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_Aren’t we the carriers of the entire history of mankind? ... When a man is fifty years old, only one part of his being has existed for half a century. The other part, which also lives in his psyche, may be millions of years old . . . Contemporary man is but the latest ripe fruit on the tree of the human race. None of us knows what we know._1 (Carl G. Jung)

INTRODUCTION

The Romans used the term _Paganus_ to refer to “people of place”, those whose customs and rituals were intrinsically tied to locality – and hence, to land (York, _Pagan Theology_, 12). In this context, identification with place is not one of the individual, but of a collective identity in which the significance of the individual is understood by their place in a community, and of that community’s connection with place. Michael York describes Paganism as an inherent human impulse and a collective identity. Bringing together these two concepts of memory and place, this chapter examines how a collective cultural memory of sacredness of place might find its expression in popular music, and argues that attachment to conceptual place is the expression of unconscious ‘rememberings’ of a Pagan past. Theories of place and of cultural memory are explored, with the aim of providing a framework within which references to place, and uses of space in popular music can be recontextualised. It is proposed that while contemporary Paganism in many ways draws on a Romantic reification of nature, that Enlightenment rationalism forced a rupture between people and nature, and by extension, place. In reference to Carl Jung’s writing on nature, Sabini argues that this “loss of connection with Nature is … neither a practical nor psychological but a religious one” (_The

Earth has a Soul, 2). Within this context, the Pagan impulse has become essentialised, so we have worship of “nature” as a whole (for example in New Age Music), or of “place” as a whole (as in World Music), or it may manifest as references to nature and place in popular music that is not overtly Pagan – the inherent Pagan voice.

PAGANISM

Paganism is part of our cultural heritage; although some might see current Neopagan expressions as a resurgence of ‘ancient’ belief systems, and therefore separated by centuries from their origins, that which we now know as Paganism has in fact had a sustained existence, although often hidden from mainstream view through its vilification and subjugation by the Christian Church. The current resurgence of Pagan worldviews is sometimes attributed to the 1960s counter-culture, which witnessed a resurgence of interest in Celtic and Norse Pagan religions, the precursor perhaps to later revivals of Asatru, an ancient Nordic religion, and Druidism. The counter-cultural revolution itself, with its worldviews encompassing the celebration of life, communing with Nature, and exploring alternative consciousnesses and spiritualities, has clear parallels with Pagan worldviews. Christopher Partridge argues that this movement “needs to be understood in the context of a prominent stream of Western Romantic Idealism which has, for over two centuries, expounded an optimistic, evolutionary, detraditionalized, mystical immanentism” (The Re-Enchantment of the West, Vol. 1, 96). From this period onwards, Partridge notes that it would be hard to find someone who was not familiar with at least some of the cultural symbols of alternative spiritualities, contributing to a “spiritual bricolage in which a range of beliefs and practices are reinterpreted in terms of the experience and well-being of the seeking self” (ibid., 104).
However, this interest in alternative spiritualities, especially Paganism, has a much longer, 
and continuous history. A revival of Greco-Roman magic during the Renaissance period, for 
example, reflected a growing interest in Pagan traditions. In the 17th century, scholars began 
to explore religion as related to ethnic identity, triggering the study of the religions of so-
called "primitive" peoples. In the early 1600s, French astronomer and scholar Nicolas Fabri 
de Peiresc studied African Pagan traditions as a way of understanding the origins of 
Paganism in Classical Antiquity. In 1720 philosopher John Toland published “Pantheisticon, 
or the Liturgy of the Socratic Fraternity” in which he imagined a British society in which two 
religions dominated: one was Christianity, which Toland envisaged as the religion of the 
ignorant masses; the other was pantheistic, conducted in secret for fear of “bewildering the 
credulous multitude” (Pattison, The Triumph of Vulgarity, 23). Within this pantheistic 
worldview, everything was seen as connected and organic.

The Romantic period witnessed the literary Celtic and Viking revivals, which portrayed these 
historical Pagans as noble savages. Reconstructions of Pagan mythology from folklore or 
fairy tales also enjoyed a resurgence at this time, most notably in the tales of the Brothers 
Grimm. The latter half of the 19th century saw the rise of the Spiritualist movement and non-
traditional worldviews such as Helena Blavatsky’s Theosophy, triggering a renewed interest 
in the occult. The Witch Cult in Western Europe was published in 1921 by Margaret Murray, 
in which she claimed Witchcraft as an ancient fertility religion, following this in 1931 with a 
controversial book, The God of the Witches, in which she described Paganism as a religion 
with an unbroken line up until that time. In 1951, the last of the old Witchcraft laws in 
England were repealed, followed shortly after by the publication in 1954 of self-claimed 
‘hereditary witch’ Gerald Gardner's Witchcraft Today often cited as the catalyst for the rise of 
Neopaganism. While the above does not attempt to represent a conscious continuity of Pagan
thought, York notes that “these responses … tend to spring from deep-rooted collective habits that antedate any self-consciously created theological system. They may be Pagan, but they are Pagan behaviorally rather than Pagan religiously” (Pagan Theology, 149).

