

Conserving THE authentic

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF JUKKA JOKILEHTO



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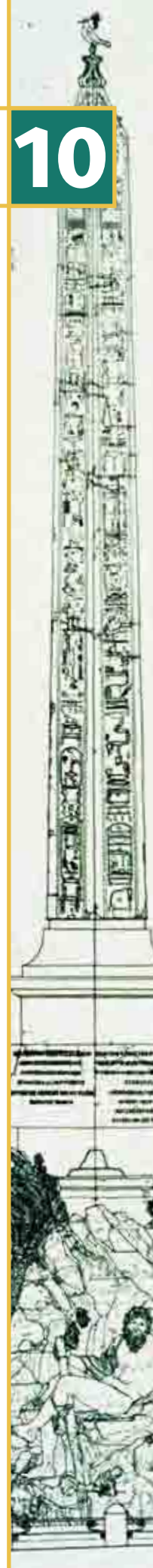
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ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF JUKKA JOKILEHTO

EDITED BY

Nicholas Stanley-Price and Joseph King



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Front cover: from watercolours of Florence and Fiesole by Jukka Jokilehto (1964)
Back cover: from a watercolour of San Francesco a Ripa, Rome by Bernard Feilden



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Preface

THIS COLLECTION OF ESSAYS has been assembled to honour Jukka Jokilehto. They celebrate the many contributions that he has made to conservation theory and practice for nearly forty years, a substantial achievement to which he continues to add. The essays are written by a number of his friends and colleagues who were invited to contribute to this volume. All of them have benefited from Jukka's wisdom and experience, as employers, as former students, as colleagues on training courses, as partners on missions and as participants in meetings at the highest international levels.

It is because Jukka's knowledge is so broad and his experience so wide that no volume of essays could fully reflect them. Moreover, as in all walks of life, it is not only the expertise and professional knowledge that mark the man but also the personal qualities that lead to his being esteemed and admired by his peers. We have therefore organised the volume so that the first section consists of tributes to Jukka the man (a section that also reflects indirectly the development of international conservation over the past thirty years). The other two sections focus on the field in which he first made his name (the conservation of buildings) and on those themes that have increasingly occupied him in recent years (authenticity and World Heritage). Part 4 (Jukka's published writings) has in some ways been the most challenging to assemble, such has been his prolific output which fortunately shows no signs of diminishing.

The idea of compiling a volume of essays in honour of Jukka arose in informal discussions in March 2007. These involved Professor Kanefusa Masuda of Ritsumeikan University in Japan, Dr. Azar Soheil Jokilehto, Professor Calogero Bellanca and Dr. Yumi Akieda (translator into Japanese of Jukka's *History of Architectural Conservation*). They all deserve our thanks for promoting this initiative which has now been realised.

We owe a great debt, above all, to Azar Soheil Jokilehto, who – in addition to contributing a valuable essay on Jukka's early career at ICCROM – has helped ceaselessly in bibliographical research and in the hunt for images. It is appropriate that this volume finds a place in ICCROM's Conservation Studies series; for seeing it through the publication process we are indebted to Mónica García Robles and to many other ICCROM colleagues, in particular María Mata Caravaca, ICCROM archivist, for help in locating images and Sonia Widmer for communicating with authors. As editors we also thank the referees who reviewed some of the papers and those who allowed us to use their images.

May these essays give as much pleasure and inspiration to Jukka as he has given to so many others.

NICHOLAS STANLEY-PRICE AND JOSEPH KING
SEPTEMBER 2009

Foreword

JUKKA JOKILEHTO WAS A STAFF MEMBER OF ICCROM from 1972 until his retirement in 1998. He started his career at ICCROM as a course assistant to the International Architectural Conservation Course and during the subsequent years served as a Course Director, Chief of the Sector of Architectural Conservation, and Assistant to the Director General. From 1988 onwards, he was a part of the senior management group at ICCROM, and as such was a member of the team responsible for developing policies, strategies, and programmes for the organisation.

Jukka's contribution to ICCROM, however, cannot be summed up by his official job titles or administrative responsibilities. Rather, his legacy can be found in the thousands of people trained through the Architectural Conservation Course and the many other courses that ICCROM has offered over the past 38 years. It can also be found in the research projects and technical missions that he undertook in his time at ICCROM, collaborating with Member States on six continents. Perhaps most importantly, his legacy rests in the contribution that he has made to the development of conservation philosophy, theory, and concepts. His book, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, remains the standard text on this topic and has been translated into many languages. His work on authenticity, significance, and Outstanding Universal Value, as well as his development of important concepts related to urban and landscape conservation, has been much appreciated by the professional conservation community.

During his time at ICCROM, Jukka served under five Directors General: Paul Philippot, Bernard Feilden, Cervat Erder, Andrzej Tomaszewski, and Marc Laenen. While I was not fortunate enough to have been at ICCROM during his tenure, I did have the pleasure of working closely with Jukka over many years at UNESCO as Director of Cultural Heritage, Director of the World Heritage Centre, and Assistant Director General for Culture. I have had the pleasure of participating in a number of missions with him and benefitting from his vast knowledge of training strategies. I have also admired his professionalism and his scientific rigour during his involvement as ICOMOS evaluator of World Heritage Sites.

When I became Director General of ICCROM in 2006, I was happy to find that Jukka still played an active role as a consultant to ICCROM on individual activities. I offered him a symbolic "one euro" contract as Special Advisor to the Director General in order to recognise more formally his contributions to the organisation, and to ensure that his wise counsel would remain available to ICCROM staff into the future.

It is for this reason that I add my own voice to that of the other authors in honouring the important work that Jukka has carried out since he arrived at ICCROM in 1971. Much has changed in the conservation field in the subsequent 38 years, and Jukka has played an important role in shaping those changes, in documenting them, and in disseminating them through ICCROM's courses and through his ample output of papers and books. It therefore gives me great pleasure in being able to contribute this foreword to the essays in honour of Jukka Jokilehto.

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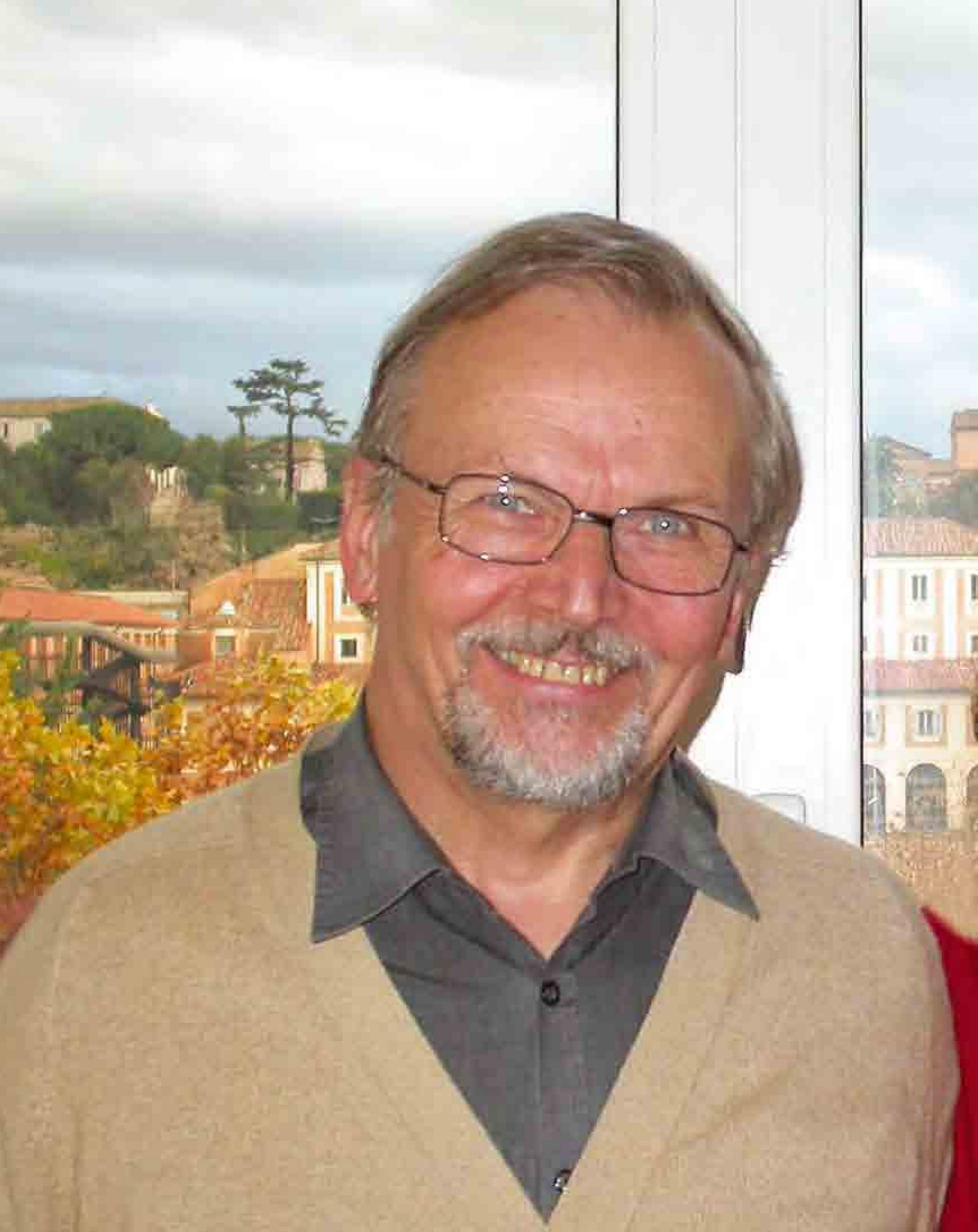
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Jukka the man: an appreciation



Jukka - an appreciation

PAUL PHILIPPOT
Director Emeritus

Immersed in my papers, I came to discern dimly a human presence. In the crack of the door I always left open as a sign of availability, there appeared a thin dark silhouette. It was Jukka, quietly requesting a meeting. He had come from his Nordic Finland, attracted by the course on Architectural Conservation that Professor De Angelis d'Ossat was leading at the Faculty of Architecture in the University of Rome.

The desire to open up this course in Italian to foreign participants – such courses were already being given by Professor Raymond Lemaire at Louvain and by Walter Frodl in Vienna – gave rise to a serious language problem, since simultaneous translation of specialist lectures using a precise technical vocabulary was hard to envisage. Little by little, a splitting of the course into an Italian one and an English one could not be avoided. This was the opportunity for Jukka, who was at first the assistant of the Italian course responsible for the foreign participants, to develop – initially with the help of Donald Del Cid – a course in English that was more adapted to a non-Italian audience. A shift that did not happen without a certain friction

which was difficult to avoid, but whose clear appeal and practical interest became quickly apparent to all, to general satisfaction, and one that left Jukka entrusted with directing an international course.

Since it responded to a need of which national monument conservation services were becoming more and more aware, such an initiative quickly stimulated a growing demand for participation. In fact it soon became evident that it was simpler and more efficient to organise courses in different regions, adapting them to local needs, rather than funding scholarships for those coming from different regions of the world. In other words, make the teachers circulate rather than the students. Thus Jukka found himself taking on the role of a “commercial traveller” in architectural conservation. In return, he accumulated a knowledge and experience of the particular characteristics of different regions which led him, by virtue of his constant availability thanks to his employment at ICCROM, to an ever broader area of competence to which UNESCO had ever more regular recourse. A fortunate formula to which retirement age has not put an end.
(Translated from French)



Early days of the Architectural Conservation Course of the Rome Centre (ICCRROM)

[MEHR AZAR SOHEIL]

How Jukka came to Rome

When I asked Jukka how it happened that he came to Rome, he said that in 1969 his former professor at the Polytechnic of Helsinki, Aarno Ruusuvuori, who was at that time the chairman of the Finnish National Committee of ICOMOS, called him to ask if he would be interested to participate in an international training course on architectural conservation in Rome. This course was organised by the Rome Centre (today ICCROM) in collaboration with the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Rome, La Sapienza. The Finnish National Committee of ICOMOS had received a letter from Pietro Gazzola, President of ICOMOS International, encouraging the national committees to find candidates to attend the course. Ruusuvuori, being aware of Jukka's interests and language skills, had contacted him.

At the beginning Jukka was not quite sure that he wanted to go abroad as he had already been exploring the possibility of undertaking a M.A. degree at the University of Helsinki on the development of urban planning in Finland and the interpretation of the existing urban fabric. In the following year, however, he thought that the Rome course could provide some support to his studies. Therefore, he called Prof. Ruusuvuori and was told to contact the National Board of Antiquities, and particularly Pekka Kärki.

Finally, it was agreed that he could apply, and wrote a letter to the Rome Centre. The answer came from Dr Italo Carlo Angle, the Executive Secretary of the Rome Centre, who was responsible for the logistics. Considering that Jukka's name ended with an "a", Angle was convinced that Jukka would be a gorgeous Nordic female, and he was rather disappointed to welcome a bearded man instead.

As to why he came to Rome, Jukka was interested in issues such as the forces guiding urban development, and how to recognise the significance of historic traces in urban areas. These were not much considered in Finland in those days. He thought of undertaking Master's-level research at the University of Helsinki, combining the history of town planning and social-economic sciences. Although Finland was known and praised for its modern architecture, Jukka still felt that much of quality was lost due to excessive renovation in old wooden towns such as his hometown Mikkeli in central Finland. Coming to Rome would be a means of understanding the approaches that had developed elsewhere in dealing with these questions. Therefore, close contact with an international context would give him the possibility of developing a new perspective. In fact, in Rome he came into contact with people such as Paul Philippot, Guglielmo De Angelis D'Ossat, Carlo Ceschi, Piero Gazzola, Laura and Paolo Mora, and Italo Carlo Angle, all of whom had a great influence on his thinking.



FIG. 1. The Rome Centre in 1959 seen from Piazza S. Francesco di Paola. The offices were at piazza-level (opposite), with the main entrance below to the left at via Cavour 256 (photo F. Rigamonti)

The architectural conservation course in Rome at that period was promoted through various organisations, such as ICOMOS, ICOM and national museums, as well as by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs which also provided some scholarships. Jukka did not have a scholarship but had to pass a language exam at the Italian cultural centre in Helsinki. In agreement with the architectural office where he was working, he resigned from his position as advisor to the city council of Mikkeli on architectural and urban planning and came to Rome to participate in the 1971 Architectural Conservation (ARC) course.

Life in Rome in 1971

On his arrival, Jukka met Dr Angle, a jolly, fairly robust person, who while smoking his pipe asked him in what language he wanted to speak. Jukka, with some courage, responded: whatever! So they spoke Italian, even though his knowledge of Italian at that time was fairly minor. Angle's parents were Italian and Polish, and he spoke fluently many languages, although with a strong personal accent. According to Jukka, Angle resembled a Renaissance figure, able to discuss almost any subject in whatever language and also of many interests. He was the one who was mainly responsible for the co-ordination of the ARC programme, but the director of the course was Prof. Guglielmo De Angelis

D'Ossat, Dean of the School of Architecture at the University of Rome, La Sapienza.

Arriving in Rome, Jukka first stayed for a while with a friend, Laura del Terra, but she lived rather far from the centre and it was more convenient to move into a pensione or small hotel in Via Cimarra 11, which was near the Rome Centre. This pensione had been used in the past by prostitutes. The cost of the room was 27,000 lire (14 euros) per month, but it provided a really basic facility. There was a large bed and a small table in the room and a simple shower in the corridor. The room was heated by a miserable radiator under the window, but one could hardly speak of heating. In fact, the window did not close properly. Therefore, all noise and voices from the street were clearly heard in the room. However, to Jukka, it was very much Rome. He remembered, for example, how early one Sunday morning a man, having had a long argument with his wife, rushed to his car. He hit both the car behind and the car in front when coming out of the parking space, and then, driving across the narrow street, he also hit the building!

At that time, the Rome Centre was located in Via Cavour. The direction, the secretariat and the library were on the first floor of Via Cavour, 256, next to the Italian Istituto Centrale del Restauro (ICR), with whom the Rome Centre had a close collaboration (Fig. 1). The courses and the laboratory were across the street, in number 221 on the third and fourth floors. Harold James Plenderleith was the director of the Rome Centre and Paul Philippot was deputy director. Dr Angle was the executive secretary, and also acted as the co-ordinator of the Architectural Conservation Course, maintaining contact with the Italian and foreign lecturers and organisations. The library was managed by Mrs Lucetta Amendola. It was still rather limited with just a few shelves; Dr Angle did his best to help and provide books, especially through donations.

Regularly every morning at 10.00 o'clock, the staff of the Rome Centre went to the Asso Bar at the corner of Via Cavour and Via dei Serpenti to have a cappuccino or a coffee at a cost of 40-50 lire (less than 0.03 euros). Many of the restorers of the ICR and of the Rome Centre went for lunch to Trattoria di Mario (Masé) in Piazza Madonna dei Monti. Mario served the tables and his wife prepared the meals. Here a meal would cost about 950 to 1050 lire (0,49-0,54 euros), depending on whether or not one took an orange or something else as dessert. The front room served as an Osteria with marble tables. Here local workers could come and eat their sandwiches, ordering the wine from Mario. In the backroom, there were wooden tables covered with paper. This room

was used by the restorers. It was here that Jukka met practically all the restoration community of Rome, as well as Franco Rigamonti, a photographer from northern Italy who had travelled widely in the Middle East and had a passion for restoration of works of art. He had invented, for example, a mechanical device for holding the frames of canvas paintings when stretching a new canvas for them, an invention used by many restorers across the world. Franco also made photographic documentation of historic buildings for different organisations and often joined the visits of the Rome Centre's conservation courses and took photographs.

Other interesting people included Luciano Maranzi who had carried out an emergency mission on behalf of the Rome Centre to Sri Lanka after a madman had sprayed paint over the fabulous paintings of Sigiriya. There were also the two beautiful and intelligent French restorers: Anne de Rothschild and her cousin Nelly de Rothschild, who later married the nephew of Axel Munthe, the Swedish medical doctor and writer who had his villa in Capri. Jukka usually made drawings on the paper covering the tables in the trattoria. These were

often taken away by people - on several occasions, a schoolteacher took them to show to his pupils (Fig. 2).

It was probably through Franco Rigamonti that Jukka was introduced more personally to Paul Philippot, his wife Annie and son Luca, who normally ate at Le Tavernelle in Via Panisperna, 48. The chef there was very conscious of spectacle, and he often had people there who ate enormous quantities of pasta, probably at no cost, just to make a show. There were also those who came to play music and sing, being paid from the tips given by customers. There was particularly a furniture merchant who came to play a guitar and sing to earn some extra money.

Participating in the Architectural Conservation Course (ARC) in 1971

The ARC course was attended more or less regularly by some forty to fifty professionals, representing a wide range of countries across the world. However, many Italian participants did not attend the course consistently. The lectures were in either Italian or English, and sometimes even in French, with simultaneous translation. Jukka knew some Italian, having taken lessons in Helsinki. He therefore made a special effort to learn this language, never listened to the translation in class, and tried to read books in Italian such as Carlo Ceschi's *Teoria di Restauro* on the theory and history of restoration. This book became Jukka's introduction to the world of conservation. He read it word by word, using the Zingarelli Italian dictionary, which was a useful exercise although not too easy. At the same time, he took every opportunity to speak Italian with his colleagues, including Roberto Marta, already a senior engineer, who had been working for GESCAL, a state organisation constructing residential settlements, and Sergio Lucarelli, another

FIG. 2. One of Jukka's lunchtime drawings on the tablecloth at the Trattoria di Mario, 1971



engineer, who taught photogrammetry. Other friends included the Italian Adriana Miccolis as well as many foreigners, such as Jorge Zepeda from Mexico, who were fellow course participants.

Although Jukka was on good terms with Prof. De Angelis and with the course lecturers, he was sometimes critical of the lectures. Once he posed a question to Prof. Ceschi regarding a new design for some lost carved corbels. Whereas Ceschi had proposed a simple geometric form, Jukka asked why not use a modern sculpture in character with the church, but expressing a contemporary spirit? Generally speaking, Jukka found the course and working in an international atmosphere with all the different nationalities and languages a fantastic experience.

The programme of the course was comprehensive, with subjects ranging from the history and theory of restoration to various technical aspects, such as humidity taught by Giovanni Massari, structural consolidation by Giuseppe Zander, photogrammetry by Hans Foramitti and Maurice Carbonnell, the conservation of plaster work, and so on. The lectures were accompanied by guided visits to restoration worksites in Rome. During the course there was a useful study tour to northern Italy, visiting towns such as Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Vicenza, and Venice. Furthermore, Dr. Angle had made an agreement with the municipality of Capua for practical work experience studying its historic centre. The course was hosted by the City in a seaside hotel for a total of five weeks while the participants carried out a detailed inventory and survey of the urban fabric under the guidance of professors such as Camillo Gubitosi (from the University of Naples) and Luciano Pontuale, who was working for the Ministry of Public Works. The course assistant was Ingrid Brock from Germany, who had attended the course the previous year.

