisky company in Scotland at the time, and the fifth top selling blended whisky worldwide with exports to over 100 countries.[95] Walkers Shortbread, another large Scottish company, which issued the commemorative 250th Burns birthday shortbread tin, had exports to more than 70 countries and was Scotland's leading brand in the export market.[96] The Coca Cola company too, could see the economic benefits in supporting Homecoming through its commemorative Coke bottle featuring Burns:

This unique bottle and design creates opportunity for new marketing, promotions and display in stores to ensure that increased consumer awareness and excitement is created for this campaign. (Simon Baldry, Managing Director, Coca Cola Enterprises Ltd)[97]

This ready alignment between Burns and economic opportunity was not only available at the national level, but also at the local and regional level where Burns' historic association with specific areas was also seen as offering increased economic advantages and enhancing the profile of these towns and regions. For local event organisers, for example, the most commonly cited benefits from taking part in Homecoming were the extension their event/festival programs, new markets and audiences, working with local and national partners, and renewed interest and pride in celebrating Scotland's culture.[98] As key partners in the Homecoming project, regional business development and enterprise groups appeared to be in no doubt that the focus on Burns would help to reinvigorate their local economies:

Scottish Enterprise Ayrshire has welcomed the opportunity to work with the Scottish Executive and other agencies on this work which will inform plans for 2009. Events and activities will showcase the country on a world stage, create a cultural legacy for future generations and reinvigorate interest and pride in Ayrshire and Scotland's most significant icon. Scottish Enterprise Ayrshire is looking forward to an exciting time ahead working with our partners locally and nationally to ensure the highest quality of Burns related experiences are in place for 2009. (Evelyn McCann, Chief Executive, Scottish Enterprise Ayrshire)[99]

Recapturing Burns as a contemporary Scottish icon

Mobilising Burns as a positive contemporary economic asset also meant accentuating his contemporary relevance to the promotion of Scotland as 'an exciting, innovative

and vibrant destination'.[100] The Burns 250th birthday celebrations were strongly attached to the promotion of Scotland as 'dynamic' and 'modern':

Inspired by the 250th anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns, Homecoming extends an invitation to people around the world, with a family link or an affinity for Scotland to come home, reconnect and play a part in the dynamic, modern country we are building. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[101]

In doing so, Burns was 'recaptured' from a potentially outdated Scottish icon to one associated with innovation, creativity, youth culture and popular culture. This 'recapturing' of Burns as a twenty first century Scottish icon was framed within the broader Homecoming themes of creativity, innovation and great minds. The world was invited to come home to a nation of creators and innovators with Burns at the forefront of the invitation:

Inspired by the 250th anniversary of the birth of our national cultural icon Robert Burns, our Homecoming Year is celebrating many of Scotland's great contributions to the world … Homecoming offers a wealth of activity highlighting some of our greatest contributions to the world and creating inspiring new ways for people at home and abroad to explore our nation's rich culture and history - a history of great minds and innovation, of discovery, and of enlightenment. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[102]

Burns was positioned, not as a figure fixed in the past, but as part of a modern youthful twenty first century Scotland. Burns Suppers were now fun, playful and attractive to a new international generation and made available through new media. This 'renewed' Burns was also promoted through the work of contemporary artists and musicians, in new art forms and technologies, and in youth oriented performances and events: 'Homecoming Scotland helped to instil a greater sense of pride in Scotland and helped to convey that Scotland is a vibrant, happening place'.[103] The association with Burns and the traditional Scottish drink whisky was also extended to one associated directly with a global youth market via Coca Cola:

This unique design for 2009 captures the spirit of that celebration, and is a fantastic way of translating our heritage and identity into the language of popular culture. Andy Warhol described the Coca Cola's contour bottle as 'the design icon of the decade', but now that it is decorated with my 'Man of the Millennium' I think its visual identity is even more significant. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[104]

Reinterpreting Burns, the Scottish diaspora and the Scots language

The promotion of the economic value of Burns also benefited from the 'reinterpretation' of historic disadvantage, in particular the disadvantage associated with Scottish outward migration. The vast diaspora networks created by historic migration out of Scotland came to be viewed as potential economic assets in relation to tourism and commercial exports and for 'attracting investment for new companies and in encouraging 'ancestral' or 'ethnic' Scots with skills or wealth to return to Scotland'.[105]

The Scottish government recognised that Scotland's diaspora represented a relatively untapped market 'with a good will towards Scotland' and which had 'the potential to improve our reputation and drive economic growth'.[106] Homecoming was seen as providing as 'a real focus for energising and engaging our Diaspora' and a means for ensuring 'a lasting legacy in terms of better, more effective and higher impact communication with Scotland's Diaspora'.[107] That potential could be energised and engaged through the diaspora's historic interest and attachment to Burns:

This weekend is the first for our new Homecoming television advert, inviting our friends and family to come home in 2009. With a stellar line-up of Scottish stars all singing Dougie Maclean's rousing anthem Caledonia, it is yet another reminder of what modern Scotland has to offer. It is a song about the lure and tug of Scotland, and Burns is the founder of that feeling. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[108]

Burns' profile also benefited from the renewal of interest and support for the Scots language as a cultural and economic asset for Scotland. The Scots language that Burns wrote in has had an historical legacy of 'linguistic discrimination' and stigmatisation and of being devalued in comparison to English.[109] More recently the Scottish government has come to view Scots as an integral part of Scotland's distinctive culture and heritage that can make a positive contribution to a modern image of Scotland:

Scots is a language of contemporary Scotland, and our approach to promoting it must be modern and forward-looking. Scots - in all its varieties - is intrinsic to Scotland's culture and identity. (Linda Fabiani, Minister for Europe, External Affairs and Culture)[110]

This recent revaluing of the Scots language demonstrates how 'minority' or regional languages as markers of identity come to be reinvented where 'former associations with economic backwardness are renounced and their potential as economic advantages emphasised'.[111] The Scottish government's reinterpretation of the Scots language as a cultural asset was turned to economic advantage through Homecoming and its focus on Burns:

As we celebrate Homecoming Scotland 2009 and the 250th anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns, who of course wrote in Scots, the Scottish Government intends to capitalise upon the Scots language as a cultural and economic asset, and will consider how it can be further developed and promoted at home and abroad for social and economic gain. (Linda Fabiani, Minister for Culture)[112]

In such a process of rediscovery of the Scots language, Burns became a renewed exemplar of Scots, as a unique feature of Scottish culture and identity, enhancing Scotland's international profile and distinctiveness. As the First Minister remarked at the launch of Homecoming:

His is the voice of Scotland: *'bold, Independent, unconquer'd and free'*. A voice that, amid times of doubt, helped to sustain - and indeed distinguish - the Scots language and Scottish culture. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[113]

Repudiating, ignoring or whitewashing Burns' links with slavery

Homecoming was seen by some commentators as repudiating or at least largely ignoring Burns and Scotland's association with certain elements of the Scottish diaspora - specifically Scotland's historical links to Jamaica and the slave trade in the sugar industry of the Caribbean. Burns himself wrote of and at one point in his life planned to participate in these 'darker elements' of Scottish history by migrating to Jamaica as a plantation manager.[114] While academia has recently addressed this aspect of his complex attitude and response to slavery, the Scottish government was criticised for perpetuating a form of cultural and economic amnesia with respect to Burns, and Scotland's economic reliance on slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order 'to suit its commercial agenda'.[115] Despite the fact that there are many Scottish descendants in Jamaica, and the Jamaican sugar trade legacy is evident in Glasgow street names, the Scots in Jamaica have been termed 'the forgotten diaspora'.[116]

While Burns' association with Jamaica was not altogether ignored - a Jamaican Burns Night was encompassed in the Homecoming program - the criticism of Homecoming nevertheless points to the potential role of government and its economic agents in whitewashing or at least downplaying less attractive aspects of Burns' reputation to suit an economic agenda.

Burns' perceived 'fit' or otherwise with Homecoming's tourism and international profile objectives meant that his economic value to Scotland was framed and represented in ways that in large part took advantage of his already positive established status and reputation. This had the effect of reiterating and reinforcing his received role in the nation's story and its cultural memory. In this, Burns was aligned with the promotion of Scotland as a unique, innovative and creative nation. These qualities were also the subject of a contemporary makeover in order to accentuate his, and therefore Scotland's, modern and youthful appeal. In the renewed valuing and recognition of the Scots language, Burns' contribution to the image of Scotland also became a 'rediscovered' asset that could be deployed afresh in a contemporary context. His appeal and following in the Scottish diaspora too was perceived as offering economic leverage in what had come to be regarded as an underutilised international market. Through these processes of reiteration, recapture, reinterpretation (and repudiation), the figure of Burns was not only kept 'alive' and updated as an active site of the nation's cultural memory, he was also mapped onto the nation's national interest - its economic viability, international identity and prestige.

The cultural and economic infrastructure of Burns

Economics is an often under examined aspect in the symbolic interpretation and reinterpretation of the nation and national identity, and in the dynamics of cultural memory.[117] In the recent revisioning of Scotland, Homecoming presents a clear example of how a cultural memory figure such as Robert Burns comes to be inscribed and reinscribed into the nation's cultural and economic story. As a symbolic agent in Scotland's economic recovery, his role as an icon of Scottish identity has taken on an explicit economic focus. From this perspective, Burns persists not only as a figure of Scottish *cultural* memory in the twenty first century, but also as a figure of Scottish *economic* memory.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Burns' relationship with commerce, tourism, national identity and international prestige was a feature in the early mapping of his memory in the nineteenth century. But in the twenty first century that has become part of the very functioning of government. Burns is now mapped onto Scotland's national economy, the national interest and Scotland's international reputation in the global market place. The nineteenth century may have claimed him for Scotland and recognised his value as a cultural asset, but the twenty first century has brought forth a national mechanism for that to be translated into a comprehensive multilayered government policy program that can draw upon the full range of economic, cultural, marketing, trade and diplomatic resources that the nation has its disposal.

The Scottish government's intervention in Burns as national economic asset has also further stimulated a wide range of economic agents with a stake in preserving and promoting his memory. His foregrounding in the marketing of Scotland as a modern tourist destination with unique heritage 'pulling power' has affected, what could be described as the cultural and economic 'infrastructure' of Burns in contemporary Scotland. In addition to raising revenue and attracting visitors, the Homecoming enterprise also served to raise his profile; generate a raft of new and redeveloped Burns related products and services; stimulate broad discussion and new activity in the arts, academia, heritage and museum contexts; assist in the strengthening of local and regional town economies, Burns related businesses and projects; and inform subsequent government economic policy and tourism related initiatives.[118]

These direct and indirect 'flow on effects' have arisen not only from the Homecoming tourism project itself, but also from the wider economic, political and cultural environment in which it was initiated. The national economic recovery imperatives were clearly a significant factor, but these were also being addressed within a national climate of a strengthening sense of Scottish national self-worth, optimism, pride and global outlook. The opening of the first Scottish parliament in 300 years in 1999, for example, was at least one significant factor in this resurgence.[119] Prior to Homecoming itself, a shift had also already begun with respect to the cultural and economic infrastructure of Burns. After what is now regarded as a century of neglect during the twentieth century, a renewed interest in Burns began to take hold towards the later part of that century. Over recent decades that renewal of interest has been especially evident in the arts, museum initiatives,

scholarship and publishing. Burns scholarship in particular has benefited from the funding of Burns related research and publishing projects, international networks and research centres. Some of this work is seen as 'a seismic shift in Burns studies'.[120] The Burns heritage infrastructure has also been the focus of significant funding with the construction of the new Robert Burns Birthplace Museum.[121] A new generation of artists, designers, musicians, writers and scholars has also reconnected with Burns as a subject for their work; while Burns' wider and popular youth appeal has increased. Thus, many of the conditions leading up to Homecoming were already in place for a 'fit' between a refreshed and contemporary Burns and the global marketing of a contemporary Scotland. It is these conditions that the next chapters will consider in more detail as a means of examining how they too have contributed to the making and remaking of Burns in contemporary Scotland.

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[1] Salmond quoted in 'Scotland Notes: Homecoming, Burns an' a' that', *ONE Magazine*, 25 May 2009, http://wp.iamone.co.uk/?p=230.

[2] See Zuelow 2007, p143.

[3] Minutes of Proceedings, Parliamentary Business (Scottish Parliament, 25 January 2001).

[4] Official Report, Parliamentary Business (Scottish Parliament, 25 January 2001).

[5] See 'Homecoming bank notes', Scottish Government news release, 14 January 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/news/releases/2009/01/14120810.

[6] 'Launch of Homecoming 2009', Scottish Government news release, 24 January 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Speeches/Speeches/First-Minister/homecoming-launch.

[7] See Ross Bond, David McCrone and Alice Brown 2003, p 373. See also 'National Indicators: Improve Scotland's Reputation', Scottish Government, 1 February 2013, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/Performance/scotPerforms/indicator/reputation.

[8] *Scottish Government International Framework* (Scottish Government 2008). See also *Scotland's International Framework* (Scottish Government 2012).

[9] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 383.

[10] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, pp 373-374, and p 376.

[11] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 373.

[12] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 373.

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[13] Ferguson quoted in 'Burns to be tourist magnet', Scottish Government news release, 5 October 2005, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2005/10/05122914.

[14] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 373 and p 375.

[15] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 377.

[16] See *Scottish Government International Framework*; and *Scotland's International Framework*.

[17] See also *Growth, Talent, Ambition: the Government's Strategy for the Creative Industries* (Scottish Government 2011).

[18] See *Our Place in Time: The Historic Environment Strategy for Scotland* (Scottish Government 2014, p 5 and p 10). See also Fiona Hyslop, Culture Secretary, 'Past, Present and Future: Culture and Heritage in an Independent Scotland', speech delivered at Talbot Rice Gallery, University of Edinburgh, 5 June 2013, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Speeches/Culture-Heritage05062013.

[19] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 379.

[20] Ross, McCrone and Brown 2003, pp 381-382.

[21] See Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 382. See also *Scottish Government International Framework*; and *Scotland's International Framework*.

[22] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 377.

[23] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 372.

[24] *OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2012* (OECD 2012, p 116).

[25] *OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2012*, pp 116-117. See also *Tourism Scotland 2020* (Scottish Tourism Alliance 2012).

[26] See Andrew Frew and Brian Hay 2011, p 68

[27] 'All Roads Lead to Home', VisitScotland news release, 13 May 2013, http://www.visitscotland.org/media_centre/homecoming_2014_launch.aspx.

[28] See 'All Roads Lead to Home'.

[29] *VisitScotland Corporate Plan 2013-2016* (VisitScotland 2014, p 7).

[30] See *The Tourism Prospectus: Investing for Growth* (VisitScotland 2007, p 3).

[31] *Financial Scrutiny Unit Briefing: Tourism in Scotland* (Scottish Parliament, 2 June 2011, p 8). See also *Scottish Tourism The Next Decade: A Tourism Framework for Change* (Scottish Government 2006).

[32] *Scottish Government International Framework*. See also *Diaspora Engagement Plan: Reaching out to Scotland's International Family* (Scottish Government 2010).

[33] 'Diaspora Engagement Plan', Scottish Government news release, 14 September 2010, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2010/09/14111014. The Scottish diaspora also 'plays an important part in constructing Scottish national identity' (Bechhofer and McCrone 2009(b), p 91).

[34] Hyslop quoted in 'World's Largest Burns Conference Opens for 250th Anniversary', University of Glasgow news release, 14 January 2009, http://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2009/january/headline_105694_en.html.

[35] See *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration* (EventScotland 2010, p 6); and Alison Morrison and Brian Hay 2010, p 45.

[36] Ferguson quoted in 'Robert Burns worth £160 million to Scottish economy', Scottish Government news release, 20 May 2005, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2005/05/20134522.

[37] See 'Robert Burns worth £160 million to Scottish economy'.

[38] See *Towards 2009: Robert Burns - National Audit and Economic Impact Study* (Moffat Centre 2005); and 'Robert Burns worth £160 million to Scottish economy'.

[39] See 'Robert Burns worth £160 million to Scottish economy'. See also *The Visitor Economy of Ayrshire: The Present Profile and Future Opportunities* (South Ayrshire Council 2011, p 26).

[40] Ferguson quoted in 'Robert Burns worth £160 million to Scottish economy'.

[41] See *Analysis Report of Homecoming Scotland 2009 Diaspora Events* (Scottish Government 2010, p 1). The *Diaspora Engagement Plan: Reaching out to Scotland's International Family* refers to the Scots diaspora as 'the vast number of people around the world who wish to retain a connection to Scotland', which is also described as the 'affinity' diaspora (*Diaspora Engagement Plan*, p 1 and p 6). See also *Engaging the Scottish Diaspora: Rationale Benefits and Challenges* (Scottish Government 2009, p 4).

[42] See 'Robert Burns worth £160 million to Scottish economy'.

[43] *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration*, p 7.

[44] *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration*, pp 8-9.

[45] See *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration.* See also Morrison and Hay 2010, p 53.

[46] See 'Launch of £1M Events Fund to Encourage Scots to Come Home in 2009', Homecoming Scotland 2009 news release, 26 November 2007, http://www.homecomingscotland2009.com (site discontinued); and 'Update on Homecoming 2009' (South Ayrshire Council, 24 June 2008).

[47] *See Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration*, pp 11-12.

[48] See *Homecoming Scotland 2009: The Story* (VisitScotland 2009).

[49] See *Homecoming Scotland 2009: The Story*. See also *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration*, pp 15-19.

[50] See *Homecoming Scotland 2009: The Story*.

[51] See *EventScotland: Homecoming Scotland 2009 Report* (EventScotland 2010, p 3 and p 18).

[52] See 'Homecoming Kicks Off', Scottish Government news release, 23 January 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/01/22163827; *Homecoming Scotland 2009 Events Guide* (EventScotland 2008); and *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration*. The Robert Burns World Federation (founded in 1885) represents the 250 Burns Clubs worldwide. Its stated objective is 'to advance the education of the public, without the distinction of sex, political or religious opinions, about the life, poetry and works of Robert Burns' (see 'About RBWF', Robert Burns World Federation, http://www.rbwf.org.uk/aboutrbwf).

[53] Salmond quoted in 'Homecoming Kicks Off'.

[54] See 'Homecoming Kicks Off'. See also 'Homecoming branding for Tesco', Scottish Government news release, 17 Jan 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/01/20122832.

[55] See 'Scotland Serves up the World's Famous Burns Supper', Easier Travel, 24 October 2008, http://www.easier.com/57019-scotland-serves-up-the-world-famous-burns-supper.html.

[56] See The World Famous Burns Supper, http://www.burnssupper2009.com (site discontinued).

[57] See 'The Famous Grouse gets into the Spirit of Burns for Homecoming 2009', Scotland Whisky, 29 September 2008, http://www.scotlandwhisky.com/news-and-events; and 'Scotland Sets A New World Record For Burns Night', Homecoming Scotland 2009 news release, 22 January 2009, http://www.homecomingscotland2009.com (site discontinued).

[58] See 'Burns' 250th Anniversary Celebrations Launch Homecoming Scotland 2009', Homecoming Scotland 2009 news release, 16 December 2008, http://www.homecomingscotland2009.com (site discontinued); 'Fantastic Start to Homecoming Scotland 2009', VisitScotland, April 2009, http://visitscotlandtourismmatters.briefyourmarket.com/Newsletters/Tourism-Matters-April-2009/Fantastic-start-to-Homecoming-Scotland-2009.aspx; 'Celtic Connections 2009', Glasgow West End: What's On, 21 October 2008, http://www.glasgowwestend.co.uk/whatson/celtic-connections2009.php; 'Jamaican Burns Night at the Old Fruitmarket, Glasgow', *The Times*, 27 January 2009, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/arts/music/livereviews/article1866858.ece.

[59] See 'Zig-Zag: The Paths of Robert Burns: Major touring exhibition launched as part of Homecoming celebrations', National Library of Scotland news release, 27 October 2008, http://www.nls.uk/news/press/2008/10/zig-zag-the-paths-of-burns; 'Artists inspired by Robert Burns', *BBC News*, 3 April 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/glasgow_and_west/7982332.stm; 'Top artists create their vision of Burns for Homecoming show', *The Scotsman*, 25 February 2009, http://www.scotsman.com/news/top-artists-create-their-vision-of-burns-for-homecoming-show-1-831043. See also *Homecoming Scotland 2009 Events Guide*; and *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration*.

[60] 'Burns Exhibition Opens', Scottish Government news release, 1 December 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/12/01171510.

[61] See *Homecoming Scotland 2009 Events Guide*; and *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration*.

[62] 'Dick Institute hosts Homecoming exhibitions', *Daily Record*, 23 January 2009, http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/.../dick-institute-hosts-homecoming-exhibitions-24.

[63] Reid quoted in 'Dick Institute hosts Homecoming exhibitions'.

[64] Peterkin quoted in 'Poetry in Motion: Burns Festival Gets Underway', *Ayr Advertiser*, 7 April 2009, http://www.ayradvertiser.com/news/ayr/articles/2009/04/07/38159-poetry-in-motion-burns-festival-gets-underway/?mode=print.

[65] Salmond quoted in 'Robert Burns Humanitarian Award 2009 winner: Guy Willoughby founder of Halo Trust', EventScotland news release, 16 May 2009, http://www.eventscotland.org/assets/439.

[66] See 'Burns Monument Centre', Scottish Government news release, 16 May 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/05/16193545.

[67] Salmond quoted in 'Burns Monument Centre'.

[68] Salmond quoted in 'Burns legacy in Homecoming year', Scottish Government news release, 4 September 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/09/07083409.

[69] Russell quoted in 'Burns fans mark monument revamp', *BBC News*, 6 September 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/nol/ukfs_news/hi/newsid_8230000/newsid_8239800/8239831.stm.

[70] The conferences included: *Burns Summer School Dumfries*; *Doon Hame with Burns*; *Robert Burns and the Scottish Diaspora*; *Robert Burns in Global Culture*; *Burns' Language: Then and Now*; *Scots Language* conference*; Sex and the Poet* (StAnza Poetry Festival). In addition, several conferences were held outside of Scotland, including: *Robert Burns in European Culture* (Prague); *Robert Burns in a Transatlantic Context* (Canada); *Robert Burns at 250: Contemporaries, Contexts & Cultural Forms* (USA); *Burns and the Poets* (Oxford).

[71] See 'World's Largest Burns Conference Opens for 250th Anniversary'.

[72] Hyslop quoted in 'World's Largest Burns Conference Opens for 250th Anniversary'.

[73] Salmond quoted in 'StAnza Poetry Festival', Scottish Government news release, 18 March 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/03/18150244.

[74] See 'Robert Burns collected poems in Ukrainian and Scots', *Daily Record*, 12 November 2010, http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/local-news/robert-burns-collected-poems-uk.

[75] Salmond quoted in 'Burns book sheds new light', Scottish Government news release, 30 June 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/06/30082119.

[76] Russell quoted in 'Burns biography wins book prize', *BBC News*, 30 November 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/edinburgh_and_east/8387398.stm.

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[78] The Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA), Scottish Poetry Library, and Learning and Teaching Scotland produced a major Burns teaching resource (see 'Burns 250', SQA news release, http://www.sqa.org.uk/sqa/34573.html). See also 'Song Contest Winners Announced', Burnsong news release, 27 October 2009, http://www.burnsong.org/news/article.php?id=5.

[79] Salmond quoted in 'Burns in Space', University of Strathclyde news release, 9 November 2009, http://www.strath.ac.uk/press/newsreleases/2009/headline_217628_en.html.

[80] See 'Clydesdale Bank to Launch New Banknote Family', Clydesdale Bank news release, 14 January 2009, http://www.cbonline.co.uk/media/news-releases/2009/clydesdale-bank-to-launch-new-banknote-family.

[81] Salmond quoted in 'Clydesdale Bank to Launch New Banknote Family'.

[82] Salmond quoted in 'Shortbread carries the message', Scottish Government news release, 19 December 2008, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2008/12/19080209.

[83] Walker quoted in 'Shortbread carries the message'.

[84] Salmond quoted in 'Homecoming - the Real Thing', Scottish Government news release, 5 June 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/06/homecomingcoke.

[85] Salmond quoted 'Homecoming - the Real Thing'.

[86] See *The Scottish Government's Response to the First Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers* (Scottish Government 2009).

[87] Salmond quoted in 'First Minister's New Year Message', Scottish Government news release, 30 December 2008, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2008/12/29115816.

[88] Salmond quoted in 'Homecoming Scotland on track to deliver success for Scottish tourism', VisitScotland news release, October 2009,

http://www.visitscotland.org/media_centre/homecoming_scotland_on_track.aspx. See also 'Year of Homecoming on track to beat economic target', *Herald Scotland*, 24 November 2009, http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/home-news/year-of-homecoming-on-track-to-beat-economic-target-1.953816.

[89] Homecoming was, however, the subject of public criticism in terms of political opportunism; its economic benefits; its perceived focus on 'white' Anglo-American markets; the commercial 'exploitation' of Burns; and the poet's suitability as an international tourism icon. See, for example, 'Jack McConnell and Alex Salmond at loggerheads over 'SNP hijacking' of Burns celebration', *The Telegraph*, 14 Dec 2008, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scotland/3759576/Jack-McConnell-and-Alex-Salmond-at-loggerheads-over-SNP-hijacking-of-Burns-celebration.html; 'Homecoming's economic impact 'was overestimated'', *BBC News*, 8 September 2010, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-11229465; 'Homecoming Scotland benefits 'hugely exaggerated'', *The Telegraph*, 8 September 2010, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scotland/7990211/Homecoming-Scotland-benefits-hugely-exaggerated.html; 'Token Asian face angers Homecoming critics', *The Times*, 19 December 2008, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/scotland/article2631603.ece; ' 'Token' effort to include Asian face in Homecoming promotion', *Herald Scotland* , 22 Dec 2008, http://www.heraldscotland.com/token-effort-to-include-asian-face-in-homecoming-promotion-1.848797; 'Labour attacks homecoming advert', *BBC News*, 14 April 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/7999044.stm; 'There's no Place Like Home', *Bulletin*, The University Of Edinburgh Staff Magazine, Spring 2009, http://issuu.com/the-university-of-edinburgh/docs/bulletin-spring-09/1; Stana Nenadic, 'History, Culture or Money?', *The Journal*, 20 January 2010, Issue 29, http://www.journal-online.co.uk/article/6221-history_culture_money. 'Robert Burns: satiric, visionary, commercialised', *The Times*, 11 April 2009, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/arts/books/article2454647.ece; 'Relatives say 'don't exploit Burns'', *The Sunday Times*, 1 February 2009, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article147121.ece; 'Poetic injustice?: Fear that Robert Burns has been sidelined in celebrations for his own 250th birthday', *Herald Scotland*, 31 May 2008, http://www.heraldscotland.com/poetic-injustice-1.828787; ''Drunken bigot' Burns a 'bad role model for Scots'', *The Sunday Times*, 4 January 2009, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article141064.ece.

[90] 'Inspirational Year of Celebration Delivers for Scotland', VisitScotland news release, 25 May 2010, http://www.visitscotland.org/media_centre/homecoming_impact.aspx.

[91] See **'**Inspirational Year of Celebration Delivers for Scotland'; *EventScotland: Homecoming Scotland 2009 Report*; *Homecoming Scotland 2009 Economic Impact* (EventScotland 2010); and *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration*.

[92] See *EventScotland: Homecoming Scotland 2009 Report*.

[93] See 'Inspirational Year of Celebration Delivers for Scotland'.

[94] See 'Homecoming Scotland on track to deliver success for Scottish tourism'.

[95] See 'The Famous Grouse Gets into the Spirit of Burns for Homecoming 2009'.

[96] See 'Shortbread carries the message'.

[97] Baldry quoted in 'Homecoming - the Real Thing'.

[98] See 'Inspirational Year of Celebration Delivers for Scotland'; and *Homecoming Scotland 2009 Economic Impact*.

[99] McCann quoted in 'Robert Burns worth £160 million to Scottish economy'.

[100] See *Scottish Tourism the Next Decade: A Tourism Framework for Change* (Scottish Government 2006, p 35).

[101] Salmond quoted in 'Burns Monument Centre', Scottish Government news release, 16 May 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/05/16193545.

[102] Salmond quoted in 'Scotland Notes: Homecoming, Burns an' a' that'.

[103] Robin McAlpine, Head of Public Affairs Universities Scotland, quoted in *Homecoming Scotland 2009: A Year of Celebration*, p 21.

[104] Salmond quoted in '**Homecoming - the Real Thing'.

[105] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 382.

[106] See *Scottish Government International Framework*.

[107] See *The Scottish Diaspora and Diaspora Strategy: Insights and Lessons from Ireland* (Scottish Government 2009).

[108] Salmond quoted in 'St Andrew's Day touched by Burns', Scottish Government news release, 29 November 2008, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2008/12/01135318.

[109] See *Audit of Current Scots Language Provision in Scotland* (Scottish Government 2009, p 2, and pp 31-34). See also 'Scots Language Working Group', Scottish Government news release, 29 October 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/10/29151643; *Report of the Scottish Government's Conference on the Scots Language* (Scottish Government 2009); *Report of the Ministerial Working Group on the Scots Language* (Scottish Government 2010); *Scots Language Working Group Report: Response from the Scottish Government* (Scottish Government 2011).

[110] Fabiani quoted in *Audit of Current Scots Language Provision in Scotland*, p2.

[111] Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003, p 385.

[112] Fabiani quoted in 'Study of Scots Language', Scottish Government news release, 27 January 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/01/27102433. See also 'Homecoming legacy for Scots', Scottish Government news release, 20 June 2009, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2009/07/14171024.

[113] Salmond quoted in 'Launch of Homecoming 2009'.

[114] See Devine quoted in 'There's no place like home'.

[115] See Stephen Mullen 2009, p 10. For accounts of Burns and slavery, see Pittock 2012(b); Carruthers 2009(e); and Leask 2009 and 2011. The issue has also been addressed in artistic terms by the Scottish artist Graham Fagen (see 'Rabbie Burns and real life: The bard's legacy remains as important as ever to Scottish art, as Moira Jeffrey reports', *Herald Scotland*, 20 January 2006, http://www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen/rabbie-burns-and-real-life-the-bard-s-legacy-remains-as-important-as-ever-to-scottish-art-as-moira-jeffrey-reports-1.31427). See also Devine (2012(b), pp 32-55) for a general account of Scotland's relationship with slavery.

[116] See, for example, Geoff Palmer, 'The Forgotten Diaspora', Scotland.org, 1 February 2008, http://www.scotland.org/about/history-tradition-and-roots/features/culture/the-forgotten-diaspora.html; Devine quoted in 'There's no place like home'; ''Drunken bigot' Burns a 'bad role model for Scots''; and 'Tartan and home truths', *The Guardian*, 25 November 2008, http://www.theguardian.com/education/2008/nov/25/centre-study-scottish-diaspora-controversy.

[117] See Bond, McCrone and Brown 2003. This is not to suggest that economic issues do not feature in discussions of national politics and ideologies.

[118] See 'Inspirational Year of Celebration Delivers for Scotland'; and *Homecoming Scotland 2009 Economic Impact*. See also *Diaspora Engagement Plan: Reaching out to Scotland's International Family*; *The Scottish Economic Recovery Plan: Accelerating Recovery* (Scottish Government 2010); *Report of the Ministerial Working Group on the Scots Language*; and *Scots Language Working Group Report: Response from the Scottish Government*.

[119] See Devine 2012(a), p 643. See also *Going Further: The National Strategy for Scotland's Museums and Galleries*: 'At the start of devolution in 1999, Scotland for the first time had an opportunity to independently shape its cultural policy. Culture was high on the agenda at the start of this period and in its first year the Scottish Executive launched a major consultation into a national approach to culture' (Museums Galleries Scotland 2012, p 51).

[120] Carruthers quoted in '£1m windfall brings Robert Burns into the 21st century', *The Scotsman*, 20 February 2011, http://www.scotsman.com/news/163-1m-windfall-brings-robert-burns-into-the-21st-century-1-1502089.

[121] 'In the past ten years, the sector has also benefitted from some significant capital investment into both developing new and enhancing existing facilities. This includes new high-quality developments such as ... the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum' (*Going Further*, p 51). There has been the refurbishment of the Burns Monument and improvements to Burns House Museum (see *MIR Monitoring Statement*, East Ayrshire Council, October 2012, p 21). The annual *Burns an' a' that Festival* was established by the Ayrshire and Arran Tourist Board in 2002 (see 'The Burns an' a' that Festival', East Ayrshire Council, 3 May 2005). See also 'Robert Burns Birthplace Museum', Scottish Government news release, 21 January 2011, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2011/01/21160220; and 'Burns for the bairns', Scottish Government news release, 2 December 2008, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/By-Topic/Q/Topic/376.

4

Remaking the Memory of Robert Burns in Literary Studies

... it can no longer be adequate, or satisfactory, to identify Scottish literature in the chauvinistic way in which it has sometimes been caricatured. It is a 'national' literature, but anything but a 'narrow' one, reaching out beyond the nation-state to a European and transatlantic - even global - reception and sphere of influence. (Ian Brown, Thomas Owen Clancy, Susan Manning and Murray Pittock 2007, p 6)

Ann Rigney has argued that while the cultural impact of writers is usually measured by the number of new editions and sales figures, another alternative is 'to examine the intensity with which their work is replicated in other cultural expressions'.[1] This replication, adaptation and appropriation of writers and their work by other cultural agents is evidence of what she describes as a writer's 'procreativity', that is, the generation of new versions of the writer and his work 'in other people's acts of productive remembrance'.[2] With respect to Robert Burns, this study is chiefly concerned with 'other people's acts of productive remembrance' of the poet and his work, including the various cultural agents that have a stake in preserving and ensuring that his memory is kept alive and the mechanisms through which this occurs. In the previous chapter, consideration was given to the role of government as a key stakeholder in Burns' memory through its policy priorities and public programs. As such, the Scottish government can be seen as a commemorative 'agenda-setting organisation'. Such organisations 'orchestrate memories' and ensure that certain topics rather than others are put on the society's commemorative agenda. They include not only political and economic agents, but also media organisations such as press and television, and other civic organisations such as various kinds of cultural institutions. Through this 'social performance' of memory, 'memorial

practices are taken up in the public sphere', 'enjoy publicity and become salient' and 'hence become collective points of reference'.[3]

One of the agenda setting organisations that constitutes a chief stakeholder in Burns' memory is that of literary studies - the range of activities directed towards to the study, interpretation and dissemination of Burns and his work. As this chapter will discuss, these activities serve to keep the memory of Burns alive, maintaining him as a canonical point to reference while at the same time bringing about new interpretations and understandings. This potential for both maintenance and renewal has been especially evident in the recent resurgence of scholarly interest that is being hailed as 'a new and exciting phase of Burns criticism and scholarship'. This 'new era' is witnessing Burns' return as 'a serious subject for study' through not only his work but also 'his whole cultural afterlife and hinterland'.[4] New readings of the 'crucial terrain in Burns's work and life' are revealing 'a Scottish writer and also a world writer' of international and transnational significance.[5]

This renewed interest and the reinvigoration of Burns scholarship achieved particular prominence during the 250th anniversary of the poet's birth in 2009. New collections of his work, scholarly essays and biographies, commencement of work on a new multivolume edition of his writings, conferences and new research projects were undertaken. Murray Pittock has referred to 2009 as a 'key literary moment' that symbolised in a very public way a significant and positive shift in how Burns was regarded especially on the global stage. In particular, the intense interest in Burns both within Scotland and internationally during 2009 was seen as evidence of how he was 'well on his way back to being a global hero rather than the local icon into which he had begun to decay'.[6] The issue here was not that Burns' popular reputation had diminished, but rather that he had become largely ignored in critical scholarship:

Sadly, though revealingly, by the late twentieth century, for all his continuing international popularity, Burns was generally out of favour with the academic world's critics, professors and historians. (Robert Crawford 2009, p 8)

The new era of Burns scholarship is being marked by a determination to recuperate Burns from those decades of critical neglect. The call is being made to return him to his 'rightful' place and to 'confirm Burns in the front rank of writers of global significance in the Romantic era'.[7] It is a rallying call that also seeks a greater critical

recognition of his role in the social and cultural life of Scotland and beyond. That call is being addressed to those in the field of Burns studies where scholarly concern for Burns 'must globalize', and to Burns scholars who 'all have a responsibility to raise the level of critical debate'.[8]

Such calls for action to recuperate and reclaim a global Burns are not only being translated into practice in terms of new scholarship and research, but also through the establishment of international networks and the use of new media and technologies to bring Burns scholarship to a wider and global audience. These types of critical and scholarly activities are not only setting a new research agenda, but also a new commemorative agenda associated with Burns. In addressing Burns as both a literary and cultural subject, he is being put back on the critical map and being reinvigorated as a scholarly topic of wide ranging and global interest. In doing so, Burns is being mapped onto new critical frameworks that reframe him as a cultural figure of contemporary mainstream relevance. It is how the 'topic' of Burns is being addressed and shaped in such scholarly practices today and the implications for his memory that this chapter will address. In doing so, the chapter seeks to demonstrate how Burns is being re-remembered through new modes of literary engagement.

This discussion of Burns as a memory figure in the literary realm requires a careful delineation of the complex relationship between literature and cultural memory. That delineation is required in order to provide a productive focus on how the field of literary studies - and not just literature - participates in the creation and maintenance of cultural memory associated with Burns. Distinguishing between the role of literature in cultural memory and that of the institutional critical practices that shape how and what literature is remembered, valued, interpreted and disseminated is especially pertinent. If literary studies is understood as a key agent in the institutionalised memory of literature then, as a 'memory institution', it plays an important role in framing the ways in which the remembrance of Burns is conducted and interpreted.