Graham Harvey’s description of Paganism as an “ecological spirituality” is especially pertinent to this chapter and to this definition can be added the consistent expression of a veneration of ‘place’ (Contemporary Paganism, 21). Paganism therefore is rooted in the sacredness of place, York using the terms geopaganism and recopaganism to encapsulate the ways this attachment to place is expressed. While recopaganism refers to deliberate attempts to reconstruct the rituals of a Pagan past, geopaganism encapsulates a more reflexive, unconscious sense of connectedness to place (York, Pagan Theology, 60-61). These two terms are useful ways to frame the discussion of the music and musical events which follows, in that they describe the ways in which space is used, and place imagined, in these contexts. For York, Paganism is understood as endorsing the relationship between physical and supernatural realities as well as human . . . consciousness” (ibid., 162). He understands it as “both a behavior and a religion. As a behavior it is to be seen in the spontaneous and auto-reflexive quality” (York, “Defining Paganism”, 31) - it is this quality which is explored here, specifically in musical expression.

MUSIC
Connell and Gibson note that “popular music illuminates place, either directly through lyrics and visuals, metaphorically through heightened perceptions, through sounds that are seen as symbolic of place … and in performances that create spaces of sentiment” (Sound Tracks, 88). They describe a conceptual shift in the way musical texts are examined geographically, marked by a move from more objective studies, to those which interpret spaces as a form of
text and describe how “music nourishes imagined communities, traces links to distant and past places” (ibid, 271). This is precisely the framework which informs the following discussion of a selection of musical expressions: what can we read from the spaces in which this music is produced and consumed, what communities do they imagine, which distant pasts do they draw from, and could these pasts be Pagan ones?

In Australian Music Festivals such as Womadelaide, the Woodford Folk Festival and Melbourne’s Rainbow Serpent Festival, for example, we witness a focus on indigeneity, cultural identity, connection with nature and place, and an acceptance, indeed celebration of alternative modes of thinking at odds with the hegemonic monotheistic worldviews that dominate the industrialised world. In other words, when interpreted through a Pagan lens, it is in these festivals and their music that the ideologies of Paganism, and theories of memory and place coincide. Marketed as a World Music festival, Womadelaide clearly aligns itself with environmental issues, with media releases in 2008 for example declaring it a carbon neutral weekend. The focus on stage at festivals like Womadelaide is cultural and ethnic identity, in other words of places of origin, as well as an alignment with ideals that convey a sense of deep connection with the earth. These festivals are often themed as a celebration of these ideals, with many non-musical activities promoting a sense of community and connection, and even ritual, such as in the nightly lighting of a spectacular candle display at Womadelaide in 2008.

Although the name of the Woodford Folk Festival highlights its folk origins, many of the artists performing also perform at the various Womad and similar music festivals around the world. What is interesting about this cross-fertilisation of genres is that while at Womadelaide, the focus was clearly on cultural and ethnic identity, at Woodford, the focus is
on the authenticity of the folk musician as the storyteller, the carrier of cultural memory. This was especially evident in the “folklines” programme of the 2010/2011 festival, described as a programme which “touches the cultural heart – the heart connected to the sacred, to ritual and celebratory traditions of music and dance …. sustained or revived by families and communities immersed in the strengths of their culture.” The “traditional folk” programme invites the listener to “connect to the timeless human experience through the legacy of our ancestors…. Sing with the session players … are they blend and weave to create a venue that explores the vibrancy of our roots”. The importance of cultural memory is highlighted, the traditional folk programme describing how “at every point in time, we are at a unique juncture between past and present, remembering and embodying the lore passed down by our ancestors, and unravelling the golden thread by which this knowledge travels to our children.” Pagan themes are evident from the first pages of the programme booklet, which outline the focus on ritual and ceremony as ways to “remember and re-create our connection with the physical and non-physical environments.” The opening ceremony featured Morris dancers, a burning of the Wickerman, and a puppeteer who leads the “BABELbarong, mythological spirit of protection for the forest and land.” The “voice of the ancestors” fire event is a highlight of the opening ceremony. Environmental concerns are as prominent at Woodford as they are at Womadelaide, with the “greenhouse programme” highlighting ecological events throughout the duration of the festival.