While the Architectural Conservation Course was very interesting, Jukka also had some criticisms of it. On the whole, he was of the opinion that, although there were many good lectures in the course, it had no structure. On one occasion when he was not happy with the order of the lectures, he took his violin and went off to follow the practical work of the Rome Centre's Mural Painting Course (MPC) in the Caetani Castle of the old fortified town of Sermoneta near Latina (south of Rome). Here, Jukka became well acquainted with Laura and Paolo Mora, the principal teachers and directors of the MPC course. In Sermoneta Jukka followed the work of the students, as well as playing the violin - the sonatas by Händel and Corelli or the partitas by Bach. In the acoustics of the old sixteenth-century castle, the sound of the violin was quite impressive.

During the ARC course, Jukka established a close relationship with Paul Philippot, and started to make proposals for improving the course. In particular, he thought that the order of the lectures was arbitrary. It was mainly Dr Angle who invited the lecturers, first asking them when it would suit them to lecture. As a result, the lectures did not follow any particular line of thought or methodology. Jukka suggested that it would be better to first draft a general outline, and then invite lecturers to contribute to specific topics according to their experience and speciality. He also proposed that the Rome Centre should make an international survey in order to understand what was already taught at the national level, and what an international training could add to this knowledge.

Another issue was the international character of the participants. It was important to propose methodologies that could be illustrated by case studies. As a result of many such discussions, Philippot asked Jukka to come back the following year to act as course assistant, an invitation that Jukka accepted. He continually had new ideas as to how to improve the ARC Course. In fact, there were many evenings spent at Paul and Annie Philippot's apartment in Via Panisperna where Jukka had long talks about how the course could be improved. The Philippots had a Siamese cat and, whenever Jukka came back from these evenings, he developed an allergic reaction. At that time he was not aware of his allergy to cats, or perhaps it started then.

At the end of the 1971 course, all participants were invited by the Spanish architect Alberto García Gil, a former course participant and responsible for the conservation of historic monuments in Spain, to attend a training workshop in Segovia. This became a kind of complement to the Rome Course. The topic of the seminar was architectural and urban conservation, but there was also an exercise to analyse the landscape setting of the historic centre of Segovia, thus already anticipating the notion of a cultural landscape.

Revising the ARC Course in 1972

After spending a few months back in Finland, Jukka returned to Rome in December 1971, staying first with his friend Gaël de Guichen who was also working at the Rome Centre. Gaël lived in an attic in Via Giovanni Lanza and, when he moved to another apartment, Jukka remained there for several months before moving to Villa Lante, the Finnish Academy on the Janiculum Hill. By the end of 1972, he had to leave the Academy and rented his present apartment, which was

inaugurated, when still completely empty, over a drink with Paul and Annie Philippot, Paolo and Laura Mora, Franco Rigamonti, and Tomokichi Iwasaki who was then a member of the Rome Centre Council (Fig. 3).

Returning to Rome as course assistant in December 1971, he found out that the programme for the course that was supposed to start in early January was yet to be organised. He decided to start with the programme as it existed, and then develop it into a more holistic concept. To start with, he took a large panel, covering it with a grid corresponding to the working days of the course. Over this, he laid a transparent plastic sheet, on which he could attach labels in different colours, indicating lectures, discussions, site visits and exercises (Fig. 4). This scheme, much liked by De Angelis, was necessary because there were many changes that had to be accommodated. In fact, Jukka's idea was to identify the different themes and group them in specific periods in order to concentrate the teaching and make it more efficient. Foreign lecturers were easier to manage, but the Roman professors did not always find this convenient as they had to take into account their daily commitments for the university. Therefore, the development of the course became a gradual process, which extended over the following years. The course started to shape itself, each year being an experiment for the following year, and eventually a stable number of professors together with visiting lecturers was decided on.



FIG. 3. Inauguration of Jukka's apartment in Rome, 1972 (from left, front row: Annie Philippot, Tomokichi Iwasaki, Laura Mora; back row: Jukka, Paul Philippot, Franco Rigamonti, Paolo Mora)

In the 1972 course, to Jukka's surprise, there were some 90 participants (double the number of 1971). This was due to Italians discovering that, by continuing to study, they could defer their military service! A field exercise to analyse the historic town of Tivoli was organised and, during the first visit to the town where the course participants were received by the municipality in the city council hall, Dr. Angle gave a fantastic speech. Jukka asked him afterwards how he could speak so well without having any written text. Angle just smiled. The exercise was interesting, and involved professional planners in making a detailed analysis of the town. Later, in 1974, the ARC course was invited by a former course participant and assistant, Tomislav Marasovic, to carry out fieldwork in the small historic town of Trogir, just north of Split in Yugoslavia. This was a town of Greek origin, and became for Jukka personally an extremely valuable experience in the analysis of the Mediterranean architectural heritage.

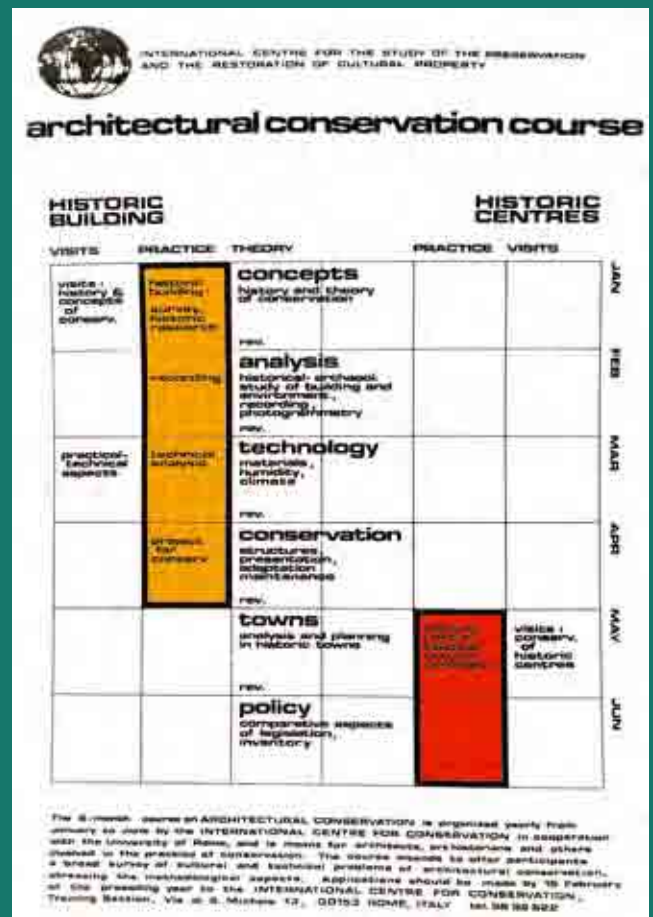


FIG. 4. Course programme of the 1974 ARC Course

It was also in 1972 that Dr Derek Linstrum, who was organising a new training programme in architectural conservation at the University of York, visited the Rome Centre to learn about its experience of the Architectural Conservation Course. Philippot asked Jukka, as assistant to this course, to guide Derek during his visit. This gave an opportunity to Jukka and Derek to discuss a wide range of issues. As a result they became close friends. Derek invited Jukka to attend the British Council short course on the conservation of historic structures at York the following September. This course was directed by Derek at the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies located in the King's Manor in York. This is where Jukka first met Bernard Feilden, one of the founders of the York course, who had also restored the King's Manor (among many other historic buildings in the UK). During this course, Jukka was further convinced that his ideas about the new structure for the ARC course were justified. At the same time, he met several other excellent lecturers, besides Feilden, including Patrick Faulkner, Roy Gilyard-Beer, and Roy Worskett, who were all later invited to be part of the Rome Centre's teaching team. Bernard lectured on the survey and inspection of historic buildings and supervised the practical work of the course in Rome. Later he was joined by Poul Beckman, from Ove Arup Partners, who had worked with Bernard to restore York Minster and Norwich Cathedral. Derek gave lectures on historic gardens, Gilyard-Beer and Patrick Faulkner on the management and presentation of archaeological sites, and Worskett on the conservation of English historic towns. Donald Insall lectured on his own conservation projects. In the following years, John Ashurst was introduced to the course by Faulkner, followed by Clifford Price, to cover the lectures on materials, especially stone and metals conservation. Giorgio Torraca's lectures on building materials and their causes of decay were fundamentally important. There were visits to restoration worksites, historic buildings and gardens, urban areas and archaeological sites as part of the course programme. The participants were actively involved in making measured drawings, inspecting and writing reports on buildings. These records are presently in the ICCROM archives and hopefully one day may become of some use.

A turning point came in 1977 when Bernard Feilden became the director of the Rome Centre. He provided a United Nations organisational structure for the organisation and gave it its present name of ICCROM, which stands for International Conservation Centre **ROME**. He established a

common room on the second floor of the ICCROM building so as to promote more contact among staff and participants. At this time too, a simple laboratory was established for the Architectural Course and dialogue between different disciplines was encouraged. This meant sometimes that participants on different courses at ICCROM shared common lectures in order to understand each other's problems and so to communicate better. It was in the Architectural Course that Anglo-Saxon pragmatism and Latin theoretical approaches were combined. The aim of the teaching was not to give recipes, but to provide a methodology on which to base the options to approach problems and find solutions.

Bernard offered the ICCROM staff the possibility of carrying out research and encouraged them to participate in international conferences. Jukka took the opportunity and prepared a thesis at the University of York on the history and theory of architectural conservation, which has subsequently provided didactic material for conservation studies when published in book form and translated into several languages (Fig. 5).

Syllabus and participants of the 1971 ARC Course

When Jukka came to attend the ARC Course in 1971, it was called the Course of Specialisation in the Conservation and the Restoration of Historic Monuments and Sites. It lasted six months, starting in January and ending in June. The participants were architects, art historians, town-planners and archaeologists. The format of the course consisted in lectures and practical work (study of a monument, restoration works, practical training on the active preservation of historic sites, excavation works, visits to monuments), and seminars (comments and discussions after different lecture series, talks by participants covering their experiences in the field, seminars concerning cases, discussions of the restoration works, field training and monuments they visited). The lectures were grouped as follows:

- I. Introduction, consisting of the history of architecture, methodical study of monuments and historic centres (G. De Angelis), the ethical value of historic monuments (P. Gazzola), photogrammetry and survey (G. Boaga, H. Foramitti & M. Carbonnell), as well as aerial photography at the service of archaeology and study of monuments.
- II. Theory and methods of conservation and



FIG. 5. Jukka in the Netherlands, 1977 (photo author)

restoration, which consisted in an outline of restoration of monuments in different civilisations and the history of the theory of restoration (W. Frodl and C. Ceschi), general principles of conservation and restoration of the works of art (P. Philippot), theory and methodology of restoration and conservation of monuments (C. Ceschi), problems of urbanism of historic centres (G. Scimeni), and a historical introduction to problems of the city (W. Ostrowski).

- III. Active protection of historically and artistically interesting centres, sites and landscapes, which included: regional and urban planning as an instrument for preservation of landscape and historic centres (F.E. Kuyken), methods of analysis and revitalisation of historic centres (T. Marasovic), implementation of restoration projects and re-animation of historic centres (G. Spagnesi, R. Lemaire, G. De Carlo), safeguarding and re-animation of historic centres: social, juridical and administrative problems (F. Sorlin), and historical and natural landscapes (R. Gilyard-Beer and others).
- IV. Monument conservation and restoration, which included: Causes of deterioration of monuments (G. De Angelis), stability and consolidation methods (G. Zander), and the conservation and restoration of monuments: projects, implementation and practical problems (C. Ceschi, P. Gazzola, G. Zander and B. Field). Examples of conservation and restoration of monuments (G. Zander and R. Pacini), archaeological monuments:

excavation techniques (N. Lamboglia and B. Zevi), sounding and prospection techniques (R. Linington and L. Cavagnari-Vanoni); and examples of conservation and restoration of archaeological monuments.

- V. Technical programmes and special technologies for scientific research: Ancient and present technologies of structures and materials: Mediterranean region (G. De Angelis), Central and Northern Europe (R. Lemaire), Middle East (G. Zander), India and Far East, and North and South America; the pathology and care of building material: Stone, terracotta, mortar and coating (M. Mamillan), wood (P. Mora and B. Field), ground and foundation (E. Schultze), humidity in buildings, protection against vibration (G. Massari), protection against biological agents (C. Giacobini), protection against fire (H. Foramitti), and the conservation and restoration techniques of mural painting.
- VI. Legislation and administrative organisation of the works: Juridical principles of protection and comparative legislation (R. Brichet), international regulations of artistic heritage (P. Gazzola), and introduction and guided visits to restoration work sites (R. Pacini).

The participants of the 1971 ARC Course

There were 40 participants who attended the course in 1971: Ivo Verhaeghe (Belgium), Haralampy H. Anitchkin (Bulgaria), Maurizio Raeber (Chile), Juan Hoyos-Gonzales (Colombia), Kamal Abdu Saied (Egypt), Jukka Jokilehto (Finland), Georg F. Kempter (Germany), Plutarch Theocharidis (Greece), José Alejandro Flores Lopez (Guatemala), Angela Buickians, Parviz Hatamzadeh and Sohrab Neshvad (all Iran), Roberto Cassetti, Spiridone A. Curuni, Carla Maria De Feo, Paolo Giuliani, Roberto Marta, Adriana Miccolis, Roberto Parapetti, Jaime Escobar Saa, Graziella Vitale and Mario Zappetti (all Italy), Byung-Mo Kim (Korea), Jorge Zepeda Pallares (Mexico), Tara Nanda Mishra (Nepal), Waldemar Lysiak (Poland), Cristian Moiescu (Romania), Charles Feigel and Jean-François Loew (both Switzerland), Kassem Toueir (Syria), Supavadi Bhakdibutr and Uraiwan Tantiwong (both Thailand), Yilmaz Izmirlier and Ulku Izmiriligil (both Turkey), Katherine Hayter Venning (UK), Anne E. Grimmer (USA), Le Tuan Nghia (Vietnam), Sanja Borcic-Simounovic, Alena Fazinic and Peter Fister (all Yugoslavia).



Jukka Jokilehto on a walking tour of Trastevere with participants of the 2007 Conservation of Built Heritage Course

From architectural conservation to urban conservation and the World Heritage Convention: an appreciation

JOSEPH KING

It was 18 years ago that I first met Jukka Jokilehto at ICCROM. At the time, I was a young conservation professional, fresh from my first working experience in Kenya and eager to enhance my knowledge of conservation, based on this first taste of international work. When he accepted me as an observer in the 1991 Architectural Conservation Course (ARC), I had no way of knowing how much of a long and steady influence he would have on my professional growth in the years to come.

The ARC course was for me, as it was for countless other professionals, an important milestone. Since I had studied conservation concepts within an American context and then had the experience of working on an urban conservation project in Kenya, the ARC course helped solidify my understanding of conservation concepts and link my work in Kenya to important international principles. This trajectory is typical of many participants and one of the strengths of the ARC course (and other courses at ICCROM). Rather than taking inexperienced students and teaching them the theory, principles, and practice in the hope that they will later be able to understand how to apply them, ARC took young professionals who already had some experience, and allowed them to filter that experience through the knowledge of the best international experts and the experience of other participants. The results were immediately clear to all those who took part.

Jukka's lectures during ARC, particularly those related to the history and theory of conservation, provided a strong base for the rest of the course, and remained a reliable foundation over the years for me and the many hundreds of other ARC participants once they left ICCROM.

The success of ARC was, without a doubt, due to Jukka's continued guidance and management. He helped to redesign the course for the first time after being a course participant himself in 1971, and he made sure that it never stopped developing. Jukka never felt that the course was perfect and was always working along with his colleagues at ICCROM on ways to improve it. As I got to know him better, I realized that this is one of Jukka's most important traits. He never rests on the knowledge he has already gained, but is always exploring new ideas, trying to update his own knowledge and thinking, and sharing the results with his colleagues.

He also, over the years, had a hand in the continued development of some of the other complementary ICCROM courses related to architectural conservation such as the International Course on the Conservation of Wood and the International Course on the Conservation of Stone. It was in 1996 during the creation of another such activity, the Integrated Territorial and Urban Conservation (ITUC) programme, that I was next – after my participation in the ARC course in 1991 – able to work with Jukka.

The ITUC programme

A first meeting of experts was held in Montreal in 1996 in which it was agreed that ICCROM should explore a programme on urban conservation. On my return to Rome in late 1995, I had gone to ICCROM to ask Jukka if there were any activities with which I might become involved. After some time had elapsed, his assistant, Sonia Widmer (now my assistant), tried to contact me to ask if I were available to collaborate with Jukka on the planning and implementation of the first ITUC course and the development of the ITUC programme as a whole. But my telephone contacts had changed, and she was not able to reach me. Fortunately for me, however, both Jukka and Sonia were very persistent, and I finally was able to return to ICCROM to work with Jukka.

The whole concept of ITUC represented an innovation for ICCROM. Unlike the regular individual courses that ICCROM was offering at the time, ITUC was foreseen as a programme with activities taking place not only in Rome but also in other regions of the world, in order to deal with the specific conditions for urban conservation in the different regions.

Another innovation that Jukka insisted on was the creation of an ITUC Advisory Committee. He felt that the programme would become much stronger if an international group of qualified experts could regularly give advice on the development and implementation of the programme and its activities. These experts included Herb Stovel, Jacques Dalibard and Michel Bonnette from Canada, Giorgio Piccinato and Carlo Cesari from Italy, Hans Jacob Roald from Norway, Peter Burman from the United Kingdom, Silvio Zancheti from Brazil, Paul Bray from the United States, Serge and Joan Domicelj from Australia, Abdelatif El Hajjami from Morocco, Tamás Fejérdy from Hungary, Leo Van Nispen from the Netherlands, and finally Hideo Noguchi from UNESCO and Nancy Bouché from the Council of Europe to ensure contact with other intergovernmental organizations. This list shows Jukka's commitment to creating a committee with members coming from many different parts of the world and representing knowledge of many different urban realities. This is a model that has been used by ICCROM subsequently in several of its longer-term programmes.

The programme of the first ITUC course was also something of an innovation with respect to ICCROM's other courses. While ICCROM courses

have always been known for their excellence in technical and scientific conservation issues, Jukka realized that urban conservation relies to a great extent not only on technical skills but also on the ability to communicate conservation concerns to decision-makers and other stakeholders such as residents and business-owners. For this reason, he introduced a series of sessions in the first ITUC course in 1997 on improving the communication skills of participants.

The course design process was also quite interesting. A specialist in pedagogy was invited to work with ICCROM staff, and a questionnaire was circulated to a large number of professionals from ICCROM's network around the world, seeking to collect information on the knowledge, skills, and understanding necessary for professionals to better safeguard the urban heritage. The replies to this questionnaire were used in the development of the course programme to ensure that it was addressing the needs of the practitioners who would be participants in the course.

That first course in 1997 was a success and formed the basis for the continued development of the ITUC programme. On Jukka's retirement in 1998, the ITUC programme was taken up by Herb Stovel who guided it to its successful conclusion as planned in 2005.

Fortunately for me, however, his retirement did not mean that Jukka's influence at ICCROM would cease. My colleagues at ICCROM and I are still able to ask regularly for his advice on all issues related to conservation, and he also continues to teach the History and Theory of Conservation and other topics on courses held in Rome and elsewhere in the world. His walking tours of Rome, in particular around Trastevere, remain a well-known and important part of ICCROM courses. These tours are special in their emphasis on the conservation history of the cultural heritage, as well as serving as living examples of the issues that are discussed later during the course. The tours are much appreciated by ICCROM participants. Jukka has also continued to contribute to ICCROM's work on management and on the understanding of significance and its role in conserving heritage.

Several years ago, the Director-General of ICCROM gave Jukka, along with a restricted number of other professionals with long service to ICCROM, an honorary contract as a special advisor. This contract was conceived in order to honour Jukka's service to ICCROM, while ensuring that ICCROM could continue to benefit from his knowledge gained over many years of international experience.

Advisory work on World Heritage

Another area in which Jukka and I have continued a strong collaboration is the World Heritage Convention. Jukka represented ICCROM in its role as an Advisory Body to the World Heritage Committee for the first time at its sixth session in 1982, and continued in that role until his retirement from ICCROM in 1998. In 1995, he started work on the Global Training Strategy for World Cultural Heritage by doing a first scan of the situation of World Heritage training around the world. This led to a meeting, hosted by ICCROM in 1996, to look at possible World Heritage training strategies in the various regions of the world. The strategy presented for Africa at that meeting led to the creation of the AFRICA 2009 programme, now (in 2009) coming to its due end after 12 years of operation and the training of over 250 African cultural heritage professionals.

In addition to training issues within the World Heritage context, Jukka has always been known as an important contributor to the continued intellectual and scientific development of the Convention. He has been particularly involved in the growing understanding of the concepts of Outstanding Universal Value and authenticity, and in the promotion of better management practices at World Heritage sites. He co-authored the *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* in 1994 with Sir Bernard Feilden, the former Director of ICCROM, a text that was updated in 1998 and has been widely translated (see the Bibliography in this volume). As with his other endeavours, he has continued since then to work with States Party to the Convention to improve management conditions on World Heritage sites.