Literary studies as a cultural memory making practice

A number of recent studies have drawn attention to the relationship between literature and cultural memory. As Rigney has emphasised, the relationship is a complex one that goes beyond the analysis of individual works to viewing literature

as an active agent in the processes of cultural remembering.[9] Erll and Rigney suggest that literature is in fact 'an integral part of cultural remembrance' and as such plays a number of distinctive though related roles. These roles comprise: literature as a medium of remembrance; literature as an object of remembrance; and, literature as a medium for observing the production of cultural memory.[10] Briefly put, these roles refer to how literature becomes part of the working memory of a society. Works of literature help produce collective memories by recollecting the past in the form of narratives that shape how the past is understood and remembered. As cultural texts that circulate over time, literature also provides 'an important bridge between generations' becoming a reference point to the past and to what literature has been valued (or neglected and forgotten). In telling stories of the past, literature also 'makes remembrance observable' and provides a window into how the past has been interpreted by writers. Literary texts can also be seen as embodying memories through the presentation of memory in literary works.[11]

These distinctions are focused largely on explaining how literature as 'a memorial medium in its own right' shapes images of the past and brings them into circulation in the form of stories and images.[12] This feature of literature in cultural remembrance, concentrates on the ways in which literature, as a form of artistic expression, work as *media* of cultural memory. As Rigney has noted, literary works participate in 'fixing, transmitting, and transforming memories across time'.[13] As cultural products or artifacts, they stand as 'textual monuments' providing (relatively) fixed points of reference either as 'acts of recollection' about the past or as canonical examples of literary value.[14]

But there is another important feature associated with the role of literature in cultural remembrance. While literary works themselves participate in shaping memories across time, they also 'give rise to (continuously morph into)' many other cultural products that 'recall, adapt, and revise them'.[15] In other words, literary texts do not just work as media of remembrance in their own right. In being taken up and deployed in other media and forms of expression, such as commentaries and criticism, translations into other languages, adaptations to other media such as film and art, and in other discursive genres and performances, literary works participate in a wider social circulation of meanings and memory making. In that wider circulation of meanings, literature can give rise 'to particular action on the part of individuals

and groups' where literary texts and literary figures get taken up in other people's acts of productive remembrance.[16] 'Other people' in Rigney's account includes those who 'recollect' literature and literary figures in 'critical appropriations', such as literary critics and scholars.[17] The new 'readings' that are generated by these appropriations become part of a literary work's and literary figure's cultural 'afterlife'. These readings also shift with the times and 'refract broader cultural changes' that mediate the interpretive frames through which literature is valued, interpreted, circulated and understood.[18]

This perspective on how literature is taken up and remediated by others, and in other forms and processes brings to the fore a useful distinction regarding the relationship between literature and memory that is pertinent to the interest of this chapter. This conceptualisation of literature's role in cultural memory builds on the idea of literature as an 'object' of memory to refer to how literary works are ''remembered' by authors, readers and institutions'.[19] As outlined by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, it is the 'memory *of* literature' (rather than the 'memory *in* literature') that captures how the critical appropriation of literature by social actors and institutions is involved in the creation and maintenance of cultural memory.[20] What is being emphasised here is literature as 'a social system' rather than as a set of texts.[21] As Siegfried Schmidt has commented, concepts of literature emerge from 'highly complicated socio-cultural processes of canonization, socialisation, and ideological orientation'. Literary scholarship, like any other academic discipline, is 'practised by human actors in a social system according to rules and norms, goals and interests - all created and applied by these actors'.[22]

When literature is viewed in this way as a social system, the focus falls on the processes, agents and socio-cultural contexts in which literature is 'productively' remembered. The practices that serve to privilege some literary works or figures in any one society or context is dependent on a number of factors, one of which is the role of cultural institutions in the preservation, promotion and dissemination of literary work. In western societies, a key agent in this process has been what John Guillory refers to as the 'school' - various kinds of educational and academic institutions whose role it is 'to insure (sic) the reproduction of the work, its continual reintroduction to generations of readers'.[23]

One such institution is the field of literary studies. Literary studies plays a key role in the selection and organisation of the literature that will be remembered and passed on. Institutions such as the field of literary studies:

… are necessary to choose a corpus of texts to be remembered from the breadth of available literary texts, and to organize these texts and ensure their being handed down. (Astrid Erll 2011(a), p 75)

In doing so, literary studies partakes in the institutionalised memory of literature. As Erll explains, in the field of literary studies, literature is remembered in 'a socially institutionalized manner'. Within that field, certain institutionalised practices are focused on creating, maintaining and disseminating the social memory of literature, notably through literary canon formation and the construction of literary history. These dual processes are 'central mechanisms on the basis of which the 'memory of literature' is upheld in societies'.[24] Moreover, canon formation, debates and contestations about 'what should be selected and thus remembered', and 'what should be forgotten' are 'inherently concerned with processes of remembering'.[25]

These institutional roles in remembering literature are not simply processes of selection, identification and dissemination. As Trevor Ross has argued, critical and academic institutions play a mediating role in the reproduction and transmission of literature and 'control ... acts of understanding and judgment'.[26] Erll's account also underscores literary studies' mediating role in the social system of literature, highlighting that its selection criteria, representation and interpretation are culturally and historically variable as concepts of identity and the value structures of cultures change over time and context.[27]

It should also be noted here that the social memory of literature is not the exclusive purview of academic institutions and the 'professionals'. The formation of canonicity (literary or otherwise) that Aleida Assmann has outlined, draws attention to the 'ever-new presentations and performances', through which texts, objects and figures of value are circulated and communicated, 'continuously recycled and re-affirmed'.[28] The recent 'canon debates' have also emphasised that the cultivation of the literary canon is shaped by a 'multitude of factors instrumental in its formation and sustenance'.[29] This multitude of factors has been characterised by David Fishelov as 'accumulating dialogues', that is, the quantity and diversity of cultural conversations

that a literary work is able to generate.[30] Mirroring Rigney's concept of literary 'procreativity', Fishelov argues that the canonisation of literary reputation comes about through various types of engagement, 'echoes' and dialogues with readers, authors, translators, adaptors, artists, scholars and critics. Not only literary reviews, publication figures and literary prizes, but also literary scandals, sequels and adaptations, parodies and satires in art, theatre, film and music demonstrate the range of dialogues that literature may generate.[31]

Similarly acknowledging that canon formation is multifaceted, Herbert Grabes refers to the 'high' literary canon as determined by the professionals, and the canon of 'popular' literature that is determined by readers (and the market place).[32] This concept of 'popular' canonicity is one that Rigney alludes to in describing how literature enjoys 'social canonicity', drawing on David Brewer's concept of 'that unwritten list of texts' that is 'kept alive in the hearts and minds of myriad individual readers from generation to generation'.[33] Rigney also draws attention to how literary works are subject to 'banal canonicity', as distinct from the 'official' literary canon, through their being 'recalled' in other forms and media, such as film and theatre adaptations and in digital/online forms.[34]

The social system of literature is thus made up of various practices and agents, not all of which are institutionalised or determined by academic/scholarly interests. Nevertheless, as Guillory and Grabes point out: since canons can only be of some value for the functioning of cultural memory when they are handed on from generation to generation, educational institutions, for example, 'are of primary importance in this process'.[35] But equally important, outside of the 'teaching canon', are the activities of literary critics, literary scholars and historians, reviewers, editors, and publishers who also contribute to the remembrance of literary works and literary figures.

Rigney has argued that literary criticism, for example, is 'a distinct factor in the dynamics of cultural memory'.[36] She refers to literary critics as not only 'custodians', but also as 'arbiters' and directors of the social memory of literature. As 'custodians', the attention given by the professionals to literary works and literary figures serves to retain them in the working memory of a culture or society as canonical points of reference. But at the same time, the activities of literary critics, biographers and

scholars also provide opportunities for the reinterpretation and recalibration of literature and literary figures. For example, the 'reproduction' of literature in new editions and new translations 'constitutes a public act of recollection' that not only allows the work to start circulating again, but also allows it 'to cross over into new cultural areas'.[37] Moreover, as an 'object of critical appropriation', literature is subject to new readings and interpretations in the contexts of criticism, commentary, literary discourse and scholarship. Together with new editions and translations, new biographies of writers, new interpretations of their work and their milieu, and the uncovering and making available of new material; the recontextualising of the contemporary relevance of works and authors from the perspective of current concerns and 'interpretive frames' also contributes to the recalibration of existing literary interpretations.[38] New readings of literature and literary figures also come about through their appropriation and remediation in new forms and technologies that represent not only a change in medium but also a change in social function affecting the ways in which literature is received, interpreted and engaged in by readers and audiences.[39]

These activities on the part of the professionals represent an 'active intervention in cultural memory'.[40] As one of the many platforms through which literature is remembered and remediated, the field of literary studies serves as a cultural context in which criticism, scholarship and teaching can 'work together against cultural amnesia by making old writings 'legible' to the next generation'.[41] In these activities, the 'appropriation' and 'cultivation' of old texts in new terms serves to 're-inscribe' them 'so that they become readable - in the sense of worth reading - again'.[42] The same might be said for the 'appropriation' and 'cultivation' of literary figures, such as Robert Burns, who is being 're-inscribed' and made 'readable' again for a contemporary and global audience through new interpretations and in new modes of research and dissemination activity.

This is especially notable in the current climate where renewed interest in Burns as scholarly subject is taking effect within a domain that is actively championing Burns studies on the world stage. The intense scrutiny and reappraisal of Burns is also being partnered by a shift in the ways in which that critical endeavour is being conducted. It is occurring not only through collaboration amongst scholars, across institutions and across borders, but also importantly across new technologies and

social media platforms. This is not only extending the reach of Burns within the professional academic community but also beyond it. Burns studies is increasingly seeking engagement with a wider constituency that reaches further than those with a professional or critical/academic interest. It is also taking into account the variety of non-literary forms in which Burns and his work has been represented and remembered. In this, the field of Burns studies is moving beyond a focus on his literary canon and its professional cultivation to a recognition of, and participation in, the 'social' and 'banal' processes of its formation. Indeed the activities of the Burns professionals can be seen as an attempt to build a 'community of memory' through a shared appreciation of Burns, his work and his broader cultural reception and interpretation.[43]

Championing Burns studies: 'an active intervention in cultural memory'

In a recent essay published on a popular Scottish interest website, Murray Pittock sets out four key elements of a 'campaign to restore Burns securely to his proper place as a poet of remarkable complexity'. Noting that with some exceptions the academic world has let Burns down since the mid twentieth century, he calls upon the specialists and the 'wider Burns community' to work together to put things right. A key goal in securing Burns' reputation anew is to 'expand the limits of literary criticism' through critical approaches that represent new points of departure in the assessment of the poet. In particular, he argues, Burns needs to be reinserted into a British literary canon in full appreciation of his relationship to English (and Irish) Romantics. Secondly, a more sophisticated critical approach to his use of language is required to 'protect Burns from the categorization of 'labouring class poet'', and which recognises the richness, depth and deftness of his vocabulary and linguistic choices. Thirdly, 'a more robust textual musical and historical encounter' with his songs is needed. The fourth element in this restoration of Burns' reputation is the development of an understanding of the writer as 'uniquely and internationally memorialised by non textual representation'.[44]

These points of new departure in the assessment of Burns are deemed necessary to ensure his recuperation 'on a lasting basis'. They reflect not only shifts in the direction of textual endeavours, but also a more critical approach to Burns' music. This new Burns studies agenda is also bringing particular attention to his cultural

reception in material and social forms. More broadly, it represents a concerted effort towards locating Burns as a global poet, not only as a Scottish one. Recuperating Burns as a global poet means not only recognising and paying attention to how his poetry 'has been crossing frontiers for two hundred years', but also 'his biography, language, sentiments and the objects, memorials and statues made in his name'. In this, as Pittock argues, Burns has particular contemporary relevance as 'a great poet for an era of globalization' and 'we need new ways to tell the world just how important he has been to it'.[45]

This emphatic ambition to restore Burns to a poet of international significance and of the development of 'new ways to tell the world', is being led and supported by the Centre for Robert Burns Studies at the University of Glasgow in Scotland. Established in 2007, this unique centre has a mission statement that makes this role quite explicit. In broad terms the centre's purpose is to act as a centre of excellence in the 'development of research, scholarship and teaching in the area of Robert Burns, his cultural period and related literature'.[46] The impact of Burns as a global cultural icon is also a major part of the centre's research agenda:

As well as his work, the world has remained fascinated with Burns in other ways which makes him a huge cultural icon, a phenomenon in itself that is worthy of long and deep investigation, and the new Centre will make a contribution to its understanding. (Gerard Carruthers, Co-Director of the Centre for Robert Burns Studies)[47]

The centre's wider strategic orientation is focused on its leadership and coordination role as an international hub in supporting and encouraging Burns studies across the globe. As part of this remit, the centre's activities are directed towards fostering links, collaborative engagement, research and exchange with other institutions, scholars and students in the UK and internationally. Through these and other 'outreach' initiatives to the wider Burns community, the centre aims is 'to broaden interest in Robert Burns Studies', and to encourage Burns studies through 'publications, seminar series, colloquia, conferences, performance events and other meetings' within the UK and globally.[48]

Underpinning this international focus is a managed network of institutions, scholars, Burns Clubs and projects that seeks to raise 'our understanding of the nature and scale of Burns' international profile and influence' and 'to change our understanding

of the critical importance of Robert Burns'. This Global Burns Network acts as an overarching arrangement providing policy direction and a co-ordination mechanism to the centre and its network partners' work in Scotland, England, Ireland, and in other countries such as, Spain, the Czech Republic, France, Germany and Canada. Together with the involvement of the Robert Burns World Federation, the specific goals of this global network are directed towards examining the impact of Burns in global culture, and encouraging and disseminating research findings in the following areas:

- the reception of Burns in other literatures and cultures
- the impact of Burns on images of Scotland in these cultures
- the cultural and social presence of Burns: statues, Burns Clubs, Burns Suppers and other Burns celebrations, and their roles in the poet's continuing international influence
- and the role of the worldwide Scottish diaspora.

An overriding ambition is to investigate the reasons behind the huge disparity in critical interest in and regard for Burns before and after 1945.[49]

This networked approach to Burns studies is not only a mechanism for fruitful international collaboration. Its explicit and structured approach to promote and disseminate Burns studies across the globe can be seen as an active intervention in the cultural memory, not only of Burns, but also of the field of Burns studies (and literary studies). As an institutionalised mechanism for reenergising, refocusing and recapturing the memory of Burns in an international context, this new era in Burns studies is working 'against cultural amnesia' through its campaign to recuperate Burns by making old writings 'legible' to the next generation. Its expressed determination to promote Burns studies, change critical understandings, shift research interest to new areas of Burns' cultural influence, and to investigate and review the processes of Burns' critical reception, also points to what Erll refers to as a 'disciplinary self-reflection'. In this sense, the field of Burns studies 'observes its own activity' in processes of 'retrospective insight, representation and interpretation'.[50] In other words, those engaged in the field of Burns studies are not only concerned with texts and their interpretation - that is, with the interpretation of literature - but also with how the field of study itself has been and is continuing to be

shaped. This disciplinary self-reflection is revisiting and reinterpreting its own past - re-remembering not only Burns in new critical terms - but also re-remembering the terms and conditions within which critical appraisals of him have and are being undertaken. Importantly, that re-remembering is taking the topic of Burns into new cultural arenas that expand the critical horizons of a Scottish and literary Burns to one that remakes Burns as a locus of contemporary, global and 'beyond text' interest and value.

A 'seismic shift in Burns studies'

These aspirations and new directions in the conduct of Burns studies are being implemented in a range of projects that are linked to or operate through this global network of interest. The revisioning and promotion of Burns as poet of global significance is a theme that runs through all these projects that has been given particular (public) emphasis through the staging of a number international conferences and seminars in Scotland, England, Ireland, Europe, the USA and Canada. During 2009, the 250th anniversary of the birth of Burns, the *Robert Burns 1759-2009* conference brought speakers to Glasgow from across the world to discuss topics such as Transatlantic Burns, Burns and Brazil, Italian Burns, Burns in nineteenth century America, Burns and Armenia, Burns and Australia, Burns and Ireland, Burns and France, and Burns and the mind of Europe. In that year, many other international conferences were held that addressed Burns' reception and relationship to the cultures of countries outside of Scotland: *Robert Burns in Global Culture*; *Robert Burns in European Culture*; *Robert Burns and Ireland: New Readings on Old Relationships*; *Burns and the Poets*; *Robert Burns in a Transatlantic Context*; *Robert Burns at 250: Contemporaries, Contexts and Cultural Forms*; and *Robert Burns and the Scottish Diaspora*.

In addition to conferences such as these, a raft of new publications in 2009 and soon after located Burns in global cultures and also within British, international and transnational critical perspectives: *Fickle Man: Robert Burns in the Twenty First Century*; *The Edinburgh Companion to Robert Burns*; *Robert Burns in Global Culture*; *Robert Burns and Pastoral: Poetry and Improvement in Late 18th century Scotland*; *Burns and Other Poets*; *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*; and *The Reception of Robert Burns in Europe*. The themes and topics in these publications

have also been evidenced in articles in scholarly journals and, as will be discussed further below, published and disseminated more widely in non-professional forums.

These conferences and publications, essays and articles that 'venture into a new sphere', reflect the adoption of new critical frames in recontextualising the relevance of Burns and his work from the perspective of current concerns. Burns is being reinterpreted through contemporary frames such as post-colonialism, gender, transnationalism, globalisation, diaspora, and the dynamics of cultural memory in both literary and broader cultural terms. Burns is not only being reinterpreted through these frames, he is also being promoted as 'a paradigmatic exemplar of literary celebrity' and theoretical tool for forging new understandings of eighteenth century poetry, the Enlightenment, Romanticism, transatlantic links, the politics of gender and slavery, the relationship between literary reputation and material and performance culture, the nature of national identity and of literary studies.[51]

A recent American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies conference, for example, reflects these developments in the reinterpretation of Burns and the disciplinary self-reflection that marks the current engagement with him. Papers were called for that 'offer new critical perspectives on Burns and on Scottish Studies in general'. The conference questions that were to be addressed included:

- How, for example, might transatlantic studies reconfigure our readings of Burns and his influence abroad?
- How might globalization studies realign our understanding of Burns as the national poet of Scotland?
- What perspectives can gender studies offer on Burns' hypermasculinity?
- How does Burns challenge our notions of the history of literary studies?[52]

Another recent example of these shifts in Burns studies was the 2009 *Robert Burns in a Transatlantic Context* conference hosted by the Centre for Scottish Studies at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada. The conference and the collection of essays that followed in 2012 were noted as a response to the recent surge of interest in transatlantic studies. The conference sought to 'employ emergent concepts from this new field in order to analyze Burns' uses in the Americas'. It also identified itself as a transatlantic process in its own right, drawing scholars from Scotland, the United States and Canada together to reflect on 'the phenomenon of

Robert Burns in transatlantic culture'. The key conference themes considered the publication and circulation of Burns work; his reception and impact on the cultures of Canada, the United States, and Central and South America; the cultural uses made of Burns today (in the form of Burns Clubs, Burns Suppers, Tartan Days); and the relationship between the Scottish diaspora and other diasporas. By focusing on Burns from the perspective of transatlantic studies, the critical agenda was not only one of interpreting his dissemination and reception in the Americas. It was also a critical platform from which to 'advance the fields of eighteenth century studies and Scottish studies'.[53]

The publication that followed, *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, also sought to reinforce and demonstrate Burns' 'suitability as a subject for the rapidly expanding field of transatlantic studies'.[54] As the first collection of essays to consider the subject of Burns' dissemination and reception in the Americas, its editors suggested that Burns and his work were 'a particularly useful means by which transatlantic scholars can trace the detailed dissemination of culture as it crosses and recrosses the Atlantic'.[55] This 'new approach in Burns studies' was intended to revise 'critical perceptions of Burns's work, connecting it not only to local and national concerns, but also to the transatlantic circulation of ideas':

A transatlantic focus in Burns studies can work to encourage a reconceptualization of Burns - and of the Scotland of his time - within the wider processes of globalization that were being renegotiated in the wake of the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution, and the forging of the Second British Empire. (Leith Davis, Holly Faith Nelson and Sharon Alker 2012, p 6)[56]

These recent conferences and publications also mark the shift in scholarly attention towards his non-literary uses in Scotland and in other international contexts. The shaping of his reputation globally and his impact on the cultures and social life of other countries is being critically recognised through attention to the performative and material manifestations of Burns. The role of Burns Clubs, Burns Nights and Suppers, Burns festivals, memorials and statues, souvenirs and commodities have become the focus of many areas of endeavour in the field of Burns studies. This critical interest in the study of a wider cultural reception has been described as having 'enormous potential' and is bringing other disciplines to the field of Burns

studies, which are seen as 'complementary, broadening and clarifying the scope and significance of Burns's life and work'.[57] Critical attention is now being paid to the 'explicitly manufactured images of the poet' and his representation in the visual arts, sculpture, architecture, theatre, tourism and the heritage industry, the media and cyberspace.[58] A number of these investigations are focusing on the relationships between literary culture and material culture, literary reputation and cultural memory, such as the *Robert Burns: Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909* project (discussed further below). That project's associated conference, *The Object of Poetry*, examined the interconnection between literary reception and popular memory and the ways in which material culture (fine art, sculpture and architecture, relics, souvenirs and domestic artifacts) can be used as 'an effective tool in studying the reception history of a text or an author'.[59] As the conference report noted, the study of the commemoration of literary icons 'represents vast and exciting opportunities for interdisciplinary research'.[60]

Burns studies is not only expanding to encompass a multidisciplinary field, its audience is also being expanded to address a general readership. Many of the scholarly publications referred to above are directed to 'as wide a readership as possible'.[61] The professionals are being situated as Burns studies 'ambassadors', whose role is to bring 'learning from experts, academics, scholars and critics to the general reader'.[62] As the author of the first major twenty first century biography of Burns explains in his introduction to the book:

Addressed to an international audience, it does not assume detailed knowledge of his work or circumstances. It aims simply to offer a clear, manageable account of his life which gives some indication of what made him a great poet. (Robert Crawford 2009, p 11)

In that role, the experts are also participating in the dissemination of research and commentary through a wider range of communications vehicles that go beyond scholarly journals, textual volumes and essay collections to embrace more popular forms. Academic conferences, for example, increasingly incorporate a range of public or 'community' events and performances.[63] Commentary about Burns, discussion of new research and new projects, conferences, funding initiatives and directions in the field of Burns studies have a notable and regular presence in mainstream print, radio and television, social media and in general interest websites

associated with Scotland and Scottish culture, such as the *Robert Burns Lives!* page on the Electric Scotland website, and the Robert Burns World Federation website and its publication the *Burns Chronicle*. As noted on the Centre for Robert Burns Studies website:

Since it was established in July 2007, the Centre's conferences, high-profile performance events, publications and research excellence have ensured plenty of media and press attention.[64]

This move towards an engagement with a wider general public in Burns studies is also seeking to reconfigure and perhaps to redefine the nature of Burns scholarship itself by actively encouraging and admitting a wider constituency of interest into the process. It is not only the professionals who are being called upon to engage in the campaign to recuperate Burns, but also those outside of academia including those whose interest lies in the social and performative aspects of Burns through such avenues as Burns Clubs and Suppers and other material forms of his representation that have been largely sidelined, disparaged or ignored in his critical appreciation.[65]

The global invitation to join this new Burns community of interest is being conducted through communications and research engagement platforms that seek to involve the Burns 'enthusiasts' directly in research activities. This opening up of Burns scholarship to a wider audience is one of the key objectives of the *Editing Robert Burns for 21st Century* project at Glasgow's Centre for Robert Burns Studies. Described as 'the first complete scholarly edition' of Burns' work, this long-term project will bring together, not only newly edited editions of his poetry and songs, but also all of his other personal writing including his letters and journals. In total, 12 volumes including a collection of critical and scholarly essays are planned over 15 years. As a memory making endeavour, the work has been characterised in a news report as 'the defining collection for the next century', with one of its editors referring to it as a 'major landmark' of 'European and global significance'.[66] As one Burns scholar from the University of South Carolina has commented, the new collected edition of Burns' work 'should allow scholars current and future to build on the history of Burns scholarship':

This whole project represents not just a coming of age with regard to the previous growth in Burns scholarship, but also represents the necessary step for Burns scholarship to continue. (Patrick Scott, Distinguished Professor Emeritus, University of South Carolina)[67]

The project director, Gerard Carruthers, has commented that the task represents 'a seismic shift in Burns studies' that will 'assert Burns's status as a major Romantic-period artist alongside the likes of William Wordsworth and John Keats'.[68] That seismic shift is also reflected in the nature of the editing process that will not be operating 'in a hermetically sealed academic vacuum'.[69] The project has established an interactive website that provides not only information, updates and videos on the project's progress, it serves as social media networking site to encourage interaction between the project team and the wider Burns community:

With ever-increasing information and digital media at our fingertips, the new website is a place where the wider Burnsian interest group and the public, together with Glasgow University Academics, can harness the global interest in Robert Burns. We hope this will lead to further discussion of the bard and his works; the conversation can now become very exciting. (Gerard Carruthers)[70]

Through the project's website and Editors' blog, and its online Twitter, YouTube, iTunes, and Facebook links, the project is seeking to 'build a community of interest, reaching well beyond the academy' to enhance the collective appreciation of Burns. One of its aims is to 'make this community more aware of the intellectual choices lying behind the final ... edition of the works of Robert Burns'.[71] That community of interest is also being invited to 'collaborate in the collection and exchange of information' about Burns:

… the 'Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century' editorial team has been considering new ways of engaging the worldwide community of Burns scholars and enthusiasts in the editorial process. We will use this blog to share some of the editorial decisions that we make, and to ask for your response. It's here that you will be able to interact with the 'Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century' editorial team by commenting on Burns facts and project-related information, and perhaps even helping us out with one or two Burns-related mysteries or dilemmas. (Gerard Carruthers)[72]

This 'new way of editing texts' is also changing the ways in which Burns and his work are experienced. The edited collection is going beyond the printed page and

incorporating digital media as part of its online development. For example, newly commissioned performances of Burns' songs by contemporary musicians are being produced and uploaded to the website 'to support the edition aurally'.[73] They are intended to 'present a sound world of Burns's own day', that will open up 'Burns's musical world to the wider public'.[74]

Burns: recalled and recaptured

The opening up of Burns scholarship to the wider public of Burns enthusiasts and amateurs is also a feature of the 'beyond text' project, *Robert Burns: Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909*, hosted by Glasgow and conducted jointly with the University of Dundee. This project represents one of the key developments in the critical appreciation of Burns through its focus on the role of material culture in shaping his reputation and canon. It examines the memorialisation of Burns in the form of statues and monuments, and through the souvenirs and domestic products that were produced after his death throughout the nineteenth century.[75]

Together with its brief to examine how his commemoration in material culture impacted on the way his poetry was received, the project also sets out to document the full range of Burns' memorialisation through objects and public monuments worldwide. In this task, the project team has drawn upon the collections and expertise of academic and non-academic partners in the culture and heritage sector, Burns museums, private collectors and members of the Robert Burns World Federation.[76] The project's website provides the details and digitised images of that documentation online. It is intended to serve as an 'evidence base' and permanent resource for consultation and research by Burns scholars and enthusiasts, and represents the first time that such material has been brought together and made openly available. It is also an ongoing evolving collection that seeks the response and input from the general public:

The project team welcome feedback from viewers of the online Robert Burns memorial database and the taxonomy. We are also happy to receive further information and images on any of the memorials and private artefacts listed within the project website, and also on those memorials and smaller objects which commemorate Robert Burns which are not currently included on our website.[77]

While the project is directed towards documenting and analysing the ways in which material culture creates, preserves and interacts with the cultural memory of Burns, its own activities represent an example of memory making within the institution itself. The creation of a digital archive of the material culture associated with the commemoration of Burns, 'recalls' those objects from the past and brings them back into contemporary circulation as objects of cultural interest and import. These items that have been largely neglected, forgotten, disregarded or ignored as objects of scholarly interest have, in Aleida Assmann's terms, been 'passively forgotten' - not materially destroyed but fallen out of 'the frames of attention, valuation and use'.[78] As such, they have been 'situated halfway between the canon and forgetting'.[79] Prior to their recent critical 'rediscovery', they had, in the critical realm, become 'de-contextualised' and 'disconnected' from their former (nineteenth century) frames, which had 'authorized them or determined their meaning'.[80] The 'beyond text' project and other similar recent work can be seen as an attempt to 'recover', and explain those 'former frames which had authorized them or determined their meaning'. Now being re-remembered in Burns studies, those objects are being shifted from the discipline's 'passively stored reference memory' to its 'working memory' and thereby opening up those objects 'to new contexts' and 'new interpretations' through the critical attention given to them.[81] What had been until recently discounted or neglected as relevant to the appreciation and assessment of Burns and his work, has come to be made relevant again. Becoming part of the working memory of Burns studies, such material can now provide, what the project describes as, 'an invaluable evidence base' for analysis of 'the reception, reputation and canon' of Burns, and further, of other writers.[82]

A similar process of recalling, recapturing and recontextualising Burns can be seen in the editorial task associated with *Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century*. Described as literary detective work, the project seeks to 'trace and gain access', to recover and return to the Burns canon those 'lost' manuscripts that lie hidden in private hands or whose traces are only to be found as entries in sales catalogues.[83] Identifying and differentiating between 'authentic' and the substantial amount of forged material (and correcting misplaced or false attribution) is also a major part of this effort to recall a more accurate and comprehensive canon of Burns' work. The 'culture of fraud surrounding the poet' and other aspects in the fate of his texts and

manuscripts is part of the editorial undertaking to understand the broader social/cultural context in which Burns and his work operated.[84] It is also an endeavour on the part of the professionals to recalibrate the ways in which Burns and his work is 'authorised' into or out of the Burns canon.

Across Burns studies in general there is increased interest in the relationships between Burns' 'official' published canon of work that has been critically sanctioned, and his 'unofficial canon' of published work in the form of mass marketed popular forms, such as eighteenth and nineteenth century chapbooks and song sheets. Similarly, critical attention is being paid to what has been described as his 'reserved' canon - those works that were not widely published, such as politically sensitive pieces or work that was overtly sexual in nature.[85] These aspects of Burns' work that have hitherto remained largely outside of the attention of the critical realm, are being recaptured in a process of re-canonisation of Burns and his work. This is also being applied to what might be described as his 'neglected' canon, that is, his extensive personal writings. One of the first volumes from the *Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century* project, for example, will focus on such material: his letters, commonplace books, tour journals, prefaces, correspondence in newspapers and other short prose works. Described as 'a milestone in Burns scholarship' that 'fills a major gap in our knowledge of the poet and his world', this work is intended to bring new 'insight into the poet's creative process, as well as containing unique drafts of many of his most important poems and song'.[86] This will be the first time that such material has been brought together in an edited collection that places Burns' personal writings in its eighteenth century social and cultural context. As its editor remarks on the project website, these aspects of Burns work have:

… never before been presented to the public in edited form. That's to say, although most of the items have been published before, they've never been gathered together in one volume with an introductory essay, headnote and full annotations, connecting each to the poet's life, poetry, and correspondence. (Nigel Leask)[87]

The recovery of such material and setting it in context is also being applied to Burns' songs. As the editor of one of the new Burns music volumes notes on the project's website, previous editorial work on Burns' songs extracted them from the musical collections for which they were originally created.[88] Revisiting and relocating his

songs in the 'performance and publishing context' of their time 'has yet to be fully addressed in a scholarly edition':[89]

Presenting Burns's songs as they appeared in the Scots Musical Museum and then in Thomson's Original Scottish Airs is unique in that our edition will bring together Burns's lyrics and full original musical sources for the first time. This contextualisation is crucial to our understanding, not just of Burns's lyrical prowess but his major work as a collector and amender of traditional songs. (Kirsteen McCue)[90]

Burns' role in the collecting and amending of songs goes to the heart of what has been a largely unresolved question regarding his musical canon and his role in shaping the Scottish song tradition through his work for the *Scots Musical Museum* (and Thomson's *Original Scottish Airs*). As Pittock points out:

Until the 1960s, Burns was credited with the authorship of an increasing number of songs in the *Museum*, until almost 40% of its 600 songs were attributed to him. At the same time, it has been recognized that many of the questions surrounding the status of Burns' authorship are in reality unresolved. (Murray Pittock)[91]

In the new work, the question of Burns' authorship of songs will be addressed in 'a fully annotated research edition of the *Museum's* 600 songs'. It will examine the background and development of that collection and, 'through an archaeology of known eighteenth-century variants, seek to establish which songs were by Burns, which almost by him, which edited by him and which he collected'. [92] According to Pittock, this analysis may result in some Burns songs being taken out of the canon, or 'we may end up with a much more complex and politicized history of Burns' songs, which affect the way we read them and the poet'. [93] Through this new work in Burns studies, the reinterpretation and recontextualisation of his songs 'could change the Burns canon for ever'.[94]

Guarding Burns

But opening up or changing the Burns canon can be fraught with difficulty. The guardianship of his memory in the literary field is actively monitored, debated and contested. Amongst the professionals themselves, the campaign to recuperate Burns and raise the level of critical debate has perhaps not surprisingly directed some of its attention to what are judged to be the critical and scholarly weaknesses of recent (and

past) interpretations. As the editors of a recent volume of essays on Burns remark, 'many academics have joined the queue of misty-eyed worshipers' and 'swallow things whole that they should be interrogating':

Fickleness and fecklessness have sometimes been joined by fraudulence in 'Burns Studies', a removed piece of text here, a de-contextualised passage there, the ignoring of the full evidence everywhere, and we have the Burns that *I* want. (Johnny Rodger and Gerard Carruthers 2009(b), pp 9-10)

The same editors refer to how, more than two hundred years after his death, 'discussions over the value and legacy of Robert Burns can still be controversial'. By way of example, they cite how the essays in their volume have provoked 'some public outrage, and even expressions of warning - not to say also, threats - about the danger of opening 'unorthodox' discussions about Burns in the 21st century'.[95]

Together with numbers of essays such as these, journal articles and conference papers that seek to debunk the myths and 'misinterpretations', there has been a series of very public criticisms of particular reinterpretations of Burns in recent scholarship. A most notable example has been a long running and very public controversy surrounding the publication of a new work that claimed to have discovered several 'lost poems' by Burns. Described as the 'notorious' *Canongate Burns* edition, it became 'a *cause célèbre* of modern Scottish publishing'.[96] While not all Burns scholars were critical of the work, the negative views of leading Burns academics were published in journals, books, volumes of essays and websites, and were reported in the Scottish and English press.[97] These news stories highlighted the issue as a 'feud' between academic rivals, reporting on their claims and counter claims, and also canvassing the opinions of other Burns scholars:

'Rabbie without a cause? Did Robert Burns lose his radical edge? A furious row has broken out between academic rivals over what belongs in the canon of the Immortal Memory' (*The Observer*, 20 January 2002).[98]

'Burns feuding hits new low' (*The Scotsman*, 9 March 2003).[99]

'Films and books on Burns 'distort his legacy' Academic blasts Burns industry's 'false mythology' ' (*Herald Scotland*, 11 September 2005).[100]

'Academics clash with amateur scholar over Burns's legacy' (*The Times*, 23 January 2009).[101]

''And then we sever': battle over the bard rumbles on' (*Times Higher Education Supplement*, 29 January 2009).[102]

'Bitter spat between feuding Burns scholars threatens to overshadow Year of Homecoming' (*The Scotsman*, 4 January 2009).[103]

In a journal essay critique of the work's 'less than rigorously worked through evidence', the controversial research was condemned as 'an embarrassment in the face of the great developments in Burns critical and textual scholarship over the past seventy years'.[104] In what amounted to a defence of Burns studies (and Scottish literary culture) against poor scholarship, the work was judged to have done 'a serious disservice to Burns studies and to Scottish culture and literature generally'.[105] Other academics were called upon to participate in the adjudication of the work, since 'not to do so risks exposing Burns studies to ultimate ridicule'.[106]

Another Burns specialist commented that the 'furore' over the 'radical' edition made working on Burns 'confusing and sometimes perilous':

The impact of their questionable scholarship and its turbulent reception has threatened to ruin efforts to build a nuanced case for Burns's radicalism which rescues him from those many monarchists, imperialists, staunch British Unionist supperers, and others who over the centuries have controlled - and sometimes still seek to control - his posthumous reputation. (Robert Crawford 2009, p 10).

In a different context, and in response to a high profile English television commentator Jeremy Paxman's remark that Burns was an author of 'sentimental doggerel', the guardians of Burns' reputation were quick to come to the poet's (and Scotland's) defence in the media.[107] One Burns scholar responded: 'This is absolute nonsense, and only someone who has never read Burns could say that'.[108] In a more expansive feature article in defence of Burns, he dismissed Paxman's remark as misplaced national prejudice:

Burns is a social satirist of forensic precision whose interrogation of his subject matter could teach Jeremy Paxman a great deal. Paxman should read and learn from a master of sympathy and satire. Burns ought to be among the proudest part of Paxman's Scottish and British

cultural heritage rather than the object of crude national prejudice that is simply misplaced. (Gerard Carruthers, 14 August 2008)[109]

A spokesman for the Robert Burns World Federation suggested that Paxman was not only doing himself a disservice, but also Burns and Scotland:

For Paxman to take a broad brush to somebody like Burns is really doing the bard a disservice, Scotland a disservice, and a disservice that reflects badly on himself … He will long be remembered after Jeremy Paxman has long been forgotten. (Murdo Morrison, 14 August 2008)[110]

One year later, when the historian David Starkey referred to Burns as a 'deeply boring provincial poet' from a 'feeble little nation' on a BBC television program, the viewing public and Burns scholars were outraged.[111] A Burns expert publically repudiated Starkey's characterisation of Burns by suggesting that his comments were 'stupid'. Referring to Burns as Scotland's bard, the scholar also defended Burns on the grounds that Starkey's comments were 'typical of a recent strain of English nationalism' that targeted Burns 'to express some form of anti-Scottishness'. Intimating that this attitude towards Burns was England's loss rather than any reflection on the quality of Burns, he took the opportunity to reinforce Burns' worldwide following:

I don't know why this is the case, but it is clear that his poetry is not widely heard in England. Certainly, people in America, Russia, here in Scotland and around the world hear Burns differently and have great enthusiasm for him. (Robert Crawford, 24 April 2009)[112]

These debates and contestations over how Burns should be remembered serve to highlight what Richard Crownshaw has referred to as the 'discourses, agencies and institutions that mediate and authorize memory texts'.[113] In the guardianship of Burns' memory, the professionals are actively engaged in shaping the public discourse that mediates how he is remembered and who has the authority to do so and upon what basis. While many of the arguments are built on the quality or otherwise of scholarship, there are also other dynamics at play through which the professional field asserts its authority over what is sanctioned, disputed or dismissed in the assessment of Burns. Notably, in the examples cited here, are the appeals made in his defence against those who might discredit his greatness and complexity.

Defending Burns against attacks on his worth and stature at times becomes a defence of Scottish literary worth and value, and where both Burns and Scottish literary heritage are marked as universally appreciated. Contrary claims are challenged on the basis of, not literary, but nationalistic antagonisms. As the professionals defend Burns and Scotland's reputation, they also defend, assert and sanction the authority of the institution that guards his memory.

Burns studies activism

Rigney has suggested that literary canonicity is not so much about a static collection of objects and figures of value as it is about 'the modes of our engagement with them'. It is through these modes of engagement that the literary canon becomes 'a mobilizing agent in collective memory production'. Through acts of cultural remembrance (of literature and literary figures), people perform an 'affiliation' with those stories or figures from the past 'so as to articulate a certain self-image' or 'recalibrate an existing one'. This shared appreciation 'creates the sense of a community stretching across time and space'.[114]

It is from this perspective that a literary figure, such as Robert Burns, can be seen as 'a mobilizing agent in collective memory production'. The engagement with Burns in the field of literary studies partakes in the 'cultivation' (to use Jan Assmann's term) of him as a figure of cultural value. That cultivation has extended beyond the textual and scholarly to other modes of engagement, and to what might be termed as Burns studies activism. The campaign to 'recuperate Burns on a lasting basis' relies on far more than expanding 'the limits of literary criticism'. The institutional custodians and guardians of his memory not only engage in reinterpreting his work, life and influence, and 'write for each other'.[115] They are at the forefront of a campaign that is setting out new modes of engagement, and where the new Burns agenda is being driven and championed in the wider public arena as much as within a scholarly and institutionalised one.

In reaching out to engage a global constituency of Burns enthusiasts and a wider general public, the professionals are building a network of interest and support for the critical remembrance of Burns. In the new wave of Burns studies, the literary professionals and the fans are being brought together as joint stakeholders in the cultivation of Burns' memory - a process that contributes a crucial social dimension

to the academy's institutional infrastructure of remembrance. Through modes of engagement that are institutionally as well as socially interactive, this loosely formed and dynamic network of interest represents a community of memory whose performance of an affiliation with Burns serves to ensure that his memory as a global canonical figure is kept alive and renewed in and beyond the twenty first century. This Burns studies activism is also being pursued through the professional Burns campaigners participating in a lively engagement with press, radio and television. The Burns studies professionals are also media professionals and spokespeople, stage managing and participating in awareness raising about the direction and importance of Burns studies and using mass media and cyberspace as a research dissemination and promotional mechanism to build a community of not only 'shared appreciation' but also of informed support for its campaign to restore Burns' critical reputation.

It is also a campaign that could be said to be aspiring to 'future proof' Burns studies itself, putting in place institutional arrangements and mechanisms to support a new and expanded Burns studies agenda. While the establishment of the Centre for Robert Burns Studies at Glasgow University constitutes one of the key institutional infrastructure developments in the creation and development of this new agenda, it is part of a wider institutional network of interest and co-operation. What is being shaped, developed and put in place here is a multifaceted and cross-border infrastructure of remembrance. It is an infrastructure made up of institutional arrangements, professional networks, seminars and conferences, research outputs and publications, archives, courses of study, and of new technologies and new research and communications platforms. That institutional infrastructure also relies on the contributions, involvement and support of Burns organisations, other cultural institutions, interested individuals, and the engagement of the media. Further, in a competitive research funding climate, recuperating Burns for the twenty first century is not only a scholarly and wider social and media engagement task, it is also an entrepreneurial and economic one. The conferences, publications and research projects discussed in this chapter have relied on the professionals securing funding support from various sources such as government grants, private and corporate sponsors and publishers.[116] The *Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century* project, for example, was made possible by a major publishing contract with Oxford University Press and a one million pound grant from the Arts and Humanities

Research Council that enabled the Centre for Robert Burns Studies to undertake the research, establish the project website and develop its online features, commission the recordings of Burns' songs, and to undertake the project's array of events such as seminars, performances and exhibitions.[117]

In building this infrastructure of remembrance, the professional custodians of Burns' memory are also the active custodians and directors of the institution that remembers him. What is being remembered and cultivated, reinterpreted and made new is both Burns and the field of literary studies and Burns studies. In the various modes of engagement through which an affiliation with Burns is being pursued, the professionals are cultivating and 'recalibrating' a new twenty first century 'self-image' of literary studies and Burns studies that explicitly recognises its own contribution to the collective memory of Burns.

In their campaign to restore Burns' critical reputation and of new ways to tell the world, these twenty first century Burns studies advocates and guardians are perhaps not so different from the nineteenth century's Burnsian 'men of action' who 'worked diligently ... to promote their national bard in active fashion' through their self-declared 'unique propaganda for keeping Burns's memory green in the heart of the world'.[118]

This chapter has examined how the field of literary studies mediates and remediates the figure of Robert Burns as a cultural memory 'text' and the processes through which this occurs. The next chapter will consider the role of a specific memory institution, the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum in Scotland. The museum's interpretation and representation of Burns will provide the focus for an analysis of not only museum interpretive practices, but also an investigation of how architecture, landscape and exhibition design, public programs, visitor services and shops mediate the figure of Burns as a contemporary heritage figure and cultural role model. The chapter also examines how, through Burns, the museum serves as a local, national and international 'place image' for Scotland, prior to addressing Burns' representation more broadly as a cultural icon in chapter 6.

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[1] Rigney 2012, p 51.

[2] Rigney 2012, p 50.

[3] Erll and Rigney 2009(b), p 9.

[4] Carruthers 2009(b), p 1 and p 3.

[5] Carruthers 2009(b), p 5.

[6] Pittock 2011(b), p 13.

[7] Pittock 2009, p 119.

[8] Pittock 2009, p 119.

[9] Rigney 2008, p 350.