Another kind of festival that often displays overtly Pagan themes is found in some rave cultures in which a kind of neo-tribalism is evident. Graham St John, for example, has written extensively on such festivals, and continues with a chapter on the topic in this book. He has referred to some as ‘techno-Pagan doofs’, which have come to be connected with a strong sense of ecological spirituality (St. John, Rave Culture and Religion, 43). These
festivals are often aligned with eclipses, solstices and full moons, expressing a connection with natural rhythms, in what York would identify as recopaganism. The annual Rainbow Serpent Festival exemplifies this ethos, for example on its 2008 website describing itself as welcoming us to “the land, honouring the ancestors who walked before us” and creating a “harmonious relationship with the local people, the ancestors and the spirits of the land”.

Drawing on a past which stretches back at least four millennia, the Stonehenge Free Festival, which was held between 1974 and 1984, and the Glastonbury Festival, which has been running since 1970, (see McKay, Glastonbury) are examples of musical events with connections to specific places, in which alternative identities are constructed with strong links to the genius loci of those places. Rupert Till explores the connections between Stonehenge and music in another chapter in this book. That these places hold strong cultural memories is perhaps best exemplified through music in Led Zeppelin’s “Battle of Evermore” (1971), where Robert Plant refers to Avalon and apple, a possible translation of the Celtic word *avalon* meaning apple, the ancient place of Avalon often referred to as the ‘apple isle’. Plant goes on to describe how the land there is cared for, and should not be forgotten, describing the debt of gratitude the earth is owed.

These sites have a prominent place in recent and past cultural memory. Archaeologists Robert Wallis and Jenny Blain explore the interactions between modern Pagans and ancient, sacred sites, which occur in ways that align with York’s definition of recopaganism. They describe the context of modern Pagan engagements with these sites as a “new folklore”, which centres on the sacredness of such places, sites at which it is claimed “the spirit/energy of the land can be felt more strongly” (“Sites, Sacredness, and Stories,” 310). Arguably, recopagan practices actively construct myths of place, however “myth is tested against the emotional needs of the
living, not the objective events of the past” (Pattison, *The Triumph of Vulgarity*, x). In other words, the specificities of the past are less relevant than the ways in which they are reconstructed to meet contemporary socio-cultural needs.

Although visually and musically varied, all of these festivals display in various ways a deep reverence for the earth, often overtly expressing alternative worldviews and ways of thinking, focusing especially on themes of connectedness to place. In most, there is a clear connection between Paganism and eco-sensibilities, but rather than a codified Paganism, these festivals represent a set of expressions that draws from a pool of common characteristics. Martin Stokes points to the power of musical events to evoke collective memories and “present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity” (*Ethnicity, Identity and Music*, 3). These festivals are evidence of this, and support Connell and Gibson’s description of popular music having “the ability to mediate social knowledge [and] reinforce (or challenge) ideological constructions of contemporary (or past) life” (*Sound Tracks*, 270).

A genre specific to Paganism is Pagan Metal, discussed in depth by Deena Weinstein elsewhere in this book; it looks to the ancient past for identity. It is a ‘global culture’, transcending national boundaries, but is what nationalism studies professor Anthony Smith would describe as “essentially memoryless” and therefore has to be “painfully put together, artificially, out of the many existing folk and national identities into which humanity has been so long divided” (“Towards a Global Culture”, 179). Pagan Metal constructs meaning from the Pagan commonalities of each of the local genres it is represented by. It is somewhat different to other subgenres of Rock in that it began as a construction of local identity, and is therefore a priori linked with place. Pagan Metal venerates the earth in different ways to the
above festivals, by actively constructing memory through place. Wherever it locally manifests, Pagan Metal lyrics and imagery will always refer to the specificity of its local context, with particular emphasis on a sense of historical continuity through landscape. These are but a few examples that lend themselves to exploration in the context of cultural memory, Paganism and place. Reverence for the past is seen in the focus on mythology in Progressive Rock and the ancient folk themes explored by Rush and Hawkwind, Alternative spiritualities are explored in the occult themes heard in Black Sabbath, and seen in Led Zeppelin’s concert film “The Song Remains the Same” (1976) where Jimmy Paige’s character meets with tarot figure The Hermit as is Jim Morrison’s obsession with native American culture. All are examples of the intersection of place and cultural memory which lend themselves to interpretation from a Pagan perspective.