Since retiring from ICCROM, Jukka has acted as a consultant for ICOMOS, where he was one of a team of high-level professionals who prepared and presented the nominations for cultural heritage sites to the World Heritage Committee for their consideration. As anyone who has been to a World Heritage Committee meeting knows, the Committee is not an easy audience for the teams from ICOMOS and IUCN. Its members pepper the presenter with many hard questions related to the Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity and integrity of the site, its state of conservation and management, and its boundaries and buffer zones. After personally witnessing Jukka's performance at many World Heritage Committee meetings, I can say he acquitted himself very well in front of this very demanding group of people.

In the past ten years, Jukka has also been instrumental on behalf of ICOMOS in preparing a number of major contributions to the work of the World Heritage Committee. He was one of the main authors of the report entitled *The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps - an Action Plan for the Future* (the so-called Gaps Report). The report examined all the cultural properties on the World Heritage List, with the aim of helping States Party to focus on the nomination of sites in under-represented typologies. This type of analysis for cultural heritage is difficult, given that there is no agreed-upon list of typologies or even an agreed framework for carrying out such a study. The response of Jukka and the other authors, Henry Cleere, Susan Denyer and Michael Petzet, was to develop a three-tiered approach for looking at the gaps: the first one a typological framework, the second a chronological/regional framework, and the third, a thematic framework.

In addition, Jukka has been responsible for a compendium on Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), outlining how the Committee has defined OUV over time through analysis of the inscriptions on the World Heritage List and how the use of the criteria for inscription has changed. This study, entitled *What is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties*, was presented to the Committee in 2007. Most recently, he has been reviewing the state of the properties on the List of World Heritage in Danger, his work being presented to the Committee at its thirty-third session in Seville in 2009.

I know that I have personally been able to benefit from Jukka's extraordinary output, and I have seen conservation professionals from all corners of the globe benefit equally, both directly and indirectly. Whether for ICCROM, for ICOMOS or for the World Heritage Committee, Jukka's contribution has been enormous by any standard, and has earned him an indisputable position as a leader and innovator in the conservation field.



Jukka Jokilehto – an appreciation

[BERNARD FEILDEN †]

This Festschrift for Jukka is an account of over thirty years of friendship. I first met Jukka when he was Paul Philippot's Assistant in charge of the Architectural Conservation Course. I was taking this Course group on an inspection of historic buildings – letting them 'speak' to us. Mehr Azar Soheil was one of the participants, and I soon recognised her outstanding ability. She is Iranian. Before returning to England, I asked Jukka to have dinner with me, and we had a serious discussion. We found that our views on architecture were very similar.

In the spring of 1977 we did a fabulous tour in Jukka's BMW. Jukka had the skills of a rally driver. He used to drive non-stop from Rome to his home at Mikkeli in central Finland, only sleeping on the ferry from Stockholm to Helsinki. Besides Azar, our party was made up by my daughter Mary and godson David Eaton. We visited Naples, by boat to Sicily, where we saw Cefalù, Palermo, Monreale, Segesta for its Doric temple, and Marsala where Garibaldi landed with his liberating thousand 'Garibaldinis'. We spent a night there. We then proceeded to Selinunte of which Cesare Brandi, whom Jukka admired, had been Soprintendente of Ancient Monuments, and had rejected a proposal to reconstruct the impressive fallen stones. We drove to the magnificent series of temples at Agrigento, on to Noto – a baroque town with an unfortunate history

of earthquakes. In Syracuse we found the oldest example of "adaptive re-use" as the Cathedral was built incorporating the standing columns of a Doric temple, almost without any changes.

We had to tackle Etna, which was resting, although the lava was hot. Coming down the brakes of our car overheated, which was a worry, but Jukka reached the bottom safely by using his gears. Next we went to Messina for the ferry, and the precipitous roads around the toe of Italy, so reaching Lecce – a beautiful baroque city but almost unrecognised (in tourist terms). From there we drove inland to see the 'Trulli' houses in the Itria valley, with the greatest concentration at Alberobello. Finally, we visited the cave dwellings in the town of Matera. This was a great tour with Jukka, who knew southern Italy better than I did.

In 1976 I became more involved with the Rome Centre for Conservation, which was a shorter version of its original title, The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property. The Director, Paul Philippot, asked me to be his Architectural Consultant. As such, I arranged a conference of distinguished engineers and building conservators.

Also in 1977 Jukka had married Azar Soheil and had taken an apartment in Via Anicia which was very close to the ICCROM office. When I became Director, as luck would have it, a small apartment

in the same block became available at a reasonable price, so I bought it. Jukka and Azar took me to the 'flea market' at Porta Portese and helped me buy furniture.

Jukka and Azar took me to Florence and then on to Vallombrosa, where we visited a furniture factory, and I saw a fine five-door wardrobe, which was just what I wanted for my flat. The factory did not retail its goods, but Azar persuaded them to let me have it. It is now in my study.

Sometimes on Sundays, after an excellent lunch cooked by Azar, we would climb up to the Janiculum hill which overlooks the Tiber valley, and has magnificent views of St Peter's Basilica. This was the last area defended by Garibaldi in the 19th century until his men were driven out by the French Army. They were chased across the Apennines and up the Adriatic, where Garibaldi lost his wife Anita, who is commemorated in a striking statue on the Janiculum. There are marble portraits of known 'Garibaldini' lining the central avenue, one of which Jukka discovered to his delight was a Finn. The Finnish Academy and embassy to the Holy See, Villa Lante, was also nearby.

In 1977, on becoming Director of the Centre, I gave it the acronym 'ICCROM', as I realised our work was not noticed alongside UNESCO and ICOMOS. Jukka continued to manage the Architectural Conservation Course. As Director, I found it difficult to find time to lecture to the Architectural Course. Jukka was very helpful in criticising drafts of important documents, as he had a clear idea of the principles of conservation.

While at ICCROM, I realised what a 'dead end' appointment it might be for staff, in particular for Gaël de Guichen, the co-ordinator of Museum Studies, and Jukka. Accordingly, I offered both support for some research and publications. Gaël did not respond to my suggestion, but Jukka did, so some modest funds were earmarked in my budget. ICCROM had a tradition of publishing books. Jukka proposed a 'History of Conservation'. Professor Derek Linstrum and I were appointed his monitors for a doctorate at the University of York, where Jukka had lectured. His first draft was an excellent account of Viollet-le-Duc's restoration of Vézelay and of Cologne Cathedral. I thought this more than adequate for the doctorate. Jukka, however, was not content, and did more and more research, finally ending up with a draft that no one was sufficiently qualified to examine, except Professor Peter Lasko. Jukka was awarded his doctorate. This volume was further refined in 1999 into his monumental book "A History of Architectural Conservation". This is a great work, the synthesis of years of study. Jukka's

unique ability to study in several languages enabled him to read the texts of original thinkers such as the Austrian Alois Riegl. Since then, Jukka's talents and judgement have made him an invaluable assessor of proposed World Cultural Heritage Sites, working for ICOMOS and UNESCO.

During this time, I was very grateful for the company of Azar and Jukka, as I was lonely without my wife Ruth, who had remained in Norfolk with our youngest son who was still at school. I became acquainted with both Azar and Jukka's families, Azar's father Hossein and mother Sofia, sister Faranak and brother Kian, with whom I played many enjoyable games of chess. At the end of the day, I would leave my flat on the second floor, and go up to theirs on the fourth for a cup of tea. Jukka's father Eero had been architect and planner to their home town of Mikkeli in central Finland, and was a survivor of the war with Russia. His mother Hilka was a pianist and one of his two sisters was an interior architect and the other a sculptor.

When I resigned from ICCROM because of my wife's ill health, I continued to lecture to the Architectural Conservation Course with my engineer colleague and friend Poul Beckmann. This meant annual visits to Rome where we stayed in a hotel, but always enjoyed catching up with the Jokilehtos.

In 1988 UNESCO proposed a mission to advise on the conservation and management of six World Cultural Heritage Sites in China: the Great Wall, of course, the Caves of Peking Man, the Forbidden City, the Mogao Caves in the west, on the edge of the Gobi Desert, the Terracotta Army in Xian, and finally Mount Taishan. I insisted that we were joined by our wives on such long missions, and later we were joined by John Sanday. Jukka wrote our report, which was considered by UNESCO to be a model of its kind.

Our mission to China was memorable. Things had changed since 1982 when I had lectured at Tsinghua University in Beijing, staying in the 'Friendship Hotel in the Foreigners Compound'. Most noticeable was a huge increase in traffic. We were first taken to a section of the Great Wall not yet exposed to tourism. This was most interesting, because we saw Chinese vernacular architecture and recognised its high quality. The section of the Wall itself was magnificent, with views stretching over the rugged mountains. We climbed a steep path and found ourselves close to the masonry of the Wall. I was surprised to find that large blocks of fired clay had been used. The view itself was somewhat spoilt by a small dam, built during the Cultural Revolution. It must have replaced a fortified bridge. While there,



FIG. 2. The author and Jukka at Mount Taishan, China, 1988

Jukka showed his athletic ability in climbing to parts of the Wall that I could not reach.

The nearby Peking Man Cave was a bit disappointing as it was next to a cement works. The Forbidden City I knew well from my visit in 1982, but it was Jukka's first visit to China. We visited the quarter which had been destroyed by fire many years before. Here I applied my experience in York Minster, where a fire broke out at night, and within three minutes had caused substantial damage. The fire precautions were primitive – great jars filled with water. The fire station was some miles away, and traffic congestion had increased, so I recommended a special fire station within the walls of the Forbidden City. I do not think the Chinese Government has taken our advice.

From Beijing we flew west to Dunhuang, where we spent three very cold nights in a hotel. We used this as a base to visit some of the four hundred-odd Mogao Caves, which were formed by Buddhist pilgrims in the 6th – 9th centuries. They are where one of the major routes of the Silk Road crosses the Gobi Desert, and where the Great Wall begins or ends. By way of introduction, we were handed some literature, and I was surprised and delighted that my grandfather's cousin's writing was the only European reference. Jukka would have liked to see more of the remains of the wall than they were

prepared to show us. We studied the caves, most of which were well preserved, being hollowed out of a cliff of rather soft conglomerate. The old wooden staging over the openings of the caves was, however, being replaced by reinforced concrete. I was concerned that this strong rigid structure would be incompatible with the soft conglomerate of the caves, if an unfortunate earthquake should materialise, as they so often do in China.

After Mogao we went to Xian to advise on problems with the famous Terracotta Army. Because we were conservators, we were allowed into the trenches to study the problem of the crumbling loess (a very friable soil) of the walls. The Chinese had a thermohygrograph provided by ICCROM. This measured the relative humidity inside the large lightweight shed, designed to protect the wonderful

sight of row upon row of soldiers, each subtly different. Apart from air conditioning, it was difficult to recommend a solution, although it might be possible to consolidate the loess.

After Xian we went by rail to Mount Taishan, a holy place with a temple at the top of a climb of 5,370 steps. At the start there were carvings of considerable age in the rock. Having seen these, we were bussed to a restaurant halfway up. After a good meal, we walked up a shortish distance, and Jukka and I were asked to plant a conifer, - which done, I insisted on giving it water, which impressed the Chinese (Fig. 2). The temples at the summit were modest, but gave us a view of a vast forest of conifers. Later we discussed the danger of wildfire from lightning, and ways and means of fighting it.

In 1983 UNESCO convened a meeting in Rome to discuss a publication providing guidelines for the Management of World Cultural Heritage Sites. The scope of possible chapters was outlined, and I found myself nominated as author. It was a formidable task, so I enlisted the help of Jukka, for corrections and the re-writing of some of the text, where his judgement and experience were invaluable. It was first published in 1993 and re-published in 1998. It has been translated into many languages.

December 2007



FIG. 1. Jukka and the author visiting a village of the Miao ethnic group, Guangxi Province, southwest China

Jukka in China: philosophy, personality and contributions

[GUO ZHAN]

Jukka is well-known in China's cultural heritage circles. He began to be engaged in China's cultural heritage protection cause as early as the 1980s. China, a mysterious country with a vast territory, a long history, many nationalities and rich and diversified culture, could only look eagerly at the world from the perplexity of the Cultural Revolution at that time. He and some other foreign colleagues were the earliest to be engaged in the initial work including investigation, monitoring and exchange of information for China's World Heritage. In addition, they invited some Chinese scholars and colleagues to participate in the World Heritage cause via ICCROM and some other international training classes and workshops. Many colleagues who made for the wider world soon after the reform and opening-up of China's cultural heritage circles regard him as a close friend and teacher.

I have known Jukka and co-operated closely with him for a long time. At the beginning of the 1990s, with the promotion and implementation in China of the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, we began our co-operation, and have had many fantastic recollections, among them one impressive and unforgettable meeting. That was in 1998, by China's Yangtze River. It was an unexpectedly rough and rather hard journey at the beginning. A friend who was to have arrived in Beijing from another

country changed the scheduled flight without any notice. Jukka, who always keeps appointments, arrived early in Beijing from Rome and waited persistently with me at the Beijing Airport but in vain. The original plan was completely disrupted. After undergoing many twists and turns and finally meeting in Chongqing, a city on the upper reaches of the Yangtze River, it was already after midnight, and we were all very tired. I invited Jukka to have a cup of coffee. Seeing my apologetic expression and unease, Jukka was not displeased at all but took things as they came like a Buddhist. To my surprise, his first sentence was: "Guo, can we talk about philosophy in the study and protection of China's cultural heritage?" Suddenly, I was dumbfounded!

In that period, international colleagues' ideology, practice and ways of expression had just recently been introduced into China and there were many disputes about specific issues and cases. It was rare for such talks to be upgraded to the philosophical level. Even though I was interested in the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage and related activities, I had to deal with such matters perfunctorily due to my multiple duties at that time. I even struggled exhaustingly with officials and various opponents to protect some important monuments and sites from being demolished and destroyed and did not concentrate on studying the philosophy of heritage protection.

We invited Jukka and another friend to China in a bid to listen to these international experts' opinions on our intention to nominate several properties for the World Heritage List. Jukka moved me deeply in this process.

In retrospect, in my career related to World Heritage, Dr. Henry Cleere from Britain is the first good friend I can never forget in terms of practice, while the first good friend I can never forget in terms of theory and thinking is Jukka. We talked a lot that night by the Yangtze River.

China's cultural heritage world has its own simple language for maintenance of cultural heritage, i.e. "repairing the old as old". But colleagues have disputed the word "as" and the word "old" for many years. The *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* stipulates that in repairing and maintaining cultural relics, the principle of *keeping the cultural relics in their original state* should be adhered to. However, based on different ideologies about authenticity and integrity, people differ on the definition and pursuit of what the "original state" and "current state" are in practice. The influence of concepts and theories on relevant practice is self-evident. The discussion I started with Jukka about the philosophy of cultural heritage protection provided a new perspective and enriched my view. From then on, this beneficial discussion has never stopped.

We are talking about the relation between uniqueness and universal value. You cannot find

two entirely identical leaves in the world. This is not enough to demonstrate outstanding universal value. However, people will generally be attracted and stimulated into thinking if cultural representativeness and diversity are involved.

Faced with the West Lake, which the Chinese people call 'paradise in the human world', Jukka disregarded his host's disappointment and commented realistically there were thousands of such lakes in his home country of Finland. However, changing the topic of conversation, he continued to tell the host at the West Lake: "But it's entirely different when the cultural meaning is added." This plunged the host into deep excitement and contemplation.

The importance of authenticity is so deeply rooted in people's minds. But Jukka was still being provocative. Even his jokes were touched with provocation. He would ask me suddenly: "Is today's Jukka yesterday's Jukka? There must be changes. So, am I still authentic?" He also mentioned jokingly that the concept of "authenticity of an evolutionary process" was used when the authenticity in a project to extend a World Heritage site nominated by a State Party was compared with the authenticity in the original project. But he was not unthinking. In studying and demonstrating the authenticity of a restored old bridge, he taught his colleagues in a workshop, who were leaders of provincial and municipal cultural heritage departments from across China, a vivid philosophic lesson about how to understand authenticity, ranging from the

evolution of history to the process, means and methods of restoration, from the material carrier to cultural background and public emotions, and in such aspects as design, function and materials.

Whether understanding the value of cultural heritage or examining authenticity and integrity, we cannot do without comparison, analysis and study from a broad perspective. In traditional courtyards in Shanxi, China, Jukka considered that, if several representative works having such a cultural background differed from those in other human colonies, they would have outstanding universal value. When faced with the outstanding modern temples and gardens built in ancient style by Hong Kong nuns to promote the Buddhist and Chinese architectural traditions, he did not comment on their value by rigidly adhering to



FIG. 2. Jukka and the author in X'ian, China, 2005 (photo Azar Soheil)



FIG. 3. Jukka and the author presenting prizes to the champion wrestler, Inner Mongolia, China, 2006 (photo Azar Soheil)

their time of construction. Rather, he considered their representativeness and achievements in cultural inheritance, modern life and urban development and whether there was enough evidence to reflect the value of a style. In China's Inner Mongolia, considering the cultural sites and traditional life of nomadic people who still retained rare cultural characteristics in spite of the strong influence of modernization, he drew the attention of his Chinese colleagues to the Alps and the vast grasslands of Argentina and suggested a possible direction and approach for a World Heritage nomination.

Philosophical thinking and wide comparison, analysis and study are naturally rooted in extensive knowledge and a diligence in pursuing the truth. A well-known saying of Chinese ancient scholars for cultivating morality is "read ten thousand books and travel ten thousand li (1 li = 500

meters)." Jukka has put it into practice. His Chinese colleagues are very grateful to him because he has travelled to almost all parts of China and left his footprints and suggestions everywhere. He even trekked to such tough places as the Lijiashan cave dwellings on the bank of the Yellow River. His "History of Architectural Conservation" is representative of his learning and also the evidence of his diligence, hard work and assiduous study. The Chinese version of the work which can be called a historic masterpiece about cultural heritage protection has been proofread many times and is awaiting my final examination and approval. But my busy life has delayed its official publication and this has become a heavy burden on my mind and body. Nonetheless, I believe my colleagues will see its publication soon.

The accumulation of knowledge and a ceaseless pursuit of and approach to the truth must come from extreme carefulness, practicality and pacificity. Jukka has a strong character in this respect. One of the most interesting things about him is his recalling major and minor facts about the cultural heritage movement. He would tell me accurately the relevant figures, dates, places, courses and the main points of all significant events without any trace of ostentation. For example, his narration of the birth of Venice Charter and its principles would make a profound impression on his colleagues and help their understanding of it for the future. I like very much to discuss professional terms and ideologies with him, especially when they are confused in translation. Correct

translation is often not only a matter of language but also of cultural background. This is true whether we are concerned with monuments and sites, or with such terms as conservation, protection, preservation, and restoration, or heritage, property and relics, and contexts. Jukka was pleased with the change in the English translation from the 'State Bureau of Cultural Relics' to the 'State Administration of Cultural Heritage of China', for apart from the meanings of words and the ideology, the change also indicated the substantial progress of China's cultural heritage cause.

His language ability is very strong, though he once told me he did not try to memorize words unrelated to his profession except in his mother tongue.

His preciseness and honesty are also reflected in dealing with people. Once an international colleague curried favor with him and praised one of his



FIG. 4. Jukka and Azar Soheil visiting the West Lake at Hangzhou, China (photo Guo Zhan)

lectures by quoting another learned colleague, but Jukka pointed out in perplexity that that colleague had not come to that lecture. On another occasion, when Jukka and I were spiritedly discussing a professional concept in the conference hall at UNESCO's headquarters in Paris, a Chinese official chimed in and asked me arrogantly to translate for Jukka what he had just said – in order to show his authority. He tried to be on intimate terms with Jukka. But Jukka told me: “You tell him that I have other things to do and you can talk yourselves!” and left the official there. This made me so happy although I had pretended to that strange man that nothing had happened. Jukka was so lovably straightforward and honest!

But he is especially understandable, tolerant, patient and friendly to ordinary people. The Chinese

people's warmth and hospitality to guests are world-famous, but sometimes they cannot consider adequately their guests' real needs and their own customs and personal wishes in the light of this hospitality. In some remote areas, guests from afar, especially foreigners, are embarrassed by their hosts' hospitality. I remember that when I accompanied Jukka on an inspection of the ancient city along the Marine Silk Road, i.e. Quanzhou in Fujian Province, China (the “*Erythrina*” recorded by ancient Arab merchants), the local crowds and reporters followed and stood in front of us to take photos ceaselessly with no-one listening to our objections. I could not but get worried and displeased. However, Jukka remained unruffled. He grinned to the photographers in front of him: “I like you very much. But I came here today for

an inspection and to work. Can you also let me take some photos of the ancient buildings?” Most people went away shyly. Jukka’s kind and humorous expression in his eyes at that moment has remained strongly in my memory.

We have been good friends for so many years, but rarely has he turned to me for help with private matters. Whenever he communicates with me, he always talks about our work. There was only one exception, when his younger son Dara was studying at the University of Leeds which organized for students a temporary period of study in China. Since this young child would come to such a remote and strange country as China, Jukka wrote me a short letter, hoping I could take care of him because “he is too young after all!” In that year, Dara was just 18 years old, an age that in China is still dependent on parents. This reminded me of the eminent Chinese writer Lu Xun’s poem about the strong tigers who also love baby tigers and made me experience his tender feelings and loving heart.

As to my needs, Jukka grants almost whatever I request. Sometimes it was background information on some significant events and literature. Even though it might involve a substantial book, I would always receive his gift to me.