[10] Erll and Rigney 2006, p 112.

[11] Erll and Rigney 2006, pp 112-114.

[12] Erll and Rigney 2006, p 113.

[13] Rigney 2004, p 369.

[14] Rigney 2008, p 349.

[15] Rigney 2008, p 349.

[16] Rigney 2008, p 349.

[17] Rigney 2012, pp 34-38, and pp 225-226.

[18] Rigney 2012, p 37.

[19] Erll and Nunning 2005, p 264.

[20] Erll and Nunning 2005, p 264.

[21] Erll and Nunning 2005, p 277.

[22] Schmidt 1997, p 143.

[23] Guillory 1993, p 28. Guillory also refers to how, in the nineteenth century, the 'school' became 'the exclusive agent for the dissemination of High Canonical works, replacing the quasi-educational institutions, the coffee houses, literary clubs, and salons of the eighteenth-century literacy - the realm of the bourgeois public sphere' (Guillory 1993, p 133).

[24] Erll 2011(a), p 75.

[25] Erll 2011(a), p 75.

[26] Ross 1996, p 415.

[27] Erll 2011(a), pp 75-76.

[28] Aleida Assmann 2008, p 100.

[29] Grabes 2008, p 313.

[30] Fishelov 2011, p ix.

[31] Fishelov 2011, pp 46-47, p 62, and pp 64-65.

[32] Grabes 2008, p 313.

[33] Rigney 2012, p 51. Brewer 2011, p 17.

[34] Rigney 2012, p 45.

[35] Grabes 2008, p 313. Grabes also remarks that canons have 'a central importance for the shaping and substance of cultural memory' (Grabes 2008, p 311).

[36] Rigney 2012, p 225.

[37] Rigney 2012, p 35.

[38] Rigney 2012, pp 102, and 226.

[39] Rigney 2012, pp 75, and 104. See also Paul Arthur 2009; and Elizabeth Podnieks 2009.

[40] Rigney 2012, p 226.

[41] Rigney 2012, p 226.

[42] Rigney 2012, p 225.

[43] See Olick 1999(b), p 342.

[44] Pittock 2012(c), np.

[45] Pittock 2012(c), np.

[46] 'About Us', Centre for Robert Burns Studies, University of Glasgow, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/ robertburnsstudies/aboutus.

[47] Carruthers quoted in 'An Auld Acquaintance Not to be Forgot', University of Glasgow news release, 19 July 2007, http://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2007/july/headline_33338_en.html.

[48] 'About Us', Centre for Robert Burns Studies.

[49] Global Burns Network, University of Glasgow, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/ globalburnsnetwork.

[50] Erll 2011(a), pp 76-77.

[51] See Pittock 2012(c) for Burns as an exemplar of literary celebrity. See also contemporary perspectives in recent edited collections: Carruthers 2009(a); Rodger and Carruthers 2009(a); Pittock 2011(a); Alker, Davis and Nelson 2012. Also see Leask 2010.

[52] See 'Call for Papers', *New Approaches to Robert Burns and Scottish Studies*, American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies (ASECS) conference 2011, University of Pennsylvania Department of English, 30 July 2010, http://call-for-papers.sas.upenn.edu/node/37862.

[53] See *Robert Burns in a Transatlantic Context Conference and Workshop*, April 7-9, 2009, Centre for Scottish Studies, Simon Fraser University, http://www.sfu.ca/personal/leith/TransatlanticBurns.htm.

[54] Davis, Nelson and Alker 2012, p 3.

[55] Davis, Nelson and Alker 2012, p 6.

[56] See also Davis, Nelson and Alker 2012, p 2.

[57] Pittock 2011(c), p 43. Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b), p 4.

[58] See essays on these topics in Rodger and Carruthers 2009(a); Alker, Davis and Nelson 2012; and Pittock 2011(a). See also Pittock 2007; Whatley 2010; Mackay and Pittock 2011; Mackay 2012; Pittock and Mackay 2012; Pittock and Whatley 2014; Macdonald 2005; and Bhandari 2014.

[59] 'Call for Papers', *The Object of Poetry*, Saturday 26 March 2011, University of Dundee (see Centre for Robert Burns Studies, University of Glasgow, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/ourrese arch/burns/conferencetheobjectofpoetry/callforpapers).

[60] 'Conference: *The Object of Poetry*' (see Centre for Robert Burns Studies, University of Glasgow, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/ourresearch/burns/conferencetheobjectofpoetry).

[61] See Pittock 2011(b), p 23. See also Ian Brown and Thomas Owen Clancy 2009, p vii.

[62] Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b), p 6.

[63] For example, the *Robert Burns in a Transatlantic Context* conference hosted a 'Musical Celebration of Burns in North America', and a 'Community Research Forum on Burns in British Columbia' as part of its public events program (see 'Public Events', *Robert Burns in a Transatlantic Context*, Centre for Scottish Studies, Simon Fraser University, http://www.sfu.ca/personal/leith/BurnsEvents.htm).

[64] 'Centre for Robert Burns Studies in the media', Centre for Robert Burns Studies, University of Glasgow, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/news/crbsinthemedia.

[65] See 'Robert Burns, a victim of his own popularity?': 'The editors hope the project will bridge the divide between academia and the wider Burns community, a relationship that in the past has been characterised by mutual suspicion' (Arts and Humanities Research Council News, 12 September 2012, http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/News-and-Events/Features/Pages/Robert-Burns.aspx). See also Crawford, who remarks that for Burns Suppers and Burns Clubs it has been 'something of an orthodoxy among intellectuals to deride' them (Crawford 1997(b), p xii). Rigney notes that 'nineteenth-century hero-worship, if noticed at all, has been dismissed as a form of cultural pathology undeserving of sustained analysis' (Rigney 2011, p 80).

[66] '£1m windfall brings Robert Burns into the 21st century', *The Scotsman*, 20 February 2011, http://www.scotsman.com/news/163-1m-windfall-brings-robert-burns-into-the-21st-century-1-1502089.

[67] Scott quoted in 'Robert Burns, a victim of his own popularity?'.

[68] Caruthers quoted in '£1m windfall brings Robert Burns into the 21st century'.

[69] 'Robert Burns, a victim of his own popularity?'.

[70] Carruthers quoted in 'Future Burns Bright via New Online Resource', University of Glasgow news release, 25 July 2012, http://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2012/july/headline_238266_en.html.

[71] Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century, Centre for Robert Burns Studies, University of Glasgow, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/editingrobertburnsforthe21stcentury.

[72] See Carruthers, 'The Project', Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century, http://burnsc21.glasgow.ac.uk/the-project; and 'Welcome to the Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century Blog', 17 January 2012, http://burnsc21.glasgow.ac.uk/welcome-to-the-editing-robert-burns-for-the-21st-century-blog-2.

[73] '£1million for Scotland's National Poet', University of Glasgow news release, 21 February 2011, http://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2011/february/headline_189794_en.html.

[74] Kirsteen McCue quoted in 'Robert Burns, a victim of his own popularity?'.

[75] Robert Burns: Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/globalburnsnetwork/robert burnsinventingtraditionandsecuringmemory.

[76] See 'Introduction to the Web Resources', Robert Burns: Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/ourrese arch/burns/introductiontothewebresources.

[77] 'Memory and Public Commemoration - Robert Burns', University of Dundee, http://www.dundee.ac.uk/cass/research/memoryandpubliccommemoration. See also this comment regarding the project: 'In the months following the launch of the website, hits in excess of 18500 demonstrated widespread interest in the project research and outcomes. Since the launch of the website, the project team have been approached by a number of private collectors of Burns memorabilia in the UK and US who have been inspired to share images of their collection, as well as their expertise surrounding various artefacts, as a consequence of the project research' ('Events and Publications', Centre for Robert Burns Studies, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/ourrese arch/burns/newsevents).

[78] Aleida Assmann 2008, p 98.

[79] Aleida Assmann 2008, p 102.

[80] Aleida Assmann 2008, p 99.

[81] See Aleida Assmann 2008.

[82] Robert Burns: Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909.

[83] 'Robert Burns, a victim of his own popularity?'.

[84] See 'Robert Burns, a victim of his own popularity?'; and Carruthers, 'The Team', Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century, http://burnsc21.glasgow.ac.uk/meet-the-team.

[85] See Carruthers 2006(a) pp 3-4, and 2009(c); Pauline Gray 2009; and Bold 2012. See also the recent new edition of *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* (Robert Burns 2009(b)).

[86] Leask, 'The Project'. Volume 1 of *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns*: *Commonplace Books, Tour Journals and Miscellaneous Prose*, edited by Nigel Leask was published, 31 July 2014.

[87] Leask, 'The Project'.

[88] McCue, 'The Project'.

[89] McCue quoted in 'Robert Burns, a victim of his own popularity?'.

[90] McCue quoted in '£1million for Scotland's National Poet'.

[91] Pittock, 'The Project'.

[92] Pittock, 'The Project'.

[93] Pittock 2012(c), np.

[94] Pittock, 'The Project'.

[95] Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b), p 2.

[96] Crawford 2009, p 10. The controversial publication was *The Canongate Burns* edited by Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg, published by Canongate in 2001.

[97] See Crawford 2009, p 10; Carruthers 2009(d), pp 33-36; Gerard Carruthers and Norman Paton 2009, pp 248-249; and Carruthers 2002, 2004, 2006(b), 2009(f), and 2010.

[98] Available at http://observer.theguardian.com/focus/story/0,6903,636455,00.html.

[99] Available at http://www.scotsman.com/news/burns-feuding-hits-new-low-1-1382724.

[100] Available at http://www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen/films-and-books-on-burns-distort-his-legacy-academic-blasts-burns-industry-s-false-mythology-1.43357.

[101] Available at http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/article1896639.ece.

[102] Available at http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/and-then-we-sever-battle-over-the-bard-rumbles-on/405179.article.

[103] Available at http://www.scotsman.com/news/bitter-spat-between-feuding-burns-scholars-threatens-to-overshadow-year-of-homecoming-1-1302836.

[104] Carruthers 2004, p 97.

[105] Carruthers 2004, p 97.

[106] Carruthers 2004, p 106.

[107] See, for example: 'Jeremy Paxman angers Scots with attack on Robert Burns', *The Telegraph*, 14 August 2008, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2559156/Jeremy-Paxman-angers-Scots-with-attack-on-Robert-Burns.html; 'Scots author hits back at Paxman over attack on Burns's poetry', *The Herald*, 16 August 2008, http://www.heraldscotland.com/scots-author-hits-back-at-paxman-over-attack-on-burns-s-poetry-1.887282; 'Paxman outrages Scots by calling Burns' poetry 'sentimental doggerel'', *Daily Mail*, 15 August 2008, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1044932/Paxman-outrages-Scots-calling-Burns-poetry-sentimental-doggerel.html; 'Scots uproar over Paxman's dig at Rabbie Burns', *Daily Express*, 15 August 2008, http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/56937/Scots-uproar-over-Paxman-s-dig-at-Rabbie-Burns; 'Jeremy Paxman ridicules Robert Burns as king of doggerel', *The Times*, 15 August 2008, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/arts/article1784971.ece; 'Paxman slammed over Burns comment', *BBC News*, 14 August 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/7561800.stm; 'Burns is 'king of sentimental doggerel', says Paxman', *The Independent*, 15 August 2008, http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/news/burns-is-king-of-sentimental-doggerel-says-paxman-897541.html; Carruthers, 'Robert Burns: a defence. Robert Burns is one of the greatest modern British poets', *The Telegraph*, 14 August 2008, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/2558776/Robert-Burns-a-defence.html. See also later commentary: 'Robert Burns museum exacts revenge on Jeremy Paxman', *The Scotsman*, 14 October 2010, http://www.scotsman.com/news/robert-burns-museum-exacts-revenge-on-jeremy-paxman-1-824675; Christopher MacLachlan of St Andrews University: 'I don't have a burning desire to see Paxman done down. He's just another Englishman who doesn't get Burns' (quoted in 'Robert Burns museum exacts revenge on Jeremy Paxman'); and Pittock, who notes 'a degree of animosity from high-profile English commentators toward Burns and Scotland, which would have been quite alien to their predecessors' (Pittock 2011(c), p 34).

[108] Carruthers quoted in 'Jeremy Paxman angers Scots with attack on Robert Burns'.

[109] Carruthers, 'Robert Burns: a Defence. Robert Burns is one of the greatest modern British poets'.

[110] Murdo Morrison quoted in 'Jeremy Paxman angers Scots with attack on Robert Burns'.

[111] See 'Starkey calls Scots 'feeble'', *BBC News*, 24 April 2009,

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/highlands_and_islands/8017674.stm. Starkey's outburst provoked 72 complaints to the BBC and the show's website was inundated with comments from angry viewers (see 'TV historian sparks fury of a nation with 'feeble little Scotland' jibe', *The Scotsman*, 24 April 2009, http://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/top-stories/tv-historian-sparks-fury-of-a-nation-with-feeble-little-scotland-jibe-1-1035763). See also 'Historian Dr David Starkey causes anger by branding Scotland 'feeble'', *The Telegraph*, 24 April 2009,

http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scotland/5213826/Historian-Dr-David-Starkey-causes-anger-by-branding-Scotland-feeble.html.

[112] Crawford quoted in 'TV historian sparks fury of a nation with 'feeble little Scotland' jibe'.

[113] Crownshaw 2009, p 89.

[114] Rigney 2011, p 81.

[115] Rigney refers to how the professionals 'generally write for each other' (Rigney 2012, p 226).

[116] For example, Arts and Humanities Research Council grants support the *Global Burns Network*, the *Robert Burns: Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909* project, and the *Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century* project. The *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, and *Robert Burns in European Culture* conferences, and the resulting publication *Robert Burns in Global Culture* were supported by a number of universities, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Royal Bank of Scotland, and the Czech Association for the Study of English (see Pittock 2011(a), p 9). The *Robert Burns in a Transatlantic Context* conference, and the *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture* publication received funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and universities (see 'Acknowledgements' in Alker, Davis and Nelson 2012).

[117] 'Introduction: Welcome to Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century', http://burnsc21.glasgow.ac.uk.

[118] Andrews 2010(b), p 99 and p 101.

5

Performing Burns at the new Robert Burns Birthplace Museum

If you really want to get to know Scotland - you could do no better than walking in the footsteps of her national Bard. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, May 2014)[1]

The twenty first century's interest and engagement with Robert Burns has taken many forms in the public arena that participate in orchestrating and renewing his memory, not the least of which has been the creation of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum in Scotland. The new museum is part of a varied Burns heritage infrastructure across Scotland that is undergoing somewhat of a revitalisation and an increased national and international profile. Much of that infrastructure is located in and around the towns that have a close connection to Burns, especially his birthplace and where he lived and worked, and which have played a long standing role as Burns heritage and tourism sites. Concentrated in the south of Scotland in Ayrshire, regional councils have been developing 'strategic' business and tourism development plans to take greater advantage of Burns' value as the main visitor attraction in the area.[2]

In this context, the new museum is not only of local/regional value. Its development and creation is very much a national endeavour that forms a key part of Scotland's recently developed national cultural policy, that has also seen the development of related national policies and frameworks, and new funding for the heritage environment, museums and galleries, and 'creative industries'.[3] These initiatives are seen as having both 'intrinsic and instrumental' value for the nation, its identity, its communities, its international profile, and for the economy. As Scotland's Culture

Secretary has proclaimed, Scotland's distinctive culture and heritage are 'our heart, our soul, our essence':

... they bind and connect our past, our present and our future and tell the stories about where we've come from, who we are and help us reflect on who we could be. (Fiona Hyslop, Culture Secretary).[4]

In this vision of a culturally dynamic Scotland that values its past, Scotland's museums (and galleries) offer 'an opportunity to proudly tell our story and to present the richness and diversity of our culture'.[5] They provide 'a foundation for the iconic representation of the nation and its people' and 'play a vital role in Scotland's present and in its future' both nationally and internationally.[6] Museums, in particular, are 'a vital statement of place image'; which together with the nation's 'cultural ambassadors', such as Robert Burns, are 'the central images that define perceptions of the nation':[7]

Burns is an international cultural icon, loved the world over. The new Robert Burns Birthplace Museum allows us the opportunity to celebrate his influence on the modern world and his contribution to Scotland's culture and creativity. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[8]

This chapter focuses on how the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum serves as a 'place image' for Scotland and as a site for the contemporary remembrance of Burns as local, national and international icon and 'cultural ambassador'. It locates this discussion within recent directions in museum studies, policy and practice that reflect the multifaceted roles of modern museums that extend beyond access to a priority on public value.[9] The International Council of Museums defines a museum as:

A non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.[10]

As public institutions 'in the service of society and its development' museums are increasingly expected to deliver public value in terms of cultural, community and economic benefits. An emphasis on visitor satisfaction has brought with it a priority on museums acting as facilitators rather than as gatekeepers.[11] Placing value on more active forms of visitor participation, modern museums are places where visitors are

offered 'engaging, value-generating experiences' - resources for visitor learning and 'future creativity'.[12]

In their dual roles as caretakers of cultural heritage and as facilitators of personal and cultural experiences connected to that heritage, museums also act as mediators between the past and the present, as the 'locus of crafted collective memory'.[13] In order to maintain 'present contact' with the past, that past must be reimagined by the museum and its visitors.[14] In that reimagining, museums represent one of the key mechanisms through which a society productively remembers, and through which identities can be 'challenged, explored and rethought'.[15] As Aleida Assmann has argued, in the cultural realm, remembering requires 'special and costly precautions' that take the form of cultural institutions.[16] A museum is one such institution which not only stores and conserves memories, but also reproduces them. In these two modes of storing and reproducing, the museum contributes to the working memory of a society. Through the selection and collection of valued texts, artifacts and objects, and in their 'repeated presentation and reception', the cultural capital of a society is continuously recycled and reaffirmed.[17]

This study is concerned with how Robert Burns comes to be continuously recycled and reaffirmed as a figure of cultural value. The recent establishment of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum provides an opportunity to examine how these processes play out in a particular setting that is considered to be the most important Burns site in the world. The analysis in this chapter considers how this new museum as a birthplace museum deploys not only valued texts, artifacts and objects associated with the poet, but also deploys the site itself in its presentation of his life and work. In doing so, the museum constructs a narrative space in which objects and places are used to tell a twenty first century story designed to actively engage a contemporary audience with the literary and cultural legacy of an eighteenth century poet. Through that engagement, Burns is positioned and reaffirmed as a figure of cultural and 'public value' that brings not only visitor benefits, but also wider community and economic benefits.

A repository of memories and a site for their renewal

In May 2010 at the 'topping out' ceremony for the nearly completed museum, a few months prior to its official opening, the Chief Executive of the National Trust for

Scotland described it as 'very much a flagship property' that 'shows where the National Trust for Scotland is going in the future'. Describing it as 'state-of-the-art' and a 'very exciting project indeed', she predicted that visitor numbers would exceed those for the Trust's most visited existing attraction - Culzean Castle - since the museum would have 'an even wider worldwide appeal'. The idea of the museum was to 'bring Burns to life in a completely new and imaginative way' and to involve, entertain and engage a contemporary audience of all ages and backgrounds. Its overall mission was to 'inspire'.[18]

The realisation of that mission had been a long time in the making. The museum was originally planned to open in 2009 to coincide with the 250th anniversary of Burns' birth, but was delayed due to management and funding issues.[19] When it was formally opened two years later in January 2011, much attention was given to its use of 'cutting edge techniques' and the Scots language in bringing Burns' 'story to life', and how it would provide a 'modern and relevant interpretation' to a local and global audience:[20]

The museum is a stunning achievement and is testament to the visionary thinking, enthusiasm and commitment of everyone involved. It refreshes the legacy of Robert Burns for the 21st century and brings him to life for millions of people who can enhance their knowledge or simply learn about Burns for the first time - and all within a few yards of where he was born. (Winifred Sloan, South Ayrshire Council Provost)[21]

While the cost, scale, funding difficulties and delays in completing of the project were (and had been) hot news topics; the design features of the newly constructed museum building, site landscaping and the integration of existing Burns landmarks, visitor services, and the incorporation of contemporary art works by Scottish artists and designers, also framed news commentary. A major publicity theme was that visitors to the museum would have access to the museum's 'world renowned collection' of over 5,000 items of Burns' work and artifacts, including 'everything from the poet's waistcoat buttons to his love letters', with 'never before seen Burns memorabilia' and original manuscripts on display. In the exhibition, that aimed 'to take Burns to a new generation with 17 interactive features', the 'space would come alive' and bring 'the national bard to vivid and multi-dimensional life'.[22]

In bringing the 'national bard to vivid and multi-dimensional life' the museum has set out to rethink how Burns' life, work and legacy can be represented in a modern museum through new forms of visitor engagement and perhaps to redefine what a literary museum should be in the twenty first century.[23] As a National Trust for Scotland project, the museum is also participating in its wider brief to 'protect and promote the heritage of Scotland' that will 'offer a lasting legacy'.[24] Burns' legacy is to be 'properly marked here in Scotland with a high quality museum ... to make sure none of what he gave us is lost'.[25] While conservation of his legacy through a museum that 'does justice' to his memory is a core principle, the museum's remit is both 'conservation' of a national cultural asset and the cultural 'renewal' of it through new forms of visitor engagement.[26] As a cultural memory institution, the museum is clearly attempting to establish itself as one where the material traces of Burns' work and life are re-presented and recalibrated for a modern audience. But for that to happen, not only do those material traces need to be there (available) in the first place, but something has to be made of them, not only by display, but also through interpretation. Moreover, the new museum is not starting with a blank slate with respect to Burns and his representation. The 'weight' of his received memory poses considerable challenges for a museum that seeks to provide a fresh perspective on an icon such as Burns.

As discussed previously in this study, the early mapping of Burns into cultural memory was closely linked to the poet's material traces - his work itself and what became the sought after artifacts and places associated with his personal and public life. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was not only the survival of his work and those 'remnants of a renowned artist's life', but also the vast pool of cultural responses *to* Burns that was now constituting 'other reminders' of his life, career and legacy: biographies and other documented accounts, collections and publications, portraits and illustrations, statues and memorials, commemorative objects, commodities and souvenirs.[27] These and other more recent material manifestations of his cultural afterlife, together with the work 'wrought in his own hand', provide the source material for the museum's collection and the key to his interpretation. The museum site itself provides other important material traces, not the least of which is the cottage in which he was born and spent his early years, and other historic built structures associated with the poet and his work, and his later commemoration. But

the site is not only an historic setting for a museum devoted to Burns, it is also a major part of the museum's interpretation of him. Its locale and its long held association with the poet is deeply ingrained in how Burns has been valued and remembered, so that, like the museum's collection of original works and artifacts, the site itself is also the subject of conservation, renewal and reinterpretation. In these terms, the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum is both a repository and a site of material, physical and place memories associated with Burns. These objects, artifacts, structures and places have already been the subject of selection, valuing and remembering prior to their newly interpreted life at the museum. Their new interpretation is therefore a reinterpretation of other acts of interpretation and use.[28] This also applies to the museum's interpretation of Burns himself - what has been made of him in the past by others becomes part of his story at the museum.

Yet there is another layer of memory that the artifacts, structures and places confer upon the site, that is, the (imagined) meanings for Burns himself of the place he was born and grew up in, and the objects, places and buildings that were part of his life. The museum is thus not only a site and a repository of cultural memories *about* Burns to be interpreted anew and 'brought to life', it is also a site and repository of Burns' own memories, associations and meanings to be imagined, interpreted and brought to life. Bringing Burns to life means bringing objects and places to life to tell his story. It is an act of productive remembrance of the poet through an imagining and reimagining of multiple memories and meanings of those objects and places. The museum is then a site of memories of, and about Burns, and a site where memories of him are made and re-made.[29]

How this museum has addressed these challenges in presenting and interpreting Burns for a contemporary audience is the main focus of the analysis in this chapter. But before proceeding to do so, some consideration of what a birthplace museum is and the role of such museums in contributing to the cultural memory of writers more generally will be helpful in locating this examination of the museum in a relevant context. Of further interest to this analysis is the ways in which the dynamics of literary reputation, outlined earlier in this study, continue to be played out at the museum. The ways in which the availability of his work, artifacts and other material reminders of his life and legacy shape the museum's interpretation; the role of biography and language in that interpretation; and the linking of Burns to place are

especially pertinent to the study of a birthplace museum such as this that seeks to conserve and renew not only Burns, but also the public value of his literary and cultural legacy.

Birthplace museums as narrative and biography

As noted by Sophie Forgan, birthplace museums represent one of the many forms of public commemoration of individuals, such as statues, eulogies, the naming of buildings, and anniversary celebrations.[30] Forming 'a sub-type of the museum genre', birthplace museums are distinguished by their focus on telling the story of one individual. As such, birthplace museums are often referred to as 'biographical museums', 'celebrity museums' or 'personality museums'. Of course not all biographical museums are birthplace museums. Across the UK there are something like 170 museums devoted to individuals, with most devoted to poets and writers - notably Burns, Shakespeare and Dickens.[31] Robert Burns has six museums devoted to him in Scotland: Robert Burns House (Dumfries), Burns House Museum (Mauchline), Irvine Burns Club museum (Irvine), Ellisland Farm museum (Dumfries), the Bachelors' Club (Tarbolton) and the new Robert Burns Birthplace Museum in Alloway.[32] While birthplace museums share many features with other types of biographical museums (such as writers' house museums), birthplace museums are 'by definition located by the origin of their namesake' by virtue of being housed in the building where he or she was born or very near the site.[33] Birthplace museums, like biographical museums in general, 'usually celebrate the life and work of someone who is regarded as a 'national treasure', so the selection of personality provides an interesting reflection on local and national identity at any given time'.[34] This is especially pertinent to the analysis of birthplace museums where interpretive strategies often posit the birth of a person as standing in for 'a larger concept or phenomenon'.[35]

Kate Hill has suggested that while 'biographies have subjects', 'museums have objects', so that when they come together, a complex set of relationships is created between people, narrative and things.[36] When the museum is a birthplace museum, a further dimension of place is added to the mix. She discusses how the museum itself can be understood as having a life story or biography, how the things within it can be examined for their life story, and how the museum can be the narrative space in

which a person's life story is told. In the biographical museum, objects, people, buildings, and places are drawn into relationship in the service of storytelling - of narrating a life. The stories of things, buildings and places become interwoven with stories of people, where those things, buildings and locations are made to 'speak'. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett also refers to how museums bring together 'specimens and artifacts never found in the same place at the same time and show relationships that cannot otherwise be seen'.[37] The very act of display, of 'showing', turns things into artifacts that are thus imbued with meaning by those who display them. She argues that display 'not only shows and speaks, it also *does*'.[38] Working from that premise, she describes how museums rely on the 'drama of the artifact' and the 'agency of display' in their production of knowledge. More specifically, museum displays are 'fundamentally theatrical' since they are how museums 'perform the knowledge they create'.[39]

This idea of museums as theatre, as a kind of narrative performance that relies on the 'drama of the artifact' and the 'agency of display', is especially pertinent to biographical or birthplace museums. Alison Booth, for example, suggests that a museum dedicated to a person serves 'to reanimate places, buildings and objects' to provide 'a public performance of the personality's life'.[40] As such the museum can be read as a 'kind of biography or narrative that uses factual evidence to represent lived experience'.[41] That 'factual evidence' typically takes the form of objects, artifacts and things. Booth refers to these as 'object-narratives' that take the form of personal possessions: such as furniture, manuscripts, books, correspondence, keepsakes, gifts, paintings and pictures, and 'tools of trade' that serve as 'correlates' of the writer's 'education, taste, and personality'.[42] Similarly, things that refer to the person, their life and achievements produced by others, such as biographies, portraits, memoirs and accounts, and publications of the writer's work, also serve as object-narratives in the story of the writer's life. In this narration of a life, curators and presenters act as 'expository agents', or narrators whose role is to construct the stories that objects, settings and places tell of the person.[43]

Caterina Albano also considers how objects and things can be used to construct biographical narratives in museums that 'display lives'. She examines how the traces and records of a life are divested of 'their original functionality' and are displaced in favour of their biographical significance.[44] Through the 'interpretive framing' of

such traces, curators 'draw on the cultural significance of objects', place them in context and in relationship to other objects, interpret them and thus confer meaning upon them. Biographical exhibitions 'create a palpable impression' of the biographical subject in which 'the selected items portray a cohesive if not consistent picture'. By placement and arrangement of the diverse traces of 'memories of use and belonging' such as: portraits, photographs, personal items, notebooks, letters, pages of diaries, books, various kinds of objects and artifacts that illustrate the subject's activities and achievements, and the evidence of other 'personages' who knew him or her; these records of a life come to 'exist in mutual visual and contextual relationships'. Those items, by acting as biographical traces also imbue the exhibition display with 'emotional and imaginative power'.[45] Images, such as portraits and photographs, as both artifacts and as representations of the subject, play an especially important role. They stand in the place of the absent subject, create 'an illusion of likeness', and bring the viewer 'into a direct, intimate relationship with the subject'.[46]

While the relationship between the biographies of objects and the biographies of people plays an important role in museum narratives; location, setting or place become central themes and take 'central stage' in writers' biographical museums.[47] Time, too is an important narrative device and is 'thoroughly inscribed in a memorial house museum' and in charting the 'chronologies of the building, the inhabitants' lives, the foundation of the institution and the provenance of the artefacts'.[48] In a writer's house museum or birthplace museum, the site itself, the house, its locale and its contents, and artifacts are seen as 'the key to unlocking personality'.[49] As Forgan outlines, the purpose is 'to humanise the subject and create a sense of the person, to allow key objects to stand in for a long and complex 'whole life', and finally to provide models for inspiration and emulation'.[50] Likewise, Hill refers to how the biographical museum 'serves largely to create a sense of intimate knowledge about those individuals. The power and attraction of the biographical museum lies in its use of domestic objects and buildings to produce new insights and a sense of intimate contact with the interior world of the biographee'.[51]

But for 'real estate' to be turned into a museum the work of 'many agents' is required, including those interested others in the past who have collected, conserved and gained access to the material traces of a writer's life; as well as the attention

given to the writer and the site in the past by literary pilgrims and tourists, enthusiasts and connoisseurs, biographers and publishers.[52] For the museum to come into existence, institutional and economic arrangements also need to be made, including those by local and/or national authorities, funding bodies, curators and heritage site managers and staff.[53] The museum's life is also crucially dependent on the arrangements made for those who visit and engage with it. Thus, the relationships that go to make up the museum reach out beyond the story of an individual writer to incorporate the 'story' of the museum itself, and further to the relationship that the museum 'arranges' between its story of the writer and the museum's visitors.

The examination of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum that follows explores how these 'many agents', together with the objects, structures and places associated with the poet are brought together to 'provide a public performance' of the poet's life in a new twenty first century museum.[54] In doing so, the analysis considers how the interpretive strategies that are deployed in narrating his life story and achievements, and the museum's approach to visitor engagement with him can be examined for how the museum positions Burns for a modern audience. The aim of this analysis is not only to demonstrate how Burns is being re-remembered in a particular museum setting; it also seeks to describe how the relationship that the museum 'constructs' between its visitors and Burns, fashions him as not only a biographical subject, but also as an agent in shaping his own past and future legacy.

A multifaceted museum and 'a great day out'

The Robert Burns Birthplace Museum in Scotland is many things - a place, a heritage site, a collection, an exhibition, a public institution, a tourism attraction, a learning centre and a community hub. At the outset, its name requires some explanation. The name is often used to refer to the site in Alloway which is made up of several historic Burns landmarks, together with the new museum building and the grounds in which they sit. It can also refer to the new building itself which houses the Burns collection and the Burns exhibition. The site of the new museum has also previously been in use as a heritage attraction as the Land o' Burns Centre since 1975, and then as the Burns National Heritage Park since 1995.[55] Since that has been upgraded, remodelled, extended and 'transformed', the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum is, in effect, its replacement. Adding to the complexity of the new museum's history and

identity is the fact that the cottage where Burns was born (that forms the central logic of the new museum as a birthplace museum) has previously been a birthplace museum in its own right as part of the former Burns National Heritage Park. In addition, the existing Burns heritage landmarks and buildings on the site, including and especially the cottage, have been 'sites' of literary tourism and Burns pilgrimage since the early nineteenth century.[56]

As a physical site, the museum is located within the small village of Alloway in the south west of Scotland in Ayrshire. The property itself borders both sides of the road running through the village and its streetscape of small shops and hotel, and spans the river Doon. Set in 10 acres of what is described as 'Burns' beloved Alloway countryside', the site is now a landscaped setting of gardens, outdoor sculptures and pathways, buildings, car parks and access roadways. It comprises the eighteenth century cottage where Burns was born, the historic bridge (Brig o' Doon) and old church and graveyard (Auld Kirk), and the large nineteenth century Burns monument and gardens. In addition to these Burns related heritage features, the site incorporates an education centre, and the new museum building housing the Burns collection, the main Burns exhibition, temporary exhibition spaces, meeting rooms, offices, cafe and shop. The new museum building has been purpose built to hold, preserve and display the world's largest and most important collection of Burns related work and artifacts, officially recognised as one of Scotland's Collections of National Significance.[57] The building is also of architectural significance, and together with its exhibition design has received many Scottish and UK wide awards.[58]

In its new guise, the museum is a twenty one million pound 'flagship' National Trust for Scotland property, which has been funded and supported by the Scottish government, the Heritage Lottery Fund, the South Ayrshire Council, Scottish Enterprise, the Burns Monument Trust, and private donations.[59] The National Trust for Scotland, which now owns and manages the site, is a large heritage conservation charity that has a wide remit to care for and promote Scotland's cultural, built and natural heritage.[60] It employs the museum's around 50 staff including the museum's director and manager, curator, learning officers, interns and volunteers, and visitor service staff.[61]

The museum serves not only as a national repository and institution for the preservation and care of its collection, historic buildings and property; it is importantly a cultural institution that is open to the public. As one of Scotland's formally accredited public museums, it is one of a large and diverse museum and galleries sector in Scotland that comprises over 350 small to large national institutions. These are managed and funded variously by local authorities, private trusts and charities (such as the NTS), universities, and through various kinds of government funding mechanisms.[62] The sector has recently been the subject of significant review and national policy development in an effort to better coordinate and support its operations, resulting in a new national strategy that identifies a ten year vision for the sector:

Scotland's museums and galleries will be ambitious, dynamic and sustainable enterprises: connecting people, places and collections; inspiring, delighting and creating public value. (*Going Further: The National Strategy for Scotland's Museums and Galleries*, Museums Galleries Scotland 2012, p 8)

This vision reflects the broader context in which the new Burns museum operates and the multiple roles that twenty first century museums are recognised as playing - not only as cultural assets but also as community and economic assets. As caretakers of the nation's cultural collections, museums are responsible for enhancing visitor engagement with collections and for making those collections more relevant and accessible to a wide range of people:

Engagement with objects is central to the powerful experience a museum can offer, with creative interpretation pivotal to ensuring collections are relevant to contemporary society. Museums and galleries have a responsibility to ensure that as many people as possible are able to interact with them, at the same time making full use of available technologies. (*Going Further: The National Strategy for Scotland's Museums and Galleries*, Museums Galleries Scotland 2012, p 18)

As 'places of learning' and community engagement, Scotland's museums are seen as supporting education and lifelong learning, promoting community health and well-being, and building cultural and social engagement.[63] Scotland's museums are also seen as making a significant contribution to the national and local economy, especially through tourism:

Our museums and galleries welcome around 25 million visitors every year, attracting people to all parts of Scotland and making a vital £800 million contribution to the Scottish economy. We simply cannot underestimate their significant educational, social and economic value. (Fiona Hyslop, Cabinet Secretary for Culture and External Affairs)[64]

Like other National Trust for Scotland sites in Scotland, the museum is managed as a heritage and tourism destination, which is expected to 'bring a wealth of economic and cultural benefits to South Ayrshire and Scotland'.[65] It is a 5 star quality assurance accredited visitor attraction (VisitScotland) with visitor numbers recently reaching the one million mark within three years of it opening.[66] Before the end of its first year, visitor numbers had doubled to nearly half a million after the old site underwent major redesign and refurbishment, renaming and the building of the new museum.[67] By that time, it was the second most visited tourism attraction in the west of Scotland (that includes the large city of Glasgow), attracting over 40% of total visitor numbers from across the UK to that region.[68] Visitors to the museum also contributed to an international and domestic tourism boost to the more immediate region (Ayrshire and Arran) which experienced the greatest increase in visitor numbers in the whole of Scotland in 2011with a rise of 29.6%.[69]

Ayrshire and Arran have performed well as a region, largely due to the NTS's Robert Burns Birthplace Museum and Dean Castle Country Park in Kilmarnock. Both attractions performed exceptionally well. Often, as is the case, the increase is due to one or two attractions doing particularly well, which positively impacts on the rest of the region. And with the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, visitors will also have visited other local attractions at the same time. (John Lennon, Director of the Moffat Centre for Travel and Tourism Business Development, Glasgow Caledonian University)[70]

Described as 'a great day out' and a place 'to begin your adventure with Burns', the museum presents itself as providing an introduction 'for those who know only a little about Burns' and a place where 'even the most knowledgeable of experts can delve deeper into the bard'.[71] Together with the main exhibition and the presentation and interpretation of other features on the site; there are guided tours, talks, school and lifelong learning programs, themed events, activities for children and families, and regular programs of local and international music and poetry, art and performance. It is also a landscaped park with gardens, a venue for hire for weddings, special occasions and community meetings, and a place to eat and shop. The museum's

visitor profile includes those with a special interest in Burns, and a lager more general audience of 'empty nesters', parents with young children, and young single adults.[72]

In an area with little alternative museum provision and with a diverse audience that includes many non-traditional museum visitors, we are conscious that we present many visitors with not only their first encounter with Burns but also their first encounter with a museum. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[73]

As a 'family friendly' museum, the site has been designed to encourage participation and engagement of children with Burns:

It's fun and yet very moving to explore the graveyard. Then, like Tam o' Shanter, you can actually peep through the windows of the church to see if you can spot something lurking within![74]

In the exhibition display there are 'objects to explore, games and activities to play and recordings of poems and songs to listen to and enjoy'.[75] The newly commissioned outdoor sculpture and artworks allow for a physical hands-on and playful encounter with the 'creatures and tales from the imaginative world of Burns'. Young children are also catered for in entertainment events and activities, and in shop merchandising where there are 'pocket-money treasures to delight children'.[76] Visits by school students and educational programs have been given high priority and supported by the Scottish government:

... our ambition is that every school child in the country will have the opportunity to visit and be touched by Robert Burns ... Young Scots should leave here with a new pride and understanding, not just in our national poet, but in themselves too. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[77]

The museum has also sought to attract a new young adult audience to Burns. Together with its intern and education programs that target college and university students, the museum has implemented a national advertising campaign featuring a well known Scottish fashion model, 'fresh brand imagery', and a program of contemporary music, art, comedy and debating events across Scotland. Designed to emphasise the museum's 'unique and at times irreverent take on Burns' and 'offering a younger perspective on the life of Burns'; the campaign included a Burns themed speed dating event in Glasgow where 'gents will be asked to take after notorious

ladies' man Rabbie and charm all the women'; the 'first Ceilidh flash mob' in Edinburgh; and performances at the museum by 'Rabbie Burns Superstar'.[78]

Regular programs and events for the local community also feature. There are Valentine's Day, Easter, Christmas and Halloween themed events, craft and famers market days, and family fun days:

We have two different shows, Pirate and Fairy and Circus, as well as face painting, bouncy castle, balloon modelling and the 'Hoots Owls'! We have owls of several different sizes and varieties, children can handle them, get photographed and learn a bit about them. This is a day for all the family. (Caroline Glenn, Robert Burns Birthplace Museum Manager)[79]

This community focus is also reflected in programs of art, poetry, theatre and music events by local artists and performers that are designed to make the museum 'a hub of cultural activity':

We want the museum to become a focal point for the rich cultural scene in Ayrshire, so we will be hosting a series of exciting exhibitions throughout the year. We'll also have music and theatre events too and let's not forget poetry, so whatever art form you enjoy, you can experience it here with us. (Caroline Glenn, Robert Burns Birthplace Museum Manager)"[80]

Together with its program of events, including those that go beyond the boundaries of the Alloway site, and an active marketing and media presence; the museum is also engaging with an online 'virtual' and global audience through social media via Twitter and Facebook, its RSS Feeds, and its interactive website. The website allows visitors to access the digitised collection and to 'discover the fascinating stories behind our objects' and to 'step inside the mind of Robert Burns' to 'explore how these objects inspired his creativity'. Visitors to the website can select and read his poetry and songs; view an annotated Robert Burns timeline, highlights and video clips from the exhibition; and participate in online interactive games. Other sections of the website provide advice for visitors to the site, information on the events and education programs, opportunities for volunteers, Burns related online resources, functions and weddings, and online gift shop.[81]