While the above are fairly obvious examples of overt expressions of Pagan sensibilities, and provide clear examples of the links between Paganism and place, references to place in lyrics are more ambiguous. Connell and Gibson note that “not all lyrics seek to convey a sense of place or identity”, arguing that most popular music “is subtle, ambivalent or vague in its destinations and descriptions of place and identity”, creating an “imaginary identification” (Sound Tracks, 71). They point to the range of possible themes of place, from “classical cartographies of country and western to the metaphysical spaces of ambient and ‘new age’ genres” (ibid., 73). What follow are examples of the ways in which lyrical themes of connection to place can reflect Pagan beliefs, while offering insights into cultural perceptions and memories of place. These are exemplars, aimed to illustrate a number of ways in which lyrical content can be interpreted from a Pagan perspective, and have been chosen from different decades and countries to illustrate that such examples are not specific to any one socio-cultural context.
The Beatles’ “Mother Nature’s Son” (1968), for example, invites the listener to sit by a stream in the mountains and, in an overt anthropomorphism asks us to listen to music as she surrounds moves around us. There we will find Paul McCartney who refers to himself as Mother Nature's son, as indicated in the title of the song, clearly linking person to place and nature. At “Solsbury Hill” (1977), an eagle offers to take Peter Gabriel ‘home’ while he Gabriel is feeling connected to the scenery around him, and disconnected from the mechanical or industrial world. Home here can be read as somewhere away from the urban, a reading supported in his 1982 track “Rhythm of the Heat” in which he sings about the power of the land, and invites the listener not only to appreciate the fresh water and air, but slow down time, or disregard it altogether, through quite literally breaking physical connections to time and space. This can be read as a critique of modernity, industrialization, and of technology, which are described as standing between a fulfillment which can only come from connecting with nature. It is perhaps no surprise then that Gabriel later went on to establish the Real World recording label, out of which evolved the Womad music festivals.

Goanna’s “Solid Rock” (1982) while ostensibly describing the wrongs of the Anglo-Celtic invasion of what is now known as Australia, also notes the sacredness of the land in the lyrics, equating the ‘solid rock’ of the title quite literally with sacred ground. Icehouse tell the same story on “Great Southern Land”, or rather ask the listener to pay attention to the stories the land is telling those who care to, or know how to, listen. Reflecting the anthropomorphism of the Beatles, they invoke the listener to the wind so they can hear it talking like Iva Davies does. While ostensibly a socio-political commentary on the treatment of indigenous Australians, these songs also clearly recognize the sacredness of place.
American artist Bright Eyes perhaps best sums up ideas of connection to and sacredness of place in the song “I Must Belong Somewhere”, from the 2007 album *Cassadaga*, in which he describes his connection to the earth in terms of the forest’s ability to hear every sound down to individual blades of grass, emphasizing a sacred interconnectedness inherent in nature, from which a sense of belonging is drawn, as hinted in the title. XTC make direct reference to Pagan beliefs and their links to the earth on their song “Greenman” (1999), a direct reference to a nature god of the Pagan pantheon: the lyrics ask the listener to pay homage to the Greenman. In recognition of the long history of both mythology and of human connection to nature, XTC describe a connection to the Greenman, and by extension to nature, which has endured throughout eternity, and which will continue so.

All of the above examples, whether festival, genre or song, have in common their attachment to, even reverence for, place. But these are not specific places which can be identified on a map; even when identified by name, they stand for much more: they are places as concepts, as constructs, idealised places which can be read as cultural texts. Most importantly, they are places where the physicality of the land is more important than its location. That this is consistent across generations and genres is testament to an enduring attachment to the land. George Lipsitz offers one possible contributor to this consistency in his discussion of the effect of electronic media on memory, in which he describes how audiences can now “experience a common heritage with people they have never seen” (*Time Passages*, 5), a cultural memory which transcends national, ethnic and cultural boundaries and differentiations. Lipsitz further notes that “all cultural expressions speak to both residual memories of the past and emergent hopes for the future” (ibid., 13), providing a context within which a memory of a past linked to land, and a future in which this land will be revered, can be understood.
Ethnomusicologist Caroline Bithell shows that the pasts expressed through music can co-exist, as she explores “alternative worlds … onto which we can project a multitude of meanings and interpretations” (“The Past in Music”, 5). The past then, is a “source of cultural symbols that have a power beyond mere history” (ibid., 32). In the context of these various reflections on the multiplicity of potential manifestations of borderless pasts, the following section seeks to define the ways that cultural memory brings these cultural symbols into the present.