As a leader in the study and practice of cultural heritage theory, Jukka has made a great contribution in China. Apart from theoretical discussions and training personnel, he has promoted and provided consultation on significant projects every year. In 2007, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of China, ICOMOS, ICCROM, the WHC of UNESCO and ICOMOS/China held The International Symposium on the Concepts and Practices of Conservation and Restoration of Historic Buildings in East Asia, which was attended by more than 60 representatives from over 20 countries and many international organizations. Jukka helped us to finish the important Beijing Document, a great achievement of the meeting. This document has been praised by international colleagues as “not only having guiding significance to East Asia, but also being of reference value to the whole world.”

I have a very strong desire these days to further promote the study and management of cultural landscapes to a higher level. I especially want to develop this significant subject, for which there are urgent practical needs, a range of meanings and a far-reaching influence in China, in the light of the practical conditions in China, so as to enable international colleagues to reach a deeper consensus about it, to guide relevant work in the future more consistently and vigorously, and to be more

proactive in the protection of cultural diversity and continuity. Jukka supports this heartily.

I have been friends with Jukka for many years and have countless recollections when talking and thinking of him. The deepest impression is always about his philosophy, his unique personality and his outstanding contributions to the theory and practice of global cultural heritage protection. He has always intended to include China’s experience of cultural heritage in his work. I will help him to realize this wish.

China also has many events needing his participation and assistance. Therefore I always tell him: take good care of yourself and live happily. Chinese colleagues love you and expect to have more brilliant cooperation and success when working with you.



Conservation of buildings



Alcune riflessioni, da parte italiana, sul restauro architettonico¹

GIOVANNI CARBONARA

L'educazione al restauro è in primo luogo educazione alla libertà di pensiero e d'indagine; l'attività di restauro si nutre del dubbio che è proprio della ricerca storica, richiede apertura mentale ed equilibrio, rigore concettuale ed insieme spirito pratico. Quindi ciò che si può insegnare non è un insieme di precetti né di regole né, in prima istanza, di tecniche ma, al massimo, un metodo di approccio a problemi che si pongono, ogni volta, in modo diverso e imprevedibile.

Monumenti e restauro

Il restauro è una disciplina relativamente giovane, che affonda le sue radici tanto nella moderna ricerca storica quanto nelle tradizionali pratiche di manutenzione tese a preservare un oggetto, di riconosciuto valore, dal degrado così da prolungarne la vita. Tuttavia esso si distingue dalla semplice rimessa in efficienza, per ragioni d'uso o economiche, d'un qualsiasi prodotto dell'attività umana e si rivolge, invece, ai monumenti, intesi nel loro senso etimologico di 'documenti', unici e irripetibili, espressioni di gusto, d'arte, di sapiente 'cultura materiale', oltre che dello stesso fluire del tempo.

È noto che non esiste vero rimedio alle mutilazioni e ai danni subiti da un monumento, per trascuratezza o per attenzioni improprie; si potrà effettuare una riparazione o anche una copia al vero, ma l'originalità di ciò che s'è perso rimarrà irrecuperabile. Ciò impone un approccio eminentemente conservativo, informato a criteri di massima cautela e di rispetto. Dopo un'attenta fase analitica e d'indagine, s'opererà con tecniche commisurate alle reali necessità dell'antico manufatto e dei suoi materiali. Per questo sarebbe quanto mai opportuno garantire la continuità del gruppo di lavoro dedito allo studio e al rilievo, alla stesura del progetto, alla stessa direzione dei lavori che, con strumenti ed opportunità nuove, prolunga in cantiere la medesima fase di ricerca.

Senza troppo distinguere il restauro dei monumenti architettonici o archeologici da quello delle cosiddette opere d'arte mobili, si dovrebbe parlare d'unità di metodi e di principi, nella pluralità delle tecniche applicative. Nonostante l'indiscutibile specificità tecnologica dell'intervento edilizio, sul piano teorico risulta quanto mai corretto e fruttuoso riferirsi ad una salda ed unitaria elaborazione nel campo delle tradizionali 'arti del disegno'. A differenza di quanto avviene in altri settori artistici (come la poesia o la musica) in quello tradizionalmente figurativo (dalla pittura all'architettura) il restauro lavora sempre e soltanto su originali, con tutti i rischi d'errore e di danno, quindi con tutta la prudenza che tale circostanza comporta.

¹ An abstract in English can be found at the end of the paper.

Ne conseguono discrepanze specie riguardo al cosiddetto problema della 'rimozione delle aggiunte' oltre che della 'reintegrazione delle lacune', entrambi momenti ineludibili d'una concezione del restauro tesa a facilitare la "lettura" (art. 4 della Carta italiana del restauro, 1972) del manufatto contribuendo, insieme, alla sua conservazione, dandogli compattezza e continuità fisica, quindi capacità di autodifesa (il "mantenere in efficienza" della medesima Carta, sempre all'art. 4). Ciò ricade nella duplice funzionalità del restauro, riparativa e consolidativa da un lato, denotativa e connotativa, cioè di perpetuazione dell'identità dell'opera, dall'altro; né mai esso risulterà figurativamente neutro, privo d'incidenza sull'immagine, quasi potesse esistere un modo di conservare asettico e distinto dal restauro. Risulta invece chiaro che anche 'conservare' e 'mantenere' significano trasformare, certamente in maniera controllatissima ma pur sempre trasformare e che si tratta d'orientare con discernimento l'inevitabile modificazione, sapendone esaltare le valenze conservative ma senza trascurarne le inevitabili implicazioni estetiche e formali. Da qui la particolare complessità del progetto di restauro.

La questione della rimozione delle aggiunte e della reintegrazione delle lacune rimanda alla dialettica, già affrontata in sede teorica da Cesare Brandi (1977), delle due 'istanze': quella 'della storicità' che vorrebbe la piena conservazione di quanto proviene dal passato; quella 'estetica' che, al contrario, postulerebbe maggiore libertà operativa per restituire all'opera la sua bellezza, offuscata dal tempo e dalle vicende subite. Va subito chiarito che non si tratta d'operazioni uguali e contrarie, distinte dall'asportazione di 'materia antica' in un caso, dall'aggiunta di nuova nell'altro, ma di due atti radicalmente diversi: la rimozione è perlopiù irreversibile e non testimonia a vista se stessa, la reintegrazione può invece godere d'una sua immediata 'riconoscibilità' e della valvola ulteriore della 'reversibilità' (o 'rilavorabilità' o anche 'rimovibilità'), in caso si voglia correggere o perfezionare, anche a distanza di tempo, l'intervento. Di conseguenza la prima è riconosciuta come un atto 'eccezionale' e potenzialmente rischioso.

Ambedue, comunque, sono attività di natura propriamente filologica, mirate alla restituzione del testo 'autentico' dell'opera, da tradurre in una sorta di 'edizione critica', condotta sopra un doppio registro (originale/restituzione) idoneo a consentire la fruizione dei frammenti antichi insieme o separatamente dagli emendamenti apportati.

Da qui un continuo lavoro, soprattutto in ambito archeologico, d'elaborazione di modalità operative, parallele a quelle proprie della filologia letteraria,

per comunicare a vista, specie in riferimento al tema della reintegrazione delle lacune, il 'grado di certezza' loro attribuito ed altre informazioni: contrassegni e targhette indicanti la data e la natura dei lavori; perimetrazione (con frammenti laterizi, lamine metalliche o un semplice solco nell'intonaco) delle riprese murarie; sottosquadri; sfalsamento dei giunti verticali, negli apparecchi murari in laterizio; peculiari trattamenti superficiali riservati a mattoni e pietre di restauro, con slabbature dei bordi o anche rigature parallele, analoghe al tratteggio pittorico; 'segnali' di riconoscimento fisico-chimici incorporati nelle malte di restauro (tramite studiate modifiche nel numero, nella qualità e nella granulometria delle sabbie) e via dicendo. In sostanza una sorta di metalinguaggio critico che definisce una serie di segnalatori e marcatori 'diacritici' (vale a dire, atti a distinguere il nuovo dall'antico) da utilizzare nelle tecniche d'integrazione (su questo si veda De Angelis d'Ossat 1995, 87-92).

Nel concludere si può affermare che in ambito architettonico e archeologico mantengono la loro efficacia riferimenti e principi elaborati per il tradizionale restauro artistico, criticamente e scientificamente inteso: la distinguibilità, il 'minimo intervento' e la sua potenziale reversibilità, il rispetto dell'autenticità e della 'materia' antica, la compatibilità fisico-chimica delle aggiunte. Il tutto al fine di conservare il contenuto culturale, la stratificazione storica e la struttura stessa dell'antico monumento, nella serena coscienza di poterne solo rallentare l'inarrestabile degrado, non certo di garantirgli un'impossibile perennità.

Per una definizione del restauro

S'intende dunque per 'restauro' qualsiasi intervento volto a conservare ed a trasmettere al futuro, facilitandone la lettura e senza cancellarne le tracce del passaggio nel tempo, le opere d'interesse storico, artistico e ambientale; esso si fonda sul rispetto della sostanza antica e delle documentazioni autentiche costituite da tali opere, proponendosi, inoltre, come atto d'interpretazione critica non verbale ma espressa nel concreto operare. Più precisamente come ipotesi critica e proposizione sempre modificabile, senza che per essa si alteri irreversibilmente l'originale.

In questa prospettiva, si può definire come restauro dei monumenti un'attività rigorosamente scientifica, filologicamente fondata, diretta a ritrovare, conservare e mettere in evidenza, consentendone una lettura chiara e storicamente esatta, le opere che ricadono nella sua sfera d'interesse, cioè i beni

architettonici e ambientali, in un campo esteso dal singolo edificio alla città, non esclusi il paesaggio e il territorio.

Nel restauro hanno parte preminente le operazioni di carattere strettamente conservativo, tese a preservare dal deperimento i materiali che concorrono alla costituzione fisica delle opere. In questo senso il restauro dei monumenti è da intendersi come disciplina che gode d'un fondamento storico-critico, sostanziato dagli apporti delle tecniche di analisi, rilevamento, rappresentazione grafica e, più propriamente, costruttive, oltre che delle scienze fisiche e chimiche. Tali apporti non dovranno mai costituire un'inerte sommatoria di competenze specialistiche, ma troveranno unità espressiva e concettuale in una soluzione anche estetica del problema, da perseguire con le modalità proprie del linguaggio architettonico.

Nel 'conservare-rivelare' (Carta di Venezia, 1964) o nel 'mantenere in efficienza-facilitare la lettura' (Carta italiana del restauro, 1972) si riconosce l'elemento qualificante l'operazione di restauro, che non può essere sola o 'pura' conservazione da un lato, ma neanche 'rivelazione' spinta fino al ripristino, dall'altro.

Il restauro generalmente inteso ed il restauro architettonico non hanno nulla che, sul piano concettuale, possa differenziarli. Il secondo costituisce una particolare accezione del primo, dal quale si distingue non in linea di principio ma praticamente, per la diversa consistenza degli oggetti di cui si occupa. Si dovrebbe parlare d'unità metodologica e di principi nella pluralità di modi applicativi. Ciò contro il rischio di deviazioni in senso pseudo-scientista e tecnicistico, ma anche socio-economico (restauro 'sociale' e sopravvalutazione finanziaria dei beni culturali), ideologico-politico ('riappropriazione della città storica'), praticistico e malamente 'ri-creativo' o innovativo (in ragione della naturale tendenza di architetti e ingegneri, addestrati nella progettazione e costruzione del nuovo, a superare i limiti del restauro scientificamente inteso e, fra questi, il fondamentale criterio del 'minimo intervento').

A questo punto è necessario esplicitare il significato di due termini fondamentali del nostro discorso: 'restauro' da intendere, in prima definizione, come intervento diretto sull'opera ed anche come sua eventuale modifica, condotta sempre sotto un rigoroso controllo tecnico-scientifico e storico-critico; 'conservazione', come opera di prevenzione e salvaguardia, da attuare proprio per evitare che si debba poi intervenire col restauro, il quale costituisce pur sempre un evento traumatico per il manufatto.

Le motivazioni del restauro discendono dall'aver preventivamente riconosciuto ad un manufatto un 'valore' particolare, artistico o testimoniale, estetico o storico; in ogni caso, dalla sua considerazione come 'oggetto di scienza' o, in altre parole, come 'oggetto di cultura', testimonianza materiale avente "valore di civiltà", bene culturale appunto.

Per chiarire meglio la questione, è anche necessario porsi la domanda su che cosa non possa intendersi per restauro.

Non lo sono il 'ripristino', il 'risarcimento' di una struttura, la 'riparazione' funzionale di un oggetto, la 'reinvenzione' o il 'rifacimento' più o meno integrale di un manufatto (che è operazione da collocare 'oltre il restauro'). Sono azioni che investono il monumento e lo trasfigurano, sovente rinnovandolo e riprogettandolo completamente, o riducendolo a mero sfondo, quale semplice citazione dall'antico, di un'espressione architettonica o urbanistica radicalmente moderna. In questo caso non si tratta più di restauro perché, della materia antica, resta poco o nulla ed essa non è rispettata nei suoi 'valori' ma ridotta a spunto d'una diversa e nuova esercitazione progettuale.

Non sono restauro neanche il cosiddetto 'riuso', con i suoi derivati ed analoghi, quali la 'rivitalizzazione', la 'valorizzazione', il 'recycling', il 'recupero', tanto in auge oggi nel campo professionale architettonico ed, ancor più, in quello normativo e urbanistico. Operazioni da porsi 'accanto al restauro', cui s'avvicinano per il fatto d'investire comunque le preesistenze.

Il riuso, infatti, è un valido mezzo per assicurare la conservazione di un edificio storico e per volgerlo, se possibile, a scopi sociali, ma non è il fine primario né può pretendere di risolvere in sé tutta la problematica del restauro. Il recupero si rivolge indifferentemente, sempre per motivazioni pratiche ed economiche, a tutto il patrimonio esistente maltenuto o inutilizzato, ma non coltiva per sua natura l'interesse conservativo e le motivazioni scientifiche del restauro.

Non sono restauro, infine, neanche la 'salvaguardia', la 'manutenzione' e la 'prevenzione' di cui s'è detto, tutti interventi importanti ma ricadenti ancora nel campo della 'conservazione', intesa in senso stretto, quindi 'al di qua' del restauro propriamente detto.

Quanto sopra specificato induce a riconoscere nel restauro un 'di più' rispetto alla sola conservazione ed a considerare che esso possa, in maniera culturalmente lecita, svolgere un ruolo di meditata riproposizione, di reintegrazione, di reinterpretazione dell'opera, senza trascurare il dovere ulteriore di dare una 'forma estetica' al proprio intervento (restauro 'critico' e 'creativo').

La menzionata linea critica è stata, più di recente, declinata secondo una direttrice “critico-conservativa”. ‘Conservativa’ poiché parte dal presupposto che il monumento chieda, in primo luogo, d’essere perpetuato e trasmesso al futuro nelle migliori condizioni possibili; inoltre poiché tiene conto del fatto che l’attuale coscienza storica impone di conservare molte più ‘cose’ che in passato. ‘Critica’ per l’esplicito richiamo alle formulazioni teoriche omonime (espresse per la prima volta da studiosi italiani come Roberto Pane e Renato Bonelli) ed anche perché muove dal convincimento che ogni intervento costituisca un episodio a sé, non inquadrabile in categorie, non rispondente a regole prefissate ma da studiare a fondo ogni volta, senza assumere posizioni dogmatiche o precostituite.

Il ripensamento tecnico nel corso dell’ultimo ventennio

Carattere proprio del restauro è l’intima fusione di competenze storiche e tecnico-scientifiche. Si rivela, quindi, artificiosa la distinzione fra ‘progetto di consolidamento’ e ‘progetto di restauro’ propriamente detto; distinzione fondata sull’assunto, tutto da dimostrare, che in un’antica costruzione i problemi statici e quelli relativi ai materiali possano isolarsi e trattarsi separatamente dalla più generale comprensione dell’organismo architettonico.

Il consolidamento, invece, dovrebbe rispondere a quelle stesse regole che guidano il restauro (oltre che alle norme proprie della statica e della scienza delle costruzioni) divenendo un’accezione del restauro stesso. A rigor di termini, dunque, non di ‘consolidamento’ o di ‘restauro statico’ dovrebbe parlarsi, ma di ‘problemi statici del restauro’, così come sarebbe corretto riferirsi ai ‘problemi d’uso’ degli antichi edifici e non al loro ‘recupero’ o ‘restauro funzionale’. Ciò anche per sottolineare il valore in sé della preesistenza storica, cui tutte le altre esigenze devono piegarsi, da quelle di riuso, percorribilità e fruibilità a quelle relative al grado di vulnerabilità strutturale, da graduare secondo la natura del monumento architettonico o archeologico (se a rudere oppure destinato ad accogliere persone al suo interno).

Forse prima in campo archeologico che altrove s’è sviluppata una critica, in gran parte giustificata, all’impiego dei materiali moderni nel restauro. Questa ha però finito con l’assumere toni ideologici e preconcetti che l’hanno allontanata dal cuore del problema; non ha infatti senso condannare e bandire i materiali in sé, tradizionali o moderni che siano, dipendendo il risultato soprattutto dall’operatore che si è assunto l’onere di tradurli in un più o meno

valido progetto, e dalla verifica scientifica delle applicazioni sperimentali.

Ai primi del Novecento risulta ormai evidente il fascino esercitato dalle tecniche moderne, tratte dall’ingegneria edile, giudicate capaci di non offendere i monumenti con aggiunte in vista, di non menomarne l’originalità con rifacimenti, ripristini e ‘cuci e scuci’ murari. La possibilità di sostenere una struttura cadente (come in Italia s’è fatto per la loggia dei Papi a Viterbo, 1899-1902, con un impiego assai precoce del calcestruzzo armato, o per il muro esterno dell’Arena di Verona, consolidato dall’ingegnere Riccardo Morandi nel 1958 con la tecnica della precompressione) invece che abbatterla e rifarla, com’era alle volte inevitabile, si presentò come un sicuro progresso da perseguire ad ogni costo, anche a quello, scientemente accettato, di alterare lo schema statico originale.

Nei confronti del cemento armato l’atteggiamento fu, insieme, di prudenza e di entusiasmo. Nota Paul Léon (1951) che si trattava d’introdurre, in edifici dalla struttura profondamente elastica, elementi rigidi suscettibili di alterarne l’equilibrio. I tentativi effettuati sulla cattedrale di Nantes, rivestendo di cemento alcuni archi esterni, disaggregati e corrosi, apparvero “così disastrosi per l’aspetto generale del monumento che si rese necessario ristabilire lo stato precedente”. Da allora l’impiego del cemento fu strettamente limitato ai lavori “nascosti: consolidamento di muri, coperture, volte, armature, solai, fondazioni, contrafforti, ossature”, sì da assicurare “la solidità senza modificare il carattere, l’apparenza esterna, la testimonianza storica”.

Oggi si sono meglio definiti limiti e rischi dell’immissione d’elementi disomogenei, nondimeno perdura la ragionevole opinione che, dovendosi pagare un prezzo al consolidamento strutturale, ciò non avvenga a scapito della figuratività dell’opera (come nel restauro dei quadri o degli affreschi è improponibile che si sacrifichi il dipinto per salvare la tavola di legno o il muro retrostanti). Ci s’impegna, dunque, tanto per evitare demolizioni e ricostruzioni, quanto alterazioni e protesi in vista, studiando puntuali e ben calibrate soluzioni, caso per caso, avendo coscienza della singolarità ed unicità di ogni monumento. Criteri analoghi guidano il trattamento conservativo dei materiali e delle superfici.

Una recente acquisizione, infine, è quella relativa alla necessità d’un sistema di codificazione dello stato di conservazione del manufatto a chiusura del cantiere di restauro; ciò al fine di poter condurre nel tempo controlli circa la durabilità degli interventi effettuati e di programmare razionalmente cicli e tempi di manutenzione.

La metodologia di studio, di progetto e le competenze

Ogni intervento di restauro deve fondarsi sulla preventiva, approfondita conoscenza del monumento; è necessario anteporre a qualsiasi proposta d'intervento uno studio completo del manufatto in questione e tale studio trova nel rilievo diretto e nell'analisi delle strutture e degli apparecchi murari il suo punto di forza. Ciò anche in merito alla valutazione dello stato di degrado, all'analisi del quadro fessurativo, alla risoluzione d'alcune ambiguità o incertezze diagnostiche, alla caratterizzazione dei materiali e delle loro lavorazioni.

Le ricostruzioni grafiche e le restituzioni di dettaglio delle membrature deteriorate potranno costituire utili esiti del rilievo, ma suo obiettivo primario, in campo conservativo, sarà di proporsi come strumento privilegiato di carattere pre-diagnostico, mezzo d'analisi e di controllo dell'itinerario operativo.

L'identificazione della tipologia del degrado e della sua distribuzione nelle strutture architettoniche e archeologiche è stata oggetto di particolari approfondimenti negli ultimi trent'anni ed ha partecipato indirettamente, con la definizione d'un 'lessico' unitario (prima italiano, il Nor.Ma.L., nn. 1/1980 e 1/1988, ed ora europeo, per il quale si veda Negri e Russo 2008), alla messa a punto degli opportuni interventi di risanamento.