The 'real' Burns: interpreting Burns at Alloway

The museum's director, Nat Edwards, has commented that the new museum represents a 'transformative vision' for how Burns, the collection and the site could

be presented to visitors and an international audience.[82] The translation of that vision into action has been set out in the museum's Interpretive Strategy. It seeks to present Alloway as 'the hub of inspiration and learning about Burns' where visitors are encouraged 'to get under the skin of the poet and become acquainted or re-acquainted with the man behind the myth'. The central concept across the whole site is to encourage visitors to embark on a journey of discovery about Burns through an exploration of the many facets of his life, his identity, inspiration and fame, and his creative work.[83] At the site itself and online through the museum's website, visitors are offered a 'truly unique encounter with Scotland's favourite son' whose 'national pride, fierce egalitarianism, and quick wit have become synonymous with the Scottish character itself'. Here, Burns is introduced as: 'The Ayrshire ploughman, who rose from humble beginnings to become one of the world's best known poets, and international icon'. Visitors (actual and virtual) can 'follow the poet's life and legacy' and trace 'his footsteps from birth to international superstardom'. In doing so, visitors are invited to discover the 'real Burns' - 'the complex and passionate man behind the icon'.[84]

Notably, in the museum's exhibition (and website) the visitor's journey with Burns begins with a reference to how the poet has been the subject of much interpretation, reinterpretation and 'nonsense uttered in his name'. It takes the form of a quotation in modern Scots from one of Scotland's controversial early twentieth century poets who had a lot to say about Burns, his language and the damaging effects of the cult that surrounded him.[85] This not only sets up the tenor of the exhibition itself, but also reflects the interpretive direction of the museum site overall. As its director has commented, one of the challenges for the museum was how to deal with the '200 years of revisionism, orthodoxy and received wisdom regarding Burns'.[86] The museum's response to this challenge has been to acknowledge that 'revisionism, orthodoxy and received wisdom' as part of its presentation of Burns and to adopt a strategy of posing questions rather than providing answers. The intention is 'not to offer the definitive or authoritative account of Burns' life'; rather it is to 'question perceptions'.[87] This question posing approach nevertheless has a structure that frames the ways in which visitors are guided to engage with Burns. That structure is informed by the collection itself, the nature of the site, and a thematic rather than a chronological approach to telling the Burns story:

The interpretive themes, inspired by the collection, led to the development of a thematic approach to the interpretation of Burns and the design concept developed by Event. This was a departure from the more traditional, chronological approach that is often taken with interpretations on Burns. (Mary Stones, Interpretation Project Manager, National Trust for Scotland)[88]

Described as a 'collections-led encounter with Burns', the museum's artifacts, landmarks and settings underpin interpretation at the museum. As the director has commented, the 'objects we have tell some stories very strongly, others less so, and we found that the stronger ones linked to four key sets of questions':

Who was Burns, what made him who he was, what were his relationships as a son, a brother, a father? How did his environment and his time trigger and shape his writing? How did others perceive and respond to him, personally and publicly? And then lastly, how do all these elements come together in the actual poems? (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[89]

These guiding questions inform the museum's thematic approach to interpretation and the visitors' journey of discovery. The themes themselves: 'Identity', 'Inspiration', 'Fame' and 'Creative Works', are introduced to visitors in the main exhibition and provide its narrative and display structure. Display 'zones' address each of these themes. In the first 'Identity' zone, Burns' relationships as 'a son, a brother, a husband, a lover, a friend and a father' are presented, with visitors encouraged to 'look at how these relationships shaped Burns as both man and poet'. The 'Inspiration' section of the museum explores 'what inspired Burns as a poet and a song writer, namely nature, books and music, belief (incorporating both the Kirk and Freemasonry), politics, love and sex'. In the 'Fame' section, attention is given to 'the level of fame he experienced in his lifetime and how this grew to gigantic proportions after his death'. Surrounding these zones, the 'Creative Works' theme focuses on 'Burns' creative work with reference to eight of his best-loved poems and songs'. The 'poetry wall' around the exhibition is presented as a 'continuous graphic which uses the recurrent theme of silhouettes to represent the different places he lived and the words he used to describe his approach to writing'.[90]

The promoted highlights of the exhibition include Burns' original manuscripts, personal belongings and 'gifts from friends and lovers', and 'the book that made that made him a star'. These artifacts are 'brought to life' with 'sensitive displays and a

wealth of multi-layered, accessible interpretation', and a 'cinematic experience' that 'bursts into life with songs and poetry' to create a 'compelling story'.[91] The creation of that compelling story relies very much on the material traces of Burns' life in the museum's collection to reveal and bring important aspects of his character, personality and working style to life:

There's almost an embarrassment of riches ... small, large, fundamental, humorous insight into Burns. You put them all together and you start looking at Burns as a real person as well as an icon. There's everything from him being a child to an international celebrity. And each of the different objects we have in the collection gives us a little bit of evidence, a little bit of a clue, a little bit of insight, into aspects of Burns. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[92]

In bringing Burns' personal and creative story to life, the museum is also seeking to provide an interpretation environment that will 'imaginatively match' what it sees as his 'creative spectrum' that ranges from 'philosophical reflection on matters of universal concern to irreverent mischief-making'.[93] That irreverence is reflected in display graphics and installations that feature modern and cheeky 'takes' on his iconography and reputation, including a large cartoon panel depicting Burns as Jesus Christ hosting a Last Supper of haggis, attended by other global icons. The experience for visitors is designed to emphasise the 'playfulness and social experience' that are 'powerful strands' of Burns' legacy. The idea too is to 'bring people together rather than to isolate their individual experience'.[94] Social games, interactive media and 'immersive' audio visual presentations are intended to not only bring Burns to life, but also to allow 'the space to come alive, so that visitors' engagement with Burns will be a thousand times more intense than it could have been in the past':[95]

Far removed from the churchlike hush of traditional museums, the spaces echo with poetry, song and the happy voices of visitors, young and old. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[96]

Another key element in the museum's approach to interpretation and visitor engagement across the site is its adoption of the principle 'to show, not to tell'. It combines 'minimal text intervention' with the use of Burns' own words to 'encourage visitors to take their opinions of Burns from his own expressions rather

than allow the museum text to dictate meaning to visitors'.[97] This emphasis on 'showing' rather than 'telling' is also reflected in the museum's focus on 'exploration' and 'discovery', 'immersive' sensory experience, and encounters with a 'powerful sense of the real' that 'permeates every display'.[98] 'Authentic' objects, buildings and settings are presented as the opportunity to 'step back in time' imaginatively and creatively, to 'experience' Burns' world as it actually was:

Within the museum, visitors can explore the cottage where Burns first heard the songs and tales that inspired him, walk among the landscape where his greatest works are set, see the original manuscripts of these works, hear and watch them being performed and immerse themselves in the works' authentic settings - becoming any character and reliving any event that their imagination allows. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[99]

This approach is designed to offer an encounter *with* Burns, as a journey of discovery where visitors can walk in his footsteps. The concept has also been applied to the physical structuring of that journey across the various elements of the site. The site has been arranged as a 'series of six themed destinations' that 'echo and explore' aspects of his childhood, working and creative life: the museum exhibition and gardens, Burns' cottage, the Brig o' Doon and Auld Kirk, the Burns memorial, and the poet's path. The idea here is to link the different elements throughout the site and 'introduce a more holistic approach' to their presentation and interpretation. To assist in this, an illustrated map and 'mini-guide' is provided to visitors. Available in various languages, the guide includes selected 'did you know?' facts and 'don't miss' attractions within each destination.[100]

Together with the map guide, the site and the visitors' journey through it is structured as a thematic narrative of Burns' life. Mirroring the exhibition's main themes of 'Identity', 'Inspiration', 'Fame' and 'Creative Works', the interpretation of these themes is played out in various sub-themes at the different site destinations. For example, the cottage in which Burns was born and spent his early years, is presented as a formative influence on his love of language, folk traditions, education and affinity with the ways and challenges of rural life in eighteenth century Alloway, Scotland.[101] These are presented as 'the seeds from which his creativity sprang' that 'shaped him both as a man and a poet'.[102]

Also tying the various site elements together is another layer of narrative and interpretive strategy that relies on his well known poem, *Tam o' Shanter*. The poem, which is set within some of the key landmarks of the site - the Brig o' Doon and the Auld Kirk and graveyard - is used as the interpretive focus at these destinations and is linked to the Burns cottage as the poem's source of inspiration. The poem is also a highlight feature of the museum's collection and exhibition display, and in the scenes depicted in weathervane sculpture along the poet's path. The poem serves as the vehicle for bringing the museum's various narrative themes (and elements of the site) together as a coherent portrayal of Burns as both man and writer, which visitors can experience directly. At these sites at the museum:

... you will not just be able to read the manuscript of Tam o' Shanter, you can see the fireplace round which Burns first heard the stories that he turned into that poem, and you can look out the window and see that landscape, places like the Kirk Alloway and Brig o' Doon where the poem takes place. It gives you every facet of the man and his work. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[103]

This strategy of utilising the narrative, thematic and location specific features of Burns' poetry, such as *Tam o' Shanter* and other well known poems and songs to guide and enliven visitor engagement, is employed in various ways at the museum, both within the exhibition and at the other site destinations. The landscaped gardens surrounding the main exhibition building feature the themes of 'Burns' love of women, land and nature' expressed in sculptural form, including a playful installation of Burns with 'Highland Mary', and through beds of roses that 'echo' his *My Love is Like a Red Red Rose*. The characters of his poetic imagination (both human and animal) 'populate' the site, including the aforementioned weathervanes on the poet's path, and other sculptural renditions, such as the 2 metre high bronze mouse titled 'Monument to a Mouse' inspired by his poem *To a Mouse*; and another work 'Liberty Regain'd' featuring the fox from his work *A Fragment (On Glenriddel's Fox Breaking his Chain)*. In the publicity associated with these commissioned installations, the museum's director commented that 'Liberty Regain'd':

... combines real, immediate beauty with quite a challenging depth of understanding of Burns's key message. Its themes of real freedom are as meaningful today as they were in

Burns's time. I think it will inspire a lot of people to rediscover an important poem. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[104]

These attentions to poetry in thematic, narrative and physical form reflect the museum's overarching approach to the interpretation of Burns, which is 'as much about language as it is about the man who once used that language to communicate and to create the poems and songs for which he is famed today'.[105] The museum's stated aim is to make 'Burns' art' - his creative achievements with language - the main 'centre of the story'.[106] One of the main strategies towards this end is the use of the Scots language. Scots words and phrases are used in interpretation panels and display graphics, on the walls of the cottage and the exhibition, in the entrance foyer to the museum, and in some of the sculptural elements across the site. The museum's policy of incorporating the Scots language into its presentation of Burns is also incorporated in sound installations, on the museum's website, and forms a focus of public events and educational programs. Designed to offer more than 'a tokenistic nod towards the language', visitors not only see the Scots language used by Burns and others, but also hear it in audio visual presentations. Sung and spoken by well known Scottish singers and performers, these presentations include the works that feature more widely in the site, such as, *To a Mouse*, *My Love is Like a Red, Red Rose* and *Tam o' Shanter*.

People all over the world love reading Burns however his work really comes to life when you hear it. When it's performed by such a range of Scotland's best and most well known voices - accompanied by stunning images that completely surround you - people will be transported into the very heart of Burns' poetry. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[107]

The use of Scots - especially Burns' use - is also part of the mood and tone of the museum that is designed to capture a 'pervading spirit of irreverence', playfulness and cheekiness considered in keeping with the character of Burns himself:

It's meant we can be a little bit cheekier and more adventurous with language than we could have got away with in English ... There'll be quite a few things about the museum that people will be surprised by, maybe even shocked by - but we wouldn't be doing Burns justice if we didn't take risks. He wasn't a safe, establishment, conservative figure, or someone who backed down from a challenge, or who made life particularly easy for himself. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[108]

A related strategy that seeks to put Burns' art at the 'centre of the story' is the museum's use of artists, designers, writers and performers to locate his work and creativity, literary and musical legacy within a contemporary context:

To this end we worked with poets and writers; illustrators and film-makers; performers and visual artists, to explore the meaning of the collection itself and the power of Burns's legacy to connect to contemporary creativity. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[109]

Together with these contributions in the exhibition and on the site, the museum's program of local and international art exhibitions, music, theatre and literary events present contemporary interpretations of Burns' life, ideas and influence. The 'environmental' art for the site is also intended to provide a modern interpretation, which is seen as enhancing the historic landscape and the collection.[110]

Learning with Burns

Perhaps the most illuminating insight into the museum's approach to visitor engagement with Burns is to be found in its visitor learning framework, which identifies the anticipated benefits visitors will gain from their experience at the museum.[111] Based on a broad and inclusive definition of lifelong learning, visitor benefits are defined in terms of Global Learning Outcomes (GLO's). These GLO's are a museum planning, design and evaluation tool that formed part of a UK wide framework developed by the Museums, Libraries and Archives (MLA) council. Each institution develops its own local version based on 5 main learning areas: Knowledge and understanding; Skills; Attitudes and values; Enjoyment, inspiration and creativity; Activity, behaviour, and progression.[112] The principle is that these parameters assist museums in developing desired learning outcomes for visitors that help in the planning and design of presentation and interpretation methods. These are then used to plan and conduct evaluations of visitor engagement and learning.

At the Burns museum, the main focus of its GLO's is to 'celebrate the life and works of one of the most popular writers in the world'.[113] That aim has been translated into GLO's that identify key learning outcomes across the site. These are expressed and can be read as not only evaluation measures, but also as the museum's aspirations and intentions for how visitors engage with its presentation and interpretation of Burns.

Following the MLA framework, the museum's GLO's are grouped into areas that describe the kinds of visitor knowledge, skills, experiences, values and behaviour that the museum seeks to encourage. While these are tailored to each of the site's six destinations they generally apply across the site. An overall intention is that visitors will be encouraged to value the museum as:

... a place that generates and communicates knowledge about Burns while also being a welcoming, accessible and fun place to visit. (Mary Stones, Interpretation Project Manager, National Trust for Scotland)[114]

Another key overarching intention is that visitors will develop knowledge, interest and engagement with the Scots language through their experiences at the museum, and be motivated to pursue that interest into the future.[115]

These visitor goals complement those that are directed towards areas of 'knowledge and understanding' about Burns, associated with the museum's themes of identity, sources of inspiration, the influence of Alloway, and his international fame. Together with knowledge about Burns as a person, the influences on his life, character and work, and his path to fame; the museum seeks visitor understanding of the themes in his work and his reasons for writing: 'what Burns was writing about and why'.[116]

The effects of how visitors encounter and respond to Burns at the museum are also addressed. Their experience and responses to his work being interpreted in a number of different ways through 'text, sound, installation, performance', engaging with 'displays and activities', and 'seeing the real thing in Alloway', are identified as indicators of visitor 'enjoyment, creativity and inspiration'.[117] Inspired by such experiences, the intention is that visitors will be motivated to 'continue on a journey of discovering Burns' in the future: to 'feel inspired to learn more about Burns and to read more poetry by Burns or other poets'; learn more about 'Scots and creative writing'; and engage in 'discussion about Burns, his songs and poetry'.[118]

The goal is that visitors will come to 'value Burns as a uniquely talented poet and songwriter' and evaluate why he is 'such a popular icon'. This is to be achieved through not only visitors gaining knowledge about the poet as 'a man', his influences and what he was writing about and why, but also through making 'an emotional connection' with him and his work, and coming to 'share our passion for and

enjoyment of Burns's poetry and song'.[119] That emotional and personal connection with Burns is designed to encourage visitors 'to get under the skin of the poet', and to be motivated and inspired by his example.

Getting under the skin of the poet as a 'creative' artist is also linked to visitors' own creativity. Creativity, whether associated with 'the mind of Burns' or as a more general attribute or pursuit is a recurring theme in the museum's visitor learning goals. Framed as sources of enjoyment and fun, it is also part of the museum's visitor skills and values priorities. To that end, visitors are presented with opportunities for 'creative' experiences in 'creative writing', 'writing poetry' and in activities that encourage visitors to make 'imaginative' connections with his life and work. This experiential emphasis on creativity and imagination is carried through in visitors being guided to make imaginative and physical encounters with the 'real' structures and places on the site and to engage in activity based games and display technologies.[120]

These opportunities offer access to literature through experience and creativity rather than presenting literature (and Burns) to visitors as primarily books on shelves to be read and studied. Visitors are guided to view literature such as 'poetry, songs and letters' as 'accessible and enjoyable'. Literature is not only something that all people can enjoy, they can participate in it through their own creativity, their own language and through being given opportunities to participate and perform. The experiences offered are also aimed at visitors becoming 'more confident about engaging with literary issues', and engaging in 'debate on the issues of Burns's day and today, such as politics, citizenship, nationhood'.[121]

Staging Burns

The museum's approach to its interpretation of Burns, how it guides its visitors to engage with it, and what the museum anticipates will be gained by visitors through that engagement, stages Burns in a relationship with visitors. The museum is not only presenting a story of Burns, but is also shaping the nature of the encounter that visitors have with him. If the museum can be viewed as a public performance of the poet's life, then it is a performance that relies on a carefully crafted 'script' that writes visitors into being part of that performance.

In the museum's scripted 'journey of discovery', Burns is made accessible, the Scots language is made accessible, and literature is made accessible for a contemporary audience who might not otherwise have made the journey previously or who wish to continue it. Burns is also made relevant to that contemporary audience. He is presented as a modern figure surrounded by modern interpretations, artwork and technologies. In being 'brought to life', or rather, being brought back to life, the eighteenth century poet interacts with twenty first century visitors, plays with them, talks to and with them in Scots. He reveals his most personal possessions, family stories, his hand writing, shows his work and shares with visitors the story of his life, achievements, and world fame. He also allows himself to be played with - his work to be rewritten by visitors, his music to be juke-boxed, his themes to be reinterpreted in sculpture and garden design, his reputation to be parodied in graphic design, and his image to be redrawn by artists, designers and by visitors. He offers his favourite 'beloved' places in Alloway to be visited and touched, and his poetry to be used as trail guides and sculptures. He opens himself up to have questions asked of his character, his relationships with women, with the land and nature, and his views on politics and identity.

Burns here is not so much 'on display', nor is he on literary trial; rather he is acting as host, tour guide and narrator. He is the central character in a narrative where other characters, objects and artifacts, and figures from his own imagination are also brought to life in the staging of the museum's portrayal. That staging physically encompasses the whole museum site where buildings, spaces and places are 'brought to life' through Burns' 'voice' - his words and ideas, poems and songs, and his experiences. In this public performance, it is Burns who 'speaks' to and guides visitors on their journey of discovery. So does his life story and work, that provide the narrative 'pathways' for the journey. The 'voices' of others that we hear, the artists, designers, musicians, performers and writers are, in effect, in conversation with Burns through their interpretation of his work and ideas.

In this performance space, there is not only the voice of Burns himself, the voices of objects and places, and the voices of others in his life and since, there are also the voices of visitors. While Burns is given voice and speaks to visitors through artifacts, places and structures, visitors are invited and guided to engage in a conversation with him and those other 'voices' that have spoken of him. Through this positioning of

Burns as both biographical subject and auto-biographical agent, the museum offers visitors the opportunity to engage with Burns on an experiential and personal level and to make their own meanings of him.

That experiential and personal relationship with of Burns is, nevertheless, guided and shaped by the museum. Through their encounter with Burns, visitors to the museum are encouraged and motivated to love, enjoy and participate in language and literature (as Burns did). Their experiences are designed to enhance their own creativity, imagination and pleasure, and to expand their literary/cultural horizons. In this, Burns serves as not only as vehicle for literary engagement but also as a vehicle for personal development and learning. In coming to know Burns as a 'the Ayrshire ploughman, who rose from humble beginnings to become one of the world's best known poets', visitors too can access some of the qualities 'that made him a star'. Through his example, it is intended that visitors will be inspired to not only value Burns, but also to value creativity, literature and learning, the Scots language, and to recognise the significance of locale, of the Scottish place, 'from which his creativity sprang'.

A 'meaningful relationship with the poet'

The foregoing account of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum has examined how the museum's public performance of his life, work and achievements seeks to bring visitors into a relationship with Burns. The interest for this analysis has been not so much in the details of the museum's portrayal of Burns, but in the mechanisms through which an engagement with him is conducted. That analysis has pointed to how the museum's performance of his life stages Burns in particular ways in order to encourage a personal understanding and engagement with the poet.

Johnny Rodger has suggested that the monuments and structures that have been built to commemorate Burns over time can be examined as 'facilities for a reader's induction into a meaningful relationship with the poet'. Noting that different aspects of Burns' poetic significance have been given 'differing emphases appropriate to differing locations and different historical periods', he suggests that these monuments can be examined for how they represent 'shifting historical sensibilities' towards Burns and his work.[122] Over the course of the nineteenth century, for example, Burns was represented as classical philosopher of the ideal, mystic poet of

the nation, as national hero, and as poet of humanity and brotherly love, in the neo-classical temple like structures, ecclesiastical shrines, and Scottish Baronial towers built in his honour. While Rodger's analysis is focused on commemorative structures and monuments, the consideration of how these memorials might be viewed as 'intending in some way to complement our understanding' of Burns and his work, and as 'facilities for a reader's induction into a meaningful relationship with the poet', is pertinent to this analysis of the museum.

In terms of the museum's explicit purpose, it is clearly intended to complement an understanding of Burns the man and his work - to facilitate an induction into a meaningful relationship with the poet. The means of facilitating such a 'meaningful relationship', as defined and guided by the museum has been the focus of this chapter. But a question remains as to what kind of meaningful relationship is being facilitated and what might this say about the role of Burns in this twenty first century context?

For museum visitors, 'learning' and 'inspiration' through an engagement with Burns is at the core of what the museum is about. The relationship with Burns that the museum seeks to facilitate for its visitors is defined through a metaphor of 'learning' and 'discovery'. Visitors not only learn and discover things *about* Burns; they make the journey of discovery *with* him. Burns is brought to life, not only as guide and narrator of his story, but also as teacher and creativity role model. The interpretive space that the museum constructs, within which Burns and visitors engage, then resembles that of a 'school', a public learning 'facility' in which he serves as figurehead, inspirational source, tutor, mentor and guide. From this perspective, the museum's mission of presenting 'Alloway as the hub of learning and inspiration about Burns' might be more accurately described as presenting Burns 'as the hub of learning and inspiration' in Alloway.

In that hub of learning and inspiration, the museum is facilitating a relationship not only between the 'reader' of Burns and his work, but also a relationship between the 'visitor' and Burns. The visitor may be a 'reader', but the museum is seeking to bring a much wider audience into a relationship with him. The museum's Burns is not only for the devotee, literary scholar, literary pilgrim, or Burnsian.[123] Its Burns is for children and families seeking a great day out, and for young adults seeking

entertainment. But it is also a teaching and learning Burns for the visitor and also for those who do not simply 'visit' but participate in extended educational programs or attend lectures and seminars and performances. The museum is also facilitating a relationship between the local community and Burns, and through it, a relationship between the museum itself and the community.

In bringing these different audiences into a relationship with Burns, the museum shares some of the qualities that Eilean Hooper-Greenhill envisaged for the museum of the future. Referring to it as the post-museum, the museum of the future would be not so much a building as a process or an experience:

It is ... not limited to its own walls, but moves as a set of processes into the spaces, the concerns, and the ambitions of communities. (Eilean Hooper-Greenhill 2007, p 82)

In this vision, the museum exhibition would be only one of many other forms of communication forming a nucleus of events involving the community:

These events might involve the establishments of community and organisational partnerships; the production of objects during educational programmes which then enter the collections; periods of time when specific community groups use the museum spaces in their own way; writers, scientists and artists in residence; or satellite displays set up in pubs and shops. During these events, discussions, workshops, performances, dances, songs, and meals will be produced or enacted. (Eilean Hooper-Greenhill 2007, p 81)

In this way, the museum of the future will be an interpretive community - a community of engagement that emphasises visitor learning and experience.[124]

Whether they are day trippers, virtual visitors, attendees at events, members of the local community, or participants in more formal educational programs, the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum's visitors are brought into a relationship with Burns that, like the post-museum, emphasises visitor experiences and learning. That emphasis positions the museum as a learning space in which Burns' creative achievements are made meaningful to contemporary audiences - where Burns and his work is made accessible and 'readable'. By being offered opportunities to engage with him, visitors too can also become 'readers' of Burns. His value as a cultural figure is not only reaffirmed in this process, it is also renewed and carried forward onto the next generation. In this, the museum mediates not only between a past and a present

Burns, but also a Burns of the future. The museum's aim of inspiring current and future generations is translated into strategies that brings Burns to life as both subject and agent of his own story, where he is put to work in the service his own remembrance to influence his literary and cultural legacy. The Burns that is the subject and agent of this remembrance is nevertheless a constructed Burns. In that construction, Burns is made over and posited by the museum as a twenty first century version of a 'larger concept or phenomenon' that he has often been in the past - a (Scottish) source and locus of universal 'inspiration and emulation'. It is 'a lasting legacy' which, in the museum's story of Burns, serves to bring international 'stardom' not only to the poet, but also to his birthplace, to his language and to Scotland.

It is how Burns' lasting legacy plays out in the wider field of visual culture that the next chapter will address. The analysis of how Burns is pictured in the social and cultural imagination in art, design, products and marketing, and in new forms and technologies, provides the opportunity to draw together a number of the themes and issues that have been developed in the study thus far. This examination of the contemporary iconography of Burns, its forms and dissemination, draws upon an understanding of images as powerful technologies and media of remembrance that serve to continuously reinscribe his meanings as a national and international icon of Scottishness. The chapter discusses the implications for how he is being re-remembered as a multifaceted cultural icon, and how both this, and the public discourse that his iconic status generates, contribute to an ongoing discourse about Burns that raises questions about his contemporary cultural relevance and meaning.

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[1] Edwards quoted in the Robert Burns World Federation Newsletter, May 2014, p 9, http://www.rbwf.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/RBWF-Newsletter-May2014.pdf.

[2] See, for example, *East Ayrshire Tourism Strategy and Action Plan - The Way Ahead: 2009-2015* (East Ayrshire Council 2009); *Ayrshire and Arran Tourism Strategy 2012-17* (South Ayrshire Council 2011); *The Visitor Economy of Ayrshire: The Present Profile and Future Opportunities* (South Ayrshire Council 2011).

[3] See 'Cultural Policy', Scottish Government, 20 September 2012, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/ArtsCulture/CulturalPolicy; *Going Further: The National Strategy for Scotland's Museums and Galleries* (Museums Galleries Scotland 2012); *Our Place in Time: The Historic Environment Strategy for Scotland* (Scottish Government 2014); *Growth, Talent, Ambition - the Government's Strategy for the Creative Industries* (Scottish Government 2011). The Scottish government announced grants for museums and galleries of £2.490m in 2012-13; £2.475m for 2013-14; and £2.460m for 2014-15 (see 'Scotland's Museums and Galleries Strategy', Scottish Government news release, 30 March 2012, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2012/03/museums-strategy30032012). The Scottish government's funding for the £21m Robert Burns Birthplace Museum amounted to £8.6m by September 2010 (see 'Progress on Burns Museum', Scottish Government news release, 6 September 2010, http://wayback.archive-it.org/3011/20130201220032/http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2010/09/06111510).

[4] Hyslop, 'Past, Present and Future: Culture and Heritage in an Independent Scotland'.

[5] *Going Further*, p 38.

[6] See *Realising the True Impact of Museums and Galleries in Scottish Tourism* (Museums Galleries Scotland 2005, p iv); and *Report by The Museums Think Tank: Scotland's Museums and Galleries* (Scottish Government 2010, p 6).

[7] See *Realising the True Impact*, p 58 and p 11. The role of modern museums in supporting and defining national identities has been examined by both scholars and practitioners (see Fiona McLean 1998 and 2005; Sheila Watson 2007 and 2011; and J Magnus Fladmark 2000).

[8] Salmond quoted in 'Robert Burns Birthplace Museum', Scottish Government news release, 21 January 2011, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2011/01/21160220.

[9] See Kate Rumbold 2010; and Hyslop, 'Past, Present and Future: Culture and Heritage in an Independent Scotland'. See also *Report by The Museums Think Tank*; *Making a Difference: the Cultural Impact of Museums* (National Museums Directors' Council 2010); *Museums Galleries Scotland Digital Content Action Framework 2008-2011* (Museums Galleries Scotland 2008); and *Going Further*.

[10] See 'Museum Definition', International Council of Museums (ICOM), http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition. This definition was adopted at the ICOM 21st General Conference in Vienna, Austria, 2007, and is quoted in *Going Further*, p 6.

[11] See Jane Marie Law, who comments: 'Where we once expected museums to 'tell us what happened', we now go to museums to have an experience that allows us to 'remember' the past'. Museums 'focus on crafting an experience for the museumgoer, beyond imparting knowledge about the past or other realms' (Law 2006, p 11).

[12] See Rumbold 2010, p 315.

[13] Law 2006, p 11.

[14] See Aleida Assmann 2011, pp 314-315.

[15] Sheila Watson 2007, p 269. Watson identifies the importance of museums in identity making.

[16] Aleida Assmann 2008, p 98.

[17] Aleida Assmann 2008, p 100.

[18] Kate Mavor quoted in 'Kate Mavor, National Trust Chief Executive talks about the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum', *Daily Record*, 21 May 2010, http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/lifestyle/local-lifestyle/kate-mavor-national-trust-chief-2425435.

[19] See: 'Burns museum to miss 250th anniversary', *Herald Scotland*, 14 January 2008, http://www.heraldscotland.com/burns-museum-to-miss-250th-anniversary-1.872555; 'Late opening for Burns museum', *BBC News*, 25 January 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/glasgow_and_west/7207337.stm; and 'Robert Burns museum opens at his former home in Ayrshire', *The Guardian*, 2 December 2010, http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/dec/01/robert-burns-museum-opens-ayrshire.

[20] See, for example: 'National Trust for Scotland unveils its new £21m Robert Burns Birthplace Museum', National Trust for Scotland news release, 1 December 2010, http://www.nts.org.uk/News/Archive/2010/12/#; and 'New £21m Robert Burns Birthplace Museum opens', *BBC News*, 1 December 2010, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-11879899.

[21] Sloan quoted in 'First Minister and Makar celebrate official launch of Burns Museum', National Trust for Scotland news release, 21 January 2011, http://www.nts.org.uk/News/Archive/2011/01.

[22] 'Burns Day Message 2011', Scottish Government news release, 25 January 2011, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2011/01/24110133; 'The main event: Robert Burns Birthplace Museum', *The Scotsman*, 25 November 2010, http://www.scotsman.com/news/the-main-event-robert-burns-birthplace-museum-1-479510; 'New £21m Robert Burns Birthplace Museum opens'; 'Robert Burns museum opens at his former home in Ayrshire'; and 'National Trust for Scotland unveils its new £21m Robert Burns Birthplace Museum'.

[23] 'The main event: Robert Burns Birthplace Museum'.

[24] 'Kate Mavor, National Trust Chief Executive talks about the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum'.

[25] Shonaig Macpherson (National Trust for Scotland Chairwoman) quoted in 'Burns museum wins £11.3 funding', *BBC News*, 24 January 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/glasgow_and_west/6292947.stm.

[26] Macpherson quoted in 'Burns museum wins £11.3 funding'.

[27] Lang and Lang 1988, p 86.

[28] See Harald Hendrix, who refers to writers' houses as both monuments and museums that 'reflect several and sometimes contrasting kinds of memories, forged as they are by the interpretations and appropriations both of those that initiated this specific kind of literary memory making and of the later generations who continued and perpetuated its existence' (Hendrix 2012, p 6).

[29] See Booth, who regards writers' biographical museums (and their objects) as sites of memory - as *lieux des memoires*, and as 'nodes of narrative' (Booth 2012, p 233).

[30] Forgan 2012, p 247.

[31] Forgan 2012, p 248. Shakespeare has five museums, and Dickens has four.

[32] In addition, the *Writers' Museum* in Edinburgh is devoted to the lives of three Scottish writers: Robert Burns, Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson.

[33] Angela Phelps 2012, p 29.

[34] Phelps 2012, p 29.

[35] Seth Bruggeman 2012, p 21.

[36] Hill 2012, p 22.

[37] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, p 2.

[38] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, p 6.

[39] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, p 2.

[40] Booth 2012, p 236.

[41] Booth 2012, p 232.

[42] Booth 2012, p 236.

[43] Booth 2012, p 232.

[44] Albano 2007, p 20.

[45] Albano 2007, pp 24-25.

[46] Albano 2007, p 23.

[47] Booth 2012, p 232.

[48] Booth 2012, p 232.

[49] Forgan 2012, p 257.

[50] Forgan 2012, p 257.

[51] Hill 2012, p 6. Hendrix also suggests that it is 'the more general idea of authenticity, of getting in touch with the world of the past and of the imagination, that turns out to be the greatest attraction of the visit to places like writers' houses' (Hendrix 2012, p 7). See also David Herbert 2001 and 2003; Clare Fawcett and Patricia Cormack 2001; and Rumbold 2010.

[52] Booth 2012, p 240. See also Hendrix 2012.

[53] See Phelps 2012; Booth 2012; Forgan 2012; and Hendrix 2012. As Hendrix notes, writers' houses 'not only recall the poets and novelists who dwelt in them, but also the ideologies of those who turned them into memorial sites' (Hendrix 2012, p 5).

[54] Site visits to the museum, conducted in 2011 and 2013, and consultations with museum staff inform this chapter's analysis.

[55] Information provided by Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum.

[56] See Allison Lockwood 1981; Nicola Watson 2006; and Karyn Wilson-Costa 2009.

[57] See 'Robert Burns Birthplace Museum', Museums Galleries Scotland, http://www.museumsgalleriesscotland.org.uk/member/robert-burns-birthplace-museum.

[58] Exhibition award and Building design award, Scottish Design Awards 2011; Exhibition design award, UK Roses Design Awards 2011; Best Permanent Exhibition, UK Museums and Heritage Awards 2011; Education Program award, UK Sandford Award 2012; and Museum of the Year finalist, UK Art Fund Prize 2011 (see 'Top honours for Scotland's prized poet', National Trust for Scotland news release, 16 May 2011, http://www.nts.org.uk/News/Archive/2011/05/#; 'More awards for Burns Museum', National Trust for Scotland news release, 25 October 2011, http://www.nts.org.uk/News/Archive/2011/#; and '2012 Sandford Award Winners', Sandford Award, http://sandfordaward.org/2012winners).

[59] See 'First Minister and Makar celebrate official launch of Burns Museum'; and 'National Trust for Scotland unveils its new £21m Robert Burns Birthplace Museum'.

[60] See 'About the Trust', National Trust for Scotland, http://www.nts.org.uk/Charity/Our-Work/About-the-Trust.

[61] Information provided by Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum.

[62] See *Report by The Museums Think Tank,* p 5, and pp17-18; and *Going Further*.

[63] *Going Further,* p 22.

[64] Hyslop quoted in 'Scotland's Museums & Galleries Strategy', Scottish Government news release, 3 March 2012, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2012/03/museums-strategy30032012. See also: 'The Scottish cultural tourism product is renowned worldwide and the nation's museums and galleries represent its largest visitor attraction sector and generate more visits than any other type of attraction' (*Realising the True Impact,* p 2).

[65] Alex Salmond quoted in 'Robert Burns Birthplace Museum', Scottish Government news release, 21 January 2011, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2011/01/21160220.

[66] See 'Landmark for Burns museum as visitors exceed one million', *BBC News*, 25 July 2013, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-23451194.

[67] *Scotland: The Key Facts on Tourism in 2011* (VisitScotland 2011, p 6).

[68] *Tourism in Western Scotland 2011* (Visit Scotland 2011, p 15). In 2012 it was the fifth most visited (paid) attraction in Scotland (*Scotland: The Key Facts on Tourism in 2012*, VisitScotland 2012, p 6).

[69] See 'Tourism boost as visitors flock to new attractions', *Herald Scotland*, 26 April 2012, http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/home-news/tourism-boost-as-visitors-flock-to-new-attractions.17413299.

[70] Lennon quoted in 'Tourism boost as visitors flock to new attractions.'

[71] *Begin your Adventure with Burns at the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum* (Robert Burns Birthplace Museum visitor information brochure, nd).

[72] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy - Delivering the Vision* (National Trust for Scotland 2011, p 30).

[73] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize* (National Trust for Scotland November 2010, np).

[74] *Begin your Adventure with Burns.*

[75] *Begin your Adventure with Burns.*

[76] *Begin your Adventure with Burns.*

[77] Salmond quoted in 'Burns Day Message 2011'.

[78] See 'Big push to celebrate braw Burns birthday', National Trust for Scotland news release, 16 January 2012, http://www.nts.org.uk/News/Archive/2012/; *A Braw Burns Birthday 2012*, National Trust for Scotland, 24 January 2012, http://www.nts.org.uk/Downloads/Homepage/4.13_events_programme_v.2-pdf_for_email.pdf.; 'Robert Burns Museum aims for younger audience through new campaign', *The Drum*, 17 January 2012, http://www.thedrum.com/news/2012/01/17/robert-burns-museum-aims-younger-audience-through-new-campaign#khrdFYR2GOjhWHOg.99; and 'Burns an' a' that: NTS launches a full day of

events to mark the bard's birthday', *STV News*, 18 January 2012, http://news.stv.tv/scotland/294144-burns-an-a-that-nts-launches-a-full-day-of-events-to-mark-the-bards-birthday.

[79] Glenn quoted in 'Family fun at Burns Museum', National Trust for Scotland news release, 13 July 2012, http://www.nts.org.uk/News/Archive/2012/07/#.

[80] Glenn quoted in 'Burns Museum showcases Scottish artists', National Trust for Scotland news release, 23 March 2012, http://www.nts.org.uk/News/Archive/2012/03/#.

[81] See Robert Burns Birthplace Museum website, http://www.burnsmuseum.org.uk.

[82] Edwards quoted in 'The main event: Robert Burns Birthplace Museum'.

[83] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 4.

[84] See Robert Burns Birthplace Museum website.

[85] Hugh MacDiarmid wrote about Burns that: 'Mair nonsense has been uttered in his name than in ony's barrin' liberty and Christ' (lines from *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, in *Hugh MacDiarmid: Selected Poetry*, Alan Riach and Michael Grieve, eds, 2006, p 27).

[86] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize*.

[87] 'Inside the new Burns museum', *Herald Scotland*, 29 November 2010, http://www.heraldscotland.com/arts-ents/more-arts-entertainment-news/inside-the-new-burns-museum-1.1071519.

[88] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 29.

[89] Edwards quoted in 'The main event: Robert Burns Birthplace Museum'.

[90] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 16. The use of silhouettes as a design feature across the site is intended to 'reflect the darker, more uncomfortable truths about the life of Scotland's National Bard, rather than the more traditional approach of presenting a bucolic, rosy view of life tied to the land' (*Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 20).

[91] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize*.

[92] Edwards quoted in 'Inside the new Burns museum'.

[93] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize*.

[94] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize*.

[95] Edwards quoted in 'The main event: Robert Burns Birthplace Museum'.

[96] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize*.

[97] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 18.

[98] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize*.

[99] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize*.

[100] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*; and *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum Map and Guide* (Robert Burns Birthplace Museum visitor information brochure, nd).

[101] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, pp 7-10.

[102] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum Map and Guide*.

[103] Edwards quoted in 'National Trust for Scotland unveils its new £21m Robert Burns Birthplace Museum'.

[104] Edwards quoted in 'New Statue Marks Burns' Birthday', National Trust for Scotland news release, 25 January 2012, http://www.nts.org.uk/NewsStory/1655.

[105] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 6.

[106] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize*.

[107] Edwards quoted in 'Brian Cox, Bill Paterson and Eddi Reader lend their talents to Robert Burns Birthplace Museum', National Trust for Scotland news release, 29 July 2010, http://www.nts.org.uk/News/Archive/2010/07/#.

[108] Edwards quoted in 'The main event: Robert Burns Birthplace Museum'.

[109] *Supporting Statement for Museum of the Year Art Fund Prize*.

[110] See Robert Burns Birthplace Museum Facebook page, https://www.facebook.com/RobertBurnsBirthplaceMuseum/info.

[111] See *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy.*

[112] See 'Generic Learning Outcomes', Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, 2008, http://www.inspiringlearningforall.gov.uk/toolstemplates/genericlearning/index.html. The MLA ceased operating in 2012, but the GLO's 'continue to be used extensively in museums to measure audiences learning and to help plan and develop programmes and exhibitions' (Sam Cairns 2013, p 27).

[113] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 6.

[114] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 12.

[115] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 21.

[116] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, pp 20-21.

[117] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 21.

[118] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, pp 21-22.

[119] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 21.

[120] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, p 17 and p 21.

[121] *Robert Burns Birthplace Museum: Interpretive Strategy*, pp 21-22.

[122] Rodger 2009, p 78.

[123] See also David Herbert, who observes that: 'There are still literary pilgrims but those who visit such places out of curiosity and general interest rather than a single-minded sense of dedication outnumber them' (Herbert 2001, p 313).

[124] Hooper-Greenhill 2007, p 81.