**CULTURAL MEMORY**

Memory is classified in various ways - collective, social, and cultural for example – but however classified, Edward Said argues that many “people now look to this refashioned memory, especially in its collective form, to give themselves a coherent identity … a place in the world” (“Invention, Memory and Place,” 179). Cultural memory theories are interdisciplinary, drawing from, for example, the fields of cultural studies, historiography, and psychology, the latter of which Maurice Halbwachs addresses in his 1939 article. In realising that mental life is not entirely dependent on an individual’s psychology, Halbwachs recognised that psychologists needed to turn to new theory, cultural rather than biological, to explain group manifestations of these mental states. Halbwachs described these collective manifestations as a “mental reality which constitutes and at the same time transcends the individual consciousness” (“Individual Consciousness and the Collective Mind.” 814). Collective psychology looks to the social, that which can be seen from the outside, but which each individual carries internally. If then, we are to understand the motivations behind the various individual expressions of place found in the musical examples, it is to the collective consciousness and experience that we should turn.
Expanding Halbwachs’ theories of collective memory, the term cultural memory was first
developed by historians Jan and Aleida Assmann who described its function as one which
“disseminates and reproduces a consciousness of unity … and a sense of belonging to
members of a group” (Religion and Cultural Memory, 38). Of particular relevance here are
what Assmann describes as narrative linguistic and scenic visual memory (ibid., 2): scenic
memory is involuntary, further from consciousness, and deeper embedded in the psyche, but
is at some stage transformed into narrative, or voluntary memory. If popular music
reconstructions of place are indeed, as is proposed here, a manifestation of a cultural memory
of past connections to land, then the concept scenic memory is especially pertinent, in that it
relates to referred meanings which are an unconscious yet essential aspect of what it is to be
human, and therefore must, and will, be transported to the conscious in narrative form. These
expressions, which are “imagined or perceived”, “become knowable only when they enter
the frame of reference of social thought; but … they are transformed into collective states
with only a fringe of organic consciousness” (Halbwachs, “Individual Consciousness and the
Collective Mind,” 816). Halbwachs notes that while these memories manifest in “the states of
consciousness of a … number of individuals comprising the group….it is necessary, in order
to reach it and study it, to seek it in the manifestations and expressions of the entire group
taken as a whole” (ibid., 819). Therefore, in examining group products within the social
framework of popular music production, it should be possible to identify aspects which
reflect the cultural memory of the group.

References to place are found throughout popular music events and lyrics, and while in many
cases they refer to specific places, the product of individual memory, it is argued here that
many such references will fall into the category of Halbwachs’ scenic memory: perhaps
imagined, and certainly intangible, these places will reflect the cultural memory of the group, but are realised in the consciousness of the individual. Such memories are not pure representations of a collective past, and are “rooted not only in traditions but also in images and ideas derived from the present and in a concrete experiential reality….these collective memories are not pure recollections but reconstructions” (Halbwachs, “Individual Consciousness and the Collective Mind,” 511). For example, while a cultural memory of connection to the land may exist, it will be reconstructed within, and relevant to, its contemporary cultural context.

Assmann and Czaplicka identify six characteristics of cultural memory; the second, “its capacity to reconstruct” is pertinent here. Noting that memory on its own is not capable of preserving the past, the remembered past is dependent on “which society in which era can reconstruct within its contemporary frame of reference”(Assmann and Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” 130). “Through its cultural heritage a society becomes visible to itself and to others” (ibid., 133). We can therefore learn much about a group and its tendencies through examining the past with which it identifies and which it expresses. Cultural memory theory seeks to understand the conditions surrounding the creation and transmission of texts, focusing on the role of the past, the ways it re-presents itself, and the motives for seeking it (Religion and Cultural Memory, 1). It is argued here that one past that is remembered is an essentialised Pagan one, motivated by an inherent attachment to nature, and manifested in lyrical references to sacred place and space. As will be explored further on, the social and cultural context of recent history is one which lends itself to such memory, with its increasing focus on ecological concerns which value the physicality of natural places, and increasing expressions of those concerns in popular music culture; it is to concepts of place that we now turn.
PLACE

The references to place in the examples above encompass an array of expressions from metaphysical, conceptual, and imagined places to specific places whose communicative reach expands limitlessly beyond their physical boundaries. In many ways reflecting the Roman description of the Paganus, people of place, for Edward Casey, “taken for granted is the fact that we are emplaced beings to begin with, that place is an a priori of our existence on earth” (The Fate of Place, x). This concept is supported by French philosopher Gaston Bachelard, who proposed that “the first image of immensity is a terrestrial image”, placing the focus of place in its “true place” in the mind, or soul (in Casey, The Fate of Place, 287). For Bachelard, non-physical spaces were as valid, or real, as physical places. Place, in this context, is less about spatial dimensions that it is an opportunity to gain understanding of the world and the ‘place’ of humans in that world. “Place, at a basic level, is space invested with meaning” (Creswell, Place: A Short Introduction, 12).