L'interdisciplinarietà si pone, entro il principio dell'unità di metodo nel restauro, quale strumento principale per coniugare in maniera coerente ed esaustiva le diverse competenze necessarie allo studio e alla conservazione dei beni monumentali. Si possono così riguardare aspetti diversi del manufatto, dal significato spaziale, tecnico e materiale degli antichi resti alle questioni statico-strutturali, dalle componenti formali e stratigrafiche ai problemi di natura più strettamente chimico-fisica. Va ribadita, in ogni modo, la necessità d'una puntuale conoscenza materica del monumento e la centralità degli strumenti d'indagine storico-critica e filologica.

Nel campo del restauro dei monumenti, anche archeologici, si richiede inoltre la peculiare capacità professionale dell'architetto restauratore, preferibilmente formato in una delle esistenti Scuole di specializzazione post-universitarie (in Italia: Roma, Napoli, Milano, Torino e Genova); eppure spesso si lascia intendere che tale attività possa venire surrogata dalla sommatoria di competenze specialistiche, del chimico, del fisico, dell'ingegnere

strutturista, dello storico dell'arte, dello stesso archeologo, degli esperti di conservazione dei singoli materiali e via dicendo. Al contrario si rivela sempre più necessario un progetto unitario che, tuttavia, non sarà costituito da momenti distinti fra loro ma rappresenterà l'esito di un cammino logico, analitico e ideativo, ininterrotto.

Quanto alle imprese esecutrici, non dovrebbe mancare l'impegno per affinare le tecniche ma soprattutto per rieducare le maestranze edili ad una manualità appropriata, di tipo tradizionale, oggi in gran parte compromessa. In tal senso quanto mai positivo si rivela il contatto e lo scambio, sul cantiere, con qualificati restauratori d'opere d'arte (per il trattamento delle superfici lapidee e intonacate, degli affreschi e delle decorazioni, dei materiali come quelli fittili, metallici e via dicendo).

Accanto a quello della riconversione di professionisti, maestranze e imprese, andrà posto il problema della riforma delle procedure amministrative (modalità di appalto, selezione delle imprese ecc.) tuttora farraginose e improprie. È necessario un profondo ripensamento normativo per garantire una progettazione di qualità, anche tramite la stesura di 'capitolati speciali tipo', e una costante presenza tecnico-scientifica in cantiere, analogamente allo scavo archeologico.

Purtroppo le leggi attualmente in vigore, almeno in Italia, tendendo ad assimilare i lavori di restauro alle correnti opere pubbliche, non riflettono la percezione della specificità e dei caratteri propri dei beni culturali; ne derivano gravi rischi per i monumenti, come l'affidamento a professionalità inadeguate, il restringimento dei tempi tecnici, il finanziamento non calibrato.

Critica e tecnica nel restauro

Da quanto finora s'è detto, risulta che gli studi sul restauro, con particolare riferimento a quello architettonico, più da vicino affrontato in questa sede, non possono prescindere dagli apporti di altri insegnamenti specifici, oltre a quelli propriamente storico-critici: il disegno, la topografia e le tecniche di rilevamento; la tecnologia dell'architettura, i materiali da costruzione artificiali e naturali e le loro cause di degrado; la scienza, la tecnica delle costruzioni e il consolidamento degli edifici; la fisica tecnica ambientale e l'impiantistica; l'allestimento e la museografia; la progettazione e la composizione architettonica; l'urbanistica e la pianificazione territoriale; l'archeologia, almeno nei suoi principi; la paesaggistica e l'arte dei giardini; la legislazione

edilizia, urbanistica e di tutela; la catalogazione e inventariazione; l'estimo edilizio e urbano. Si tratta d'un insieme di competenze già oggi afferenti, pur se in proporzioni diverse, agli studi di architettura generalmente intesi.

Ricapitolando, tre sono gli indirizzi fondamentali: a) la storia dell'architettura e la teoria del restauro; b) le tecniche di rilevamento, analisi, diagnosi e intervento sui materiali e sulle strutture; c) gli aspetti legislativi e normativi, socio-economici, di catalogazione ecc.

Non tutto questo vasto campo può essere controllato specialisticamente da una sola persona per cui è necessario istituire forme di collaborazione interdisciplinare. Neanche si può sostenere che ogni singolo risolto disciplinare abbia lo stesso valore di altri, magari criticamente più pregnanti: l'intento sarà invece quello di ricondurre metodicamente i punti b) e c) al primo, fondamentale; vale a dire considerare le tecniche non in sé ma storicamente, chiarendo l'esigenza dell'unità di critica e tecnica nel restauro. Unità che vale per l'intera serie dei beni culturali (pitture, sculture, architetture, arti 'minori', manoscritti, gioielli ecc.), i quali si distinguono non sotto l'aspetto dei principi (generalmente validi, anche se da interpretare e sostanziare caso per caso) ma sotto quello dei materiali, delle tecnologie esecutive e delle conseguenti tecniche d'intervento.

In tale quadro l'architetto restauratore può svolgere diversi ruoli. Certamente quello della preparazione e redazione, a tutti i livelli del progetto (secondo le norme europee: 'preliminare', 'definitivo', 'esecutivo'), compreso il lavoro di studio storico fondato, oltre che sulla consueta ricerca bibliografica e archivistica, su un attento rilevamento grafico e sull'analisi diretta dell'antico manufatto. Poi il processo di schedatura e catalogazione scientifica dei beni culturali architettonici e ambientali, compresi i relativi compiti di programmazione ed esecuzione delle opere di manutenzione ordinaria e straordinaria dei monumenti. Inoltre la conduzione del cantiere, nello specifico ruolo di direttore dei lavori e anche in quello del collaudatore, meglio se in corso d'opera, a fine di controllo degli interventi condotti, tanto dalla mano pubblica quanto privata, sotto il profilo della loro necessità, rispondenza e qualità. Infine un utile contributo alla verifica di fattibilità degli interventi di restauro, con preventivi di spesa, valutazione dei tempi necessari per lo studio, la progettazione, la conduzione del cantiere e via dicendo.

In tutti questi ruoli, dal più semplice al più complesso, l'architetto restauratore esprime un impegno certamente specifico (rispetto alla professione corrente, orientata verso la costruzione di nuove architetture) ma non esasperatamente

specialistico (come sarebbe, ad esempio, quello dell'esperto di singoli materiali, di fisica dell'atmosfera o d'inquinamento); egli sembra svolgere piuttosto un lavoro di sintesi e coordinamento di competenze diverse. Più volte, nella letteratura sull'argomento, è stato richiamato a tale proposito il paragone fra l'architetto restauratore e il 'buon direttore d'orchestra'.

Eppure, vicino a questo ruolo di coordinamento, sussistono alcuni compiti specialistici che l'architetto non può demandare ad altri e deve assumere in proprio. Si tratta, ovviamente, di quelli che sono interni al proprio ambito professionale, quale si è andato storicamente definendo:

- l'applicazione e la traduzione dei principi teorici e di metodo nella concretezza del caso di studio: da cui la definizione dell'idea guida del progetto e le sue articolazioni e motivazioni; la presa di coscienza, sempre nel concreto, dei 'valori' sui quali ci si trova ad operare, per rispondere, ad esempio, ai problemi di reintegrazione delle lacune, di rimozione delle aggiunte, di conservazione delle 'patine' ecc.;
- la lettura storico-critica (non puramente 'letteraria' né condotta a distanza ma in maniera diretta e ravvicinata, per così dire 'autoptica') del monumento, senza la quale i principi restano muti, ideologici e in sostanza inapplicabili;
- il rilievo scientifico del monumento e l'ispezione preliminare, sistematica dello stesso, per il controllo e la mappatura dello stato di conservazione fisica del monumento, a partire dalla caratterizzazione dei suoi materiali e delle tecnologie edilizie impiegate;
- l'esito figurativo dell'intero progetto; in altre parole la cura per la qualità formale dell'intervento e per la manifestazione a vista del suo contenuto filologico e critico (da cui l'assunzione, come spunti progettuali, fra gli altri, del criterio della 'distinguibilità' dell'antico dal nuovo o della 'reversibilità' di quest'ultimo).

È indispensabile che nel restauro, per non dequalificare o confondere l'opera che si vuole salvaguardare, tutto quanto entra a far parte del progetto (dalla realtà del monumento ai criteri di metodo seguiti, alle acquisizioni storiche ed ai vincoli conseguenti, fino alle tecniche prescelte) trovi soluzione in un controllato e qualificato esito figurativo: 'senza residuo', come in una perfetta reazione chimica. È necessario, a tal fine, che operazioni storico-critiche ed operazioni tecniche procedano di pari passo, interagendo secondo una stretta e proficua dialettica.

Le metodologie tecniche e scientifiche non possono, infatti, essere trattate separatamente dalle

questioni storico-critiche e teoriche di restauro, né considerarsi estranee o contrapposte. L'atto tecnologico, quando è culturalmente consapevole, deve sottoporsi, come si è già detto, alla verifica della più generale riflessione critica e degli orientamenti culturali che sono posti oggi a guida del restauro. Può sembrare che così le scienze siano relegate in una posizione di servizio ma, in effetti, l'intento è solo di dare consapevolezza e formulazione teorica al problema tecnologico, il quale deve, in primo luogo, saper rispondere alla 'domanda storica' ed 'estetica' che il monumento, in quanto bene culturale, pone. Invece sovente, ancora oggi, si tende ingiustificatamente a ribaltare i rapporti, esautorando la storia in favore della tecnica e della pura materialità dell'intervento. Si tende a dare autonomia all'operazione tecnico-conservativa, fino a identificarla con il restauro stesso, sostituendo, in modo integrale, il 'come' al 'perché' conservare la materia ed al 'che cosa' conservare.

Ne consegue la mancata chiarificazione del fine stesso dell'operazione conservativa, la possibilità della sua strumentalizzazione, l'errata convinzione che gli oggetti di conservazione siano, per così dire, intercambiabili e possano essere trattati con indifferenza acritica, da cui il rischio di esiti prettamente consumistici. La tecnologia, applicata e no, conserva radicata la convinzione della propria autonomia, mentre è indispensabile prendere chiara coscienza della complessità dei problemi in atto, riferibile alla natura stessa, sempre mutevole e imprevedibile, delle memorie che s'intendono tutelare e perpetuare, alla struttura della visione della singola opera d'arte, alla definizione tipologica degli spazi in architettura, alle stesse stratificazioni storiche. Da tutto ciò e non da soli fatti tecnici discende la natura dello stesso intervento tecnico.

Restauro e 'accessibilità' al patrimonio monumentale

La definizione del restauro come 'atto di cultura' (a fondamento storico-critico e scientifico-tecnico) induce a riflettere sul fatto che la cultura è, per definizione, scambio, comunicazione ed apertura all'uomo, senza distinzioni di razza, di educazione, di capacità economiche e, possiamo aggiungere, d'eventuali 'abilità' o 'disabilità'.

È stata anche messa in luce (Brandi 1977, Pane 1987, Bonelli 1995, Philippot 1998, Cordaro 2000) la componente etica e non praticistica né economicistica del restauro, nel nostro caso, architettonico (rispetto, per esempio, a quella sorta di confuso surrogato rappresentato dal cosiddetto 'recupero' edilizio) e ciò

non solo in senso deontologico professionale ma più generalmente spirituale. Esso risponde ad un metodo di definizione e di progettazione che si autoimpone più rigorosi vincoli di quello volto alla realizzazione di nuove architetture: vincoli conservativi, derivanti dalla considerazione storico-critica del bene, vincoli tecnologici ed esecutivi, per la scelta delle lavorazioni e dei materiali più appropriati, vincoli legati alla fruibilità ed alla valorizzazione, fra cui proprio quelli relativi ai temi della piena accessibilità, giustamente percepiti da ogni scrupoloso architetto restauratore come non più gravosi degli altri, semmai soltanto più meritevoli.

Come dunque nel restauro, a motivo della sua natura culturale, più che di norme c'è bisogno di raccomandazioni, d'indirizzi e d'orientamenti, rappresentati, nella storia della disciplina, dalle varie 'Carte del Restauro' (circa le quali si veda, anche per una loro presentazione ragionata: Esposito 1996, Mancini 2007, ma anche Carbonara 1997) le quali non hanno mai preteso d'avere forza di legge, così dovrebbe essere per il tema del superamento delle barriere architettoniche. Se tuttavia oggi, a motivo d'una percezione sociale ancora poco diffusa circa questo genere di problemi, c'è necessità effettiva di norme e di leggi, queste non devono però intendersi quali schemi rigidi o regole meccaniche. Largo spazio, soprattutto nel settore dei beni culturali, va lasciato all'interpretazione ed alla discussione caso per caso, considerando, inoltre, che in questi ultimi due decenni i progressi compiuti sono stati notevoli.

Nella sostanza, fra tutela del patrimonio ed esigenze di accessibilità non sussiste un contrasto insanabile. Queste ultime devono considerarsi come normali elementi di progetto, quali la sicurezza, la solidità strutturale, il comfort termoigrometrico, le norme edilizie e urbanistiche, le disponibilità economiche.

Il restauro, è noto, guarda al futuro e non al passato, neppure è riservato al godimento di pochi eletti cultori dell'antico. Esso ha funzioni educative e di memoria, per le future generazioni, per i giovani; riguarda, in fondo, non il compiacimento per gli studi in sé ma la formazione d'ogni cittadino e la sua qualità di vita, intesa nel senso spirituale e materiale più esteso.

Inoltre il criterio della 'conservazione integrata' (come definita dalla Carta europea del patrimonio architettonico e dalla Dichiarazione di Amsterdam, entrambe del 1975, riportate in Esposito 1996: 474-482 e in Carbonara 1997: 679-691) nel sottolineare l'insufficienza del restauro delle "sole pietre" ribadisce lo stretto legame del restauro con l'attribuzione di un'appropriata funzione; in mancanza di quest'ultima ogni sforzo conservativo si

rivelerà vano, come dimostra la diversa sorte subita da monumenti simili ma segnati da storie d'uso profondamente diverse. Così, ad esempio, il Pantheon rispetto al calidarium delle Terme di Caracalla in Roma o, sempre per fare esempi italiani, l'abbazia medievale di S. Nilo a Grottaferrata rispetto a quella carolingia di S. Vincenzo al Volturno: i primi ben conservati perché costantemente utilizzati, i secondi ridotti, per lungo abbandono, allo stato di rudere.

La questione, in ogni modo, va impostata con equilibrio, senza integralismi né da una parte né dall'altra; senza arroccarsi sul motivo dell'intangibilità preconcepita del bene ma anche senza pretendere di forzare il bene stesso, soprattutto se archeologico, fino a snaturarlo. Va comunque detto che più pericolosi delle provvidenze in favore dell'accessibilità sono forse i comuni lavori di adattamento impiantistico (impianti elettrici di forza motrice, d'illuminamento, d'allarme, di termoregolazione, igienici; installazioni di servizi aggiuntivi ecc.). D'altronde la conservazione non è mai solo tale né mai 'pura conservazione' ma sempre 'controllata trasformazione' come ha ben messo in luce, ormai da più di mezzo secolo, Leonardo Benevolo.

Si tratta d'operare non per singoli aggiustamenti ma attivando ogni possibile sinergia al fine, per esempio, di ridurre l'intrusività degli accorgimenti da adottare.

La discussione d'alcune recenti esperienze può illuminare meglio la questione. In Roma, nella sistemazione in corso, a cura della Sovrintendenza comunale, dell'area di scavo antistante il propileo del Portico di Ottavia, la presentazione e preservazione del dato archeologico è divenuta spunto per una soluzione progettuale concepita, fin dall'inizio, con precise valenze urbane. Non si è trattato, quindi, di sistemare una fossa di scavo ma di creare un percorso di visita e luoghi di sosta cui tutti possano accedere tramite diverse comode rampe, le quali costituiscono un elemento formale importante di raccordo fra antico e nuovo ed una garanzia di vita del sito.

Per la visita di Villa d'Este, a Tivoli, è stato studiato l'impiego di macchine elettriche per anziani e disabili. Va anche ricordata, per esempio, la creazione nelle oasi naturalistiche del WWF di sentieri di facile percorribilità, pensati e attrezzati non solo per i disabili su carrozzina, per i ciechi o i deboli di vista, per le persone con handicap mentali, ma anche per anziani, gestanti, infortunati, persone con particolari problemi di salute, come i cardiopatici, famiglie con bambini piccoli, quindi aperti proprio a tutti, come sempre dovrebbe essere.

In tutte queste esperienze l'elemento comune è rappresentato da una particolare cura nella stesura del progetto e, quasi sempre, nel corrispondente

momento esecutivo, specie se architetto progettista e direttore dei lavori s'identificano nella medesima persona.

Il progetto è infatti la sintesi creativa delle diverse esigenze, dove ciò che si fa per rimuovere le barriere assume, come tante altre necessità funzionali, il ruolo di normale provvidenza destinata ad assicurare, a tutti, la migliore fruizione del bene, in piena libertà.

Prospettive per il nuovo millennio

C'è da domandarsi se la civiltà attuale sia in grado di garantire ancora un ruolo alla memoria, alla storia, al valore delle tradizioni, alla stessa bellezza. Non è facile dare una risposta anche se c'è da temere che questa sarebbe negativa. A prima vista sembra che l'interesse per la conservazione e il restauro si sia, in questi ultimi tempi, rafforzato. Ma la prospettiva del nuovo millennio è quella del conseguimento d'un livello d'attenzione e di conseguente accuratezza operativa maggiore oppure si profila il rischio d'un capovolgimento totale, d'un radicale cambio d'orientamenti?

C'è il fondato timore che il restauro odierno sia l'espressione d'una cultura borghese, d'impronta propriamente otto-novecentesca, a rischio d'estinzione. Una cultura fondata su basi filosofiche storicistiche che si sta dissolvendo a favore d'un pragmatismo economicistico che tutto consuma. Si sente, vincente, la pressione della volontà di rinnovare e riconfigurare il nostro ambiente privilegiando, su tutte, le ragioni economiche e della rendita; queste sono percepite come ragioni 'vitali' a confronto di quelle, vecchie e avvizzite, della conservazione.

Quindi l'impressione è che il restauro sia ormai avviato verso la sua estinzione, dopo avere avuto una crescita e una diffusione che sembravano continue ed irreversibili; a confronto le ragioni ecologiste ed ambientaliste godono, oggi, d'un più solido credito.

Esiste anche un'altra possibilità, legata ad un dato fondante dell'attuale società 'occidentale', vale a dire la sua complessità e apertura ad atteggiamenti e valori diversi. In architettura, come il letteratura o in musica, si oscilla senza traumi dalle realizzazioni più colte e raffinate a prodotti deteriori, identificabili, in architettura, nello squallore di molte periferie e nella più volgare edilizia di mercato. Tutto si mescola in una sostanziale tolleranza che, in realtà, è agnosticismo culturale ed assenza di valori condivisi. In questa prospettiva nulla vieta che possa sussistere un modesto settore residuo di persone dedicate agli studi storici e quindi alla conservazione, in una

situazione, per altro, di sostanziale disinteresse pubblico e sociale al problema. Che la tutela e la salvaguardia dei beni culturali e ambientali possano godere in futuro d'un riconoscimento sociale privilegiato, pari a quello che ha contraddistinto la fine dell'Ottocento e buona parte del Novecento, è cosa assai dubbia; riconoscimento legato, per altro, alla ricerca d'un equilibrato rapporto fra conservazione ed innovazione, visto come garanzia d'educazione e di migliore qualità di vita. Quanto alle prospettive di metodo future, queste probabilmente saranno più aperte di quanto attualmente avvenga, dimostrando attenzione proprio alle menzionate periferie e proponendosi una sorta di rinnovato apprezzamento, storico ed estetico, quindi già in sé conservativo, per ciò che comunemente è considerato, specie dai cultori del restauro del nuovo (quasi tutti schierati, senza troppo pensare, sulla linea del ripristino), solo immondizia architettonica.

Si tratta di un'apertura significativa: quello che noi vediamo come irrimediabilmente brutto, in specie nelle grandi periferie urbane, forse possiede un alito di bellezza che ci sfugge. Abituati ad ascoltare la musica classica probabilmente non siamo in grado di capire la musica alternativa rave o anche rap e viceversa; se c'è incomunicabilità questa, per definizione, è anticulturale, perché la cultura è in primo luogo scambio, apertura e curiosità per l'altro. In conclusione, qui s'intravede un'ulteriore possibile strada di sviluppo dell'idea di conservazione.

Una vecchia affermazione di Renato Bonelli si sta dimostrando vera e profetica: la società attuale non ha interesse alle testimonianze storico-artistiche in sé, antiche o moderne che siano. Essa è praticistica e consumistica, ma è anche la società delle complessità, il che apre comunque qualche spiraglio. Eppure c'è da essere abbastanza pessimisti, non tanto per l'invasione della cultura alternativa, propria della 'emarginazione' metropolitana, quanto per il lavoro sotterraneo d'una meno chiassosa ma più aggressiva sub-cultura economicistica. È forse vera l'impressione che il fronte conservazionista e ambientalista, creato in decenni di lavoro e consolidatosi nella seconda metà del nostro secolo, resti come una scenografia di parata dietro la quale il più spregiudicato affarismo, sempre legato al potere politico, lavora ed erode convinzioni e interessi. Hong Kong, Singapore e le metropoli del capitalismo asiatico sono, a ben vedere, il nuovo modello urbano e sociale, non certo le vecchie città storiche europee; se si preferisce, un modello asiatico-americano è quello che sta penetrando e vincendo, in ogni fascia della società italiana.