6

Robert Burns: A Shape Shifting 'Sign' of the Times

Never mind museums and visitor centres dedicated to your memory, when you have been rendered in pizza, that's when you know you've made it.[1]

This study has focused on a number of cultural arenas in which the 'take up' of Burns has a notable and renewed presence. It has sought to chart how Burns is being re-remembered through the workings of various political, economic and cultural agencies and institutions. In this chapter the emphasis lies mainly in aspects of visual culture and his place within it. Alan Riach has remarked that Scotland is 'particularly rich' in its iconic representation. Burns is one of those icons of Scottishness (tartan, haggis, whisky, heather, wild mountain scenery and bad weather) that are 'are instant and reliable icons and codes of recognition, both within the country and internationally'.[2] This popular iconography of the nation has been 'unmistakable, internationally bankable and unusually stable for a long time'.[3] While 'stable' in their long term cultural persistence and maintenance, these icons of Scottishness 'have been deployed, developed and transformed' over the course of the last two centuries, and coming to 'serve more than one political purpose, from reactionary conservatism to progressive futurism'.[4] For over 250 years, Burns' image has lent authority, authenticity, glamour and popular appeal to the public persona of Scotland. This chapter draws attention to how the eighteenth century Robert Burns as symbolic portrait of the nation has come to be reframed and reinvested with new meanings in the twenty first century.

What is striking about the renewed interest in Burns is his reappropriation and reinterpretation as visual icon. While one Burns scholar remarked at the end of the twentieth century that 'the writing about the poet seems without end', the visual

presence of Burns in the twenty first century might readily equal it.[5] The image of Burns has been described as 'omnipresent' in the commercial iconography of Scotland - a situation that is extending to other cultural arenas not only in Scotland, but also with reverberations to the wider world through his global presence online.[6] The predominance of Burns as visual icon is such that his imagery could be construed as contributing more to the endurance of his memory than his work.[7]

The appropriation of Burns' image in art, design, tourism and commerce is certainly not a new phenomenon. The visualisation of Burns became well established long before the end of the nineteenth century, putting in place many of the conventions that continued to dominate his representation for most of the twentieth century. With the early mapping of Burns in cultural memory through a narrative of 'biography' came an intense interest in his visual representation as the creator of ideas and works. He became widely 'pictured' in the social imagination in the paintings, sculptures, illustrations and commodities, that were produced (and reproduced) to commemorate, memorialise and venerate a poet whose reputation and stature reached quite staggering heights in the Victorian era. The result of which was the elevation of Burns to national and international celebrity, national hero and champion of Scottish and universal values and virtues. That 'picturing' played a significant role in his remembrance and the establishment of his iconic status. So much so that his visual persona has come to function as cultural shorthand or synecdoche for his complex and fluid cultural status and meaning.[8]

One recent and prominent example of the enduring fascination with his image and its cultural currency has been the much publicised three dimensional reconstruction of Burns' head that was undertaken by forensic scientists at the University of Dundee in Scotland *(Fig 1)*. It was unveiled to the public in January 2013 with much fanfare as the highlight of a new STV documentary, *In Search of Robert Burns*, hosted by the Scottish actor David Hayman.[9] Burns scholars, artists, the scientists involved, the project's instigator (the Scottish poet Rab Wilson), and Scotland's First Minister, Alex Salmond, attended the unveiling that was covered in the TV program. The show emphasised that the reconstructed head was not 'just' an artistic impression: 'this *is* Burns ... this is the man as he would have looked in the life'. Unlike the 'almost angelic quality' of his most famous eighteenth century portrait, Burns now looks like 'a farmer, a son of the soil'. As Alex Salmond commented: 'This is the real one, the

real Robert Burns'.[10] In the press coverage surrounding the event, Caroline Wilkinson, Professor of Craniofacial Identification at the University of Dundee, remarked that revealing the head of Burns to 'Scotland and the world' was 'an immense privilege' and that 'finally we can see this charismatic poet as others would have seen him in life and it has not been disappointing'.[11] The program's host was especially enthusiastic and moved by the experience:

The highlight of this film for me is, undoubtedly, the unveiling of the reconstructed head of Rabbie Burns. It had a very profound and startling effect on all who witnessed it ... A powerful, sensual and sensitive face. Thoughtful but with a quiet determination and a hint of a smile. It is a knockout. I felt very privileged to be in its presence. (David Hayman, host of *In Search of Robert Burns*)[12]

Fig 1 Reconstruction of the head of Robert Burns, 2013

This new 'real' Burns was not, however, greeted with universal delight and approval. Its departure from his longstanding image as a rather handsome and dashing romantic figure, to a Burns with the heavier countenance of a 'robust farmer' was 'shocking' for some and at odds with their understanding and image of him:

It's the eyes that do it. I much prefer to see Rabbie as he is portrayed in paintings where he is so beautiful and refined rather than this rough ugly model which does not look like a man who could have written with such sensitivity.[13]

Doubts were also expressed over the accuracy of the reconstruction. As one member of Alexandria Burns Club in Scotland remarked:

My own feelings on this are that the jury is still out ... Burns in this version does not seem to me to be (the) handsome chap that so many women seemed to find irresistible. The techniques used in these constructions is a wee bit shaky, to say the least ... Much of it is guesswork ...While the attempted reconstruction is to be commended I don't think it has any real value, but then it made a good TV (sic) and kept the bard in the public eye.[14]

Other reactions in the Scottish press also took umbrage at the accuracy of the forensic makeover that was based on the cast of Burns' skull: 'I can't think he would have been quite as much of a hit with the ladies looking like that! ... Are they sure they got the correct skull?'[15]

Further afield in the USA, members of the St Andrew Society of Tallahassee responded with shock and confusion, communicating that reaction to readers of their online newsletter:

Those who attended our recent Burns' Supper saw this 3-D created image staring absently out toward them from the cover of the evening's program. There indeed, were immediate reactions of some confusion. After all, we've been looking at Alexander Nasmyth's versions of Burns for over 200 years. Gone are the gentle eyes and soft features of the romanticized 'Ploughman Poet.' It has been replaced by a somewhat startling image of what some would argue is the real rustic ploughman. Interestingly, the resounding reaction by members of the SAS board at last Monday's board meeting were similar to the reaction of great horror and shock of the *Scotsman* readers.[16]

The fact that a new image of Burns can attract such strong public reaction, both positive and negative, together with the not inconsiderable forensic undertaking involved and its high profile media unveiling, serves to emphasise that the 'look' of Burns continues to matter. Changes to his longstanding representation may excite some, but challenge others' most cherished views of the poet. This interest, attention and controversy highlights that something important continues to be at stake in how Burns is envisioned by others and envisaged in the social imagination. It also suggests that his image (old or new) continues to exert a powerful influence over the ways in which he is received, remembered and valued.

While this example is notable for its claims to scientific accuracy as a representation of the 'real' Burns, it presents only one of an increasingly diverse array of visual redefinitions that are contributing to his contemporary remembrance. The renewed take up of Burns as visual icon in new forms and technologies, and as art and design subject is producing a widespread series of shifts in his interpretation and representation. It is these changes and the use of new communications technologies to represent and disseminate the iconography of Burns that this chapter will examine. How Burns is being re-remembered in visual terms and the implications that this might have for his contemporary role as a canonised figure and cultural icon provides the main focus for this analysis. It will consider how the processes of visual adaptation and appropriation reinforce or subvert his cultural status and meaning, and how and why does this matter. A detailed examination of a number of key examples will trace the reworkings of his image in a range of different contexts, visual genres and media. This analysis is framed within a broader discussion of the role of visual media in remembrance; its role in the construction, dissemination and meaning of cultural icons; and the part played by adaptation and appropriation in keeping memory figures 'alive'.

Burns as image and icon

Marita Sturken has argued that as 'technologies of memory' images are 'central to the interpretation of the past'.[17] In the same way as memory 'is often thought of as an image, it is also produced by and through images'.[18] Ann Rigney also has argued that images play an especially important role in the dynamics of cultural memory, as media of remembrance. Being both infinitely reproducible and 'mobile', images are free to circulate widely to be repeated, recycled and adapted, becoming part of a shared frame of reference for remembering.[19] Since cultural memory is largely the product of representations and not of direct experience, it is a matter of 'vicarious recollection' and the 'ongoing result of public communication and of the circulation of memories in mediated form'.[20] As one of the repertoire of forms available for giving public expression to remembrance, images, like texts, play an active role in shaping understandings of the past. They provide not only a cultural form for communicating, representing, circulating and exchanging shared memories; they also serve as vehicles for remediating those memories. In this way, images as memorial media, not only reflect and represent cultural memories, but also serve to reconstruct

them. Iconic (or canonised) images in particular serve as cultural models or schemata for new visual representations that 'borrow from, incorporate, absorb, critique and refashion' those earlier forms and patterns of representation.[21] As new communications forms and technologies arise, such as mass media, digital media and the internet, they too become vehicles for the production of shared memories in visual form, which draw upon and interact with other representations.[22] Because they are tied down neither to any particular time nor to any particular place, images as mediators of memories can travel beyond national boundaries to be appropriated in new situations.[23] As such, images (and texts) may be 'instruments par excellence in the 'transfer' of memories from one community to another, and hence as mediators between memory communities'.[24]

The role of images as mobile media of cultural memory is perhaps most pronounced in the functioning of global cultural icons, such as Burns, whose visual representation has played a significant role in how he has been remembered in different temporal and geographic contexts. David Scott and Keyan Tomaselli note that the exemplary status that accrues to cultural icons - their role in symbolising social or cultural values - is often a function of how they are represented in visual form through 'medial dissemination', 'glamorization' or 'intermedial transformation'.[25] A cultural icon's status is also reinforced through their being subject to 'aesthetic regularity', in their representation or 'consecration' through works of art and in other media that bring cultural icons into popular consciousness.[26] But for individuals to attain iconic status they must first become widely recognisable, often through an early period of 'semiotic consolidation and regularization' where key or essential visual attributes such as form, pose, setting and accoutrements are established and become associated with their 'look' and identity.[27] This is certainly true of Burns whose conventional visual persona became well established and widely reproduced over the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Like other cultural icons, the longevity of Burns' iconic status has also been dependent on his continued visual presence and recognisability. For cultural icons to endure, they must on the one hand stand for continuity within a culture and at the same time survive historical change.[28] This means that a cultural icon must be both (relatively) fixed, that is, recognisable representing continuity, *and* mobile, that is,

open to new layers of meanings in new situations. Indeed what marks a cultural icon is both broad popular recognition and the 'exceptional accretion' of layers of meaning that they attract.[29] Those accretions of meaning are neither fixed nor homogenous, and are often ambiguous, paradoxical and contradictory.[30] Gunter Leypoldt suggests that this multivocal characteristic of iconic figures is a product of 'value-based appropriation', where individuals and groups seek to 'rewrite' the symbolic content of cultural icons 'to make them 'fit' their preferred self-image and suit their pragmatic purposes'. Through such process of 'inscription and reinscription, valuation and contestation' iconic figures become endowed with 'high cultural relevance' and 'complex histories'. Those complex histories represent multilayered inscriptions that encode cultural icons with socio-cultural meanings in a dynamic process of interaction with the 'narratives, ideas and concepts' that are attached to iconic figures.[31] In this way, as 'performers of social power', cultural icons serve as 'planes of projection for contradictory cultural affects and fantasies'.[32] This feature of cultural icons as subjects of appropriation, reinscription and rewriting is especially pertinent in the case of Burns. As Rodger and Carruthers have observed:

... since the day Burns walked out in public in his poetry, he was already adaptable, and allowing himself to be adapted, as a symbol for the sort of myths and legends peoples (sic) use to celebrate the identities and values manifest in the social situations in which they find themselves. (Johnny Rodger and Gerard Carruthers 2009(b), p3)

With such adaptations and appropriations, come changes in form and appearance where conventional representations of an iconic figure may undergo visual transformation. Such changes in representation are also brought through their remediation and intermediation in different representational modes such as art, fashion, products, film, music, satirical cartoon, game, internet site, and so on.[33] When an icon shifts from its conventional representational context into a wider field of reference, David Scott suggests that its 'dynamic potential', 'multivalence and versatility' is 'unleashed'.[34] This is particularly noticeable in cases, such as Burns, where the representation of a cultural icon that has been standardised or stereotyped, is taken up in new artistic explorations and reinterpretations or becomes appropriated in caricature or satire, to 'humorous, subversive, or parodic effect'.[35] While such shifts serve to 'multiply the suggestive connotations of the icon' and stretch its

meanings, those varying and multiple interpretations 'even at their most perverse' remain dependent on the icon's 'essential' attributes and conventional meanings.[36]

Since the ongoing vitality of cultural icons is predicated on variation and change, what marks a 'rich' cultural icon is that it can survive centuries of change by contriving to remain relevant to varying circumstances while retaining, what Scott refers to as, its own 'fundamental identity'.[37] For that identity to continue to sustain a broad public appeal that allows for transformation and development, cultural icons must be 'seductive', by exerting sufficient moral, social or aesthetic power.[38] While the power and collective attraction of cultural icons may function across any one or all of these dimensions, it is often their aesthetic or sensual representation that provides the power of their attraction in the modern media age.[39] As Scott and Tomaselli note, 'it is the seduction of the image itself', its aesthetic qualities, colour and form, that becomes 'the central focus of attention'.[40] But that emphasis on the visual and the aesthetic also signals the potential for cultural icons to be become contrived, artificial, inauthentic or 'deceitful' through their image being subject to media transformation. Since cultural icons 'purport' or function to represent their subject, such aesthetic rewriting and manipulation 'can be highly problematic' especially in attempts to critically investigate the meanings of cultural icons and the ambiguities they present.[41]

While cultural icons, such as Burns, have depended on their representation in various visual media in the past, what has changed today is the rate at which such mediatisation occurs and the 'ambiguities instituted by the different forms of representation to which cultural icons are submitted'.[42] A further implication is that the intensity, speed and variety of mediatisation that cultural icons are subject to can 'disarticulate original meanings and rearticulate them into new meanings that may have little relation to the originals'.[43] But it is not only the effects of mediatisation that have implications for an icon's historical meaning. As a consequence of appropriations and adaptations over time, and changes in use or context, 'original' meanings and historical significance can become 'obfuscated', detached or silent. The very appeal of cultural icons and their ability to attract new meanings and uses can have the effect of not only redirecting their symbolic value, but also of replacing their complex historical meanings with generalities. In this way, the complex cultural histories of cultural icons may be lost, or disconnected from their 'historical reality'.

Their original significance may persist in some latent or embedded form, but their contemporary salience operates more as a generalised marker rather than as an ongoing engagement with their complex meanings and histories.[44] When that engagement loses its wider cultural force, generalities and consensus rather than debate and controversy can lead to cultural icons becoming 'has-beens' or 'illegible' to newer generations.[45]

It is these qualities of Burns as a recognisable visual cultural icon that stands for continuity as a canonised figure, while being open to the effects new visualisations and meanings through the differing appeal that he exerts in different contexts, that informs this chapter's analysis of him as a contemporary figure of cultural memory. Through the examples discussed, the analysis will consider that while he remains a highly recognisable cultural icon, the appropriations and adaptations of his image raise questions about the nature of his 'fundamental identity' and his contemporary cultural relevance and meaning.

An 'extraordinary web of imagery'

The Scottish art historian, Murdo Macdonald, has remarked that over the last 250 years Burns' face, his poetry and songs, his biography and relationships, and the places associated with the poet 'all come together in an extraordinary web of imagery'.[46] Beginning in the poet's lifetime when portraits were painted and engravings made, there developed an enormously popular market for prints of various sizes and qualities, advertised as '*authentic likenesses* of Burns'.[47] As noted in Chapter 2, the 'remarkable urge' to memorialise Burns took visual form in an 'orgy' of different media in two and three dimensional form that recycled and adapted Burns' imagery in painting, drawing, engraving and etchings, ceramics, glass, pottery, wood, lithography and photography, stone and bronze. Over the course of the nineteenth century, together with the painted portraits and sculptures, a Burns industry of illustrated publications and commodities depicting Burns, his work and scenes from his life grew apace in both Scotland and overseas.

Artists played a significant role in this early visualisation of Burns and in his remembrance. As Macdonald has remarked, Burns has had 'an enduring fascination' for artists. That fascination, beginning in the late eighteenth century, developed into a series of representational traditions in portraiture and sculpture, illustrations of

poems, songs and his life; and the use of the poet and his work in visual representations and interpretations of the Scottish landscape, geography and history.[48] By the end of the nineteenth century many hundreds of portraits and pictures associated with Burns were brought together and displayed at the *Burns Exhibition* in Glasgow. The Portraits and Pictures section displayed work, some by 'distinguished painters' of 'high artistic excellence', while others 'not of this first rank, were nevertheless by artists of acknowledged ability'. In addition to these portraits and pictures, the exhibition presented many hundreds of the illustrated editions of Burns' work that included portraits and illustrations of his work and life. The artists' work was described as 'eloquent testimony to the wondrous sway exercised by Burns over the mind and heart of his countrymen'.[49]

Macdonald's analysis of the early artistic responses to Burns seeks to recover them from their subsequent fate as taken for granted visual clichés in their ubiquitous popular and commercial appropriation.[50] He argues that far from being the stereotypes that such images have come to be regarded, these early artistic interpretations demonstrate an intellectual, aesthetic and philosophical engagement with not only Burns, but with the 'local, national and international currents' of thinking and visual culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of the Scottish Enlightenment and early Romanticism.[51] This wider intellectual climate in which Burns was understood and received was especially appropriate for a poet such as Burns since his own work engaged with the key concerns of that period. Burns and the ideas he espoused were part of the intellectual and artistic milieu of the time - a 'Scottish/international culture'.[52] It is from this perspective of Burns, as a poet of deep intelligence and a broad interdisciplinary critical thinker, that he provides 'a particularly dense, multilayered set of possibilities for artists'.[53] Those possibilities continue to motivate contemporary artists who, as will be discussed later in this chapter, seek to engage with and interpret Burns anew from the viewpoint of contemporary intellectual and artistic concerns.

For those artists of the past and the present for whom the image of Burns himself provides a focus to their work, there is one image in particular that has become a common visual source. That source is the Alexander Nasmyth (1787) portrait of Burns *(Fig 2)*. Nasmyth is the artist that Macdonald highlights as the main progenitor of Burns' representational history and as an exemplar of the intellectual and artistic

environment in which Burns was received and depicted.[54] The portrait was painted at a time when portraits 'far exceeded in number any other genre exhibited and played a dominant role in visual culture and society'.[55]
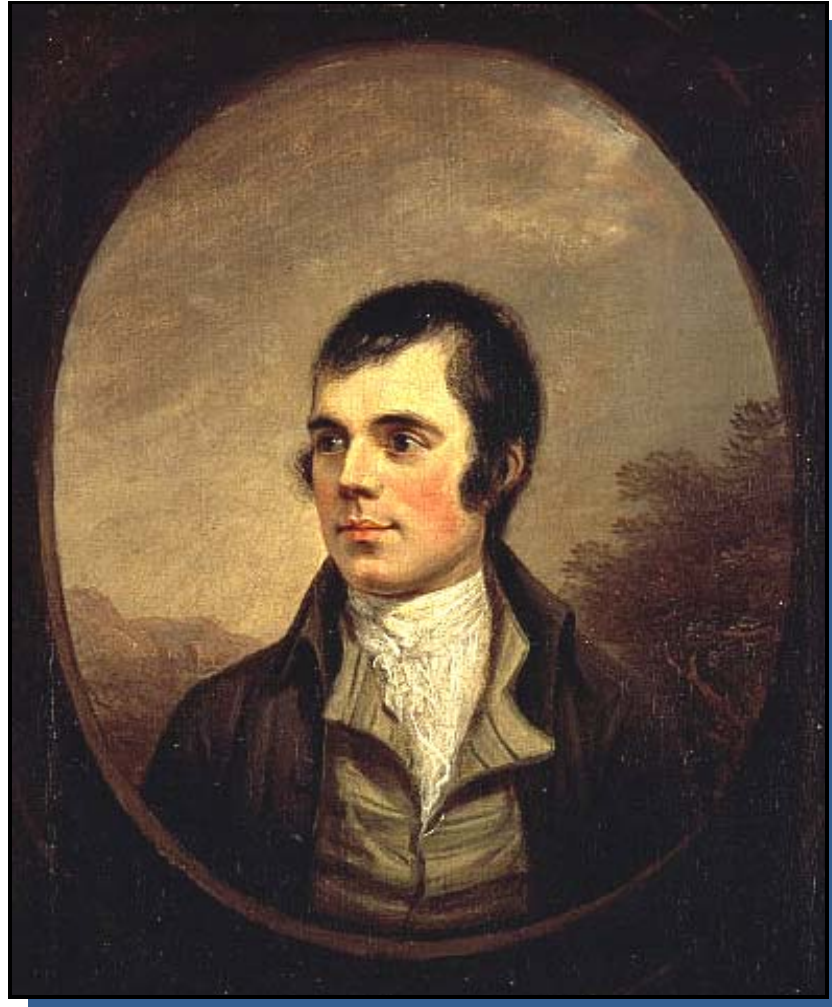
Fig 2 Alexander Nasmyth's portrait of Robert Burns, 1787

The Scottish National Portrait Gallery describes this 'defining image of the poet' as:

This half-length portrait of Burns, framed within an oval, has become the most well-known and widely reproduced image of the famous Scottish poet. Nasmyth's painting, commissioned by the publisher William Creech, was to be engraved for a new edition of Burn's poems. He is shown fashionably dressed against a landscape, evoking his rural background in Alloway, Ayrshire.[56]

It has been part of the Scottish national portraiture collection since 1872, featuring prominently in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery's permanent and travelling

exhibitions, publicity and merchandising, as portrait and face of the nation *(Figs 3, 4)*.[57]
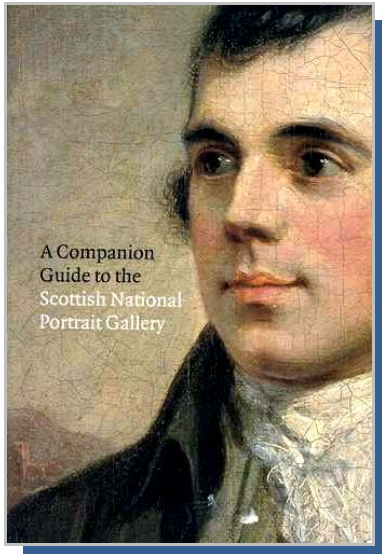
Fig 3 Scottish National Portrait Gallery guide   Fig 4 *The Face of Scotland* exhibition catalogue

Its longstanding, widespread and global use as the representative (iconic) image of Burns has been the model for other portraits, sculptures and illustrations, and more recently as a subject of artistic reappropriation and reinterpretation.[58] As one of few portraits of Burns from life, it has come to serve as 'standing in for the poet himself', where Burns 'never gets old'.[59] This young and handsome Burns frozen in time has also come to stand in for Scotland, as 'portrait of the nation' and icon of Scottishness.

The Nasmyth Burns (and its derivatives) also continues to provide the visual source, motif and departure point for the wider representation of Burns in advertising, product merchandising, graphic design, tourism, museum display, and the imagery that circulates on the web and on social networking sites. As Macdonald remarks, 'the popular imagery and the fine art share a starting point, namely Alexander Nasmyth's 1787 portrait of the poet'.[60] While this image of Burns is widely recognisable; the artistic, intellectual and cultural history connected with the poet's now ubiquitous image is not necessarily generally known or understood:

There is, however, so much popular imagery relating to Burns, appearing on calendars, coasters, whisky labels, postcards, shortbread tins, tea-towels, fridge magnets, lapel badges, and so on, that the fact that there is a significant fine art tradition underpinning such imagery can be obscured. (Murdo Macdonald 2005, p 62)

The shape shifting process

On the walls of the historic Scotsman Hotel in Edinburgh is a series of same size images of Burns *(Fig 5)*. The first is a photographically reproduced image of the Nasmyth portrait on canvas, cropped to include only Burns' head and shoulders, and set within a large neutral coloured border that is unframed. The subsequent images in the series are set in the same manner, but become gradually less precise and defined with the image gradually breaking up into a pattern of blocks of colour.
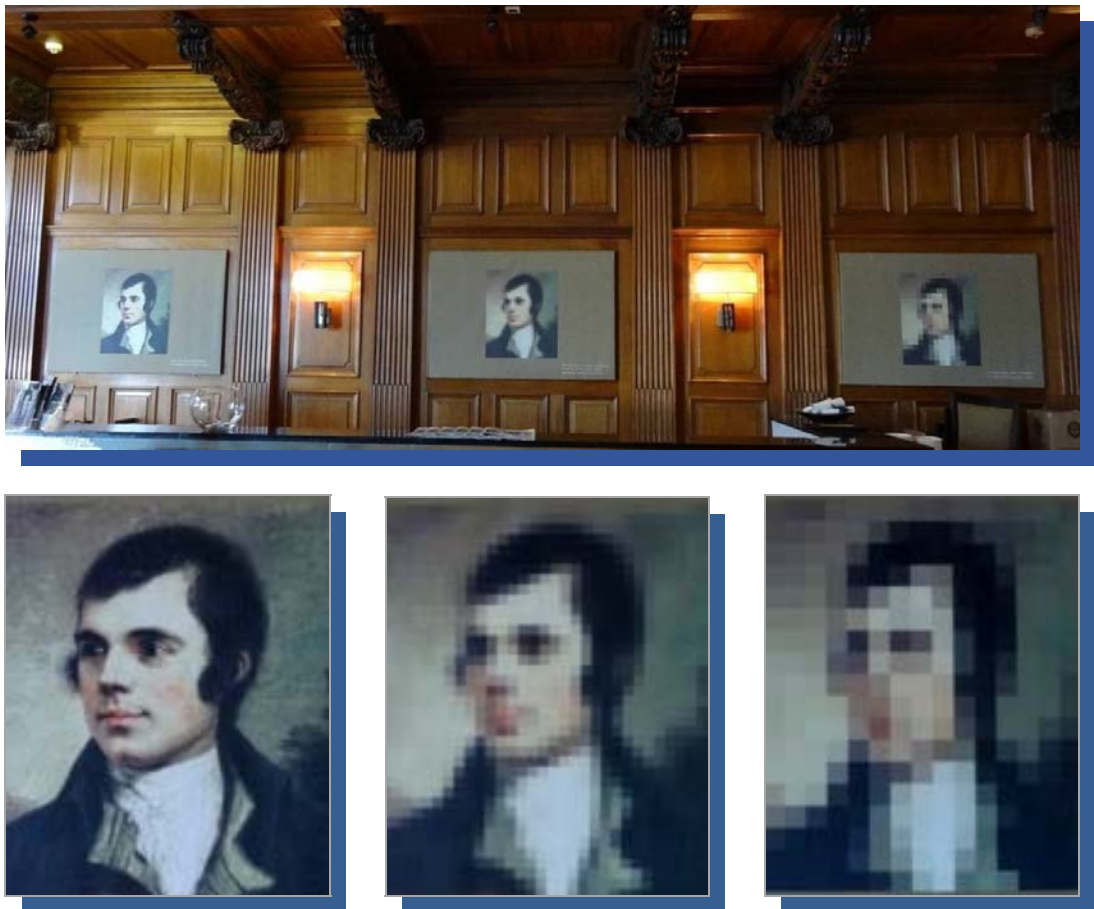
Fig 5 Burns artwork at the Scotsman Hotel in Edinburgh, and details of the images, 2011

Like countless other images of Burns, this revisioning draws on the eighteenth century portrait, adapting it to construct a new look Burns, which in this case is a digitised pixelated Burns. In doing so, it shifts his representation from eighteenth century portraiture conventions in paint to twenty first century new media. This allows for the progression of the image from a well known face to a pictorial/graphic pattern of colour and shape, where the final image is made recognisable largely by virtue of its relationship to the previous ones. Yet, we are so used to seeing the

Nasmyth Burns that even this last image on its own can be sufficient to conjure up Burns, or even in another example of a typographical rendition that relies only on the letters in Burns' name to construct a facial likeness *(Fig 6).*[61]

Fig 6 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 6 Typographical Burns

Burns, like other visual icons, Elvis Presley, Che Guevara, Marilyn Monroe, the face of Mona Lisa, the identity of Ned Kelly or Shakespeare can be evoked with only the barest essentials of his well known image *(Fig 7).* In a similar manner in which 'a wisp of peroxide blonde is enough to suggest the myth and iconicity of Marilyn Monroe', the merest recognisable elements of Burns' conventional visual persona can evoke a larger cultural story.[62] The eighteenth century portrait has become the visual source material and pattern for an endlessly reproducible cultural sign that 'says' Robert Burns.

Fig 7 Robert Burns, Elvis Presley, Che Guevara, and Marilyn Monroe online graphic vectors [63]

The parallels between Burns and other cultural icons also plays out in the extent to which his ongoing relevance and meaning is reliant upon him being subject to mediation and remediation in new forms and contexts. For example, as one of the many studies that looks at the appropriation of Shakespeare as author, cultural commodity and myth argues, the 'fate' of Shakespeare is dependent on his continuous reinscription in film and popular culture.[64] It is in a similar sense that this chapter is interested in the 'fate' of Burns through his continuous reinscription as

visual icon across a range media and in various contexts. These processes of reinscription can be usefully examined from the perspective of recent analytical approaches to the adaptation and appropriation of cultural texts, which will be applied in the discussion of the reworkings of Burns' image, in particular the Nasmyth portrait.

The postmodernist argument about adaptation and appropriation argues that adaptation is a type of repetition without replication. It is a double process of interpreting and then creating something new.[65] As such, as Linda Hutcheon explains, it involves 'both memory and change, persistence and variation'.[66] In these 'ongoing dialogues with the past', that past takes the form of earlier source texts or works that are made over in new ways.[67] It is argued that adaptations should be regarded as legitimate creative processes in their own right, and should not be devalued as mere copies or imitations, as culturally inferior or as desecrations of the 'original' or source text.[68]

Recent work in this area has been developing a conceptual language for investigating how cultural texts and images are made over in different media, across genres, and through shifts in interpretive frames that relocate 'source texts' in different cultural, geographic and temporal contexts, and from different points of view.[69] In these adaptive processes, the roles of parody, pastiche and bricolage, counter discourses and commentary, for example, are some of the means by which appropriations may question, expand, contract or redirect the cultural meanings that have become attached to the subject that is being adapted.[70] Yet, adaptation can also constitute a simpler attempt to make cultural texts and writers 'relevant' or easily comprehensible to new audiences via processes of what Julie Sanders describes as 'proximation' and updating.[71]

A further theme that runs through this type of work concerns the relationship between adaptation and the canon. The idea here is that processes of adaptation not only rely on the canon - as 'fuel' or raw material - but that in doing so, adaptations serve to keep the canon refreshed and alive albeit in different forms and guises. As Sanders has noted, adaptations and appropriations 'prove complicit in activating and reactivating the canonical status of certain texts and writers', even when the appropriation may be seeking to challenge that very status.[72] Adaptation 'both

appears to require and to perpetuate the existence of a canon, although it may in turn contribute to its ongoing reformulation and expansion'.[73]

Related to this idea, also pertinent to this examination of Burns, is another feature of that two way relationship. While source texts obviously influence their revisions, all adaptations and appropriations, intentionally or unintentionally have an effect on the ways in which that originating source continues to be received and understood. As Sanders has argued, 'no appropriation can be achieved without impacting upon and altering in some way the text which inspired the adaptation'.[74] This relationship is what Hutcheon refers to as an ongoing dialogue with the past, where we compare the work we know with the new one that we are experiencing. The meanings of adaptations are therefore inherently double or 'multilaminated'.[75] In this doubling of meaning, adaptations may respond or 'write back' to an informing original from a new or revised cultural or political position. In this way, appropriations can highlight gaps, absences, and silences within the source texts to which they refer.[76] Adaptations may therefore take an oppositional or critical stance, to 'contest the aesthetic or political values of the adapted text', or to offer a 'dissonant and dissident rupturing' of 'value-systems and hierarchies'.[77]

But this 'writing back' can also serve more benign purposes - to pay homage, or to salvage, preserve and reanimate older works for newer audiences.[78] Moreover, adaptations can also be driven by a more personal, social and 'playful' interest in image (or text) manipulation.[79] The motivations for adapting may also include the desire to capitalise (artistically or economically) on the prestige and authority, significance or popularity of the source material; that in some cases may result in the adaptation largely supplanting the prior work.[80] Of course, we can never really be certain about these motivations or intentions. In many cases we can only draw inferences from the adapted work itself, its context and uses - sometimes with further insights gleaned from those doing the adapting and/or audiences. Often, all we have to work from is the adaptation itself, and so (as researchers) we seek to make 'likely interpretations', rather than definitive ones. As Sanders has commented, 'we are participants in the act of appropriation, persistently reading between the lines'.[81]

Burns makeovers

As noted previously, the power of Burns today as cultural icon is being marked by a renewed and lively interest in his visual persona. In what appears to be a heightened awareness and strengthening of Scottish identity, especially amongst the younger generation, Scotland's favourite son and 'portrait of the nation' is undergoing a makeover and being reconfigured to suit a twenty first century Scotland.[82] Together with the more conventional uses of his portrait depicted on book covers, stamps, bank notes and coin issues, there is a notable presence of reworkings of his image in art, fashion and graphic design, commodities and advertising, new technologies and museum display. We see Burns, for example, as an Andy Warhol pop art icon to promote a major exhibition of new artists' interpretations of Burns *(Fig 72)*; Burns as Che Guevara *(Figs 61, 63-66)*; a movie star Burns *(Fig 8)*; a rock star Burns *(Figs 30-33, 48, 49)*; a night club Burns *(Figs 37, 43, 45)*; a young readers' Burns *(Fig 11)*; a graphic novel Burns *(Fig 29)*; a multicultural Burns *(Figs 36, 38-42, 57-60, 88)*; Burns as a sound and light installation projected onto buildings *(Fig 13)*; a Lego Burns *(Fig 12)*; a knitted Burns *(Fig 10)*; a High Street fashion and home wares Burns *(Figs 9, 25, 26)*; a graffiti Burns *(Fig 19)*; a roller derby Burns *(Fig 44)*; a video game Burns *(Figs 22, 23)*; a mobile phone app Burns *(Fig 80)*; Burns as a 'do-it-yourself' electronic portrait making activity in an interactive and online museum display *(Fig 14)*; and Burns as a modern-day Jesus Christ hosting a Last Supper, flanked by the likes of Marilyn Monroe, Elvis Presley, Che Guevara and Shakespeare as his disciples *(Fig 20)*.

Fig 8 removed due to copyright restrictions.
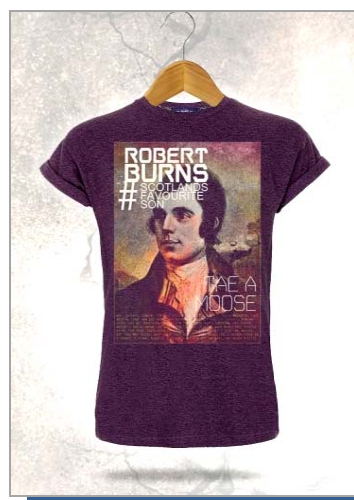
Fig 8 Movie star Burns [83]   *Fig 9* High Street fashion Burns   *Fig 10* Knitted Burns
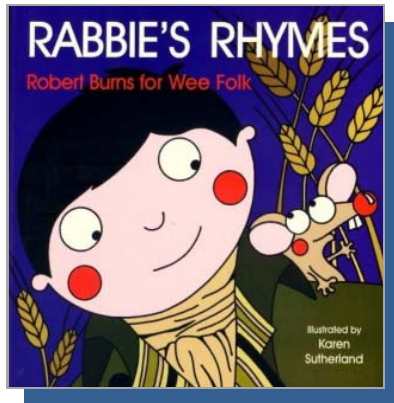
Fig 11 Young readers' Burns

Fig 12 Lego Burns

Fig 13 Illuminated Burns
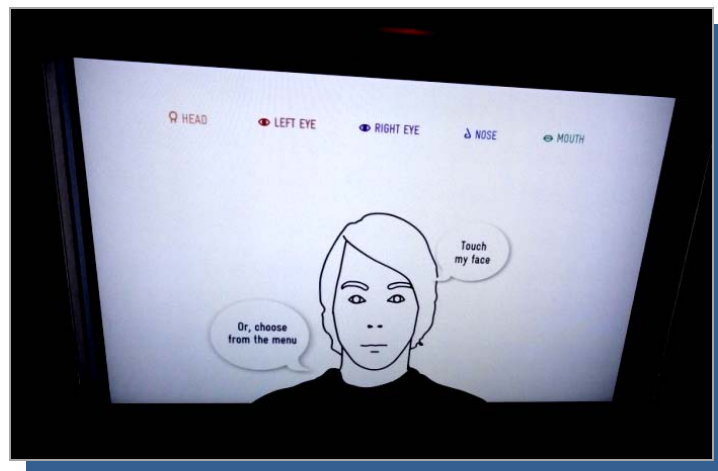
Fig 14 Electronic portrait making Burns

In these and in other examples discussed below, is a contemporary Burns who is playful, accessible and interactive, ironic, sexy, politically 'radical' and

unconventional, fashionable and youthful, media-savvy and streetwise, culturally diverse and hybrid, sexually ambiguous, and 'family friendly'. Stylistically, these renditions reframe and rework the eighteenth and nineteenth century's visual representational field. But while this new Burns is not simply a recycled old Burns, neither is it pure invention. The makeover draws on what has gone before. Not only his portrait image, but also his long held association with Scottish traditions and icons persist in his twenty first century persona. In publishing, product merchandising and tourism, in particular, Burns is typically aligned with a rural and highland Scottish landscape, a Jacobite Scottish history of tartan and kilts, and the motifs of Scottish culinary distinctiveness: shortbread, whisky and haggis *(Figs 15-18)*.
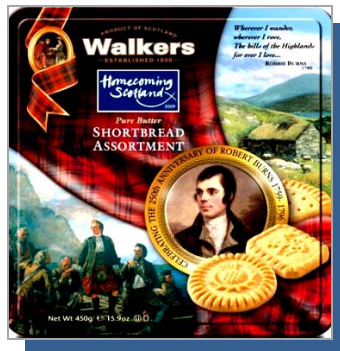
Fig 15 Shortbread tin   *Fig 16* Robert Burns whisky   *Fig 17* Music album cover
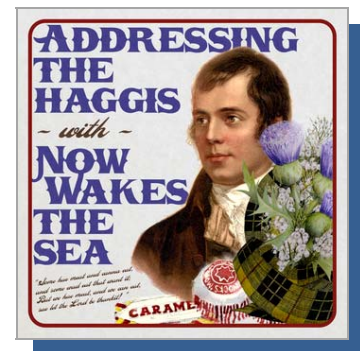
Fig 18 Cover of Ukrainian translation of *Robert Burns Selected Works*, 2009

At the same time, the received canon of Burns' representation is being shifted and recontextualised - taken out of the countryside, out of the parlour room, and into the

city's fashion houses and boutiques, onto the streets and into night life and youth culture.

In this, young designers are making a significant contribution to a new look Burns in product, graphic and fashion design, marketing and advertising imagery, and in exhibition design commissions. For example, in the publicity for the 2009 *Zig Zag: The Paths of Robert Burns* touring exhibition of Burns' work and life, Burns, in eighteenth century garb, is represented as a graffiti artist with spray can in hand. The image itself was also produced to look like a graffiti wall stencil and was applied to outdoor surfaces and walls *(Fig 19)*.
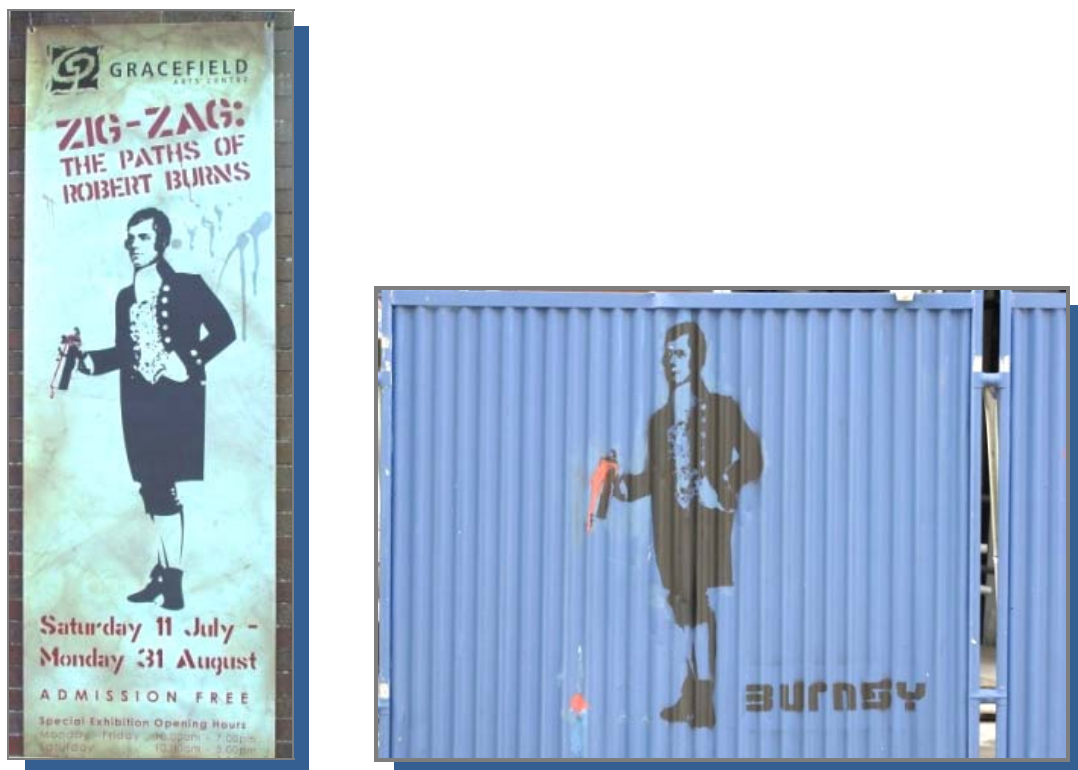
Fig 19 Zig-Zag:The Paths of Robert Burns exhibition poster and graffiti, 2009

The Robert Burns Birthplace Museum represents a striking example of how designers (and artists) have constructed new visual interpretations of Burns and his work that depart from the conventional iconography. In the museum's display graphics and interactive installations, the traditions of painted portraiture have been replaced by a diverse range of visual styles that draw upon pop art, stencil and poster art, cartooning and the technologies of digital manipulation, video animation and touchscreen interactivity *(Figs 20-24)*.