Humanistic geography is a field which conceptualises place as a subjective experience, drawing on the philosophies of existentialism and phenomenology, and is associated with leading thinkers in the field such as Yi-Fu Tuan and Edward Relph. “It was not so much places (in the world) that interested the humanists but ‘place’ as an idea, concept and way of being-in-the-world” (Creswell, Place: A Short Introduction, 20). “Relph’s notion of existential insideness – a situation of feeling completely but unselfconsciously at home in place – is especially crucial to study of the vernacular lifeworld since it identifies immersion in its most profoundly unreflective state” (in Seamon, “Phenomenology and Vernacular Lifeworlds,” 204). Alan Drengson, editor of environmental journal the Trumpeter, argues that phenomenological studies of place show that the more a people are rooted in place, “the
more their psyches become interwoven with the unique element of those places” (“Coming Full Place,” 160).

Bachelard, Relph, Tuan and others’ conceptualisation of place is important here: it allows for the non-physical, of place as a phenomenon and opens the way for consideration of places which transcend their physical boundaries, while maintaining the physicality inherent in all places. These theories allow for an understanding of place as the subjective expression of those to which it is attached, which Yi-Fu Tuan develops further, describing an “affective bond between people and place” (Creswell, Place: A Short Introduction, 20), for which he invented the term ‘topophilia’ to describe it. But by this he means more than an attachment to the dimensionality of a physical location, referring more to the physicality of any-place. Landscape architect Mary-Jo Gordon expands this notion to one of spirituality which draws on attachment to places, understanding it as “the reality of a non-material realm [which] intersects with the material realm of the landscape”, seen in “the recognition of places with inherent sacredness as well as places where sacredness is invested by human intuition” (“Designing for Spirituality in the Landscape,” 10). She describes a long history of associating natural phenomena with the transcendental experience, and notes its recognition within global indigenous and ancient cultures. It is in the context of this history that we can begin to imagine a sense of place which transcends confined places, and times. It is through the cultural memory of these relationships to place, nourished by a history of transcendent experience associated with nature, that a true topophilia has developed and survived. This ‘love of place’, in all of its musical manifestations, is most clearly seen in the more overt Pagan expressions of the various festivals and genres discussed, especially those that actively promote alternative spiritualities, but is also discernible in the countless lyrical references to place in various ways; far more prevalent than the small sample presented in this paper.
SYNTHESIS

In bringing together space, place, memory and culture, a number of problems arise – the questions surrounding border inhabitants, also problematic for ethnic and national identity studies; the possibility for significant cultural differences to exist within the one locality; postcolonial hybrid cultures; and the transformations resulting from the increasing connectedness of places due to globalisation and technology (Ferguson and Gupta, “Beyond ‘Culture’,” 7 - 8). The latter is especially pertinent to this chapter: that cultural products and practices as well as the people how produce and consume them are increasingly mobile, can result in “a profound sense of loss of territorial roots” (ibid., 9). But as the places themselves become increasingly nebulous, we see more and more that “imagined communities … come to be attached to imagined places, as displaced peoples cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places or communities” (ibid., 10).

Some cultural memory theorists approach this issue of displacement by contextualising collective memory as a result of rupture, absence, or a break with the past, a “substitute, surrogate or consolation for something that is missing” (Bardenstein, “Trees, Forests, and the Shaping …,” 148). Exactly what is missing will determine the form and content of the collective memory. Contemporary humanistic and transpersonal psychology addresses this rupture overtly, specifically within a growing branch of the discipline known as ‘ecopsychology’, which “offers a diagnosis for an assumed human estrangement from nature and offers prescriptions designed to help industrial humans re-connect to earth” (Taylor, “Earth and Nature-Based Spirituality (Part I),” 237), an approach also promoted by Carl Jung as seen in the following extract from “The Collected Works of C.G. Jung” (Volume 8, Paragraph 739):
Seeking to control nature isolates itself from her and so robs man of his own natural history. He finds himself transplanted into a limited present … Hemmed round by rationalistic walls, we are cut off from the eternity of nature. Analytical psychology seeks to break through these walls by digging up again the fantasy-images of the unconscious that our rationalism has rejected. These images lie beyond the walls, they are part of the nature in us, which lies buried in our past and against which we have barricaded ourselves behind walls of reason (in Sabini, *The Earth has a Soul*, 199).