Sono discorsi un po' apocalittici ma forse con qualche fondamento di verità. Da questa prospettiva si vede nuovamente come il restauro sia un prodotto della tradizionale cultura europea e mediterranea, di lontana ascendenza greco-romana, fuori della quale esso, molto probabilmente, non può vivere.

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ABSTRACT

Some reflections, from an Italian perspective, on architectural restoration

Giovanni Carbonara

The essay provides an up-to-date review of the realities of Italian restoration. Restoration work feeds off the doubt that stems directly from historical research, and thus requires mental openmindedness and balance, and a conceptual rigour and practical approach at the same time. Restoration is carried out always and only on the original, with all the attendant risks of error and damage, and thus with all the prudence that that demands.

One of the most recent definitions of restoration is put forward: “By restoration, therefore, is meant any intervention that has the aim of conserving and transmitting to the future works of historical, artistic and environmental interest, facilitating the reading of them while not erasing the traces of the passage of time; this is based on a respect for the ancient material and the authentic documentation that such works constitute and, moreover, is to be seen as a critical act of interpretation that is not verbal but expressed concretely in the work carried out. Or, more precisely, it is a critical hypothesis and a proposition that is always modifiable, without it ever altering irreversibly the original.”

The true nature of restoration is a complete fusion of historical and technical-scientific expertise. It is therefore artificial to distinguish between a ‘project of consolidation’ and a truly described restoration project. This is a distinction based on the assumption (to be demonstrated) that in an ancient building static problems and those related to the materials can be isolated and treated separately from an overall understanding of the architectural ensemble. So the paper stresses research methodology, the project and specific skills. As part of the principle of unity of method in restoration, interdisciplinarity is viewed as the principal tool for bringing together consistently and fully the different skills necessary for the study and conservation of monuments.

In summary, there are three fundamental components: a) the history of architecture and theory of restoration; b) the techniques of survey, analysis, diagnosis and intervention on the materials and the structure; and c) legislative and regulatory aspects.

The author emphasises the link between restoration and access to the monumental heritage. The definition of restoration as ‘an act of culture’ (fundamentally critical-historical and technical-scientific) leads to the reflection that culture is, by definition, exchange, communication and opening up to people without distinction. So restoration, because of its cultural nature, has need of recommendations, trends and orientations rather than regulations.

Restoration looks to the future, not to the past. It has educational and commemorative functions for future generations, for young people; it ultimately is concerned not with satisfaction with research per se but the preparation of all citizens and their quality of life, viewed in the widest possible spiritual and material sense.

In conclusion, some perspectives for the new millennium are offered. We have to ask ourselves whether society today is still able to guarantee a role for memory, for history and for the value of traditions, or for beauty itself. At first sight, it seems that interest in conservation and restoration has been reinforced in recent times. At the same time, we are aware of dominant pressures wanting to renovate and redesign our environment, giving priority above all to economic factors and revenue. To recall an earlier declaration by Renato Bonelli: contemporary society is not interested in historical and artistic things in themselves, whether they are ancient or modern. It is practical and consumerist, but it is also a society of complexities, and that however opens up some vents.

(Abstract written by Calogero Bellanca, and translated from Italian)

Il rilievo e il restauro e i loro distinti ruoli potenzialmente storiografici¹

PAOLO FANCELLI

Ad Adriana Dal Cin i. m.

Il rilievo, in quanto indagine tendenzialmente diretta, sistematica e minuziosa sul campo e come sua correlata, rigorosa rappresentazione-restituzione grafica, può essere considerato una sorta di 'edizione critica' di un testo architettonico (Romanini 1983), con ciò mutuando l'espressione dalla filologia letteraria e/o musicale e consentendo, così, di accedere a una sorta di particolare, mirata e applicata 'filologia architettonica' (Fancelli 1986). Ma, com'è noto, l'esattezza di un rilievo la si pondera eminentemente su base statistica (con le 'certezze' relative), mai assoluta: del resto, più rilievi possono inverare più edizioni critiche, naturalmente, tutte da vagliare anche su una tale base. E qui subentra il concetto della 'stima dell'errore di una misura'.

Detto rilievo – che, tra l'altro, consente e consegue una visione sia contestuale, sia sintetica e immediata, sia, infine, analitica o anche, volendo, disgregata di un edificio – riveste un'importanza fondamentale per l'intendimento pieno delle caratteristiche basilari di una costruzione del passato. Insostituibile in tal senso, quindi, esso può e deve ben essere capitalizzato e utilizzato appieno in sede storiografica. Ciò, anzitutto, con particolare riferimento allo studio delle distribuzioni e delle funzioni interne (magari modificate con il tempo), all'indagine sulle variazioni e sedimentazioni diacroniche, alla lettura delle irregolarità, delle sin-

golarità, delle anomalie, delle discontinuità, o, al contrario, delle cadenze, delle ritmiche e ricorrenze. Poi, in connessione con la decodifica dei dislivelli e dei disassamenti murari, come pure con la comprensione dei nodi strutturali e costruttivi in genere, via via fino alla resa delle epidermidi, vale a dire delle stesse finiture, anche nelle loro sedimentazioni manutentive. Tutti fattori variamente significativi, a seconda dei casi, ma da esaminare con grande attenzione anche e soprattutto quali possibili segnali in chiave storiografica.

Ovviamente, una simile impostazione travalica ogni eventuale, attardato approccio purovisibilistico o persino semplicemente iconologico, accedendo, invece, a una storia dell'architettura condotta da architetti-conoscitori, pur consapevoli ed edotti circa i risvolti fecondi – ma parziali, settoriali, ormai in sé inadeguati – di siffatti approcci. Si deve trattare di una storia dell'architettura, comunque, svolta a procedere dall'interno, insomma, dal di dentro di un tale, così specifico e inconfondibile linguaggio, dunque, un approccio in grado di padroneggiarne i processi genetici, quelli formativi, infine, quelli di adattamento nei confronti e della preesistenza e delle esigenze via via sopraggiunte in seno alla costruzione e rispetto a essa. Il che non recide affatto l'eventualità di altre legittime impostazioni, ma ad arricchimento, non a sostituzione, di una lettura pienamente architettonica, quale, ormai, si viene via

¹ An abstract in English can be found at the end of the paper.

via imponendo anche in campo internazionale. Ciò, tuttavia, deve portare, sì, a specialismi, ma aperti, cioè profondamente consapevoli e caratterizzati in chiave storiografica generale; vale a dire, traendo più che spunti da questa e, nel contempo, fornendole salutare alimento. Peraltro, ciò che non va minimamente trascurato – pure nella presente sede – è il carattere tendenzialmente di rado compatto, ma, anzi, processuale del linguaggio architettonico. Ne deriva una sostanziale illusorietà, riguardo a questo, nel riferirsi ad aspetti presuntamente ‘originari’, là dove intervenute, mutate esigenze di gusto, di funzioni, di committenza, di modi progettuali ed esecutivi, tecniche comprese, oltre che subentri di personalità, conducono piuttosto a considerare gli edifici come veri e propri palinsesti. Fatte salve, naturalmente, le dovute eccezioni in merito.

Ma, più in particolare, tornando al rilievo-restituzione, esso può risultare essenziale per studiare, a esempio, i dispositivi e le unità di misura presenti in una fabbrica, o sottesi a essa. Così, è basilare il legame tra rilievo e metrologia, quale nodo d’indagine circa sistemi metrici e culturali attinenti, maestranze incluse. Si pensi, in proposito, come la rivoluzionaria unificazione-omologazione del sistema metrico decimale abbia a sua volta contribuito, ovviamente insieme all’adozione di nuove tecniche e a tanto altro ancora, all’ingigantimento delle dimensioni degli edifici, fino ad allora saldamente ancorati a grandezze comunque antropiche (pollice, palmo, piede, braccio, etc., con le infinite varianti locali). Ma feconde ricadute di letture storico-metrologiche circa le costruzioni le si possono conseguire, per esempio, in rapporto alle pertinenti, differenziate, culture e manualità cantieristiche, nei loro lasciti concreti *in situ*, a paragone tangibile con le impostazioni di progetto (qualora decodificabili), riguardo alle difformità tra previsione e realizzazione, a volta a volta, nelle loro puntuali localizzazioni ed entità. Ma, poi, altrettanto significative, nonché leggibili in un rilievo, sono le proprietà modulari, così come le proporzioni intrinseche all’edificio, entro l’universo numerologico. Infine, dai rilievi, purché accurati e condotti appunto da conoscitori, emergono altresì i caratteri stilistici e ordinamentali (ancora proporzionali) di un monumento (con i chiarimenti relativi), il che consente – previa l’istituzione di una generale, sistematica e apposita banca-dati – omogenei e congrui confronti d’impianto, inoltre appunto stilistici, nonché murari, con ulteriori monumenti (da rilevare anch’essi e in termini tendenzialmente omogenei, ancorché, in parte, ogni volta da predisporre commisuratamente *ad hoc*).

Il rilievo, inoltre, indagando specie sulle anomalie, apparenti o meno, intese quali possibili indicatori,

nonché restituendole, è propedeutico nei riguardi di un’attendibile ricostruzione grafica volta a mostrare, anche in più elaborati, le distinte fasi pregresse di un’opera architettonica. Una serie di letture tanto più necessaria quando il ‘testo’ sia lacunoso, ovvero allo stato di rudere, o, ancora, comunque molto alterato, sedimentato nel tempo, ovvero, poco riconoscibile (il tutto reso tramite grafici accompagnati da indicazioni esplicite, con *legendae* o meno, su: generi di fonti storiche; poi, a volta a volta, fonti precise, a palmo a palmo; infine, via via, gradi di attendibilità delle datazioni – assolute o, quantomeno, relative – connesse, in relazione alle varie aree e zone del monumento).

Come ho accennato, il rilievo medesimo, dunque, fornisce una visione, insieme, analitica e sintetica dell’edificio, a gradi consentendo, nei disegni ravvicinati dei particolari, ogni eventuale approfondimento, a mo’ di ficcante *zoom*. E permettendo, inoltre, su un tale maneggevole modello, vuoi raffronti puntuali con il progetto (a indicare le entità degli scarti tra di esso e l’esecuzione), qualora si disponga di questo, vuoi, in caso contrario – via via ricomponendolo, dunque –, di risalirvi indirettamente, in ogni caso, a ritroso.

Queste ultime osservazioni sono potenzialmente importanti, in sede di ricerca applicata, seppure non universalmente riconosciute e conclamate.

Anzitutto, procedere diacronicamente all’indietro significa assumere l’edificio quale miglior, più eloquente e controllabile documento su se stesso, come vuole la scuola romana di storia dell’architettura e di restauro (cfr. G. Giovannoni, poi, G. De Angelis d’Ossat e R. Bonelli, P. Portoghesi, ancora A. Bruschi e i loro allievi). In questo senso, proprio il connesso rilievo, come processo e come elaborato finale, diviene assoluto protagonista, emblematico sia della situazione di fatto, sia della ricerca *in progress*, in parte ancora da compiere. Comunque, l’indagine va ragionevolmente condotta a ritroso (magari nel contempo opportunamente palesando, in ciascun elaborato, le componenti e i fattori innovativi, come soprattutto inserimenti e, per converso, espunzioni, rispetto alla fase immediatamente antecedente) non solo perché essa punta su un tale, prezioso supporto conoscitivo e grafico, quello del rilievo. Ma anche perché, così formulandosi, essa permette, su base critico-testimoniale (e svolgendo quel processo al documento di cui tratta M. Foucault; ma cfr. pure J. Le Goff), di procedere a progressive, fondate depurazioni ideali degli stadi subito anteriori, a loro volta, in genere più documentati di quelli cronologicamente più distanti. Il che impone, dunque, di partire dalla situazione e dai dati accertati, peraltro di continuo verificabili, quelli attuali, incardinati nell’opera e

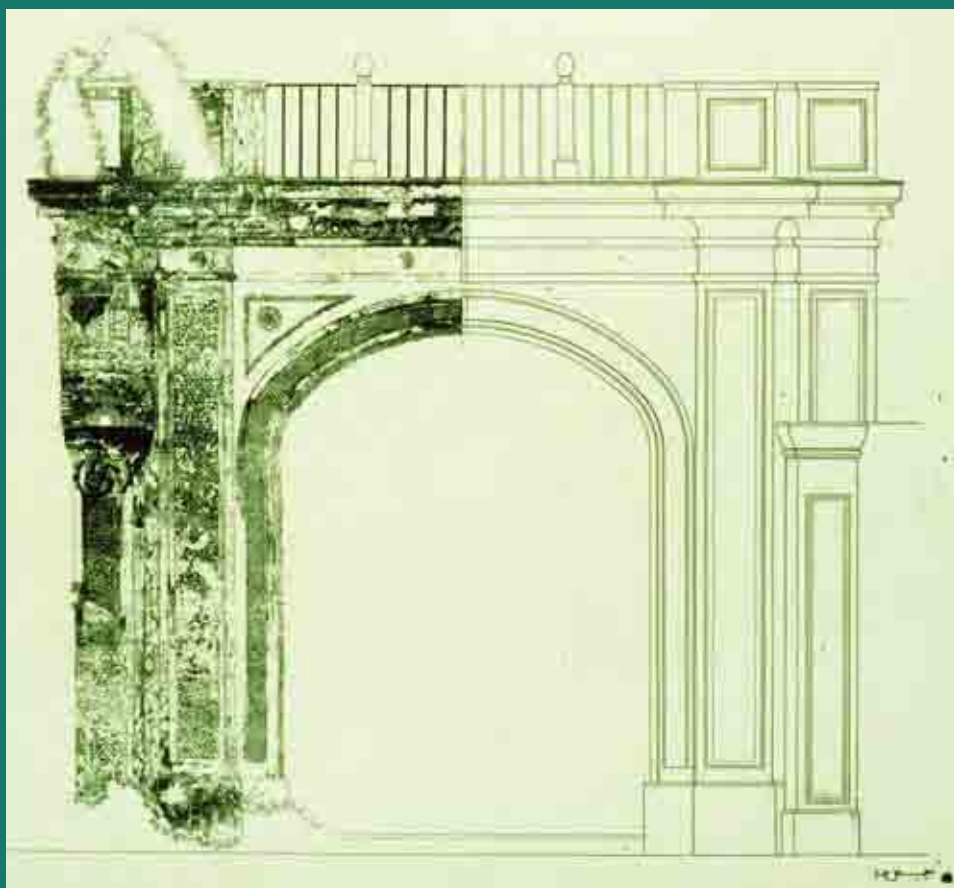


FIG. 1. Ninfeo di Villa Carpegna a Roma, prospetto esterno dello stato di fatto (a sin.) e schematico-astratto (a d.) (dis. di F. Parrotta, U. Pro, 1994-95)

sistematicamente riproponibili e restituibili proprio in seno al rilievo. Così da porsi in grado, via via, di meglio risalire, poi, con maggiore fondatezza, alle fasi più remote nel tempo, tendenzialmente, per lo più, poco determinate, a meno di non disporre davvero del progetto primevo in scala o di qualcosa di omologo (il che non risulta frequente, né del tutto attendibile).

In questo modo, il monumento/documento e le attestazioni indirette vengono così a confronto più che stringente, immediato, in definitiva, sistematicamente, muro per muro, elemento per elemento, particolare per particolare.

Ma, nei riguardi del restauro, il rilievo stesso, in più, costituisce, oltre che una base conoscitiva ineludibile, pure – come dovrebbe risultare ovvio e scontato, ma non lo è sempre, nella prassi – il supporto insostituibile su cui si può e si deve calare, per l'appunto, il progetto del restauro stesso. Operazione, infatti, che non si svolge *ex nihilo*, ma nel corpo vivo di una preesistenza e, anzi, mirando tassativamente a perpetuarla, nella sua integrità e nella sua identità.

Tuttavia, altro è l'indifferenziato rilievo-*'ristauro'* alla maniera ottocentesca, altro una ricostruzione grafica semplicemente, ma inoppugnabilmente tale, come oggi, con tutte le inevitabili alee ipotetiche del caso. Altro ancora, infine, è un odierno, complesso progetto d'intervento di restauro-conservazione, con ogni opportuna e doviziosa, oltre che doverosa, specifica tecnico-esecutiva. Dunque, opportunamente dotato delle indicazioni, area per area interessata, su: strumenti, utensili, prodotti da utilizzare (in soluzione o in sospensione, nelle percentuali idonee e con la denominazione sia chimica, dei principi attivi, sia commerciale, comunemente in uso), nonché tempi, cadenze e successioni esecutivi, più capitolato e prezzi. Il tutto, previe le indagini propedeutiche – dirette e indirette, distruttive, microdistruttive, non distruttive – e le simulazioni progettali e alternative del caso, comprendenti le valutazioni storico-spaziali, volumetriche, formali, cromatiche e tessiturali d'impatto.

Ma ecco, dunque, che, se per la storia dell'architettura il rilievo medesimo può risultare decisivo, a sua volta, per il progetto di restauro, poi, esso diviene addirittura irrinunciabile. E tale, non solo in base alle plurime ragioni predette, ma proprio riguardo all'appropriazione storiografica – la quale deve peraltro informare, tuttavia mai meccanicamente, il progetto in causa –, pure in quanto il rilevamento e la sua resa costituiscono l'*ubi consistam* di quest'ultimo, comprese le graficizzazioni preliminari, quali quelle diagnostiche. Queste, per loro conto, fondandosi sul capzioso e minuzioso rilievo a tappeto circa lo stato di fatto materiale odierno (Fig. 1) e, di più, dotandosi di efficaci, eloquenti *legendae*, sono rese possibili pure dall'applicazione critica e sistematica dei Lessici *Normal* 1/80, 1/88 (ma del 1990) e UNI/11.182, quest'ultimo del 2006 (strumenti che inverano dei notevoli passi avanti ai fini dell'unificazione e della tendenziale univocità dei linguaggi e dei termini relativi agli accertamenti e agli interventi; nonché per individuazioni e localizzazioni meno aleatorie; infine, per una propedeutica più credibile al progetto e alla prassi di conservazione), oltre che, come

ovvio, dalla riflessione critica sull'esperienza con essi condotta (Fig. 2).

Il rilievo, pertanto, può così rappresentare una sorta di terreno e di linguaggio comune e alla storia e al restauro. Ma, come accennavo, si deve trattare del rilievo circa le tangibili condizioni di fatto, odierne, di un'opera, nella sua materiale caducità. Ben lungi, dunque, da ogni astrazione, nonché da ogni regolarizzazione forzosa, inadeguata a rendere – efficacemente e veritativamente in toto – le condizioni stesse, piacciono o meno, del 'testo' architettonico, documento vivente e parlante, a saperlo davvero e appieno interrogare.

D'altro canto, il rapporto tra i due settori disciplinari della storia (generale e dell'architettura, la seconda anche in seno a quella delle arti) e del restauro risulta saldo, ben oltre l'individuazione di detto terreno d'incontro. Si tratta di un legame imprescindibile e fondante e, tuttavia, complesso e variamente controverso. Per alcuni – storici soprattutto – il restauro rimane ancora una sorta di (comodo, inerte, addirittura banalistic) braccio ancillare-operativo della storia. Per altri – specie molti restauratori – esso è sì legato indissolubilmente a questa, ma è pure dotato di proprie autonomie e specificità conoscitive e disciplinari. In tale quadro, il restauro (che è un settore gnoseologico-prassistico – a cavaliere tra scienze umane e scienze fisico-chimiche – fra l'altro, munito di una propria storia, di un'apposita teoresi, una specifica critica, di particolari tecniche, oltre che di mirate progettualità) rappresenta una modalità d'azione che, fornita di una specifica dignità, non pone semplicemente e passivamente in atto i desideri della storia (e quale, poi?). Là dove, peraltro, le dimensioni di questa sono tutt'altro che univoche: anzi, sono plurime e sfaccettate, oltretutto vuoi in senso sincronico, vuoi in chiave diacronica, come c'insegna la linguistica (Fig. 3). Un settore, questo, che, come l'antropologia

e la cultura materiale, ha profondamento inciso sulle metodiche storiografiche del secondo Novecento.