Fig 20 'The Fame Game' display panel
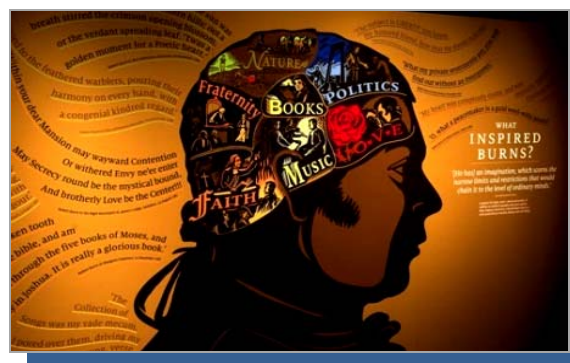
Fig 21 'What Inspired Burns?' display panel

Fig 22 'Burns Supper' table video game

Fig 23 'Spooky Stories' interactive video game

Fig 24 'The Burns Jukebox' touchscreen song player

In exhibition display and in other graphic design realms Burns has become a twenty first century style icon. The Glasgow based design team, Timorous Beasties, whose work is noted for its 'surreal and provocative textiles and wallpapers' that employ social and political commentary, have created Burns themed designer home wares that forge a new urban design vocabulary associated with the poet. Their commissioned work for the Scottish National Portrait Gallery's merchandising deploys the Nasmyth Burns as a recurring motif framed in small brightly coloured circles that form an overall grid pattern on scatter cushions, coffee mugs and dinner sets. These and their other Burns themed home wares are high end, finely crafted pieces that are more like 'objects d'art' than the mass produced souvenirs that line the windows of many tourist shops *(Figs 25, 26)*. In other work, for the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, Timorous Beasties have incorporated contemporary figures and motifs in their interpretations of Burns' poetry etched into granite slab installations on the poet's path, and woven into a large rug for display at the museum *(Figs 27, 28)*.

Fig 25 Burns plate   *Fig 26* Burns Cushion   *Fig 27* Granite slab

Fig 28 Timorous Beasties Burns rug

Comic book artists too have taken to Burns. A new graphic novel, *Robbie Burns: Witch Hunter*, in the style of *Abraham Lincoln: Vampire Hunter*, and *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*, depicts Burns as the central character in a version of his narrative poem *Tam o' Shanter*. Described as a supernatural 'bawdy romp', a young hot-blooded and inebriated Burns, initially beguiled by scantily dressed dancing witches, takes up a farmer's sickle to fight them and the other demons and monsters encountered in the old haunted church graveyard *(Fig 29).*[84]
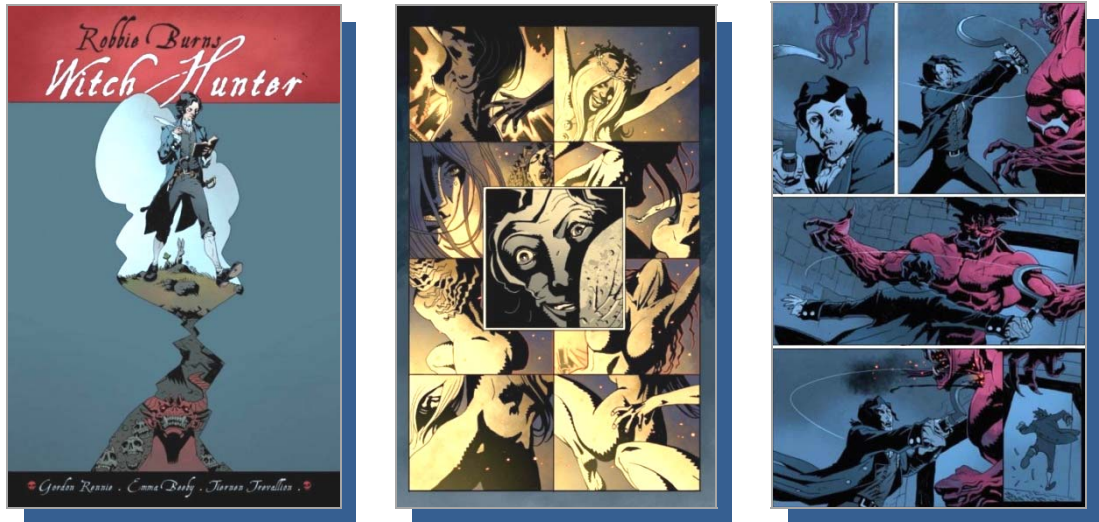
Fig 29 Cover and pages from *Robbie Burns: Witch Hunter*, 2014

Burns is also being brought up to date as a musician. His songs have been made over as rock music, 'show tunes', 'red hot Rabbie Burns dance tracks', as hip hop, punk, jazz and reggae, and his classic songs performed with 'slap bass and a synthesizer'.[85] He has been compared to Bob Dylan and John Lennon, and to the Dundee 'rocker' and 'wildman', Kyle Falconer, who has been claimed as 'the new Robert Burns' in one recent news report.[86] These changes have been accompanied by imagery that reconfigures the Nasmyth Burns as Michael Jackson, as Elvis Presley, and as an unshaven 'muso' wearing earrings and smoking a cigarette *(Figs 30-32).*[87] On the cover of the 2010 *Rabbie Burns Rocks* CD, by the Scottish band Rockburn, Burns wears star shaped gold sunglasses *(Fig 33)*. In another rock album, *Robert Burns Rocks* by Hugh Morrison, the performance is described as Morrison taking his favourite Burns songs and rocking them 'further than they have been rocked before but still choosing on occasion not to forget his Celtic roots ... This album is sure to bring attention to those who are unfamiliar with Scotland's Bard, by opening up his material to a whole new and somewhat diverse audience'.[88]
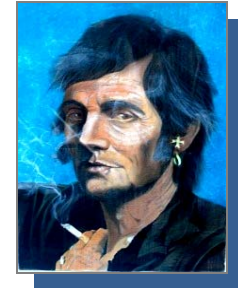
Fig 30 Burns as Michael Jackson   *Fig 31* Burns as Elvis Presley   *Fig 32* Burns as a 'muso'
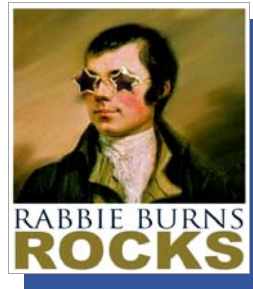
Fig 33 Rabbie Burns Rocks album

The 'land of Burns' too is being re-envisioned as a modern and lively setting for contemporary music, festivals and events. The annual *Burns an' a' that Festival* in Ayrshire features contemporary musicians, bands and buskers, and promotes the festival with an image of the Nasmyth Burns with a red rose in his mouth *(Fig 34)*.[89] The Ayrshire council's more general Events and Festivals Guide features a similar Burns face, stylised in black outline on a background of bright colours: as an icon of local arts and culture, as a cyclist wearing a bike helmet, as a music lover with head phones, and as an outdoor man wearing sunglasses *(Fig 35)*.

Fig 34 Burns an' a' that Festival poster, 2014   *Fig 35* Ayrshire Events and Festivals Guide, 2011
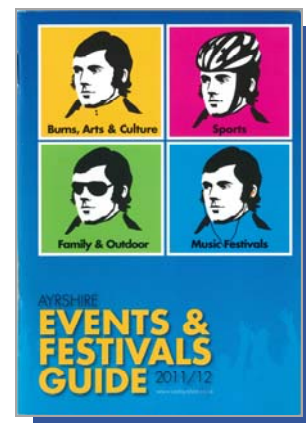
The playful and cheeky appropriation of Burns' image is now commonplace in publicity for Burns Night celebrations and events across the world, where his image

is often subverted, parodied and treated somewhat irreverently. In many of these cases the adaptations are made through simple additions, such as silly party hats, tartan sunglasses, a moustache, or with Burns holding a glass of beer, a whisky, or a cocktail. Some add humorous speech bubbles: 'dinnae forget noo!!', 'that was a braw night!!', 'it's ma birthday!', 'word is there's a cash bar too'. Localised and cultural features are also signalled through simple modifications such as national flags, local features and personalities, and for a Jewish Burns Night ('Rabbi Burns Night'), the addition of a kippah (skullcap) on Burns' head *(Figs 36-42)*.

Fig 36 Burns Night Canada   *Fig 37* 'Electro Burns Night' London   *Fig 38* Burns Night Canada
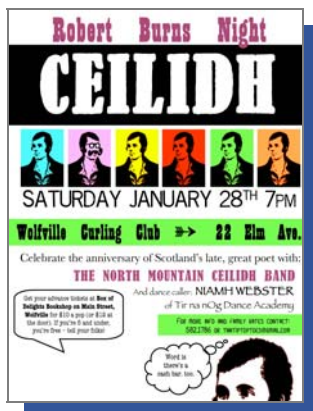
Fig 39 Burns Night Canada   *Fig 40* Burns Night England   *Fig 41* Burns Night New Zealand
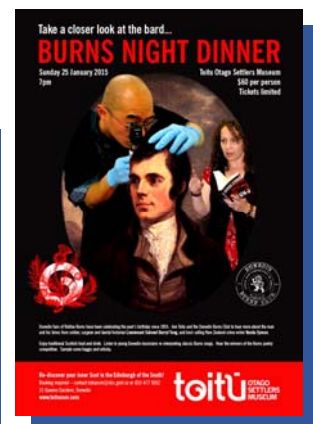
Fig 42 'Rabbi Burns Night' Edinburgh

In others, Burns' image has been more fully graphically reworked. For Burns Night at the West End Club in London, Burns is recast as an up-to-date observer of the night club's patrons dancing and dressed in twenty first century tartan fashion *(Fig 43).*[90]
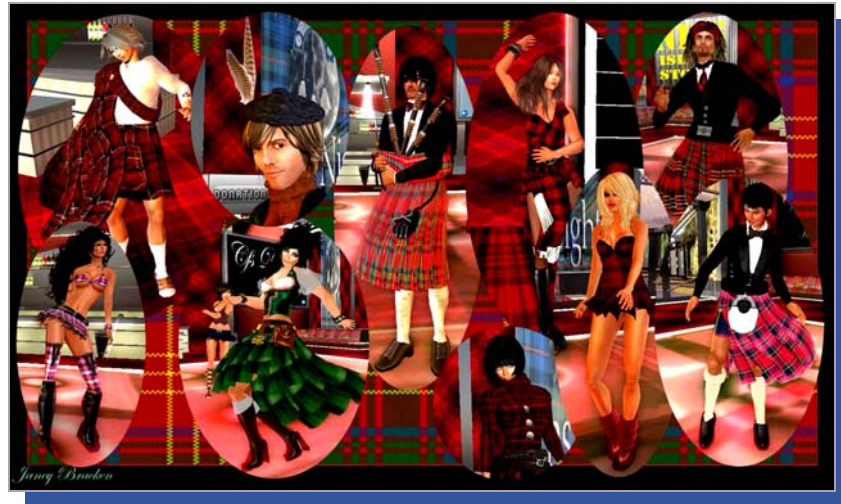
Fig 43 Burns Night publicity for London's West End Club, 2011

By way of contrast to this impish but very much male Burns, the ladies' man and sexy Burns is being subject to ironic updating as a more feminised and sensitive subject.[91] The publicity poster for the 'Live, All Female, Full Contact, Roller Derby Fishnet Burns Night' event in Edinburgh, depicts Burns as a 'female' (and bruised) roller derby contestant wearing a crash helmet with blood trickling from the corner of his lipsticked mouth *(Fig 44).*
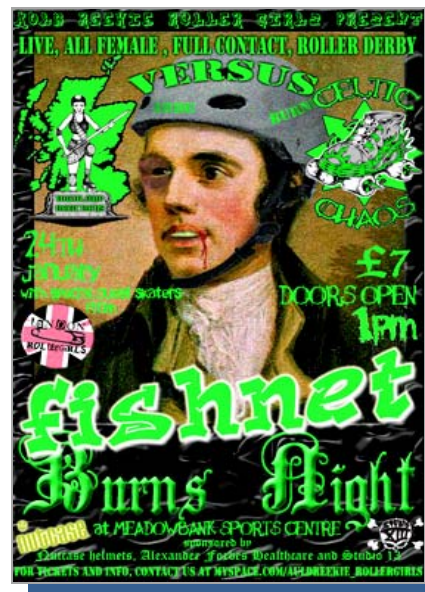
Fig 44 'Live, All Female, Full Contact, Roller Derby Fishnet Burns Night' poster, Edinburgh, 2009

A further physical transformation constructs Burns as a ghoulish skeleton figure in the advertisement for 'A Burnt Supper' Burns Night of 'extreme' heavy metal music at a night club in Glasgow *(Fig 45)*.

Fig 45 removed due to copyright restrictions.
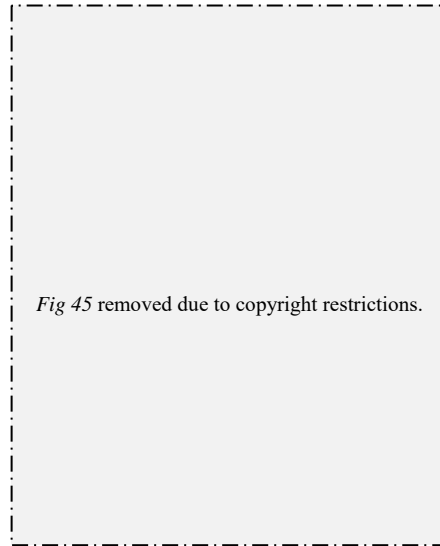
Fig 45 'A Burnt Supper' poster at Ivory Blacks night club in Glasgow, 2015

In a rather different example, a marketing agency has used the Nasmyth portrait as simulated sunburn on the bodies of young people on the beach to promote a UK cancer charity Burns Night fund raising event *(Fig 46)*.[92] In a further departure from bodies to food, Burns' face has been made up of haggis, cheese and tomato sauce on a frozen pizza being sold as a Burns Night snack *(Fig 47)*.[93]
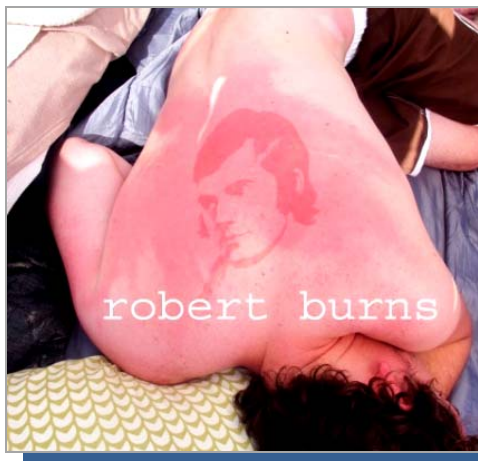
Fig 46 Simulated sunburn Burns, 2011

Fig 47 Pizza Burns, 2012

A question arises here as to whether these makeovers serve to 'refresh' the received norms and conventions that cluster around Burns and thereby reinforce his cultural

authority; or if these makeovers are appropriations for other purposes with the result that his authority as a cultural figure is in effect diminished or 'superseded by a non-textual or anti-textual imagination'.[94]

By way of addressing this issue it is useful first to examine more closely what is in fact being recast and reformed in these adaptations. If adaptation is an engagement with an original that makes us see it in different ways, then what is it that is different?

One of the features considered inherent in processes of adaptation is what one writer has referred to as 'the heresy of showing that form (expression) can be separated from content (ideas)'.[95] While this distinction is an analytical simplification, it nevertheless allows a useful way of interrogating how adaptations work. For example, in adaptations of literature to film, there is a change of form and genre, but elements of content - be it the core story, or the spirit of the work, themes, characters, point of view, or the physical or cultural context of the source work - persist in the adapted work even though they are subject to changes brought about by a change in medium and through reinterpretation and repurposing.[96] So how might this thinking apply to these makeovers of Burns? What is it that is being recast or reformed and, what of Burns persists in these adaptations in terms of visual form and of ideas and meaning? One dimension of change to be considered is the effects of changes in genre, for example, from painted portrait to product logo, from publicity poster to T shirt and back to art work, from art icon to new art subject, from art work to internet 'meme'.[97]

Perhaps the easier examples to look at first at are those where the visual form has clearly been altered such as pictorial adaptations of the Nasmyth portrait. If we accept for the purposes of this analysis, that new visual elements such as the addition of sunglasses, or contemporary costume, or changes in colour and rendering such as digitisation and pixelation are changes in form, that is, visual form, how do these changes relate to ideas and meaning?

In this next example, the Nasmyth Burns is shown wearing sunglasses *(Fig 48)*. At the simplest level, this adaptation is clearly marked by a change in form. It looks different - the Nasmyth portrait has been changed in some way. The picture is no longer quite an eighteenth century portrait of Burns (with all of the cultural

associations and connotations that that might bring forth). It is now being marked as a modern 'portrait' of Burns bringing with it an additional cluster of cultural connotations including those associated with fashionable eyewear.
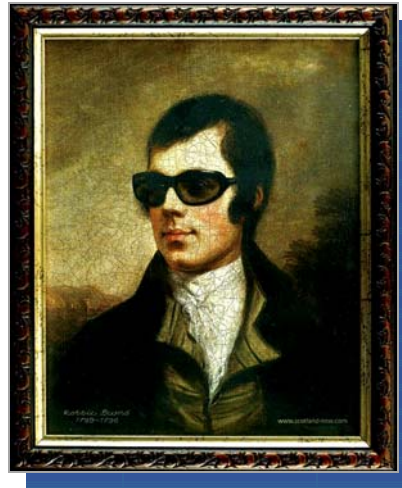
Fig 48 Burns wearing sunglasses, 2007

But since the eighteenth century portrait is still 'there', then a relationship is drawn between the old and the new; and importantly it is that relationship that now becomes the meaning of the image. In the playful act of dressing Burns in sunglasses, does Burns become complicit in this cheeky stunt, suggesting perhaps that the old Burns is quite at home in this new guise since he was in his own time a modern and fashionable figure. The effect of the sunglasses is then not so much to make Burns anew but to affirm his contemporary relevance to new generations of fashion followers.

In cases like these where we are dealing with a canonised figure and a canonised work of art, the adaptation relies on that well-knownness for the construction of its new meaning. It acknowledges and plays on what we might know of Burns. If we are familiar with the details of his life, then the reading suggested before might make sense. If, however, we see these older Burns portraits as conservative and dated, then the addition of sunglasses destabilises or subverts that understanding. The adaptation salvages a possibly outmoded Burns and remodels him as a contemporary shape shifter. Further, depending on whether you read this visual treatment of Burns as a playful and affectionate homage designed to positively bring him up to date, or as a kind of sacrilege of both Burns and art, or indeed as a shallow appeal to a postmodernist 'mash-up' design sensibility as the adaptor simply showing off their

technical skill with Burns as object rather than subject, it is also likely to be influenced by the context in which this image is situated. Knowing that it was originally created by a marketing agency commissioned by the Scottish Executive's Global Friends of Scotland project to promote Scotland overseas, might shift those readings in another direction *(Fig 49)*. Burns' appropriation as a marketing and promotional tool is often enough in itself for such images to be regarded with some suspicion as cheapening or trivialising what he stands for (as will discussed further below).
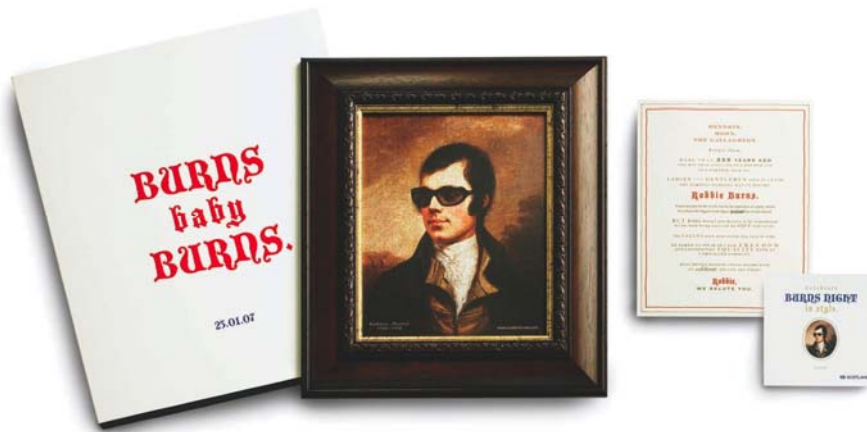
Fig 49 Scottish Executive Global Friends of Scotland Burns Night promotional material, 2007

According to the marketing agency's website, the creation of the image was part of the Scottish government's campaign to promote Scotland internationally 'as a modern, confident, vibrant and forward-thinking country'. The portrait of Burns wearing sunglasses was intended to suggest 'that if he were alive today, he'd be a cool rock 'n' roll star in the mould of Liam or Noel Gallagher'. The marketing materials featuring the 'cool rock 'n' roll star' Burns also carried the theme of 'Burns Baby Burns', a play on the well known 1970's disco song *Burn Baby Burn - Disco Inferno*. They were dispatched to 300 journalists and Foreign and Commonwealth Offices from North America to China for their use in 'badging', disseminating and promoting Burns Night celebrations.[98]

Complicating this issue of context and reception is the fact this image of Burns with sunglasses has moved from marketing image to museum exhibit. It has been on display at the National Museum of Scotland since 2008 as part of its *Scotland: A Changing Nation* exhibition and is presented within the 'High-days and Holidays' section.[99] The 'Burns Baby Burns' theme has also gone on to be recycled and further

adapted for Burns Nights and in other contexts including those that circulate widely on the net and through picture sharing and social networking sites *(Figs 50, 51).*[100]

Fig 50 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 51 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 50 'Burns Baby Burns' Night in New York   *Fig 51* 'Burns Baby Burns' Night in London

Since 2007 when the agency first produced it, the image of Burns with sunglasses and its variants has travelled to the websites of political movements, institutions, sporting and social clubs, book publishers and hotels, personal blogs and Facebook pages, and numerous other Scottish and world sites *(Figs 52-55).*[101] In one of these further adaptations for Edinburgh University's Chemistry School Burns Night event, Burns is dressed in a lab coat wearing eye protection goggles *(Fig 56).*[102]

Figs 52-55 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figs 52-55 Versions of Burns wearing sunglasses

Fig 56 Burns wearing chemistry goggles

These reverberations on a visual theme present an example of how adaptations perform in dialogue with other adaptations as well as their informing source, producing what Sanders refers to as intertextual webs or signifying fields.[103] The obvious question here is, what is being signified in this field of visual dialogue and what part does Burns now play in that conversation? In terms of this metaphor, is he being reanimated and speaking back to a modern audience, or is he made mute, a kind of silent partner, there mainly for his decorative and popular appeal?

In this next example of Burns in sunglasses, other interpretations are possible. Not only is Burns wearing sunglasses but the adjacent figure is too. The two images, each from different cultural and artistic traditions, are being linked partly due their side by side positioning but also through the sunglasses that are new and contemporary additions *(Fig 57).*

Fig 57 removed due to copyright restrictions.
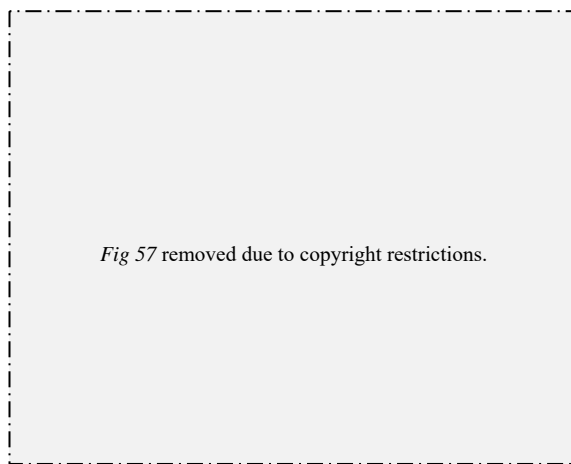
Fig 57 Burns wearing sunglasses at Gung Haggis Fat Choy Burns Night in Seattle, 2011

When the context for this image is revealed another level of meaning becomes clear. The informal work pinned on an easel was on display recently as part of the 2011 Seattle Gung Haggis Fat Choy Burns Night, a spin off the enormously successful Vancouver version that celebrates Chinese and Scottish cultural heritage in Canada, and which has also spread to China and Scotland.[104] In the picture and at the Seattle event, 'Scotland's favourite son' is being compared to China's most famous poet Lao Tzu. They, and the traditions they represent are both being celebrated as having contemporary cultural relevance.[105] In these multicultural events, Burns becomes a culturally hybrid figure, reconfigured to have potent significance and meaning as a vehicle for cultural celebration and identity *(Figs 58-60).*[106]

Fig 58 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 59 removed due to copyright restrictions.
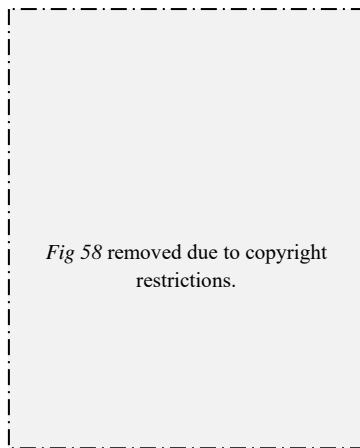
Fig 58 Gung Haggis Fat Choy Seattle poster   *Fig 59* Gung Haggis Fat Choy Vancouver poster
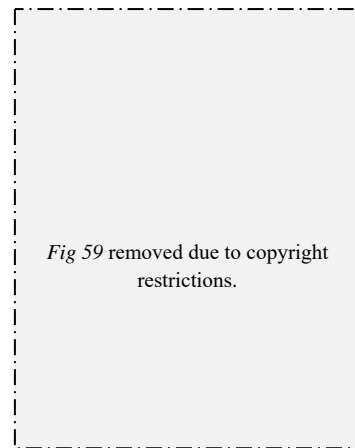
Fig 60 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 60 Chinese New Year Vancouver poster

Below is another example of adaptations performing in dialogue, which highlights another type of hybrid Burns and other contextual variables. Here, Burns has been made over by an advertising agency as Che Guevara to promote a new course in Scottish cultural studies that appropriates Burns as a revolutionary poster boy and fashion statement for university students.[107] The caption below the image reads: *Scottish culture. Is it still revolutionary? (Fig 61).* The design morphs the well known image of Burns with the famous and much appropriated 1960 Alberto Korda photograph of Che Guevara *(Fig 62).*[108] The 2001 Guevara Burns is a stylised high contrast pop art poster-like image in solid red with areas of black that define the face, hair and beret being worn by this new look Burns. The two images that have been brought together share many features in common, making the transformation of Burns into Che Guevara appear almost natural. Both men were young when the original images were made, both were considered handsome with large dark eyes and long slightly unruly dark hair. While the original portrait of Burns is positioned in more profile than the Guevara photograph, both gaze out into the distance in a thoughtful or determined manner.

Fig 62 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 61 Burns as Che Guevara university poster   *Fig 62* Alberto Korda photograph of Che Guevara
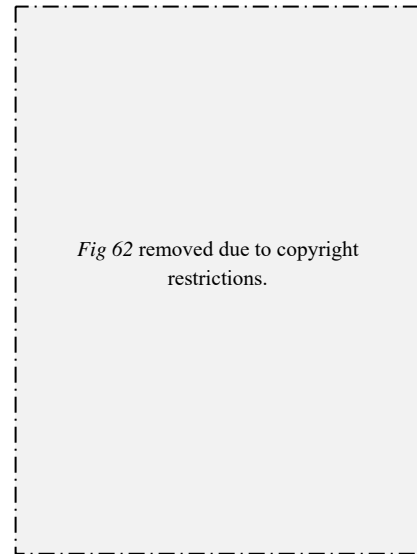
The beret that Burns wears in the new image is transposed from the Guevara beret which features the revolutionary star. On Burns' beret, the revolutionary star has been replaced by a red Scottish lion rampant, a national symbol of Scotland, and an insignia on the berets of the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards. Since beret-like caps are also a common form of traditional Scottish headwear, this Burns beret makes general visual sense.[109] At a symbolic level, the beret contributes to the signification of Burns as a (Scottish) revolutionary, as the beret worn by Guevara has done in his representational history. But the poster image does more than this; it also relocates Burns as a radical icon with contemporary and youthful currency and appeal. Its design features, form and visual genre as poster art, together with the audience to whom it was aimed at position this version of Burns within the domain of youth and student culture. By visually linking (or rather blending) these two iconic figures, the popular mythology associated with each of them is brought together or conflated, so that what is being signified here, at the very least, is the ready availability of Burns as a radical voice of the people. That sentiment is declared and celebrated in this image, even if that revolutionary stance is as much a 'radical chic' fashion statement as it is a claiming of Burns as a political radical.

The university advertising poster has since been further appropriated and repurposed as art object. It is on display at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow as part of its *Scottish Identity in Art* exhibition and is shown adjacent to one of the Nasmyth Burns portraits. The original poster caption has been removed and replaced

with a descriptive label that reads: 'Today, Burns is an icon of Scottish identity. He is shown here as Che Guevara, the heroic Latin American revolutionary'. Underneath that label is a large title: 'Robert Burns, the Poet Ploughman', and other text that describes Burns as Scotland's first superstar and international icon, who coming from a humble background lived fast and died young, was outspoken and honest, lived a liberal lifestyle and expressed radical ideas, and was a hero of the working man.[110] This descriptive 'portrait' of Burns sits comfortably with the revolutionary icon with whom he is visually paired in the poster image.

The appropriation of Burns as a radical and revolutionary in the guise of Che Guevara has also been adopted by the Tartan Army as a charity fund raiser T shirt; made over again to promote a theatrical production of Burns' political poetry; offered as museum shop merchandising as T shirt and poster *(Fig 63)*; redesigned as a T shirt for an outdoor adventure company (Rabbie's Trail Burners) *(Fig 64)*; utilised by the Scottish independence movement on websites; and worn (and sold) as T shirts by Scottish Socialist Party politicians *(Fig 65)*.[111]

Fig 64 removed due to copyright restrictions.
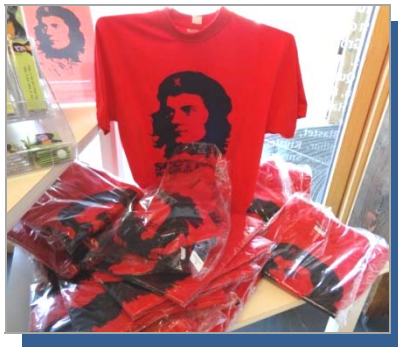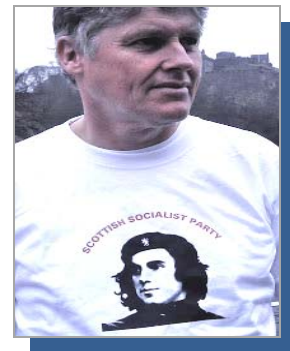
| *Fig 63* | *Fig 64* | *Fig 65* |

Burns as Che Guevara T shirts

The theatrical production that used the Guevara Burns in its publicity was a performance of what was described as Burns' radical poetry that was too politically dangerous for Burns to publish. It was called *Robert Burns: Not in My Name* and ran for a season at the National Library of Scotland in 2011 as part of the Edinburgh Fringe Festival *(Fig 66)*.[112] The show's writer and performer, Kevin Williamson, described the publicity poster as a morph from 'one radical to another'.[113] The design credit for the poster was given to Alastair Cook, an 'avant garde' Scottish film maker who also produced video narratives for the show. Cook's Guevara Burns, while

appropriating the same idea as the earlier university image, treats the image slightly differently. The basic form of the Nasmyth portrait and elements of beret with lion rampant remain, but the image is in black and white and looks like a grainy photograph giving it more of the photo journalistic qualities of the Alberto Korda photograph of Che Guevara.[114]

Fig 66 Robert Burns: Not in My Name poster, and detail of Burns as Che Guevara, 2011

The details around Burns' neck, which in the university poster were schematically reduced lines of the Guevara's zipped jacket, have become what appears to be a black 1960's beatnik-like skivvy or jumper. This Guevara Burns seems then to be a further morphing of the university Guevara Burns that down plays its decorative pop art features and accentuates the more documentary photo realism of the 1960's. In both cases, these images owe an artistic debt to Andy Warhol's visual interpretations of cultural icons such as Marilyn Monroe and Elvis Presley, and likely also the infamous forged Andy Warhol'esque multiple image of Che Guevara *(Fig 67).*[115]

Fig 67 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 67 Forged Andy Warhol Che Guevara artwork, by Gerard Malanga, 1968

This newly reclaimed 'radical' Burns was performed in the show as 'virulently anti-aristocratic', 'streetwise' and 'a political radical and thinker, a seditious revolutionary and a staunch republican'. While Burns was 'not quite a combatant' like Guevara, he put 'his pen at the service of liberty'. The rationale for the show was to 'rescue' Burns from his 'safe' and comfortable packaging by heritage and tourism, and his stereotyping as 'a poet of nature and the simple farming life'.[116]

Similar themes can be seen in the appropriation of Burns as a Che Guevara revolutionary in political movement websites. For example, on the website of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, where the Alastair Cook Guevara Burns image is used, Burns is claimed for socialism and acclaimed as the 'People's Poet'. He is 'a revolutionary democrat and advocate for the dispossessed; sympathiser with the American and French Revolutions and an inspiration to socialists'. Although he may have been tamed by the 'establishment' and 'incorporated into the tartan and tourist tack', his 'subversive verses' display his 'radical convictions' where he 'vehemently espouses revolutionary hopes'.[117] The claiming of Burns as political icon and voice of 'the people' has also been pronounced in the Scottish independence movement, where he appears in various guises, including reiterations of the Burns with sunglasses on websites, and as the Nasmyth Burns in independence promotional materials such as posters, badges, stickers and mobile phone covers that include the Burns quote 'It's coming yet for a' that' *(Figs 68-70).*[118] This is a line from his famous poem, *A Man's a Man for a' That*, that was sung at the opening of the new Scottish parliament in 1999.

Fig 68 Radical Independence Campaign poster, 2014
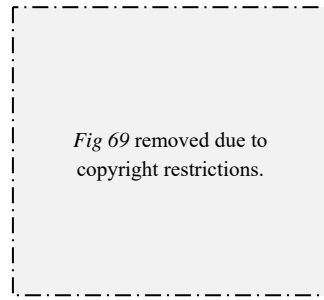
Fig 69 Pro-independence sticker   *Fig 70* Pro-independence badge

In these political contexts, both online and in news coverage, lines or entire Burns poems are often quoted as rhetorical support of the political agendas being expressed and pursued.[119] Scotland's First Minister, Alex Salmond, an advocate of Scottish independence, has been especially active in appropriating Burns and his poetry to support his arguments for a 'Yes' vote in the 2014 independence referendum, asserting that Burns himself would vote in favour:

From tip to toe, Robert Burns was a 100 per cent Scottish patriot. No-one should ever try to pigeon-hole Burns into party politics because he was far too big for that, but it is clear from his private writings such as his letters to Mrs Dunlop and John Moore, as well as his poetry, that he always backed the nation of Scotland. (Alex Salmond, First Minister)[120]

The British Prime Minister, David Cameron, has also invoked Burns' poetry to criticise Salmond's referendum plans, likening the leader to a 'wee cowering timorous beastie'.[121] Within Scotland, Salmond's detractors have been outspoken about his appropriation of Burns for party political ends:

It's foolish of Alex Salmond to try to appropriate Burns for the SNP. Every Scot can find aspects of his poetry that concurs with their beliefs and much of his writing was socialist and internationalist. It's quite wrong to suggest that Burns would have voted one particular way as Burns spoke for all Scots and all humanity. (Richard Baker, Labour MSP and director of the 'Better Together' anti-independence campaign)[122]

The appropriation of Burns in the context of Scottish independence has also seen him being 'brought back to life' in a theatrical performance in Edinburgh, *Robert Burns Votes for Scotland*, in 2013 *(Fig 71)*.[123] The premise of the show was to present Burns grappling with the issue of independence and 'to weigh up how he might cast his vote' through a performance of his poetry and songs. The show's presenter, who

played the role of Burns, commented that 'even the current SNP administration can't enfranchise the dead'.[124] His view about how Burns might vote was equivocal:

Most people would assume that he would automatically vote for independence, but that isn't necessarily the case and there is a considerable argument about what he might have done. People look at poems like Parcel of Rogues and make the assumption that he would have supported independence. (Mark Stephen, presenter *Robert Burns Votes for Scotland*)[125]

Fig 71 Robert Burns Votes for Scotland poster, 2013

Drawing attention to these examples of the appropriation of Burns for political or ideological ends is not intended to imply a cynical or purely instrumental use of his iconic status. Rather, it is designed to highlight how he continues to exert a certain symbolic power that can be drawn upon when issues of Scottish and wider cultural agency and political identity are at stake. The availability and recognisability of Burns as an icon of not only ascribed Scottish values, but also those that transcend time and geography has been a critical part of how he has functioned as a cultural icon in the past and continues to re-energise his symbolic power.