I would like at this point to expand on this idea of displacement, and the idea of “conceptual processes of placemaking” (Ferguson and Gupta, “Beyond Culture,” 11). Due to the rapid sequence of changes symptomatic of the modern world, “people are looking for a past seemingly removed from the unrelenting … forces that have come to be called globalization” (Alderman, “Memory and Place,” 349). In doing so, they turn to what historian Pierre Nora calls ‘sites of memory’, both concrete and physical, and non-material, for example rituals which give a sense of the past (in Alderman, “Memory and Place,” 349) or, in the case presented in this chapter, the ‘terrestrial’ site of cultural memory which all humans hold in common – the earth. Paganism, as has been shown, is one of the sites of this cultural memory, and has seen a long history of relatively continuous recognition in one form or another. However, it has also endured a long history of persecution based on political and moralistic motives which date at least to the time of the establishment of Christianity as the dominant religion.

It was however around the Enlightenment era that more intellectually derived factors contributed to its positioning at the periphery of mainstream thought and belief. ‘Rationalized’ out of the West through movements such as Protestantism and Humanism, the Pagan impulse was pushed back into the unconscious as somehow primitive and ‘uncultured’. Contributing to this rupture from nature was the Enlightenment idea of the Noble Savage, a “creation of a Western minority and coeval with the industrial era, of which it is the pastoral
"reflection" (Pattison, *The Triumph of Vulgarity*, 37). The Noble Savage is not aware that he is noble, nor savage; the concept is dependent on the projection of these attributes by the ‘intellectually superior white man’; the Noble Savage and his environment are therefore firmly placed at the periphery of what is perceived as cultivated.

It is proposed here that the rationalism which the Enlightenment embraced resulted in alienation from the land, exacerbated through urbanization, and also from place through migration and consequent globalization. Jung argued that nature, the ‘primitive’ human instinct, animals and creative fantasy had been the most severely repressed aspects of human existence, due to the influence of Judeo-Christian religion (Sabini, *The Earth has a Soul*, 2). Modern Paganism in many ways draws from reactions to this alienation, for example the Romantic “philosophical celebration of the popular, something of a displaced desire for ‘archaic roots’” (Albanese, "Religion and American Popular Culture," 41). Rousseau wrote of a polytheistic religion that he argued had its roots in antiquity, and idealised nature and the “savage spirit” as at the heart of what it was to be human, and “saw folklore as the path to nature, and therefore to the sacred” (Magliocco, *Witching Culture*, 38). The dichotomy represented in Romantic (abstracted Pagan) and Enlightenment tensions can be expressed in a number of ways: land as sacred, land as property; getting back to nature, usurping nature; natural cycles, the forward arrow of progress; music as ritual, music for profit.

Turning to the idea of the rural, or nature, as conceptual place, Bauerle-Willert argues that “nature generates culture, which in turn changes or even destroys that very nature … culture becomes something that should close the gap, that should restore an attachment to our natural base … culture is … an organic emanation of the genius loci ("Culture, Place and Location," 150). Placing nature as the rupture point, Edward Casey asks “what if nature is the true a
priori, that which was there first, that from which we came, that which sustains us even as we cultivate and construct” (Getting Back into Place, x). He proposes that this rupture is at least in part the result of an increasing tendency, the result of urbanisation, to see nature as something outside of ourselves: “the very idea of edging out from built place into the wild world beyond presumes the primacy of a humanocentric starting point … the very act of putting the non-human world at the periphery of what is cultivated marginalizes nature” (ibid., 186); arguably, it marginalises worldviews which revere nature as well. According to philosopher Ingrid Stefanovic, we tend to see ourselves as managers of the environment, which in turn is seen as something “out there”, at least for urban dwellers. (“Phenomenological Encounters,” 196).