Ma il restauro si rapporta alla storia stessa, appunto in quanto progetto e in quanto messa in opera, tramite l'insostituibile mediazione della teoria e della storiografia pertinenti. E potenzialmente incarnando, a sua volta e per suo conto, un'inconfondibile e privilegiata, impareggiabile ottica storiografica. Quella, propriamente, del rapporto diretto, da vero conoscitore, con l'oggetto. Un legame stringente e non surrogabile, che solo il restauro può davvero e pienamente implicare e soddisfare, nei termini di un approccio capace, qualora affidato a mani davvero sapienti e consapevoli, di approfondimenti e rivelazioni, appunto di ordine storiografico, nei riguardi del monumento. Ancorché, di certo, il restauro medesimo debba sempre mantenere intatta

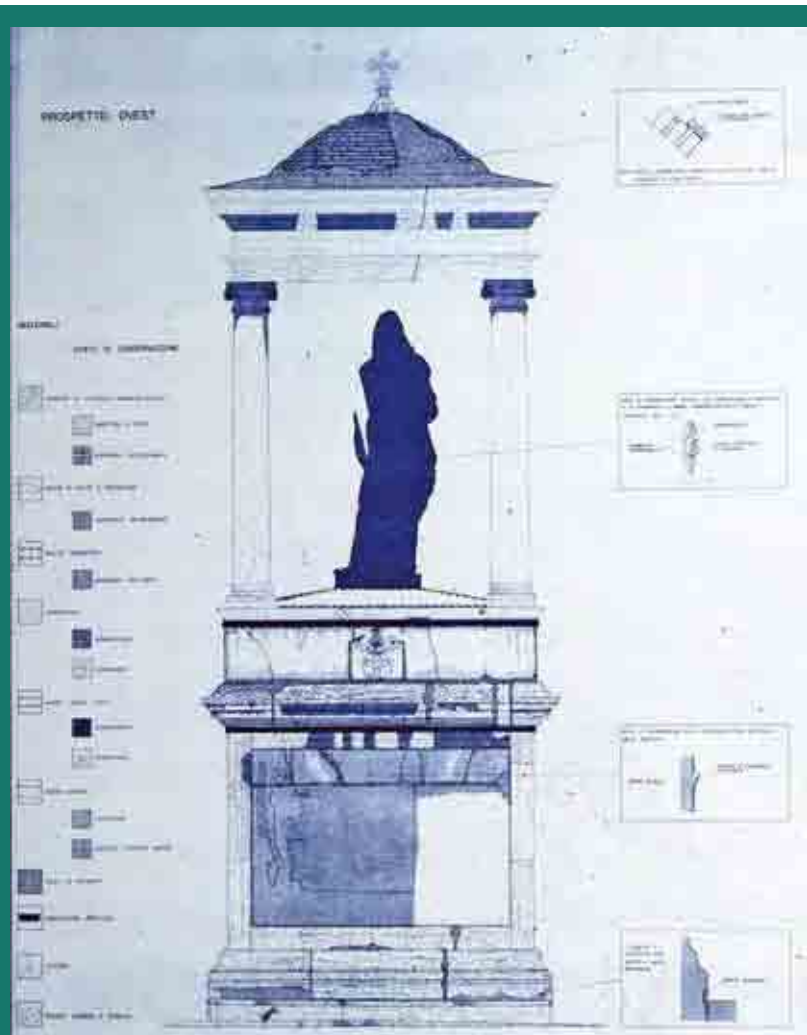


FIG. 2. Edicola di S. Andrea in Via Flaminia, a Roma, diagnosi macroscopica attinente al fronte principale (occid.), con dettaglio della legenda (a d.) (dis. di S. Taccia, 1983)

la propria finalità prima, quella della trasmissione al futuro. In effetti, il restauro stesso, saggiamente affidato e accortamente istruito, comporta una vera, autentica vivisezione conoscitiva del 'testo', insomma, più ancora che il rilievo, un'immedesimazione unica con questo, anche con eventuali scoperte derivanti in corso d'opera, comunque con sicuri approfondimenti gnoseologici. Tutto ciò, a fronte dell'imprevedibilità dell'oggetto storico, singolo e singolare, specie nelle sue parti solitamente inaccessibili.

Ecco, così, che la questione si riapre completamente, considerando il valore della prassi in quanto, a sua volta, particolare e penetrante forma di conoscenza, con risolte incidenze pure sulla teoresi (cfr. G.B. Vico): in questo caso, si tratta dell'*iter* del restauro. Il quale, pur debitamente e specie inizialmente incanalato dal progetto in

causa, non può non indurre – oltre che scoperte e/o specificazioni, talora assai eloquenti – più o meno notevoli varianti in corso d'opera, dunque, anche al di là del progetto stesso, in qualche guisa, inevitabilmente aprioristico e, dunque, a gradi congruamente da emendare. Puntualizzazioni dettate, come detto, dall'imprevedibilità del monumento e della *praxis*, dall'assoluta unicità, oltre ogni tipologizzazione, del 'testo' e dal processo appropriativo che, via via, lo riguarda, proprio e appunto anche durante il restauro medesimo. Ne deriva, tra l'altro, la delicatissima questione inerente un'idonea formazione di restauratori siffatti, *ad hoc*.

Ma è il restauro, come approccio diretto e non libresco alla fabbrica, a generare e imporre una lettura storiografica *in medias res*, insomma, in presenza e,

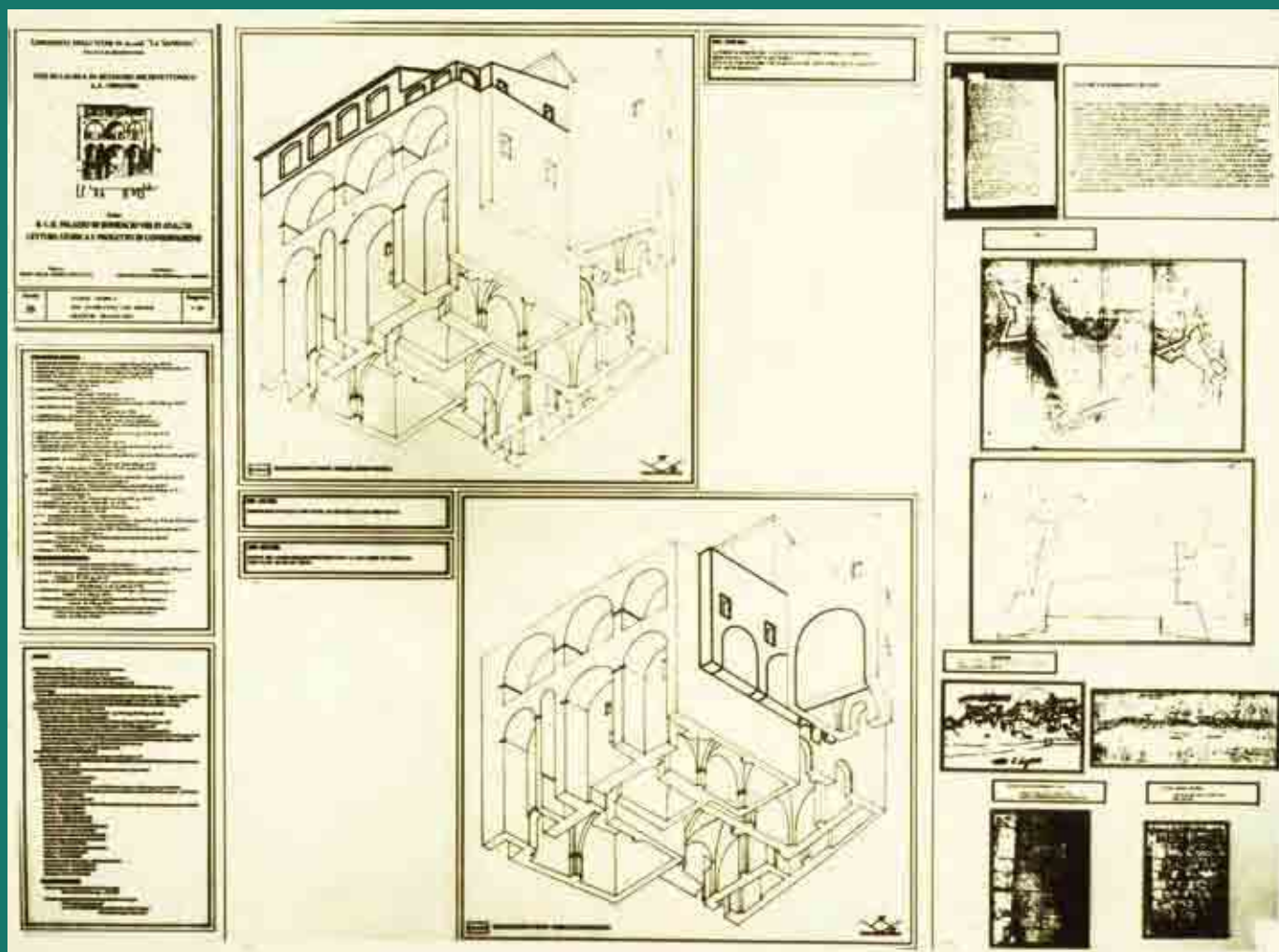


FIG. 3. Palazzo c.d. di Bonifacio VIII ad Anagni, restituzione a ritroso di pregresse fasi edilizie (XVI-XVII e XIII-XIV secc.) (dis. di G. Conosciani, 1996)

di più, in compromissione patente con il proprio oggetto d'interesse. È il restauro, infatti, a dover dare e rendere conto del 'testo' nella sua interezza e nella sua completezza (parti scomparse e aggiunte comprese), al di là di inclinazioni preferenziali, aprioristiche o meno, per un mitico architetto primevo. È il restauro, ancora, che si deve cimentare non più solo (o tanto) con problemi attributivi, o stilistici, ma con la concretezza del dato materiale, al di là dell'inseguimento di un progetto più o meno astratto, più o meno calato, comunque manipolato, da interventi seriori. Del resto, sono proprio le operazioni di restauro che, specie dagli anni Ottanta del Novecento, hanno contribuito ad arricchimenti conoscitivi sugli edifici e sui centri storici, com'è avvenuto a mezzo, per esempio, dei manuali del recupero, riguardo a – ormai numerose – città italiane. Sono appunto tali e ulteriori interventi di restauro che hanno condotto ad approfondimenti gnoseologici, tra l'altro, sui versanti delle finiture, dei colori, delle manutenzioni periodiche, anche con affondi comparati vuoi su connessi dati d'archivio (capitolati, contratti, commissioni, etc.), vuoi su correlate stratigrafie al microscopio, su esemplari attinenti. Aspetti, questi, che, fino ad allora, la storiografia *tout court* tendenzialmente trascurava. Non solo, ma tali allargamenti di orizzonti e detti rinvigorimenti conoscitivi hanno posto e pongono in seria discussione le tradizionali ottiche storiografiche, le quali esaltano oltre misura vuoi lo studio delle personalità artistiche, vuoi il ragionamento sul progetto, sottovalutando il più ampio spettro di problematiche – così quelle esecutive – coinvolte. Del resto, il restauro, come ragionamento su siffatto ambito disciplinare, nonché come suo esercizio – ma non solo sul tavolo da disegno, o sul computer, bensì sul campo – è un continuo affinamento dei sensi e dell'intelletto al riconoscimento di dati innumeri, anche sul versante delle tecniche e delle fasi pregresse di un'opera. È un'assunzione di consapevolezza e di responsabilità sulla propria stessa storia, ognora, esplicantesi, nelle modalità più disparate, nel corpo vivo di ciascun esempio di edificio. È continuo e affinato allenamento a una lettura ogni volta appropriata e commisurata all'inconfondibile singolarità di questo, con gli esiti che ne derivano, in termini di dominio di un linguaggio che si è via via depositato e diversificato, inverandosi con tutti i lasciti del caso, da decodificare scrupolosamente e rigorosamente e senza aprioristiche, partigiane preferenze. Infine, c'è da aggiungere che gli aspetti statici e strutturali delle architetture – benché, a evidenza, di primaria, cruciale rilevanza – non sono stati particolarmente approfonditi dalla storia artistica. Caso mai, dagli scienziati e dai tecnici delle

costruzioni, oltre che dai restauratori/consolidatori (in Italia, G. Giovannoni; poi, più recentemente, P. Sanpaulesi; infine, negli ultimi tempi, specie da E. Benvenuto, A. Giuffrè, S. Di Pasquale), i quali hanno poi avuto modo di cimentarsi sull'orizzonte storiografico, a pieno titolo, ma non senza tangenze con gli interventi da predisporre per la conoscenza e la connessa salvaguardia dei monumenti. Si veda, per tutti, il caso della brunelleschiana cupola di S. Maria del Fiore.

Tornando al rilievo quale elaborato, c'è pure da valutare, come ho dianzi già accennato, la questione, non certo estrinseca, della grafica, tettonica e aderente, non astratta né geometrizzata, da impiegare nella resa circa l'odierno *stato di fatto*, oltre che nel connesso progetto di conservazione tendenziale. Infatti, non si tratta minimamente di inseguire, in termini impropri, i difformi elaborati di attuale progettazione innovativa o *ex nihilo*, nei quali il segno, regolare e pressoché perfetto, potrebbe pure avere una sua giustificazione. Qui, all'opposto, si è in presenza di opere del passato, dunque, per loro natura, sia artigianali, pertanto non seriali, sia usurate, consunte dal tempo intercorso. Di queste, peraltro, va dato diffusamente e capillarmente conto – in più, con apposite e riconoscibili graficizzazioni a tappeto, allusive, simboliche, ma adeguatamente *versus naturam* – circa tutte le proprietà materiali, lavorazioni, irregolarità, imperfezioni, alterazioni e morfologie di deterioramento inerenti, ben distinguendole e specificandole, anche ogni volta riconducendole, ove possibile, ai rispettivi fattori formativi di caratterizzazione. Circa queste fogge di logoramento (ma, ben inteso, altro è alterazione intrinseca, costitutiva, altro è degrado, cioè modifica patologica, là dove è su quest'ultimo versante che si deve agire, contrastando e/o sanando), poi, è da proporre, almeno in alcuni grafici dettagliati, ravvicinati di base, il tracciamento tangibile della situazione effettiva in cui versa oggidì il testo architettonico, al di là di ogni visione sfumata o pittorica, da accademia di belle arti.

I problemi di fondo sopra esposti si prospettano all'attenzione in termini aperti e oggettivamente possono e debbono suscitare una libera, appassionata discussione, ove vanno finalmente considerate con saggio equilibrio tutte le molteplici competenze disciplinari del caso, quelle inerenti alla conoscenza e quelle attinenti alla tutela. Competenze che, peraltro, devono armoniosamente convergere, fondendosi davvero e a fondo, con totale sinergia.

Il rilievo, naturalmente, comporta di per sé pure l'adozione e l'impiego di apposite tecniche di *survey in situ*, oltre che di procedimenti e metodiche propri. Distinti il rilievo diretto e quello mediato, con

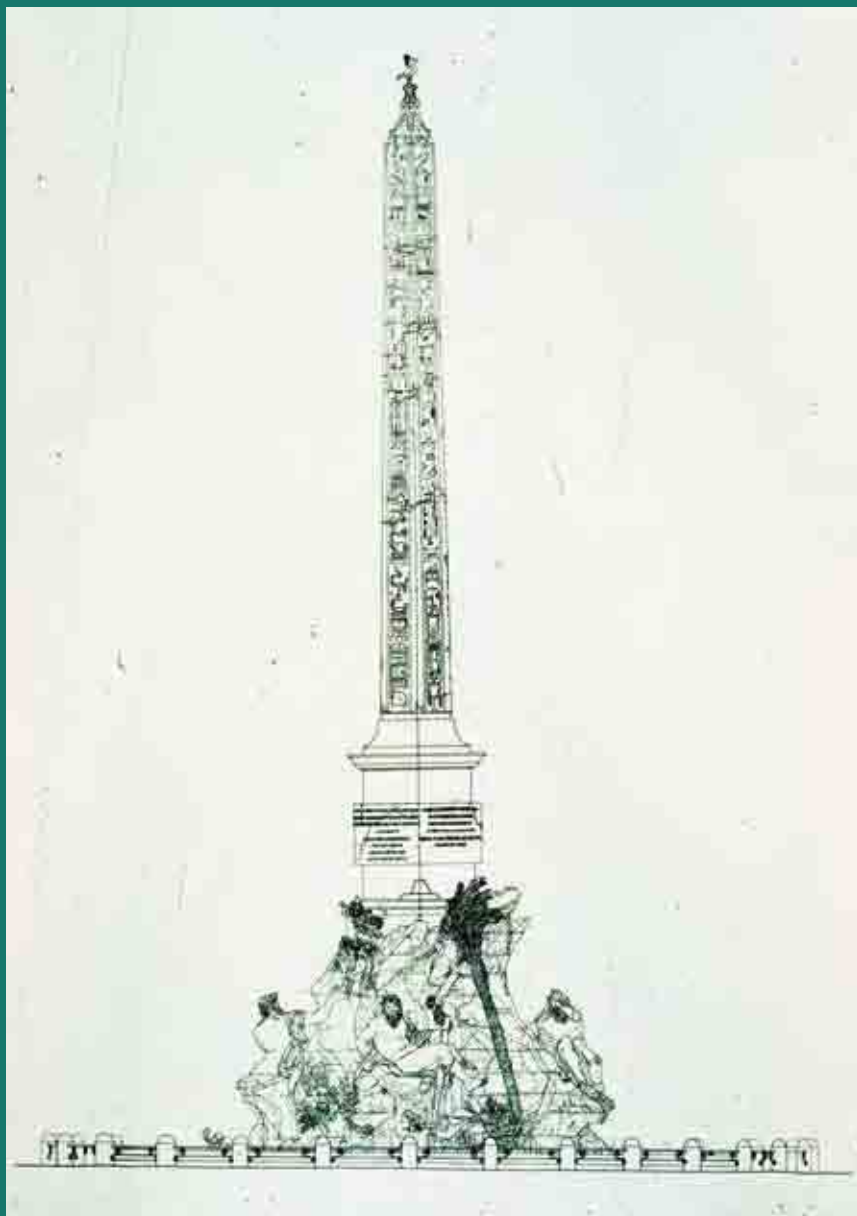


FIG. 4. Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi a Roma, prospetto diagonale (disegno di D.M.T. Abbate, 1996-97)

possibili, ove necessarie, ma accorte integrazioni, si tratta di puntare decisamente ad armonizzare i dati relativi, già alla fonte tendenzialmente eterogenei. In linea di principio, meglio senz'alcun dubbio il rilievo diretto, almeno per lo storico e per il restauratore, se non altro a cagione del maggiore e più qualificato coinvolgimento conoscitivo che comporta. Ma c'è, pur sempre, il problema della raggiungibilità di parti più o meno impervie dell'opera: un sistema può essere quello che si è recentemente adottato per la berniniana Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi a Roma (caso molto particolare e complesso, peraltro, vale a dire, una scultura monumentale a tutto

tondo, dunque, soggetto più che sfuggente, non un'opera incasellabile per prospetti, anche perché, ivi, le vedute privilegiate sono otto, caso mai, non le canoniche quattro (Fig. 4), cioè il fissaggio di punti cruciali, da cui procedere oltre, anche con misure immediate, pure manuali.

Un problema di fondo è stato sinora qui permanentemente sotteso, ma ha fino adesso impalpabilmente aleggiato: è la questione, fondante, della storia del rilievo architettonico (cfr. L. Vagnetti, poi M. Docci - R. Migliari), tutta da tracciare e tale da riservare sorprese.

I rilievi del passato sono riguardabili, per loro conto, anche come fonti storiche: ma su che cosa, in realtà, su quale preciso, specifico versante? Davvero su com'erano effettivamente gli edifici, allora (anche), o, piuttosto, su come essi erano riguardati, dunque, interpretati, in quel dato momento in cui i rilievi medesimi sono stati stesi? Spesso, a complicare le cose, i due aspetti convivono, variamente mescolandosi, così come promiscuamente coabitano pure, talora, con intenti 'archeologici' e/o persino progettuali, quando non visionari (cfr. A. Palladio, come ricorda H. Burns, 1973). La finalità propria e intrinseca di tali disegni è dunque senz'altro importante da avere costantemente a mente: si tratta, con frequenza, di uno scopo di autoeducazione e di apprendimento, ma anche di promemoria-appunto e di trasmissione del dato formale, metrico, ordinamentale, decorativo, visto che i disegni e i taccuini circolavano tra gli addetti ai lavori. E, infatti, spesso vi si avvicinano più annotazioni e grafie diverse.

Ma, oltre tutto ciò, pure la temperie e le circostanze storiche del momento vanno tenute nel massimo conto. Si pensi alle origini stesse, incerte e nebulose, della

storia del rilievo. Si considerino, per esempio, i grafici naïf, ai nostri occhi, di un C. d'Ancona, ad accompagnare le sue peregrinazioni. Si valutino le rappresentazioni ruinistiche, caratterizzate, ma splendidamente immaginifiche, di un G. da Sangallo. Il quale, peraltro, era ben in grado di stendere, volendo, distinti e altrettanto accattivanti, ma puliti e minuziosi disegni di progetto. Si rifletta, ancora, alle previsioni – su preesistenze classiche, pertanto, rilevate, con indicazioni di misure – per mano di B. Peruzzi, ove il *distinguo* tra i coesistenti dati *in situ* (tendenzialmente campiti a sanguigna) e le proposte innovative (in grigio), ivi innervantisi, è inusualmente e del tutto

limpido, per l'epoca. Anche se, certo, l'evidenza materiale possa aver ceduto a manipolazioni ed extrapolazioni, con tutte le congetture del caso. Si soppesino, infine, i mirabili, ma assai complessi, disegni a fil di ferro palladiani, con l'accertamento, anche metrico, del dato classico. Ove questo, tuttavia, non solo è completamente, indifferenziatamente fuso con i fattori d'integrazione formale ipotetica, ma dove, nel contempo, vi possono campeggiare sia, talora, componenti e dati archeologici di tutt'altra provenienza (dunque, decontestualizzati), sia, in sovrappiù, fattori innovativi di progetto *ex novo*. Naturalmente, queste osservazioni odierne, *a posteriori*, esprimono non già un giudizio di merito, ma semplicemente fattuale su un procedimento che, perfettamente legittimo (volendo, non solo per l'epoca), inverteva un personale metodo di studio, di ricerca e di sperimentazione assolutamente unitario. Il che è doveroso constatare, anche avendo dinanzi agli occhi dei tracciati grafici, come per vari impianti termali romani, circa i quali la

testimonianza palladiana rimane oggi l'unica davvero tangibile e, come si vede, per intero, imperviamente da decrittare.