The work of many artists engages directly with this symbolic relationship between Burns and Scotland and universal values, often focusing on and seeking to deconstruct or reappropriate the myths and stereotypes that surround both the poet and Scottish identity, culture, history and its representation.[126] In this, Burns plays a complex set of roles as cultural icon to be deconstructed, as a source of artistic, intellectual, philosophical and ideological ideas to be investigated, and as a figure of

Scottish cultural memory to be reassessed, reinterpreted, and reinvested with new meaning.[127]

In 2009, a major exhibition in Glasgow brought together fifty Scottish and international artists' responses to Burns. The *Inspired* exhibition sought to position Burns as a subject of contemporary and global artistic interest and relevance. Publicity took the form of a multicoloured Andy Warhol'esque poster that used the Nasmyth portrait in multiple repeated frames each one in different colour combinations *(Fig 72)*. That design was also used for the extensive exhibition merchandising and for the exteriors of Glasgow's subway trains.[128]

TM © Sheilagh Tennant (Artruist Ltd) 2008

Fig 72 Inspired exhibition poster, 2009

While some of the artists in the exhibition were addressing Burns for the first time, a number have had a longstanding interest in him as a focus of their work. These artists are among the most highly regarded practitioners in their fields and are notable not only as Scottish artists, but also on the world stage. Their contemporary interpretations of Burns mark an artistic engagement with the poet that, although being part of a long continuum of artistic interest, is experiencing renewed vigour. While each of these artists approach Burns in very different ways, their work locates him as a key figure in their explorations of artistic sensibility, cultural identity, hybridity and exchange, Scottish identity, history and politics. What is significant here is that Burns has come to be reappropriated as a locus for artistic engagement within a diverse array of cultural, aesthetic, philosophical, intellectual and political issues which speak to both Scottish and universal concerns.[129]

One of these directions can be seen in the work of the artist Peter Howson, who seeks to rescue Burns from the commercialised Nasmyth style of representation as a 'kind of dandy' and 'Mills and Boon' romantic lover, and to recapture the 'real' Burns as a deeply flawed artist of great genius. As Howson has commented: 'It might be difficult for people to recognise Burns in some of these things. But the whole exhibition is going to rescue Burns from the shortbread vision we have got at the moment'.[130] What he sees as the 'prettified' Burns on biscuit tins and tea trays, 'is not the real Burns - he was a complete Wildman ... I want to paint a more honest - and raw - portrait' *(Fig 73)*.[131]

Fig 73 removed due to copyright restrictions.
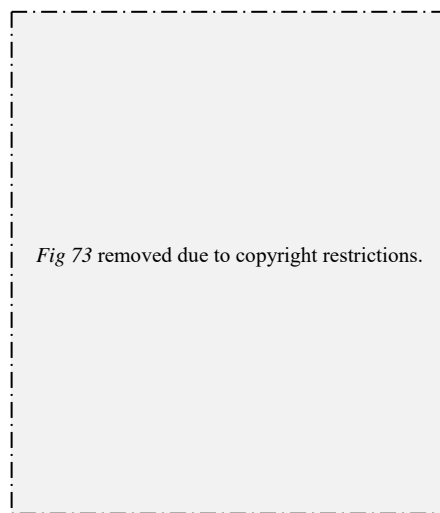
Fig 73 Peter Howson's *Ae Fond Kiss*, 2013

In Howson's work, Burns is shown dishevelled with 'muscular shoulders and big farmer's hands, a figure of raw masculinity'. Howson's Burns is a tormented 'sex addict', dark and angst ridden, doing battles with his demons. His face is haggard and lined, his expression uncertain and introspective, and when pictured at the end of his life, Burns is bloated and alone: 'What I was trying to get is the flawed personality of Burns - the fact that even if he was a genius he was a very flawed human being'.[132] At Howson's 2011 exhibition, *Burns Revealed*, at the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, the museum's director commented that the artist's vision was not only new, but shifted Burns from the familiar commercial icon to a 'real person':

I have seen so many representations of Robert Burns over the years that I thought I would never see anything new - but Howson's portraits really surprised me. There is something intense and compelling about seeing one face drawn and painted over and over again, each

time in a fresh way ... As the artist moves the subject from the familiar half profile of shortbread tins to a full frontal portrait staring out at the viewer, Burns himself seems to change from an icon into a flesh and blood human being. (Nat Edwards, Director of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)[133]

Another contemporary figurative artist with a strong interest in Burns is Adrian Wiszniewski. He too featured in the *Inspired* exhibition and has since had a solo exhibition of his interpretations of Burns, *The Man who Loved Women*, in 2012.[134] Working in a very different mood and style to that of Howson, Wiszniewski's work has been described as 'poetic, yet idiosyncratic visions - big pictures with big impact, colourful fantasies of sunlit brilliance'.[135] In his pictured scenes of young lovers, a youthful boyish Burns sits beside a young woman, caressing her hand, surrounded by stylised trees and flowers *(Fig 74)*. In other scenes, this Burns is depicted as the woman's muse or in others as the recipient of her inspiration. The Nasmyth Burns is partly echoed in Wiszniewski's depictions of Burns in period dress, but the colouring and styling of the figure of Burns, his boyish face, and his different poses and positioning within the allegorical fantasy-like painted scenes, departs from the eighteenth century conventions of formal portraiture, and has more in common with the nineteenth century's romanticised 'Burns and Highland Mary' imagery *(Fig 75)*.[136]
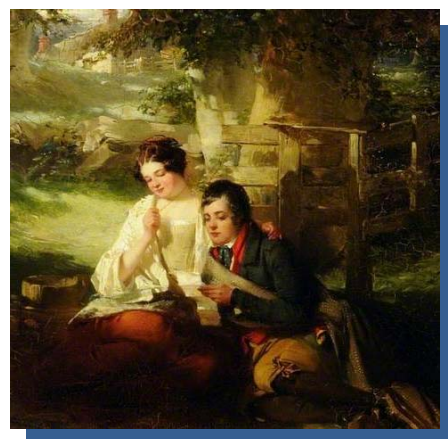
Fig 74 Adrian Wiszniewski's *Highland Mary*, 2011   *Fig 75 Robert Burns and Highland Mary*, 1852

Wiszniewski's paintings of Burns as a lover of women depart dramatically from Howson's vision of Burns as a tortured sex addict. What Wiszniewski attempts to

capture is a gentle and romantic Burns whose 'love of women was genuine and core to his life'. He sees Burns as 'in touch with his feminine side and unafraid to take a women's perspective'.[137] Wiszniewski's artistic engagement with Burns has come out of a change in his attitude towards the poet, from seeing him as 'very much a symbol of the establishment' to now regarding Burns as embodying 'the modern man of today'.[138]

In Wiszniewski's work the Nasmyth Burns is barely there, in Howson's work the Nasmyth Burns is notable for its purposeful absence, whereas in Calum Colvin's work it is the recognisable early portraits of Burns that take centre stage. Colvin too has had a long engagement with Burns as inspiration for his work, which was part of the *Inspired* exhibition and more recently represented in a solo exhibition, *Burnsiana*.[139] His work has been described as 'mixing memory and history and memorial' where the myth of 'Scottishness' is 'presented in terms of symbolic sites, recognisable narratives and cultural archetypes, but is disrupted by the inclusion of kitsch stereotypes and comic interventions'.[140] It takes the form of 'constructed photography' in which a tableau of objects is assembled in a three dimensional setting and then painted and photographed to produce the final artwork. In Colvin's *Portrait of Robert Burns*, Burns is part of a 'constructed narrative' that investigates themes of history, time and memory, and 'a broader theme of myth' *(Fig 76)*.[141]

Fig 76 Calum Colvin's *Portrait of Robert Burns*, 2001

Colvin's image of Burns, based on the well known nineteenth century Archibald Skirving drawing (that is based on the Nasmyth portrait), is constructed in three dimensions as a book case, set within a crumbling landscape of monuments and scattered fragments of ancient Scottish relics, motifs of Burns' poetry and contemporary kitsch paraphernalia. These constitute complex visual references to Scotland's history and its mythologised Celtic bardic past, Burns' relationship to that past in his poetry and persona, and the discarded and broken dreams of an imagined Scotland. It is not so much a 'portrait' of the poet as it is a multilayered 'portrait' of Scottish history and cultural memory with Burns playing a complex role as icon of that identity, as national bard, as national myth, and as stereotyped memento.

The 'iconisation' of Burns

When artists engage with Burns, and where their work might seek to challenge, or reconfigure not only his visual representation but also his mythology, we might not agree with the interpretation, but it seems we are less likely in principle to treat such adaptations as distorting or exploiting Burns in some way. The cultural authority accorded to certain art forms and to the reputation or prestige of the artist plays a role in how such adaptations are received, judged and interpreted. This is perhaps because we assume that there is a deliberate, extended and skilful cultural dialogue being undertaken between the artist and ideas associated with Burns.[142]

On the other hand, when Burns is made over in tourism, events and product marketing, the positive cultural value and authority of Burns is being attached to the image of Scotland and its products and services *(Figs 77-79)*.

Fig 77 Homecoming Scotland 2009 events guides

But the relationship also works the other way round. In aligning Burns with tourism, commerce, events and entertainment, some would argue that the status of Burns (and indeed, Scotland) is in fact degraded; that in appropriating him for these purposes, Burns has been taken over and supplanted, possibly even obliterated. The very qualities that Burns is ostensibly being appropriated for are corrupted in some way.

Fig 78 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 78 Burns Country Smokehouse advertisement, 2012

Fig 79 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 79 Burns Night hat advertisement, 2015

Burns' pervasive appropriation as 'Scotland the Brand' in products, events, marketing and tourism is a source of considerable concern and discussion:

There is a danger that in the twenty-first century we will forget that Scotland's greatest poet belongs to the art form of poetry, not as an adjunct to, or excuse for tourism, 'creative industries', rock concerts or marketeers' gigs. (Robert Crawford 2009, p 406)

A rhetoric of 'iconisation', commodification and commercialisation haunts the public discourse surrounding Burns (and, as noted above, often provides the motivation for artists, designers, writers, and political agents and activists). It is commonplace to

hear arguments that the commercialised Burns is inauthentic and offensive to his memory, or that Burns has become 'embalmed' as a tourism and heritage figure:[143]

Robert Burns ... magnificent writer that he was, has become a national icon more tarnished than the most garish, phoney tartan. The marketing of Burns has everything to do with tourism and nothing to do with literature. Burns is the quintessential symbol of the commodification of a writer. (Jim Ferguson, Scottish poet and writer)[144]

These defences of Burns against the distortions that are perceived to accrue from his commodification, posit the 'real' Burns as existing on a culturally higher plane of value, as more complex and worthy than his popular persona. The claims and counter claims about how Burns should be represented are typically framed in these terms:

Like many Scots I love Robert Burns but I can't quite relate to the popular image of him. The couthy tourist Burns that has been packaged and sold for over two centuries ... essentially it's a false construct. Wrapping Burns up in tartan and slapping his face on tea towels and shortbread tins ... It's more than a little insulting. The Burns that I love, and have chosen to present in this show, was a bit more complex and troublesome than the popular mythology suggests. (Kevin Williamson, writer and performer *Robert Burns: Not in My Name*)[145]

The idea of a 'real' and culturally valuable Burns being subject to the damaging effects of commodification, where his 'true' meaning is distorted or lost and replaced by deliberate and manufactured meanings in the service of selling a product, service or idea, serves to highlight the contradictions and ambiguities that attend the figure of Burns. As Scott and Tomaselli explain, 'iconisation' is a process of manufactured meanings that retain the 'appearance' of the subject but encode qualities not necessarily 'intrinsic' to it. Iconisation 'eliminates contradiction, celebrates the unity of surface appearance, and denies history'.[146] It is then perhaps not at all surprising that concern over the effects of iconisation on a valued cultural icon such as Burns is a lively and often passionate topic in the public domain. In his role as a 'nexus for debate' about national culture, Burns' value and status is continuously being argued for, rescued and reclaimed.[147]

The online people's Burns

Despite these concerns and contestations (or possibly as a corollary of them), the figure of Burns has become what Jan Assmann calls a 'reusable' historical cultural

text, appropriated and remediated in new forms, and in response to shifting social and cultural circumstances, not the least of which is Burns' global reach through new technologies. Burns, his biography, his work and responses to him in commentary, commodities, art and performance is being made 'available' to a worldwide audience through the websites of institutions, commercial and media organisations, and individuals; and through the vehicles of social media and the communications technologies of mobile phones *(Fig 80)*.[148] For example, at the 2011 launch of the new *The Works of Robert Burns* mobile phone app, Scotland's Culture Minister remarked that the app brings Burns 'firmly into the twenty first century' and that his 'enduring messages of human equality and international brotherhood' were now available 'to iPhone users the world over'.[149]

Fig 80 The Works of Robert Burns mobile phone app

New technologies, especially social media, have also brought about what might be considered as a major shift in Burns' representation not only by artists, institutions and commerce, but also by individuals and social groups.[150] Siobhan O'Flynn argues that social media has fostered a shift from DIY (do-it-yourself) to DIO (do-it-to-others), and that this has had an impact on how adaptations are produced, controlled and distributed. As she notes, 'audiences now claim all aspects of ownership over content that they identify with, immerse themselves in, adapt, remix, reuse, and share'.[151] What were once recipients, audiences and consumers are now also producers, collaborators and disseminators of Burns imagery through Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, blogs, image sharing and sourcing sites such as Flickr and Pinterest, Memegenerator, and Vector and Clip Art online services. With the ready availability and ease of digital manipulation anyone now can create their own version

of Burns, often borrowing and manipulating the imagery widely available on the net that then gets added to this growing repository of source imagery that is not only 'accessible and repeatable, but also infinitely modifiable' *(Fig 81)*.[152] In this environment of user-manipulated and shared imagery, evolving variations and parodies of Burns' image flourish and spread quickly through e-mail, blogs, message boards, social networking sites, and other online methods.[153]

Fig 81 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 81 Variations of Burns' image that are widely shared and reproduced on the internet

The attraction of this sort of ready image appropriation, manipulation and social sharing of Burns is evident in his countless appearances on websites, forums and blogs across the world, including: 'X Marks the Scot: An On-line Community of Kilt Wearers' forum where Burns is presented with a St Andrews flag superimposed on his face; the 'Celebrities with Diseases' USA website which features Burns in sunglasses; and the 'Tartan Tastes in Texas' food blog with Burns captioned as 'I'm Sexy and a Poet' *(Fig 82)*.[154]

Fig 82 removed due to copyright restrictions.
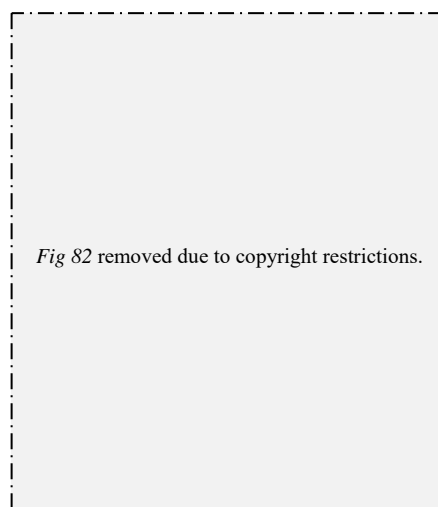
Fig 82 'I'm Sexy and a Poet' internet meme

It would seem that on any occasion when Burns or Scottishness is the topic, the image of Burns in either the conventional Nasmyth form or as one of the many updated, parodied or subversive versions is a standard inclusion.

If adaptation is understood as a transcoding process that encompasses recreations, remakes, remediations, revisions, parodies, reinventions, reinterpretations or expansions; then the connectivity of the web presents an exemplar of these processes in fast forward mode.[155] A feature of which is the ephemeral, the rapid turnover of what is in and what is out, what is popular, what is fashionable, and what happens to be the sources of interest and delight at one any point in time. As O'Flynn remarks, the connectivity of the web has 'fostered a paradigm shift in the mobilization of global communities of interest', who are able to 'act and react instantly and en masse to shared delights'; and what may be a shared delight one day is replaced by another the next.[156] The transitory and ephemeral also applies to the adaptations of Burns' imagery. While some appear to have a longer active online life than others, their persistence is marked by a process of continuous adaptive variation with the Nasmyth Burns providing a seemingly endless array of possibilities for adaptation and repurposing in response to topical events and popular trends, and specific local contexts. In one especially topical adaptation, Alex Salmond's face has been superimposed on a full length Nasmyth portrait of Burns *(Figs 83, 84).*[157] The attached witty caption, 'Great Chieftan o' the puddin race' (a line from Burns' poem *Address to a Haggis*), uses Burns' own words to poke fun at the Scottish leader.
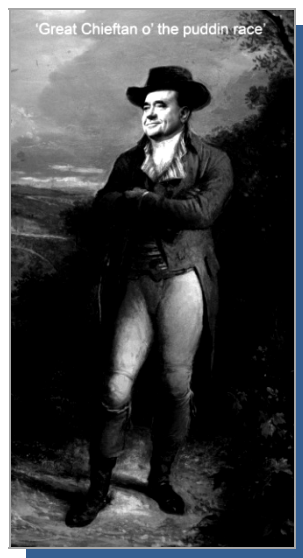
Fig 83 Alex Salmond as Burns, 2012   *Fig 84* Nasmyth portrait of Burns, 1828

This type of morphing of Burns' image is not without historic precedent. In 1905, a photograph of Burns' great grand-daughter's face was superimposed on a reproduction of the Nasmyth portrait and published as a postcard *(Fig 85)*.[158]
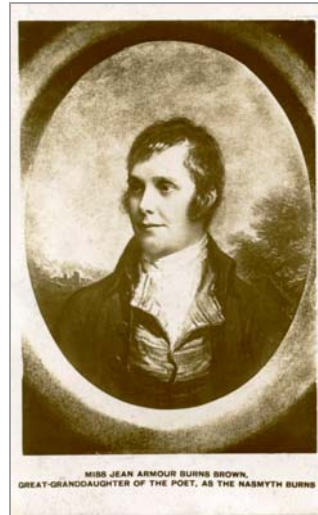
Fig 85 Postcard of Jean Armour Burns Brown, 1905

In other more contemporary topical examples, Burns might don a Christmas hat *(Fig 86)*, a football fan's 'Jimmy hat' *(Fig 87)*, an American chief's feathered headdress *(Fig 88)*, an American flag or a Saint Andrews flag on Burns Night; or be incorporated in the recent 'Keep Calm and Carry On' imagery with amended captions -'Keep Calm It's Burns Night', and 'Keep Calm and respect Robert Burns' - through the image manipulation services of the Keepcalm-o-matic website *(Fig 89)*.[159]

Fig 86 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 87 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 88 removed to copyright restrictions.
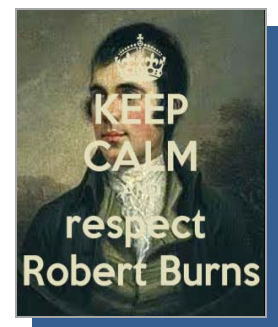
Fig 86 Christmas hat   *Fig 87* 'Jimmy hat'   *Fig 88* Chief's headdress   *Fig 89* 'Keep Calm'

These online producers, collaborators and disseminators of Burns' imagery are participating in what might be conceived of as a non-institutionalised cultural discourse about Burns that relies on the social dynamics of new digital media. Trevor Blank has suggested that participatory media offers new forms of cultural production

through which 'new traditions are being formed by online communities' and which have 'shifted the social constructions of community'.[160] Describing these online modes of expression as an 'electronic vernacular', he argues that the digital realm has relevance for many people as a platform for artistic, identity and communal expression, and as 'a purveyor of various narratives and beliefs', ranging from topical humour to 'apocalyptic hyperbole'.[161] As he notes, many of the topics traditionally explored by folklorists, such as 'humour, expression, tradition, narrative transmission, commemoration, religion, and ritual - have taken on new or modified lives in the digital world'.[162] This idea of the internet as a vernacular space has also been described as a 'public gathering place', as a setting for 'normal, informal, daily social interaction'. It 'allows like-minded people who would never otherwise meet (whether due to physical, geographical, or situational obstacles) to find each other almost immediately'.[163]

In that online social interaction; individuals, groups or communities can forge their own responses, interpretations and symbolic attachments to public figures and celebrities. Seen from this perspective, the online engagements with Burns can be understood as what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jeffrey Shandler refer to as a 'kind of folk practice' or 'grassroots' mode of response.[164] In the production, reproduction and sharing of user-manipulated Burns iconography, that playfully and wilfully mock, parody and lampoon his ubiquitous image, Burns becomes a shared resource and vehicle for individuals and groups to put their own irreverent 'stamp' on him - to make Burns over as their own *(Fig 90)*.

Fig 90 removed due to copyright restrictions.

Fig 90 A recent spoof of Burns with his head superimposed on a woman's body wearing a corset [165]

Like other cultural icons, it would seem that the more reverence that has been accorded to Burns, the greater a target he has become for irreverence.[166] But such responses can be seen as a 'protective' and 'reverent impulse' by placing Burns at the centre of their 'mockery'.[167] Through that irreverence, those responses 'implicitly define the 'correct' response' by offering 'comically negative examples' and thus contribute to, rather than diminish, Burns' social canonicity.[168] The irreverent responses to Burns, including the playful and the kitsch, may in fact be re-energising a 'fatigued' icon for new generations.[169]

The playful appeal of these cheeky makeovers has not gone unnoticed by institutions that have an interest in Burns. The Scottish Book Trust, for example, which has a strong youth focus, recently initiated an online Burns insult sharing activity, 'You've been Burnsed', to celebrate Burns Night.[170] Website visitors were invited to contribute their favourite Burns insults as captions to be added to the Nasmyth portrait of Burns wearing sunglasses, or to create their own Burns image with a caption, using the online 'meme creator', Quickmeme *(Fig 91)*. Contributors were encouraged to share their images and trade insults with friends on Facebook, Twitter, email and other social networking services. The Burns 'memes' were also posted on the Trust's website and Facebook page, and the insults themselves posted on the Trust's Twitter account. Some of the contributions included: 'Yer a blethering, blustering, drunken bellum'; 'Ye ugly, creepin, blastit wonner'; 'Hey thou pickle-herring in the puppet-show of nonsense'.

Fig 91 'You've been Burnsed' memes

Described as a Burns 'meme fest', the idea was to provide an avenue for a cheeky playful outlet during a cold Scottish winter and as a mechanism to engage online visitors with Burns' lively irreverent language:

At times like this you need to express your frustrations by being needlessly abusive to the world at large. Oor Rabbie Burns has inspired us do this in a completely SFW (safe for work – ie nae swearing) way, with extra brownie points for your literary nouse. Robert Burns - Scotland's best-loved, rogueish (sic) scamp of a ploughman poet - was a master of the well-worded insult and we've recycled some of these in a Burns meme-fest. (Claire Stewart, Scottish Book Trust)[171]

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Shandler have referred to the 'liberal nature' of the internet as encouraging a more expansive and diverse approach to engaging with historical public figures and cultural icons. They note how social media allow for 'highly personal takes', and how digital media offer 'ripe opportunities for mashups that copy, rework, and combine texts, images ... that can go viral through social media'.[172] In this culture of 'open sharing' of information and creative work, the meaning of a cultural icon becomes 'unbound' and the 'ethos' ascribed to their life and work 'is rethought'.[173] In the expansive 'unbound' online world that Burns now inhabits, the often irreverent and 'personal takes' on his visual persona may however be less a 'rethinking' of his 'ethos' than a social reclaiming and celebration of it. It might be that it is his cultural availability as the irreverent, playful, accessible and sociable 'people's poet' that could explain his appeal in these adaptive contexts. To the extent that this might be the case, then the 'ethos' that Burns represents, or at least one important part of it, is being reinforced through a playful homage.

In all of this profusion of rapid and continuous refashioning of Burns there is then perhaps a clue to what is going on for adapters and audiences alike. Hutcheon, for example, suggests that it is in the subversive and playful that the key to the appeal of adaptations resides.[174] Adaptations bring together 'the comfort of ritual and recognition with the delight of surprise and novelty'.[175] But what happens when the audience for adaptations do not have the prior knowledge (in effect no memory), where they are not familiar with the work being adapted?[176] With works of the artistic or literary canon we may have no direct experience (or interest) prior to the experience of an adaptation, other than what John Ellis describes as a 'generally circulated cultural memory'.[177] With respect to Burns, it would be safe to say that at least in Scotland that such a 'generally circulated cultural memory' no doubt applies; so that even if we have never encountered the Nasmyth portrait in the flesh, so to speak, such an image of him is so ubiquitous that it is at least recognisable as Burns.

We then can be considered as what Hutcheon calls a 'knowing audience' who have expectations about Burns' representation, where adaptations may meet, challenge or shift those expectations and we might be satisfied or delighted, provoked or angered or disapproving.[178]

But what of the Burns that now circulates globally and in such endlessly transmuted forms? Could it be that these adapted images have now become, for many, the 'generally circulated cultural memory', and where the visual (literary and cultural) history of the poet persists only as a mere echo or trace recognisable only to a few? And further, in the proliferation of Burns as product and brand icon and graphic design logo, has something been lost in these processes of adaptation that Hutcheon refers to as running 'amok'?[179]

Hutcheon's argument, though, is that 'adaptation is not vampiric; it does not draw life-blood from its source and leave it dying or dead ... It may, on the contrary, keep that prior work alive, giving it an afterlife it would never have had otherwise'. Adaptation is how stories and cultural figures 'evolve and mutate to fit new times and different places'.[180] Burns has certainly been granted an afterlife (or rather afterlives) through his continuous reinscription as visual icon, evolving and mutating into new forms and in new guises, not all of which might be counted as worthy or fitting. The product websites that offer his image on customised coffins, on toilet seats, on T shirts for a pet dog, or emblazoned on G string underwear are particularly notable examples *(Figs 92-95)*.
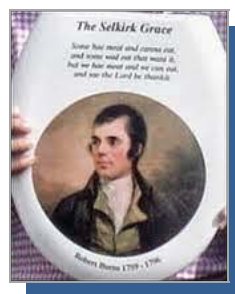
Fig 92 Burns coffin   *Fig 93 Toilet seat*   *Fig 94 Dog T shirt*   *Fig 95 Underwear*

What can go some way towards making sense of all of these manifestations is not to argue for one version over another, or to ignore or dismiss as irrelevant those that do not meet our expectations of how Burns should be remembered and represented. Rather, the challenge lies in looking at how Burns actually functions as a cultural

figure and that means taking into account 'the good, the bad and the ugly'. As Leypoldt has argued, our understanding of the cultural relevance of cultural icons will be impoverished if we do not take into account both their symbolic 'values and virtues' *and* their 'social charisma'.[181] Moreover, the search for the 'real' or more authentic person behind the multivocal inscriptions that surround a cultural icon is a misplaced endeavour since their meaning emerges in 'social rituals of inscription and reinscription, valuation and contestation'.[182] Holding up the icon 'against its historical or biographical origin (ie the works, concepts, or practices of the real individual)' in order to validate it in one way or another ignores the way that an icon functions socially as 'value-based appropriation', or, as in the case of Burns, 'the multiple realities to which the Burns phenomenon lends itself'.[183]

'many headed and polyphonic manifestations'

Erll and Rigney have argued that figures of memory only continue to 'operate as such as long as people continue to reinvest in them and use them as a point of reference'.[184] They suggest that when stories about the past are no longer performed 'in talking, reading, viewing, or commemorative rituals, they ultimately die out in cultural terms' and become obsolete or 'inert'.[185] The varied examples of visual elaboration and transformation of Burns that have been sketched out in this chapter, span the banal to the considered, the playful to the passionate, the respectful to the irreverent, the positive and the negative - but cultural 'inertia' is not one of them. Neither does Burns appear to be suffering from what Rigney refers to as cultural erosion, where the meanings of a cultural figure become worn down, feint and smoothed out through over-exposure or indifference.[186] On the contrary, in the case of Burns, the diversity of appropriations and adaptations demonstrates a widespread lively engagement and a reawakening of interest towards him in the social imagination.[187] While these responses do not constitute a unitary or consistent set of meanings, are inconsistent in their sense of purpose, and vary considerably in their quality of execution; the 'vast sprawl' of that engagement indicates that Burns has not lost his capacity to be meaningful in different ways to many different individuals and groups, and in different forms and contexts.[188]

It is not that there is one Robert Burns that continues to be popular, but many - 'popular in different ways and for different reasons at different points in time'.[189] In

this conceptualisation, there is no 'original' or 'authentic' Burns that holds a privileged position, but rather a constantly evolving set of representations that interact with one another to produce the conditions for his interpretation at any one time.[190] Through diverse processes of diffusion - in art, music, performance and design, in tourism and product merchandising, in social networking, and in academic and political rhetoric - the figure of Burns is put into circulation and made continuously available as a mobile and fluid cultural icon - as a 'moving sign of the times'.[191]

These qualities of paradox and contradiction, ambiguity and elusiveness mark the figure of Burns as a 'multireferential, multivocal', and 'infinitely variable' cultural symbol, rather than as a 'smoothened-out, consistent and one sided' product image or icon.[192] Those qualities also serve to underscore his malleability as a cultural figure - a feature that has not gone unnoticed in Burns scholarship, where his 'many headed and polyphonic manifestations' are regularly discussed.[193] That malleability has often been offered as a part explanation for his appeal as a literary and cultural subject. While Burns' work and life is often at the centre of such discussion, it is also his iconic status and appeal as a cultural figure that leads to him to being claimed by different groups for different reasons. In the claiming of Burns for fun, for art, for style, for politics, for commerce, for Scotland or indeed for literature, Burns continues to elude fixity in his meaning and symbolic role. As Carruthers has commented:

Despite the best efforts of critics to harmonize Burns's attitudes into a single cogent, coherent outlook, however, it is perhaps time to recognise that the man and his work do, indeed, represent contradictions that remain irresolvable. (Gerard Carruthers 2006(a), p 75)

Indeed, if there is any one defining characteristic, it is Burns' ability as a cultural figure to arouse disagreement and provoke debate and controversy, rather than consensus, about the meanings he offers and how he should be represented and remembered.

Full of contradictions and variations in meaning, evoking varied reactions, sentiments and emotions, the figure Burns can be understood a key cultural symbol, one that is 'central to the organisation of specific cultural systems', wherein 'the 'natives' say it is culturally important; they are positively or negatively aroused by it;

it comes up in different contexts; it is the object of great cultural elaboration'.[194] Such social arousal, contextual differentiation and cultural elaboration has been especially evident in the recent resurgence of interest in Burns. Some of that social arousal, as noted above, has been concerned with the negative effects of his 'iconisation' and 'commodification' and its potential to distract and subvert attention from an 'authentic' Burns and his emblematic stature in Scottish identity. But the debate itself is part of the cultural functioning of Burns - as part of an ongoing discourse - and as such provides one of the frames of relevance that contribute to his ongoing construction as a site for cultural memory.[195]

Rigney has suggested that figures of memory can only survive in the long term if they feed into the preoccupations of later generations.[196] In the case of Burns, those preoccupations reflect the 'multiple realities' to which the Burns phenomenon lends itself that often reside outside of a significant connection to his work.[197] The cultural preoccupations that Burns is being appropriated for are often less literary than as a means to artistic, commercial or ideological ends, or as markers of personal, social, political or cultural identity, or as entertainment and pleasure. But this only underscores that *something* continues to be at stake in appropriating Burns in one way rather than another; especially when those appropriations are often a matter of redefinition, contestation or defense. Burns may not be being remembered in every instance as some might wish him to be, but he is certainly not being forgotten. Whether or not the literary and complex Burns continues to be remembered will be dependent on what is at stake in appropriating him this way or another, and whether those stakes continue to be regarded as important enough to be fought over. While there might be a preference to have only worthy representations to match the worthiness of Burns, his fate in the twenty first century as a multifaceted, remediated, appropriated and contested figure might in fact be key to his continued longevity and value as a cultural icon.

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[1] Jonathan Trew, 'Pizza Burns', 5pm Dining Blog, 23 January 2012,

http://blog.5pm.co.uk/2012/01/pizza-burns/.

[2] Riach 2004, p xv.

[3] Riach 2004, p 19.

[4] Riach 2004, p xviii and p xiv.

[5] G Ross Roy 1997, p 53.

[6] Noble 1994, p 167.

[7] See also Braidwood 2009, p 80.

[8] See Sanders 2006, p 145.

[9] See 'STV goes In Search of Robert Burns to reveal the face of Scottish poet', STV, 7 January 2013, http://entertainment.stv.tv/music/robert-burns/208687-stv-goes-in-search-of-robert-burns-to-reveal-the-face-of-scottish-poet/.

[10] Comments made in the STV documentary *In Search of Robert Burns*. First broadcast on 22 January 2013 and repeated on 25 January 2013 (see 'In Search of Robert Burns on STV on 22nd January', *STV News*, 7 January 2013, http://www.stvplc.tv/blog/2013/01/in-search-of-robert-burns-on-stv-on-22nd-january).

[11] Wilkinson quoted in 'The Real Face of Robert Burns Revealed', *The Scotsman*, 24 January 2013, http://www.scotsman.com/.../the-real-face-of-robert-burns-revealed-1-2753421.

[12] Hayman quoted in 'The Real Face of Robert Burns Revealed', University of Dundee news release, 23 January 2013, http://app.dundee.ac.uk/pressreleases/2013/january13/robertburns.htm.

[13] Comment posted on *The Scotsman* website, 25 January 2013, in response to 'The Real Face of Robert Burns Revealed'.

[14] 'Burns Appearance: What did Robert burns Look Like', Alexandria Burns Club, May 2013, http://www.robertburns.org.uk/burns_appearance.htm.

[15] Comment posted on *The Scotsman* website, 23 January 2013, in response to 'The Real Face of Robert Burns Revealed'.

[16] 'Will the real Robert Burns ...', St Andrew Society of Tallahassee Newsletter, vol 36, no 7, p 1, February 2013, http://www.saintandrewtallahassee.org/newsletter.htm.

[17] Sturken 1997, p 11. As she notes, 'histories are told' through images (Sturken 1997, p 5).

[18] Sturken 1997, p 9.

[19] Rigney 2005, p 20.

[20] Rigney 2005, pp 15-16.

[21] Erll and Rigney 2009(b), p 5. See also Erll 2009, p 111.

[22] Rigney 2005, p 15 and p 22. See also Erll and Rigney 2009(b), pp 2-6.

[23] Rigney 2005, p 20.

[24] Rigney 2005, p 26.

[25] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 22.

[26] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, pp 22-23.

[27] Scott 2009, p 140.

[28] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 21.

[29] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 22.

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[30] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 21. They also note that these contradictions in meaning 'must become subsumed into a dialectical dynamic that is capable of accommodating shifts and reversal of meaning' (Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 21).

[31] Leypoldt 2010, pp 9-10.

[32] Leypoldt 2010, p 20.

[33] See Scott 2009, pp 149-150; Erll and Rigney 2009(b), p 4; Scott and Tomaselli 2009, pp 21-22; and Rigney 2012, p 222.

[34] Scott 2009, pp 135-136.

[35] Scott 2009, p 136.

[36] Scott 2009, p 140.

[37] Scott 2009, p 137 and p 151.

[38] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, pp 21-23. See also, Leypoldt 2010, p 10.

[39] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 20.

[40] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 21.

[41] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 23.

[42] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 22.

[43] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, pp 21-22.

[44] See Stephanie Glaser 2009, pp 60-61.

[45] Rigney 2012, p 16, and pp 224-225.

[46] Macdonald 2005, p 61.

[47] Whatley 2011(b), p 205.

[48] Macdonald 2005, pp 64-65.

[49] *Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition 1896*, p 1.

[50] Macdonald 2005 and 2013(a). McGuirk refers to the Nasmyth Burns as an 'idealising portrait' and as 'the cliché of clichés' (McGuirk 1994, p 38).

[51] Macdonald 2005 and 2013(b).

[52] Macdonald 2013(b).

[53] Macdonald 2005, p 61, and 2013(b). See also 'Rabbie Burns and real life: The bard's legacy remains as important as ever to Scottish art, as Moira Jeffrey reports', *Herald Scotland*, 20 January 2006, http://www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen/rabbie-burns-and-real-life-the-bard-s-legacy-remains-as-important-as-ever-to-scottish-art-as-moira-jeffrey-reports-1.31427).

[54] Macdonald 2005, pp 62-63.

[55] See 'The Intimate Portrait: Drawings, Miniatures and Pastels from Ramsay to Lawrence', National Galleries of Scotland news release, 23 October 2008, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/media/_file/press_releases/the_intimate_portrait_final_release.pdf. While traditional portraiture was at its height during the nineteenth century, 'the contemporary world of art and fashion is seeing a resurgence of portrait art ... The diversity of expression is reflected in the media used: from paint to mixed media, from photography to video' ('Introduction to Portraiture', Artspan, https://www.artspan.com/portraiture#.VD3P4GccSUk).

[56] National Galleries of Scotland online collection,

https://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/simple-search/n/artist/alexander-nasmyth/object/robert-burns-1759-1796-poet-pg-1063.

[57] See, for example, *Homecoming and Portrait of the Nation* exhibition, 22 November - 5 April 2009, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, http://www.nationalgalleries.org/whatson/past/homecoming-and-portrait-of-the-nation; and *The Face of Scotland: The Scottish National Portrait Gallery at Kirkcudbright* exhibition, 5 July - 25 August 2008, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, http://www.nationalgalleries.org/whatson/exhibitions/the-face-of-scotland. The (then) Director of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, James Holloway, has commented that the gallery 'is a statement of national identity that is very important on a cultural level' (Holloway quoted in 'New Beacon of Scotland's Identity', *New York Times*, 16 December 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/17/arts/17iht-scotportrait17.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

[58] As Macdonald remarks in his analysis: 'I cannot even begin here to give a comprehensive account of the two-dimensional versions of Nasmyth's image by artists and engravers' (Macdonald 2005, p 64).

[59] Macdonald 2005, p 64.

[60] Macdonald 2005, p 62.

[61] This image, *Robert Burns*, by the Scottish artist Steve Carroll, was a third place winner in the National Trust for Scotland Art Competition in 2015 (see 'National Trust for Scotland Art Competition', National Trust for Scotland, 25 January 2015, http://www.nts.org.uk/artcomp/winners.php). It appears as an illustration of Burns on various websites (see, for example, 'Burns Night Supper at Cowpers Oak', Cowpers Oak hotel, 24 January 2015, http://cowpersoak.co.uk/wp/?calendars=burns-night-2014; and The Happy Harris Blog, 29 March 2012, http://fatherof4-familyof6.blogspot.com.au/2012_03_01_archive.html).

[62] Sanders 2006, p 145.

[63] Vector graphics are stock images, logos, icons and illustrations that are available for download from numerous image sharing websites (see, for example, 'Robert Burns Portrait', Free Vector, http://www.freevector.com/robert-burns-portrait).

[64] Courtney Lehmann and Lisa S Starks 2002, p 12.

[65] Hutcheon 2013, p 20.

[66] Hutcheon 2013, p 173.

[67] Hutcheon 2013, p 116.

[68] Hutcheon 2013, p 2 and p 6; and Sanders 2006, p 160.

[69] See Hutcheon 2013; and Sanders 2006.

[70] Sanders 2006, pp 105-106. See also Hutcheon 2013, p 20, pp 174-175, and pp 153-166.

[71] Sanders 2006, p 19.

[72] Sanders 2006, p 22.

[73] Sanders 2006, p 8.

[74] Sanders 2006, p 158.

[75] Hutcheon 2013, p 21.

[76] Sanders 2006, p 98.

[77] Hutcheon 2013, p 20. Sanders 2006, p 9.

[78] Hutcheon 2013, p 8.

[79] O'Flynn 2013, p 180 and p 191.

[80] Hutcheon 2013, p 20.

[81] Sanders 2006, p 245.

[82] See Devine (2012(a), p 662) regarding the strengthening of Scottish identity for young Scots.

[83] The movie, *Burns*, starring the Scottish actor Gerard Butler, has not yet been made (see 'Robert Burns film no closer to being made', *The Scotsman*, 21 January 2013, http://www.scotsman.com/what-s-on/film/robert-burns-film-still-no-closer-to-being-made-1-2748529).

[84] See 'Robert Burns: Witch Hunter - New graphic novel offers a different take on The Bard', *News Net Scotland*, 25 January 2013, http://www.newsnetscotland.scot/index.php/arts-and-culture/6638-robert-burns-witch-hunter-new-graphic-novel-offers-a-different-take-on-the-bard.

[85] See 'Robert Burns rock 'n' roll star', Scotland.org, 24 January 2002, http://www.scotland.org.uk/magazine/robert-burns-rock-n-roll-star; 'Michael Jackson's show tunes of Robert Burns poems to be heard for first time', *The Telegraph*, 15 January 2012, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/music-news/9016530/Michael-Jacksons-show-tunes-of-Robert-Burns-poems-to-be-heard-for-first-time.html; 'New musical on Robert Burns written by King of Pop Michael Jackson is set to be launched', *Scotland Now*, 16 June 2014, http://www.scotlandnow.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/new-musical-robert-burns-written-3703715; 'Burn It Up! - Red Hot Rabbie Burns Dance Tracks', Music Scotland, http://www.musicscotland.com/cd/burn-it-up-red-hot-rabbie-burns-dance-tracks.html; 'Alternative Burns Night sees Scottish rapper take on Robert Burns', STV, 23 January 2012, http://entertainment.stv.tv/music/294743-alternative-burns-night-sees-scottish-rapper-take-on-robert-burns/; 'Poetry meets punk as Rabbie rocks the stage', *The Scotsman*, 21 January 2009, http://www.scotsman.com/news/poetry-meets-punk-as-rabbie-rocks-the-stage-1-1305229; 'Ulf Wakenius Quartet/Jim Mullen: Live/Burns', All About Jazz, 1 October 2000, http://www.allaboutjazz.com/live-burns-ulf-wakenius-dragon-records-review-by-david-rickert.php#.VD0TmmccSUk; 'Robert Burns in a reggae style: Celtic Reggae', X Marks the Scot : An On-line Community of Kilt Wearers, 20 May 2009, http://www.xmarksthescot.com/forum/f106/robert-burns-ina-reggae-style-celtic-reggae-49073; and 'Music: Now Wakes The Sea - 'Addressing The Haggis'', National Collective, 25 January 2013, http://nationalcollective.com/2013/01/25/now-wakes-the-sea-addressing-the-haggis/.#sthash.n2kwPEaw.dpuf.

[86] See 'Robert Burns - The Ploughman Poet', BBC, 9 October 2014, http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/place-devon/plain/A47332217; 'Bob Dylan: Robert Burns is my biggest inspiration', *The Guardian*, 6 October 2008, http://www.theguardian.com/music/2008/oct/06/bob.dylan.robert.burns.inspiration; 'View Wildman Kyle Falconer is the new Rabbie Burns', *The Sun*, 25 January 2013,

http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/scottishnews/4762135/View-Wildman-Kyle-Falconer-is-the-new-Rabbie-Burns.html.

[87] See 'Robert Burns Museum targets younger visitors with the aid of Michael Jackson', McConnells, 18 January 2012, http://www.mccgp.co.uk/marketing-news/online-marketing/robert-burns-museum-targets-younger-visitors-with-the-aid-of-michael-jackson. At what was the Burns National Heritage Park, Burns was depicted as Elvis Presley in a poster campaign. The park's (then) manager, Nat Edwards, commented that he hoped 'that comparisons of Burns with modern day rock stars will help rekindle youthful interest in the biggest star ever to have been produced by this country' (Edwards quoted in 'Alloway to the Top of the Charts', Scotlandonline.com, 24 January 2002, http://www.scottishoutdoors.co.uk/heritage/main_feature.cfm@feature_id=101&site_id=15&feature_cat_id=6.htm. For Burns as an unshaven 'muso', see 'Robert Burns', Bob Harper Art, http://www.bobharperart.com/Robert-Burns; and 'From Robbie Williams to Rabbie Burns: Rock 'n' Roll painter Bob Harper to capture national bard', *STV News*, 4 February 2014, http://news.stv.tv/video/609441116001.