Casey proposes that “an outright geocentrism – or perhaps better, an engaged eco-centrism – is the most efficacious antidote to centuries of un-self-questioning anthropocentrism” (Getting Back into Place, 187). This proposal is to a great extent being met by environmental movements, which manifest themselves in a variety of ways, and are often supported by and expressed through music festivals as seen above, but most overtly within radical ecological movements such as bioregionalism. The preamble of the First North American Bioregional Congress in 1984 makes the connections clear: “Bioregionalism recognizes, nurtures, sustains and celebrates our local connections with land … It is taking the time to learn the possibilities of place” (Taylor “Bioregionalism: An Ethics of Loyalty to Place,” 57). Taylor describes bioregionalism as “the conscious manifestation of the unconscious Pagan impulse …a rapidly growing green political philosophy emerging with greatest force from within the “counterculture” in the United States” (ibid., 49).
Linking Paganism, memory and place are the two main convictions central to bioregionalism: that an ecologically sustainable lifeway is dependent on “being there and learning the land”, and that to do so requires a “fundamental reorienting of human consciousness”, both based on the clearly Pagan premise that “the land is sacred and all its inhabitants are worthy of reverence” (ibid., 2). Taylor contextualises bioregionalism and movements like it within Aldous Huxley’s ‘perennial philosophy’, “a global religion of primal, ancient lineage, encompassing diverse, nature-beneficent cultures and lifeways” (ibid., 180). “Earth-based spiritualities are based on personal experiences that foster a bonding with nature. These experiences … are expressed in plural ways … [through] a creative bricolage assembled from older religious traditions” (Taylor, “Earth and Nature-Based Spirituality (Part II),” 226). This bricolage is only possible through cultural memory; that this memory has links to earth-based spiritualities shows the importance of physical places to the human psyche and offers ways of understanding the importance of place in popular music culture.

CONCLUSION

Through an inter-disciplinary exploration of uses of and references to, place in popular music, this chapter has explored new ways of understanding the relevance of place to expressions of Paganism in popular culture. It has been shown that Paganism is informed primarily by a reverence for place; its relative continuity in recorded history demonstrates not only its durability, but also its cultural relevance, testament to the importance of nature, and therefore conceptual place, to the human psyche. That nature and place are inherent needs is evidenced in the continuing growth in movements such as bioregionalism, and it is no coincidence that such movements have significant Pagan involvement. The longevity of various Paganisms has provided a legacy of symbols in the cultural memory from which its
re-contextualisations can draw, demonstrated in the multiplicity of ways in which Pagan ways of thinking are conceptualised in popular music production, performance and reception.

In presenting this research, I am aware of the subjective nature of the hypothesis, and that it does not address questions of reception and intent. Gordon Lynch, in his article examining the role of popular music in constructing alternative spiritual identities, acknowledges the contributions of Graham St John and Christopher Partridge in demonstrating how alternative spiritual symbols can be encoded in music, but notes that they do not demonstrate how audiences make use of the music and its symbols in constructing their own alternative identities (Lynch, “The Role of Popular Music…,” 481). I would argue, however, that while this would be a valuable contribution to the field, given the demographic range of the audiences and the wide range of potential ‘uses’ of the music, the information gleaned from such a study may not be as pertinent as thought – at best it would be narrow. Further, it does not take into consideration the implicit, unconscious, and involuntary kinds of memory that may be at the core of the music’s production and reception. It also does not take into account how the audiences may subconsciously be ‘shaped’ rather than how they consciously shape themselves.

George Lipsitz however proposes that “popular culture has no fixed forms … similarly artefacts of popular culture have no fixed meanings … consumers of popular culture move in and out of subject positions in a way that allows the same message to have widely varying meanings at the point of reception” (Time Passages, 13). Lynch proposes examining “the role of popular music in stimulating the rise of alternative spiritual identities and ideologies” as potentially a more relevant and fruitful endeavour. What he does not suggest, and what is addressed here, is the opposite: the influence of a long history, a cultural memory, of (now)
alternative spiritual ideologies, specifically nature-based ones, on popular music texts. Further, this analysis focuses on the implicit rather than explicit use of just symbols, more in keeping with Christopher Partridge’s theory that Western culture is currently experiencing a resacralisation, seen in a turn away from orthodox religion to alternative ones (The Re-Enchantment of the West, Vol. 1, 40). As Partridge argues, “popular culture has a relationship with contemporary alternative religious thought that is both expressive and formative …[it] is both an expression of the cultural milieu from which it emerges and formative of that culture” (ibid., 123). The cultural milieu from which the musical examples emerge is long, and continuous, filled with a wealth of cultural symbols from which a cultural memory can draw. Further, in identifying this milieu as a Pagan one, implicit and explicit connections to place as one of those cultural symbols enables an understanding of musical texts as constructions of an identity strongly linked to a primordial identification with a conceptual place which embodies landscape, nature, and the earth.
Reference List


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