[88] Hugh Morrison website, http://www.hughmorrison.com/sitev1/index.php/bands-groups. There have also been contemporary reinterpretations of Burns' music in a more 'folk' mode, most notably by the singer Eddi Reader who was appointed by the National Trust for Scotland as Scotland's first international Robert Burns ambassador in 2010 (see 'Eddi Reader is first Burns ambassador', *The Sunday Times*, 24 January 2010, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article195802.ece).

[89] See 'Burns an' a' that festival', http://www.burnsfestival.com/the-line-up.asp.

[90] See 'Burns Night', Virtually London (Lite), 26 January 2011, http://sllondon.blogspot.com.au/2011_01_01_archive.html.

[91] The 'feminisation' of Burns is perhaps not such a radical departure, since the Nasmyth portrait has been described as 'slight, slender, and genteel' (McGuirk 1994, p 38). See also *Fig 90*, and Note 158 below.

[92] See 'KNUK Burns Night', KNUK Studio for Art and Design, 13 January 2011, http://knukblog.blogspot.com.au/2011/01/burns-night.html

[93] See 'Scots restaurateur makes haggis pizza for Burns night', *Deadline News*, 22 January 2012, http://www.deadlinenews.co.uk/2012/01/22/scots-chef-makes-haggis-pizza-for-burns-night.

[94] See Jenni Ramone (2011, p 11) who discusses these issues with respect to online adaptations of Shakespeare.

[95] Kamilla Elliot 2003, p 133, referred to in Hutcheon 2013, p 9.

[96] See Hutcheon 2013, pp 10-12.

[97] The term meme derives from Richard Dawkins' concept of 'a unit of cultural transmission', such as an idea, tune, catch phrase, symbol or style that spreads form one person to another through imitation. It has become commonly used to refer to internet based images/texts that are shared widely on the web via blogs and social media (see 'Antioch College to present MEME: Culture in Transmission', Antioch College, 12 November 2012, http://antiochcollege.org/news/archive/meme-culture-in-transmission.html).

[98] See 'Burns Baby Burns - Scotland's International Image', The Leith Agency, 25 January 2007, http://www.leith.co.uk/work/burns-baby-burns.

[99] See 'National Museum of Scotland's New Gallery Showcases 100 Years of History', Culture24, 11 July 2008, http://www.culture24.org.uk/history-and-heritage/art59336.

[100] See, for example, 'Unleash Your Inner Scotsman this Burns Night', Man Cave Daily, *CBS New York*, 24 January 2014, http://mancave.cbslocal.com/2014/01/24/unleash-your-inner-scotsman-this-burns-night; 'The Nest Collective: Burns Baby Burns and Ceilidh Liberation Front at St John at Hackney Church', Run Riot, 17 January 2015, http://www.run-riot.com/club/nest-collective-burns-baby-burns-ceilidh-liberation-front-st-john-hackney-church; and 'Burns Baby Burns', Pinterest, https://www.pinterest.com/Saoirsegraidh/burns-baby-burns.

[101] See, for example, 'Burns Night', Boisdale of Canary Wharf hotel, 25 January 2014, http://www.boisdale.co.uk/events/view/658; 'Fullfatmilk', 8 Tracks Online Radio, 2 February 2015, http://8tracks.com/fullfatmilk; Best Whisky Facebook page, 9 October 2014, https://www.facebook.com/pages/Best-Whisky/106673476097135; 'Episode 020: Auld Lang Syne', Scotch and Comics, 25 January 2014, https://scotchandcomics.wordpress.com/tag/plastic-man/; 'Larry Carter's Re-Writes of Robert Burns Lyrics', Angelfire, 28 May 2012, www.angelfire.com/ks/larrycarter/FG/Rewrite.html; 'July 21: Day of Retribution', The Pogues Forums, 21 July 2010, http://www.pogues.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=10915; 'A New Chapter for Egalitarian Scotland', National Collective, 29 July 2013, http://nationalcollective.com/?s=A+New+Chapter+for+Egalitarian+Scotland; 'Robert Burns A Red Red Rose', About the Middle Ages, (Russia), 31 July 2011, lillia-v.diary.ru/p165039760.htm; and 'Robert Burns, 1759-1796', New Songs Like, (Korea), 3 December 2009, blog.joins.com/jinahl/11208918.

[102] See 'Burns Supper and Ceilidh', University of Edinburgh, School of Chemistry Alumni, 26 January 2013, http://www.chem.ed.ac.uk/alumni/get-informed/newsletter-issue-5/burns-supper-and-ceilidh.

[103] Sanders 2006, p 24.

[104] See Gung Haggis Fat Choy website: http://www.gunghaggis.com/about.

[105] See 'Gung Haggis Fat Seattle V - a great success in new venue', Gung Haggis Fat Choy, 23 February 2011, http://www.gunghaggis.com/category/seattle-gung-haggis-fat-choy. See also Davis, 2009(b).

[106] Hutcheon comments that when 'local particularities become transplanted to new ground ... something new and hybrid results' through processes of 'cultural transcoding' and 'intercultural encounter and accommodation' (Hutcheon 2013, pp 150-151). Another example of a hybrid or fusion Burns Night event is the Punjabi/Scots Burns Supper, first held in 2014 in Glasgow. The event featured the new Pride of India tartan, designed for Glasgow's Commonwealth Games, and a tartan sari (see 'Glasgow's First Tartan & Turbans Burns Supper', Robert Burns World Federation, 17 February 2014, http://www.rbwf.org.uk/glasgows-first-tartan-turbans-burns-supper).

[107] See 'Paisley degree kicks off with radical cheek', *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 7 September 2001, http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/164718.article. The poster was designed by

the Atalanta advertising agency in 2001 (see 'Work/Advertising/University of Paisley', Atalanta, http://www.atalanta.uk.com/work/advertising/university-of-paisley).

[108] See Trisha Ziff (2006) for the origins and history of the appropriations of Korda's Che Guevara image (although the Robert Burns connection is not mentioned).

[109] There is also at least one statue of Burns wearing a Scottish beret (in Schenley Park, Pittsburgh) although it is not possible to say whether it had an influence on this image design.

[110] Information documented by author on research field work trips in 2011 and 2013. The poster has been on display at Kelvingrove since 2003. See also Karina Westermann, who refers to the Che Guevara poster and the other exhibits in the *Scottish Identity in Art* exhibition at Kelvingrove as an example of how Scottish identity is being 'perceived, re-constructed and communicated by creative local people' (Westermann 2007, p 118).

[111] See 'Army backs Burns to raise cash: Two Tartan Army members have backed exclusive Robert Burns t-shirts to raise cash for disadvantaged children across the world', *Evening Times*, 1 December 2008, http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/army-backs-burns-to-raise-cash-1.965342; Rabbie's Trail Burners Newsletter, June 2009, http://www.rabbies.com/newsletters/newsletter_06_09.html; 'Rabbie Guevara T Shirts', Red Bubble, http://www.redbubble.com/people/iainmacdonald/works/1397323-rabbie-guevara?body_color=red&p=t-shirt&print_location=front&style=mens#zoom; and 'Orders for the T shirt now being taken', Scottish Socialist Party Colin Fox, 9 February 2013, http://sspcolinfox.blogspot.com.au/2013/02/che-burns-ssp-t-shirts-orders-now-being.html. The Burns as Che Guevara T shirt and poster have been available for sale at the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum and at the Gallery of Modern Art in Glasgow.

[112] See 'Robert Burns: Not In My Name reclaims Scottish bard from tourism', The List, 27 July 2011, https://edinburghfestival.list.co.uk/article/35920-robert-burns-not-in-my-name-reclaims-scottish-bard-from-tourism/; and 'The Samizdat Laureate', *3AM Magazine*, 16 July 2011, http://www.3ammagazine.com/3am/the-samizdat-laureate.

[113] 'Our new Robert Burns image for posters, etc', Robert Burns: Not in My Name, 19 July 2011, http://robertburnsnotinmynamedotcom.wordpress.com/2011/07/19/our-new-robert-burns-image-for-posters-etc.

[114] See Ziff 2006, p 40.

[115] See Ziff 2006, pp 78-79.

[116] Williamson quoted in 'The Samizdat Laureate'.

[117] See 'Burns Night - Remembering the Ploughman Poet', Socialist Party of Great Britain: Socialism or Your Money Back, 25 January 2012, http://socialismoryourmoneyback.blogspot.com.au/2012/01/burns-night-remembering-ploughman-poet.html.

[118] See 'A New Chapter for Egalitarian Scotland', National Collective, 29 July 2013, http://nationalcollective.com/?s=A+New+Chapter+for+Egalitarian+Scotland; 'I'm alright, Jock', Socialist Courier, 9 June 2014, http://socialist-courier.blogspot.com.au/2014/06/im-alright-jock.html; and 'Robert Burns Scottish Independence Sticker', Zazzle, http://www.zazzle.com.au/robert_burns_scottish_independence_sticker-217140025969033347.

[119] See 'A New Chapter for Egalitarian Scotland'; 'Burns Night - Remembering the Ploughman Poet'; 'Robert Burns', Socialist Courier, 25 January 2013, http://socialist-courier.blogspot.com.au/search/label/robert%20burns; and 'Robert Burns - Man, poet and revolutionary', Socialist Appeal, 22 January 2009, http://www.socialist.net/robert-burns-man-poet-revolutionary.htm.

[120] Salmond quoted in 'Scottish independence: Burns would be Yes - Salmond', *The Scotsman*, 23 June 2013, http://www.scotsman.com/news/scottish-independence-burns-would-be-yes-salmond-1-2973883. See also 'Scottish leader turns to poet for referendum backing', *Reuters*, 25 January 2012, http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/01/25/uk-britain-scotland-idUKTRE80O1QG20120125.

[121] See 'PMQs: David Cameron puts down SNP with Robert Burns quote', *The Telegraph*, 25 January 2012, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scotland/9038374/PMQs-David-Cameron-puts-down-SNP-with-Robert-Burns-quote.html. The line is from Burns' poem *To a Mouse*.

[122] Baker quoted in 'Scottish independence: Burns would be Yes - Salmond'.

[123] 'Across the Festivals: Robert Burns Votes for Scotland', Across the Arts, 21 August 2013, http://www.acrossthearts.co.uk/news/artsblog/across-the-festivals-robert-burns-votes-for-scotland.

[124] Mark Stephen quoted in 'Scottish independence: Burns would be Yes - Salmond'

[125] Stephen quoted in 'Scottish independence: Burns would be Yes - Salmond'.

[126] As Moira Jeffrey (Scottish art critic) has noted: 'For some generations in the nineteenth century he was an inspiration, part of a nation-building jigsaw ... For our times there have been artists who have been led by Burnsian subject matter ... But for many it is not so much the inspiration of Burns but the struggle with Burns's legacy that has proved a lively activation of his life and work' ('Rabbie Burns and real life').

[127] This approach to Burns is reflected in contemporary approaches to portraiture which 'has often meant an indirect approach to the genre, even a conceptual one, or has used the subject as a foil' ('Introduction to Portraiture', Artspan, https://www.artspan.com/portraiture#.VD3P4GccSUk). Many artists 'now use portraits to comment on larger issues, such as individual identity, social inequities, politics, celebrity obsession - and the genre of portraiture itself' (Pernilla Holmes 2007, np).

[128] See 'Bard gives Glasgow Subway cultural facelift', *STV News,* 21 January 2009, http://news.stv.tv/scotland/71281-bard-gives-glasgow-subway-cultural-facelift/.

[129] See *Inspired* exhibition catalogue 2009, Artruist, http://www.artruist.com/pdf/inspired-catalogue.pdf; and 'Inspired Artists', Artruist, http://www.artruist.com/inspired-artists.html. See also Macdonald for a general account of contemporary Scottish art and artists (Macdonald 2000, pp 119-214). There have been a number of Burns related contemporary art exhibitions at the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, the most of recent of which, *The Real Face of Burns?*, in 2015 focused on artists' reinterpretations of depictions of Burns (see 'The Real Face of Burns: Saturday 21st February 2015 until Sunday 14 June 2015', Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, http://www.burnsmuseum.org.uk/whats-on-whats-going-on/520-exhibition; and 'The Real Face of Burns?', Artruist, http://www.artruist.com/realfaceofburns).

[130] 'Biscuit-tin beauty to lonely, bloated poet: Howson's Burns', *Herald Scotland*, 25 January 2009, http://www.heraldscotland.com/biscuit-tin-beauty-to-lonely-bloated-poet-howson-s-burns-1.903642.

See also, 'Is this sick, bloated poet the 'real' Burns?', *The Times*, 25 February 2009 (available at ProQuest, http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/320034923?accountid=10382).

[131] Howson quoted in, 'Artist claims Burns speaks to him from beyond grave', *Daily Record*, 28 December 2008, http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/artist-claims-robert-burns-speaks-1003295.

[132] Howson quoted in 'Howson: Burns was sex addict: A new exhibition from the controversial artist depicts the national bard as a tormented genius, writes Jason Allardyce', *Sunday Times*, 7 November 2010 (available at ProQuest,

http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/762612647?accountid=10382). See also, 'Art reviews: Peter Howson - Burns Revealed', *The Scotsman*, 24 January 2011,

http://www.scotsman.com/news/art-reviews-peter-howson-burns-revealed-drawings-and-paintings-1-1498167.

[133] Edwards quoted in 'Howson: Burns was sex addict'.

[134] See 'A brush with the tangled love life of Burns', *Herald Scotland*, 17 May 2012,

http://www.heraldscotland.com/arts-ents/visual/a-brush-with-the-tangled-love-life-of-burns.1337306654.

[135] See 'Ca' The Yowes', Artruist, 28 January 2013, http://www.artruist.com/catheyowes.

[136] See Pittock and Mackay (2012) for an analysis of the nineteenth century representation and cult of Burns and Highland Mary.

[137] Wiszniewski quoted in 'Adrian Wiszniewski exhibition depicts love life of Robert Burns', *BBC News*, 5 May 2012, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-17963022.

[138] Wiszniewski quoted in 'Adrian Wiszniewski exhibition depicts love life of Robert Burns'.

[139] See 'Burnsiana at Bard's Birthplace Museum', *Carrick Gazette*, 13 May 2013,

http://www.carricktoday.co.uk/what-s-on/burnsiana-at-bard-s-birthplace-museum-1-2925872; and 'Burnsiana: Contemporary mixed media exhibition Solo show of recent work by Calum Colvin, Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, 7 June - 15 September 2013', Artruist,

http://www.artruist.com/burnsiana. The exhibition was then developed into a publication of Colvin's artwork and the poetry of Rab Wilson (see Wilson and Colvin 2014). That work also formed the basis of another exhibition, *Burnsiana*, at the Dick Institute in late 2014 - 2015 (see 'Burnsiana at Dick Institute, Kilmarnock', Calum Colvin, 9 December 2014, http://calumcolvin.com/burnsiana-at-dick-institute-kilmarnock-20122014-18042015).

[140] Tom Normand 2008, p 94.

[141] Colvin 2008, p 99.

[142] See Hutcheon 2013, pp 3-4, and p 8.

[143] See, for example, Kevin McKenna, 'Poor Robert Burns. He deserves better than this', *The Observer*, 22 January 2012, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jan/22/kevin-mckenna-celebrate-robert-burns.

[144] Ferguson 2001, p 17.

[145] Williamson quoted in 'The Samizdat Laureate'.

[146] Scott and Tomaselli 2009, p 20.

[147] See Zuelow 2007, p 154.

[148] See, for example, Alker and Nelson (2012) for an account of Burns related internet sites and his presence in social media.

[149] Fiona Hyslop quoted in 'Should auld Burns poems be forgot, pick up an iPhone', *The Scotsman*, 18 January 2011, http://www.scotsman.com/news/should-auld-burns-poems-be-forgot-pick-up-an-iphone-1-1495085. The Burns app was commissioned by the Scottish government and made available for free (see 'Mobile apps', Scottish Government, July 2012, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/Information/FOI/Disclosures/2012/July2012/mobileapps). In 2012, a 'Robert Burns Night' app was also released (see 'Burns Night app', Saraband, http://saraband.net/history-culture/275-burns-night-app).

[150] As Davis, Nelson and Alker observe, the 'rhizomatic growth of Burnsian culture' is being increasingly 'disturbed' by its move into cyberspace (Davis, Nelson and Alker 2012, p 14).

[151] O'Flynn 2013, p 206.

[152] See Hutcheon 2013, p xxv.

[153] See Kelli S Burns' analysis of how memes spread through imitations and parodies on the internet (Kelli S Burns 2009, p 78)

[154] See X Marks the Scot: An On-line Community of Kilt Wearers, http://www.xmarksthescot.com/forum/showthread.php?t=77107; Celebrities with Diseases, http://www.celebrities-with-diseases.com/celebrities/robert-burns-and-burns-night-celebrated-by-google-doodle-12939.html; and 'Scottish Recipes - Burns Supper', Tartan Tastes in Texas, 23 January 2013, http://www.tartantastesintx.com/2013/01/blog-post.html. The 'I'm Sexy and a Poet' image is a widely reproduced internet meme generated through the Quickmeme website (see 'I'm sexy and a poet', Quickmeme, http://www.quickmeme.com/meme/3spqa3).

[155] O'Flynn 2013, p 181.

[156] O'Flynn 2013, p 180.

[157] See 'Burns Night '12', Timorous Beasties Journal, 28 January 2012, http://www.timorousbeasties.com/journal-post/Burns-Night-12.

[158] See 'Postcard of Jean Armour Burns Brown, Burns's Great Grand-daughter', Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, http://www.burnsmuseum.org.uk/collections/object_detail/3.8020.b). McGuirk describes the postcard image as a 'literally feminised' Burns (McGuirk 1994, p 39). In addition to the more recent feminised roller derby Burns *(Fig 44)*, another contemporary expression of a 'literally feminised' Burns is a playful rendition of Burns' face attached to a woman's body wearing a Victorian corset *(Fig 90)*.

[159] The image of Burns wearing a 'Jimmy hat', by Kieron Livingstone, has appeared as an illustration for news stories (see, for example, 'Scotland: Is this the Last Burns Night under British Rule?', *International Business Times*, 24 January 2014, http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/scotland-this-last-burns-night-under-british-rule-1433613; and 'Burns Night 2015: Scotland's paradoxical bard suits the complexity of devo max future', *International Business Times*, 25 January 2015, http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/burns-night-2015-scotlands-paradoxical-bard-suits-complexity-devo-max-future-1484809). Burns wearing an American chief's feathered headdress was designed by Sarah

Watkins for the Moffat Book Events website and was its banner until January 2014 (see Moffat Book Events, http://www.moffatbookevents.co.uk/old). The 'Keep Calm and Respect Robert Burns' image, which originates from Keepcalm-o-matic (http://www.keepcalm-o-matic.co.uk/p/keep-calm-and-respect-robert-burns), has been further deployed as an illustration on other websites (see, for example, 'Scotland's Favorite Son - Rabbie Burns', Texas Women's Highland Games Blog, 23 January 2013, http://texaswomenshighlandgames.blogspot.com.au).

[160] Blank 2009, p 9 and p 12.

[161] Blank 2009, p 7 and p 13.

[162] Blank 2009, p 13.

[163] Lynne S McNeill 2009, pp 82-83.

[164] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Shandler 2012, p 7.

[165] 'Robert Burns models the Victorian vibrating corset', Uncyclopedia, http://images1.wikia.nocookie.net/__cb20060115023648/uncyclopedia/images/9/97/RobbieBurns).

[166] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Shandler 2012, p 20.

[167] Leshu Torchin 2012, p 126.

[168] Torchin 2012, p 124.

[169] Edward Portnoy 2012, p 323.

[170] See 'You've Been Burnsed', Scottish Book Trust, 23 January 2013, http://www.scottishbooktrust.com/blog-tags/burns.

[171] 'You've Been Burnsed'.

[172] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Shandler 2012, p 12.

[173] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Shandler 2012, p 12.

[174] Hutcheon 2013, p 174.

[175] Hutcheon 2013, p 173.

[176] As Sanders notes: 'So influential, indeed, have some appropriations become that in many instances they now define our first experiences or encounters with their precursor work of art' (Sanders 2006, p 158).

[177] John Ellis 1982, p 3, quoted in Hutcheon 2013, p 122.

[178] Hutcheon 2013, p 22, and pp 120-128.

[179] Hutcheon 2013, p xiii.

[180] Hutcheon 2013, p 176.

[181] Leypoldt 2010, p 19.

[182] Leypoldt 2010, p 9.

[183] Leypoldt 2010, p 10. Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b), p 3.

[184] Erll and Rigney 2009(b), p 2. See also Rigney 2005.

[185] Erll and Rigney 2009(b), p 2.

[186] Rigney 2012, p 221.

[187] See also Rigney, who refers to the nineteenth century's remediations of Walter Scott as 'proof of his vitality as an imaginative source' (Rigney 2012, p 204).

[188] See Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Shandler 2012, p 7.

[189] See Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott 1987, p 20.

[190] As Hutcheon has argued, adaptations can 'disrupt elements like priority and authority' (Hutcheon 2013, p 174). It is harder 'to think in terms of 'original' or 'source' stories' when we are dealing with 'an ongoing, unstable, open-ended 'multitext''(Hutcheon 2013, p xxiv).

[191] This concept derives from Bennett and Woollacott's 1987 analysis of the fictional James Bond.

[192] Cohen 1993, p 207. Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b), p 8.

[193] Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b), p 3.

[194] Caroline Brettell 2003, p 16.

[195] See also Zuelow, who argues that it is the disagreement about the relative importance of national markers, symbols and traditions that serves to perpetuate their contemporary relevance in the national dialogue (Zuelow 2007, p 154).

[196] Rigney 2012, p 223.

[197] See also Rigney 2012, p 224.

7

Conclusion

Robert Burns: An Ongoing Cultural Discourse

Can any nation ever have so enthusiastically and constantly granted so singular a role to a poet as its exemplary representative? (Andrew Noble 1994, p 167).

This study has situated its analysis of the figure of Robert Burns within contemporary discussions of cultural memory and national identity. It has identified the dynamics in what the study has characterised as an ongoing cultural discourse about Burns that attaches the poet to ideas about Scotland and Scottishness. The study itself has taken the form of an ongoing discourse. On the one hand, it has been informed by the ongoing and multiform discourse *about* Burns as its subject matter, and on the other, it has adopted a critical posture that examines and interrogates that ongoing discourse in order to describe and reveal its patterns and dynamics. This has resulted in what might be described as a form of 'meta-analysis', that is, the investigation of other analyses and discourses that seek to explain and interpret Burns.

Creating a critical space in which to conduct the study has meant developing a critical framework that would provide relevant theoretical tools and concepts in contributing to a fruitful perspective on a much discussed public and literary figure. Approaching the investigation of Robert Burns in broad cultural terms that draws on insights from memory studies and identity studies, cultural studies, museum, art, tourism and literary studies, has proven especially useful in charting 'the protean phenomenon of Burns'. If understanding a complex figure such as Burns 'lies in a diversity of topics and approaches', then this multidisciplinary study is evidence of

how the contributions of other disciplines to literary studies can augment and deepen that quest. That goal has been made more acute since, despite abundant scholarly assessments of Burns as a literary and cultural figure, renewed artistic/cultural engagement, and lively popular opinion and debate about his meaning for Scotland especially in the current political climate, there is in fact very little (if any) extended critical attention to these very phenomena. One of the key challenges has therefore been to find a way of critically addressing these recent developments in a manner that not only reflects their immediate currency but which also seeks to grasp why Burns should be the focus of such cultural elaboration at this time.

The overarching framework that was developed brought both memory and identity into an active relationship and was based on the idea that the practices of remembering do not merely reflect identity, but importantly serve to shape and reshape it. But there remained the question of where to locate the intersection between these dimensions. A conception of the public sphere as being a site where cultural memory is produced through differing modalities, social scales and settings, and through which narratives of nation are negotiated, confirmed and contested, provided an appropriate focus for the investigation. It allowed a suitably flexible conceptual schema that could accommodate the variety of contexts and processes through which Burns is being actively remembered in Scotland and elsewhere. Locating the analysis within accounts of what Burns has meant in the past was especially important in order to develop insights as to his contemporary meanings and for establishing how his past remembrance is carried through to how he is remembered today.

In mapping the 'cultural matrix which surrounds the nation' the study has benefited from taking into account its global, transnational and transcultural dimensions, especially since the meaning(s) of Burns and his relationship to Scotland have from the start been 'pierced' by global flows and networks.[1] As this and other studies have shown, such 'transnational interaction' is not a new phenomenon nor unique to the mobility of modernity in the current globalised world. But the attention to it in contemporary memory and identity studies (and more recently in Burns studies) has brought critical insights, a language and a conceptual apparatus for better understanding the complex of ways in which Burns *as* Scotland could be contextualised, for Burns of the past and of the present. I would also suggest that

these recent theoretical and conceptual perspectives have been further illuminated by the specifics of this contemporary study that have generally not been the subject of detailed investigation.

A further relevant measure in locating the dynamics of remembering and identity is what Jonathan Hearn has referred to as the 'contextualised motivations' for drawing on the resource of national identity.[2] This has meant taking into account 'the many projects that memory undertakes' and what might be at stake for those remembering Burns in one way or another. This approach has also served to highlight how the contest over Burns' memory has been, and continues to be, salient in Scottish life not only in instrumental terms, but also in social and cultural terms, with Burns serving as a malleable and renewable referent and resource for constructing and representing Scottishness. The development of a conceptual frame that brings together memory, identity and context has been crucial to the goal of understanding and explaining the relationship between Burns and Scotland. The idea that the relationship between memory and national identity is mediated by specific social contexts and motivations has proven particularly useful in this regard, adding a further mediating variable to an understanding of how both memory and identity work.

In developing an explanation for the persistence of Burns as a figure of cultural memory, the study has been equally concerned with the persistence of Scottishness as a memory site. What has been generally described as a more positive and energised buoyant Scotland that is actively engaging with the processes of self-definition in new and evolving national and global circumstances, has provided a somewhat unique research opportunity. This 'new era' in Scottish self-definition represents a moment in time when responses to Burns have not only been particularly heightened and elaborated, but also especially pronounced in terms of his role as a multivocal identity resource. As this study has demonstrated, that role not only provides the 'nation' with a symbolic referent as it reflects upon and argues about its meaning, its past and future; it also provides individuals, groups, institutions and political and economic agents with a language and cultural tools for making sense of a contemporary Scottishness and Burns place within it. In this, the study has offered a more dynamic conception of the cultural past in contemporary life, and in Scotland in particular.

The task of charting how Burns and Scotland are brought together is made especially challenging when both Burns and Scottishness are complex mutivocal, historically shaped and contested memory sites. The Scottishness that Burns is so closely associated with is no less immutable than the figure of Burns, nor is that Scottishness confined to Scotland. Added to this complexity is that the dynamic interrelationships that operate between Burns and Scotland take place in various contexts and settings through which those connections are made in differing ways and for differing reasons. But as this study has revealed, those connections, while having contemporary relevance, draw on what has been made of Burns in the past. In that ongoing dialogue with the past, the 'old' Burns continues to provide key points of departure for the 'new' Burns, where elements of the old Burns are variously recalled and recaptured, recalibrated and refreshed to suit contemporary circumstances and interests. In this, Burns plays a complex set of roles as: a shorthand marker of Scottishness within Scotland and in global cultural and social exchange; a cultural icon to be celebrated, reassessed, debated, rescued and deconstructed; a vehicle for national political, economic and policy expression, and as 'cultural ambassador' on the world stage; a locus of intellectual, scholarly, artistic and musical endeavour; a source of cultural heritage to be conserved and reinterpreted as inspiration for future generations; and as a medium of social and community engagement and behaviour.

In demonstrating how Burns and Scotland have been inextricably intertwined - that Scottishness, Scottish cultural and national identity have been predicated on received ideas of Burns as Scotland, and vice versa - the study has also confirmed the 'continuous mutual coproduction' of collective memory and identity, and the specific role that he has played in that coproduction.[3] Burns' role in the narrative of nation of the past highlights how he has been part and parcel of how Scotland has been variously symbolically imagined within and outwith Scotland, and how he has played various roles 'in the political, social and cultural development of the nation' as a vehicle of change or 'to express dominant political ideology'.[4] Over the course of centuries Burns has been manifest as a national icon in various guises, mostly lauded, at other times derided or taken for granted. As a cultural figure, he has been invoked both positively and negatively in attempts to reimagine the Scottish nation and to synthesise complex and sometimes conflicting ideas about Scottish identity. As an icon of a culture and national identity, he has been drawn into, and at times

been the focus of long standing debates about what it means to be Scottish, Scotland's cultural standing in the wider world, and as an elaborated metaphor for Scotland's political status. Emblematic of Scotland, he has also served as the vehicle for Scotland's imagined community, through which the Scots (and others) around the globe have sought to perpetuate and refashion ways of being Scottish that transcend physical (and cultural) boundaries.

The twenty first century, while being marked by a renewed interpretation and appraisal of Burns, continues to reflect, albeit in new guises, many of the roles that Burns has played in the shifting narrative of nation within and across the 'fuzzy edges' of Scottish cultural life. The 'complex bond' between Burns and Scotland that became established in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries continues to frame how he is being remembered. *The Scotsman* newspaper, for example, has declared that 'Burns is Scotland's spirit, voice and soul'; while the curator of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum has remarked: 'He is right at the heart of the culture, the binding element. It is hard, if not impossible, to imagine Scotland without him'.[5] Tom Devine, while acknowledging Burns' global role and significance, has described Burns as epitomising Scotland.[6] Anthony Cohen has also argued that the symbolic role that Burns plays in the everyday lives of contemporary Scots is 'precisely what the sense of nationhood is about'.[7] Burns' symbolic role in 'the sense of nationhood' as it plays out in current Scottish cultural and political life has also been captured by Murray Pittock, who has proposed that Burns -'Scotland's greatest poet'- is a symbol of the change that Scotland has experienced in lead up to the Scottish independence referendum - that features a 'sense of renewal and possibility', a greater sense of self-worth, a higher opinion of itself, its capabilities, and its own national democratic institutions.[8] That association with Burns and a new Scotland is also being marked in the international responses to the Scottish independence debate and referendum in media coverage from the USA to India, Pakistan, Turkey, Qatar and Israel.[9] In Australia also, news discussion of the issue has typically drawn on references to Burns, quoting his poems and songs; and the referendum itself was marked by a national radio documentary broadcast of music and interviews featuring his songs and contemporary singers' performances.[10]

It remains somewhat remarkable that after over 250 years, Robert Burns continues to be so actively remembered. This study has argued that Burns' ongoing cultural

afterlife is dependent on several interrelated factors: his 'recognisability' as a relatively familiar and 'known' cultural figure; the cultural availability of his work and biography, his image, and the accumulated traces of his work and life in the responses by others; his symbolic connection to place and language; his mediation and remediation in new forms and contexts; his ability to remain relevant to changing circumstances and new generations; and his capacity to mobilise the interests of various individuals, groups and communities that span the 'official' and the 'unofficial', the 'elite' and the 'popular'.

In this, the trajectory of Burns' contemporary afterlife represents a revealing counterpoint to that of another towering international figure of Scottish cultural memory in the nineteenth century, Walter Scott. Scott's dramatic decline in the critical and popular imagination after it reached its highpoint in the late nineteenth century, as described by Ann Rigney, was characterised by a narrowing of his appeal from what was once widespread and varied, to being of interest mainly as a 'museum piece' to 'professional heritage managers: academics, archivists, and librarians'.[11] Unlike for Scott, where the chief stakeholders of his memory shifted from a wide cultural, critical and popular fan base to a much narrower interest of 'intellectuals' and 'heritage professionals'; in the case of Burns the pattern would appear to be moving in the opposite direction to a widening of symbolic investment in cultural, critical and popular terms. A further point of difference is that while both Burns and Scott were subject to the twentieth century's cultural critique and subsequent relative scholarly neglect, Burns has been much more actively 'recovered' in critical and cultural terms in recent decades.[12] Compared with Burns, increasingly less attention was paid to interpreting Scott's work, with fewer new editions and a decline in remediations and adaptations of his work in other forms.[13] Beyond matters of literary taste, the popular appeal of Scott diminished as he came to be regarded as a 'has-been' and old fashioned.[14] Where once he had mobilised the passions of individuals and communities and 'fed into community-building', Scott no longer fed into the preoccupations of later generations.[15] One contributing factor to this loss of 'cultural purchase', again in contrast to Burns, was that public consensus rather than debate about Scott's immense cultural meaning and value came to generate indifference that 'left him sidelined as an overly familiar icon' of another age.[16] Scott's work too, that turned the past into 'an imaginative comfort zone', rather than as 'legacies to be

passionately disputed', was deprived of its power 'to inspire a changing world in the long term'.[17]

If it is the case that Scott's role changed because 'literature itself is no longer the source of collective identity and the focus of cultural values that it was three generations ago', then how might such a view apply to this study's account of Burns?[18] Is it that 'literature itself' is no longer (or perhaps never was) the primary driver or dynamic in the remembrance of Burns and his undoubted role as 'the source of collective identity and the focus of cultural values'? While Burns *as* literature is certainly more obviously marked in institutional domains in which his memory is cultivated and perpetuated; his wider symbolic role as a cultural figure also reveals that the memory of Burns' work, his poetry and song, remain strikingly present. While his memory is 'refracted' through social, economic and cultural and political factors, Burns continues to be evoked and remembered through his words and his music by all those who 'speak' of him. There may be concerns that what is remembered is at times tokenistic (or opportunistic), operating in a narrow range of cliché and stereotype, and lacking a deeper encounter with the man and his work; but the symbolic investment that continues to accrue around Burns is nevertheless informed by ideas and sentiments that have come to be understood as originating from him - as a universal Scottish 'voice'.

Michael Geisler has remarked that it is through national symbols that a nation 'talks to itself', and that this conversation need not be based on 'a limited vocabulary'.[19] The visual and discursive vocabulary through which today's Scotland speaks, relies on Burns as its emblematic source. And as Scotland speaks to itself and for itself in the wider world, various and often competing versions of its story are written and rewritten. And with this rewriting comes the reinterpretation and re-representation of Burns himself. While Burns continues to serve as an icon and symbol of Scottish identity - as a complex icon 'of cultural, social and political belief' - he also continues to be, as Carol McGuirk has described, 'improbably stylised' in 'multiple and often contradictory images'.[20] Burns has been recently described as 'monumental and malleably morphic' - 'not so much an everyman as a delivery man peculiarly offering back to many commentators their own politics, perspectives and prejudices'.[21] Richard Finlay too suggests that: 'So long as the man and his work can be appropriated by lots of political factions and none has exclusive ideological

ownership his centrality as a Scottish cultural icon is guaranteed'.[22] The editors of a recent collection of essays propose that if Burns is a national poet 'is this because a whole nation of variegated views vigorously lays claim to him?'.[23] The fact that Burns continues to generate the need to account for his role as the nation's 'exemplary representative' bears strong testimony to his continuing salience for what it means to be Scottish today.

In the 'multiple realities to which the Burns phenomenon lends itself', this study's task of charting how Burns and Scottishness are brought together can only represent a relatively brief snapshot in time that will likely take on as yet unforeseeable features in the immediate future in Scotland. At the time of writing, Scotland has now voted on the question of whether to remain as part of the United Kingdom or to become an independent country and nation, and has elected to remain part of the Union. While Burns has been a symbolic focus for Scottishness for centuries and has been the subject of recent and renewed attention prior to and during the recent independence debate, it nevertheless remains to be seen how the outcome of the referendum will affect Burns' role in whatever kind of Scotland emerges after September 2014.

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[1] Edensor 2002, p vi.

[2] See Hearn 2007.

[3] See Rigney 2011, p 87.

[4] Finlay 1997(a), p 123.

[5] See 'Burns is Scotland's spirit, voice and soul' news item, which reported that a 'startling two-thirds of nearly 4,200 people who responded to a Scotsman.com survey declared Burns' work from the 18th century was still relevant to their lives today. Asked what his poetry meant to them, the answer was overwhelming - Scotland. The Bard was called part of Scottish culture and the Scottish psyche, 'part and parcel' of Scottish life; Scotland's spirit, voice and soul' (The Scotsman, 23 January 2009, http://www.scotsman.com/news/burns-is-scotland-s-spirit-voice-and-soul-1-755438). Amy Miller (who was then the curator at the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum) quoted in 'Robert Burns: The cornerstone of Scotland's culture', Scottish Express, Sunday 14 April 2013, http://www.express.co.uk/scotland/391687/Robert-Burns-The-cornerstone-of-Scotland-s-culture.

[6] Devine quoted in 'Fleming, Wallace, Bruce ... but Burns is the man for a' that'.

[7] Cohen 1997, p 106.

[8] Pittock 2008, p 177.

[9] See, for example: 'Newspapers Mark Scotland's Historic Day With Burns and Banners', *NDTV* (New Delhi Television), 18 September 2014, http://www.ndtv.com/article/world/newspapers-mark-scotland-s-historic-day-with-burns-and-banners-594069; 'What Robert Burns Would Have Made of Scottish Independence', *New Republic*, 19 September 2014, http://www.newrepublic.com/article/119515/scotlands-independence-referendum-what-would-robert-burns-think; 'Scots Must Vote Nae', *New York Times*, 14 September 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/15/opinion/scots-must-vote-nae.html?_r=0; 'Scottish independence: The Yes campaign', *Al Jazeera*, 25 January 2014, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/01/scottish-independence-yes-campaign-2014123104722199420.html; 'Scotland's future: Nation's ideological battles over independence resemble U.S. politics', *FOX News*, 28 August 2014, http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2014/08/28/scotland-future-nation-ideological-battles-over-independence-resemble-us; 'The Zionist case for Scottish independence', *The Jerusalem Post*, 16 September 2014, http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/The-Zionist-Case-for-Scottish-Independence-375499; 'The glass half-full', *Dhaka Tribune*, 3 October 2014, http://www.dhakatribune.com/op-ed/2014/oct/03/glass-half-full; 'Scotland – the Referendum for Independence, and the reasons of a temporary failure', *Turkish News*, 22 September 2014, http://www.turkishnews.com/en/content/2014/09/22/scotland-the-referendum-for-independence-and-the-reasons-of-a-temporary-failure; 'After Scottish Independence Vote, Separatists Say Britain Reneging on Pledges', *Newsweek* ,14 October 2014, http://www.newsweek.com/after-scottish-independence-vote-separatists-say-britain-reneging-pledges-277354; '8 Scottish Things Britain Will Be Sad to Lose If Scotland Gains Independence', *ABC News* (America), 16 September 2014, http://abcnews.go.com/International/scottish-things-britain-sad-lose/story?id=25535440; and 'What Scots Vying For Independence Can Learn From America', *The Federalist*, 19 September 2014, http://thefederalist.com/2014/09/19/what-scots-vying-for-independence-can-learn-from-america.

[10] See 'A Parcel of Rogues: Scottish Political Song', *ABC Radio National*, 20 September 2014, http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/intothemusic/a-parcel-of-rogues3a-scottish-policitcal-song/5729864. The program was originally broadcast the year before in the lead up to the Scottish independence referendum and was rebroadcast 2 days after the referendum took place on 18 September 2014. See also other Australian coverage: 'Scots tae think again', *The Australian*, 22 July 2014, http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/features/scots-tae-think-again/story-e6frg6z6-1226996560001; 'Live: Scottish independence referendum result', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 September 2014, http://www.smh.com.au/world/live-scottish-independence-referendum-result-20140918-3g0tm.html; 'Eddi Reader on Scottish independence', *ABC News*, 15 September 2014, http://www.abc.net.au/local/photos/2014/09/15/4087783.htm; 'Auld Acquaintance be Forgot? Scottish Independence and the Myth of Autonomy', *ABC Religion and Ethics*, 20 June 2014, http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2014/06/20/4029731.htm; and 'Why Scotland Wants to Ditch

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[11] Rigney 2012, p 210.

[12] In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in Scott. Since 2000, over 60 books, 39 new editions of his work, and 53 new translations have been published. In 2010, a new 30 volume edition of the Waverley novels was released. In 2014, the *Tenth International Scott Conference* was held at the University of Aberdeen; the *Walter Scott's Waverley* exhibition was held at the National Library of Scotland; and the *Great Scott! Campaign* was launched in Edinburgh (see the Walter Scott Digital Archive, University of Edinburgh, http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/home.html). The 2014 *First World Congress of Scottish Literatures* at the University of Glasgow also had a significant Scott focus (see *First World Congress of Scottish Literatures*, University of Glasgow, 2-5 July 2014, http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_328844_en.pdf).

[13] Rigney 2012, p 210.

[14] Rigney 2012, p 209 and p 204.

[15] Rigney 2012, pp 222-223.

[16] Rigney 2012, p 16.

[17] Rigney 2012, p 223.

[18] Rigney 2012, p 227.

[19] Geisler 2005, p xxxvii.

[20] Finlay 1997(a), p 124; McGuirk 1994, pp 31-32. Twenty years ago, McGuirk argued that 'contradictory icons of Burns will cease to multiply when the Scots settle on a single definition of their national identity and character', but given the reasons that Burns is being remembered, 'the 'Immortal Memory' is likely to be toasted for many years to come' (McGuirk 1994, p 62).

[21] Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b), p 9.

[22] Finlay 1997(b), p 76.

[23] Rodger and Carruthers 2009(b), p 10.

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