Così, a volo d'uccello, si scorrono rapidamente le immagini di rilievo, via via, passando per A. Desgodetz (1682) fino agli elaborati ottocenteschi, tra i quali, numerosi, quelli dei Pensionnaires de Rome, allorquando si cominciava a distinguere e sceverare sistematicamente, altresì in termini grafici, tra evidenze date e giustapposte elaborazioni ipotetiche restitutive-ricostruttive. Ma non senza equivoci e rettificazioni indebite, il tutto involontariamente a esternare, di fatto, una concezione talora aprioristicamente infondata degli edifici del passato, quasi le loro – presunte o vere – anomalie, quali irregolarità e mancati parallelismi (caso mai, da intendere come caratteristiche, tutte da decodificare, poi), fossero dei difetti da occultare, anzi, censurare. Così, tra l'altro, nei rilievi romani di edifici moderni, per opera di P.M. Letarouilly (1849, 1868), compaiono incaute approssimazioni,

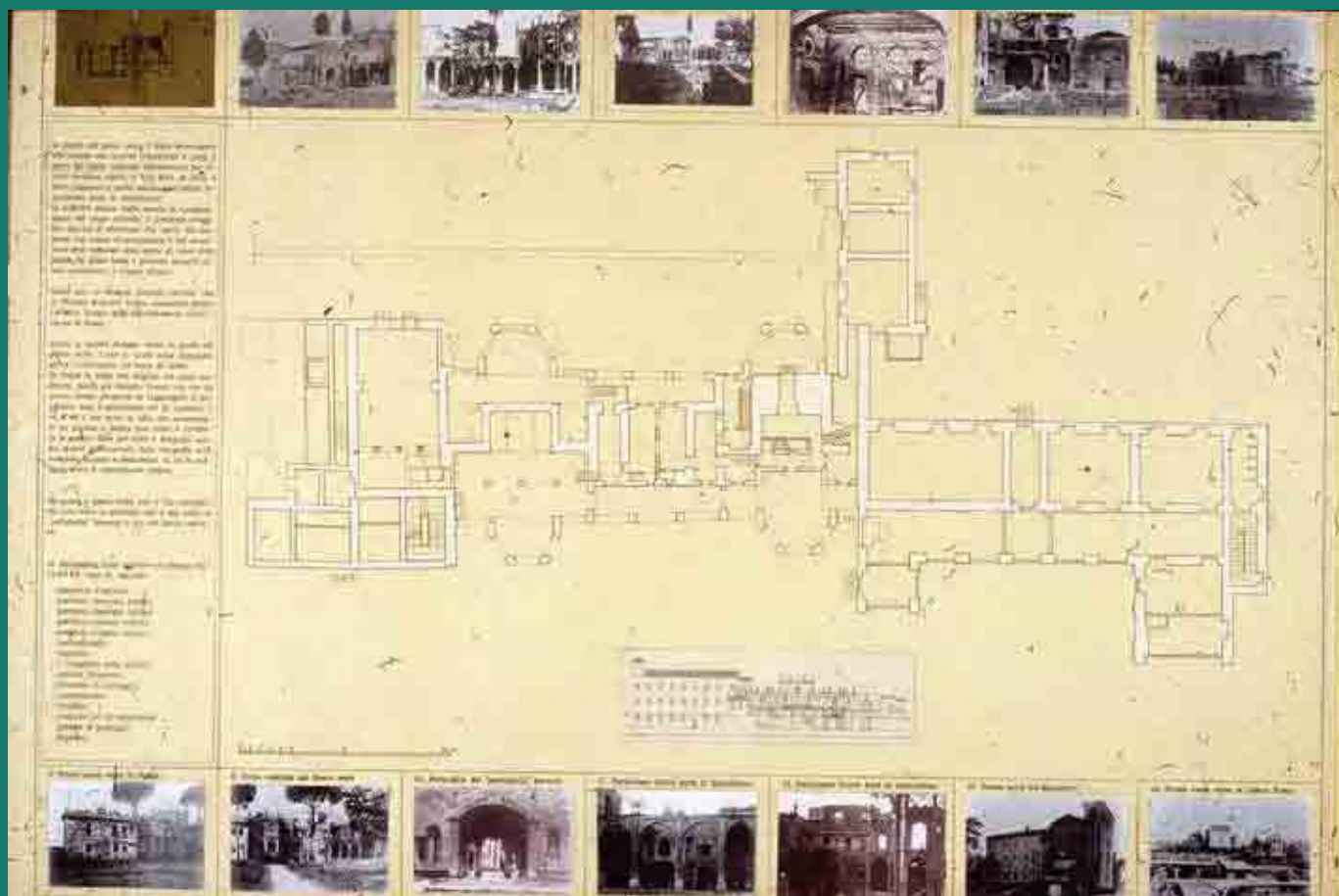


Fig. 5. Villa Mills al Palatino in Roma, già demolita, restituzione planimetrica su base documentaria (disegni e fotografie) (dis. di E. Pizzetti, 1997-98).

I disegni fanno parte a degli studi condotti presso la Facoltà di Architettura della Sapienza Università di Roma

regolarizzazioni, specularità, le quali, se assunte alla lettera, dall'odierno, improvvido storico-ermeneuta, si rivelano clamorosamente fuorvianti. E, caso mai, interessanti circa concezioni e procedure del rilevatore, ben più che sulle connotazioni effettive del monumento via via in causa.

Con il che, si affaccia prepotentemente il quesito retorico di fondo sui grafici in oggetto. Si è in presenza di rilievi tendenzialmente 'oggettivi' (e, ogni volta, come, fino a che punto, in quali termini), oppure di progetti, ovvero le due cose insieme, variamente commiste e indiscernibili? O, ancora, di interpretazioni? Oppure, si tratta di una domanda inopportuna, mal posta? È chiaro che, in definitiva, l'aspetto ermeneutico può risultare più o meno appariscente, ma è ingenuo ritenere di poterlo eliminare davvero e per intero. Occorre, caso mai, circoscriverlo, limitando il danno storiografico che potrebbe, anche inconsapevolmente, indurre.

Dal che, si viene a confermare, evidenziandolo, più che di consueto, il carattere fortemente ambiguo e bifronte di tutte le fonti storiche – compresi i rilievi – pure in rapporto agli scopi effettivi per i quali sono state prodotte. Per ciò che esse dicono, per ciò che tacciono; inoltre, per come lo affermano, oppure lo negano, magari lo sottendono, ovvero lo fanno appena balenare.

In ogni modo, i rilievi del passato possono risultare anche assai significativi, ma, come si è visto, sono tutti da decodificare appieno, specie circa parti architettoniche scomparse, o modificate, o comunque controverse. Così è recentemente avvenuto nel caso di uno studio restitutivo del Settizonio, imponente complesso dell'antichità romana, poi, negli anni Ottanta del Cinquecento, demolito da D. Fontana, per conto del pontefice Sisto V (Fig. 5). Monumento di cui rimangono labilissime tracce sul luogo, nonché radi residui e lacerti materiali sparsi. Ma l'indagine filologica – sui disegni rinascimentali, dunque insieme e all'unisono, di rilievo e di ricostruzione ideale – ha qui consentito di accedere nel caso, oltre che a una sorta di ricomposizione grafica, pure a una forma sottilmente evocativa di 'restauro mentale' *in situ*, con un progetto di sistemazione allusiva, niente più, dell'area.

Ecco, allora, che il discorso si riapre completamente, proponendo la storia del rilievo stesso come campo privilegiato di un'indagine filologica per intero da intraprendere e da coltivare, dotata di prospettive, naturalmente tutte filtrate, vuoi storiografiche, vuoi, volendo e come si è veduto, persino di restauro.

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ABSTRACT

Graphic survey and restoration: their distinct roles and potential in historical research

Paolo Fancelli

The author stresses the importance of graphic survey (*il rilievo*) both as an essential tool for a better understanding of a historic building, and for its crucial role in building restoration. Surveying its different historical accretions, its proportions and dimensions, and its changes through time, results in the building itself being recognised as the most complete document about itself. The graphical information provided by any survey, whether one that was conducted in the past or one undertaken anew nowadays, must always be subjected to a filtering process, assessing the accuracy of the building's dimensions and proportions, and the veracity of the information contained in the drawings. These must also form the basis of any restoration work. Advances towards a common descriptive language for survey terminology have facilitated standardisation so long as it is applied critically and systematically. This fundamental role of graphic survey has not always been recognised but is in fact essential for any project of physical recovery and conservation of a monument, while also constituting a critical study in depth of the monument's historiography throughout time up to its present state.

Conservation, restauration, restauro: brevi spigolature sulla terminologia architettonica¹

CALOGERO BELLANCA

Premessa

In questi ultimi decenni in numerosi convegni e congressi internazionali ci si è trovati con eminenti specialisti del settore della conservazione, provenienti da tutte le parti del mondo, seduti attorno ad un tavolo e talvolta rimanere impantanati su questioni non metodologiche e di principi, ma su equivoci terminologici e forse addirittura alcuni rapporti culturali e scientifici sono entrati in crisi.

Adesso che il settore del restauro del patrimonio culturale ha avuto una crescita esponenziale si pensi, solo per rammentare alcuni degli episodi, alle problematiche derivate nei paesi dell'Europa centro orientale dopo la caduta del muro di Berlino o all'incremento del turismo di massa nei siti storici di tutto il mondo con una crescente utilizzazione, quasi consumistica, dei beni culturali.

Si avverte la necessità di creare una piattaforma comune di conoscenza dove incontrarsi con maggiore facilità e avviare quel processo di convergenza, oggi più che mai indispensabile, per orientare studi, proposte e interventi per la tutela, conservazione e restauro del patrimonio culturale senza esagerare nell'uso improprio e nella mercificazione esuberante.

Il lessico

Questo contributo desidera anticipare, con alcune riflessioni, lo studio sulla terminologia nel settore dei beni architettonici avviato da diversi anni ormai con il patrocinio del prof. Giovanni Carbonara e dell'ICCROM. Il profilo intende presentare alcuni capisaldi della storia e della teoria del restauro all'interno del lento fluire dei principi della conservazione nel tempo.

Il termine 'restauro' in Italia presenta, solo in quest'ultimo secolo, varie sfumature dal restauro stilistico a quello storico, per giungere a quello scientifico e filologico, quindi al restauro critico e critico-conservativo.

In Francia la definizione di *restauration* prevale su quella di *conservation* e ritrova sempre un fascino maggiore.

Nei paesi di lingua inglese si trovano delle differenze: nel Regno Unito si adotta più diffusamente *conservation* mentre negli Stati Uniti d'America si preferisce *preservation*.

In area tedesca e austriaca si varia fra i termini di *Restaurierung*, *Konservierung* e *Erhaltung*.

Nei paesi di lingua spagnola si divide fra *conservación* e *restauración*.

Una certa predisposizione agli equivoci lessicali e concettuali sorge spontanea perché nelle lingue latine il termine conservazione si traduce in senso estensivo come restauro. Inoltre in molti documenti ufficiali l'espressione *conservation-restoration* è "usata" per conservazione.

¹ An abstract in English can be found at the end of the paper.

L'idea è stata quella di ricercare i concetti, i principi, le definizioni delle vere e proprie *short sentences* per ritornare alle fonti nelle principali lingue europee attraverso la storia della conservazione e del restauro, quindi presentare alcune citazioni originarie e altre dei vari specialisti del settore. Tutto questo per continuare quella processualità di approfondimenti che non desidera riproporre traduzioni di secche definizioni di vocaboli con tutte le complicazioni note da decenni.

Il ripercorrere la storia delle definizioni dovrebbe aiutare a ritrovare le radici anche delle differenze fra i vari autori. Questo sarà l'obiettivo, cercare di fornire un contributo alla ricerca delle basi comuni di intesa, talvolta difficili, soprattutto in questi ultimi tempi con un crescente interesse rivolto al patrimonio culturale da forze inizialmente estranee e adesso in parte sensibilizzate e sostanzialmente attive ma con ancora una formazione e sensibilità da affinare.

Riflessioni del nostro tempo

Gli studi e le relative pubblicazioni sugli aspetti dottrinari della disciplina del restauro come quelli più operativi sugli interventi, in questi ultimi anni, sono incrementati. Sono germogliati i semi dei memorabili corsi, sia congiunti che successivamente separati, fra l'ICCROM e la Scuola di Specializzazione per lo studio e il restauro dei monumenti della Sapienza, Università di Roma, nati e sviluppati dopo la Carta di Venezia del 1964. Adesso molti frutti sono maturati e ricoprono ruoli importanti sia nelle università, sia nelle amministrazioni nazionali preposte allo studio e restauro altri ancora ai vertici di organismi internazionali oltre a qualificati studiosi e restauratori.

Molti sono i testi di riferimento, direi sacri per tutti, senza distinzione di aree geografiche e culturali, nei quali un assioma è sempre valido “*No future without a past*” e ancora richiamando un successivo slogan caratterizzante la politica culturale del Consiglio d'Europa, “*A future for our past*”, dimostrano come c'è stato un continuo crescendo di riflessioni.

Fra i primi si possono inserire gli Atti del Congresso di Venezia del 1964, *Il monumento per l'uomo*. Piero Gazzola scriveva nella presentazione degli atti che: “in questi ultimi tempi in tutti i Paesi si è avuta la sensazione di quanto sia pericoloso ... il distacco e quanto sia necessario ridare allo sviluppo materiale il controllo dello spirito; di quanto la degna conservazione dei beni culturali sia necessaria ai popoli...”.

Si dimostra come il valore culturale dei monumenti del passato è un'acquisizione non di oggi mentre si ribadisce che: “l'utilizzo di questi beni, quale con strumento base del loro recupero è acquisizione recentissima ...che ha coinciso con la dimostrata verità che l'opera di salvataggio risulta carente qualora non si

tenga nel dovuto conto l'incidenza del valore economico del bene, prima e dopo la sua riqualificazione”. Le considerazioni di Gazzola sui termini utilizzo, recupero e riqualificazione, sono sempre molto attuali, anzi costituiscono spesso fonti di equivoci lessicali e operativi. Egli coglie “il dramma dello sventramento dei centri storici, ... e della denaturazione del paesaggio”. Gazzola desidera dare forza alla Carta di Venezia, come: “il codice ufficiale nel settore della conservazione”.²

Uno dei primi tentativi per avviare un certo ordine sugli equivoci terminologici, che si erano generati all'interno del congresso veneziano, risale al 1977 quando G. De Angelis d'Ossat, allora presidente del Comitato Nazionale Italiano dell'ICOMOS, forma un gruppo di lavoro diretto poi da Roberto Di Stefano e da Paul Philippot. De Angelis intese promuovere quell'opera aperta “facendosi antesignano ed interprete di istanze certamente sentite, ma rimaste finora inesprese ... e noi tutti, nel tradurre alcuni termini specifici, abbiamo spesso provato imbarazzo e corso il rischio di essere fraintesi... Il lavoro svolto vuol essere considerato un saggio di prova da sottoporre a verifica e da ampliare necessariamente”.³

Un successivo repertorio è stato il *Glossarium Artis*. Nel 1981 si pubblica l'ottavo volume in lingua inglese, francese e tedesco dedicato alla terminologia connessa alla conservazione dei monumenti storici. Qui si ritrovano ancora semplici accostamenti di singole definizioni, ad esempio, *Den Denkmaler, les Monuments, the monuments*, anche se raccoglie un discreto apparato bibliografico.⁴

A questi primi tentativi sembra opportuno aggiungere una serie di pubblicazioni dei maggiori studiosi contemporanei. Questa raccolta si può avviare con l'opera antologica di P. Philippot, *Pénétrer l'art, Restaurer l'Oeuvre, une vision humaniste, Hommage en forme de florilège*, s.l. 1990. Fra gli autori di lingua francese egli ha sempre espresso con lucidità la dottrina del restauro. In italiano vorrei segnalare i sempre crescenti e validi contributi di Giovanni Carbonara, che dalla *Reintegrazione dell'Immagine* del 1976, continuando con il *Trattato di Restauro Architettonico* pubblicato dal 1996, quindi all'*Avvicinamento al Restauro* del 1997, e agli *Aggiornamenti del Trattato*, mantiene la Scuola italiana del restauro fra le più attive e qualificate.

Per il mondo anglosassone si ritiene di inserire fra i testi di maggiore incisione, il volume di B. Feilden, *Conservation of Historic Buildings* del 1982, quindi assumono grande importanza, per l'ecumenismo dei contributi e dei concetti, gli Atti della *Nara Conference on Authenticity* del 1994, e la raccolta antologica curata da Nicholas Stanley Price con Kirby Talley, jr, e Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage* del 1996.

Questo volume raccoglie, per la prima volta, una rassegna internazionale dei maggiori studiosi aprendosi realmente al mondo della conservazione. Infine fra i testi in lingua inglese, anche con una recente edizione in giapponese, si deve considerare J. Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, edito nel 1999 dopo la dissertazione presentata a York nel 1986.

Una riflessione a parte si deve fare per le varie edizioni della *Teoria del Restauro* di Cesare Brandi. In questi ultimi anni, per cercare di superare alcuni equivoci terminologici, la teoria è stata pubblicata in varie lingue. Per l'edizione inglese credo però che sarebbe stato più opportuno tradurla in *Theory of Conservation* invece di *Theory of Restoration*.

Una nota di plauso va altresì rivolta agli autori spagnoli che hanno prodotto alcuni interessanti studi con documenti inediti in lingua castigliana. Si rammentano fra l'altro: I. Ordieres Díez, *Historia de la Restauración monumental en España 1835-1936*, Madrid 1995; e J. Rivera Blanco, *De Varia Restauratione, Teoría e Historia de la Restauración Arquitectónica*, Valladolid 2001.

Per l'area di lingua tedesca si ricordino in breve, due opere dei conservatori austriaci più recenti Walter Frodl, *Idee und Verwirklichung*, Wien 1994, e Ernst Bacher, *Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege*, Wien 1995, entrambe dense di fonti documentarie. Per la Germania si segnalano le raccolte antologiche curate da Norbert Huse, *Denkmalpflege deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*, München 1996 e un secondo volume *Unbequeme Baudenkmale, Entsorgen? Schützen? Pflegen?*, München 1997.

Infine si ritiene utile inserire un recente e esaustivo volume in lingua polacca di Bogusław Szmygin, *Kształtowanie Koncepcji Zabytku i doktryny Konserwatorskiej w Polsce w XX wieku*, Lublin 2000. Lo studio che qui si intende anticipare, intende offrire l'idea di un vero e proprio regesto con le analisi storico-critiche di alcune fonti storiche, artistiche e letterarie.

In questo contributo si delimitano le considerazioni solo su Conservazione e Restauro.

Conservazione

Dalle numerose fonti del XIX secolo, in questa sede, si possono solo accennare per la Francia le prime "Instruction pour la conservation, l'entretien et la restauration des édifices diocésains ..." dovute a Falloux-Durier del 1849⁵, mentre di P. Merimée si ritiene di rammentare il Rapporto su Notre Dame del 1845 nel quale sono già espresse le contraddizioni attuali. "Par Restauration nous entendons la Conservation de ce qui existe et la reproduction de ce qui a manifestement existé".⁶

Negli stessi anni si ritrovano le enunciazioni del Conservation Fund inglese del 1855 nel quale: "conserving

ancient monuments ... in the sense of preservation from the further ravages of time or negligence without any attempt to add, alter or restore ...".⁷ Per non dimenticare l'assioma di John Ruskin sul restauro: "Restoration ... means the most total destruction which a building can suffer ... that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman ..." ⁸ A queste antitetiche posizioni si deve aggiungere una terza più centrale.

Questa codificazione si ritrova nell'altra grande area culturale europea della conservazione espressa dalla mitica Regia e Imperiale Commissione Centrale dell'impero austro-ungarico con delle precise indicazioni emanate nel 1853. "Zur Erhaltung der Baudenkmale gehört insbesondere die Beseitigung aller den Verfall oder die Zerstörung herbeiführenden umstände"⁹ ("... serve l'eliminazione di tutti gli elementi - le cause - che provocano distruzioni e degradi ...").

Pochi anni dopo agli inizi del Novecento, Riegl nel 1903 scrive che: "Ewige erhaltung ist eben über haupt nicht möglich; den die Naturkräfte sind am ende stärker als aller Menschenwitz..."¹⁰ ("la conservazione eterna non è possibile, perché le forze della natura in ultima istanza sono più forti di tutta l'intelligenza umana"). Le affermazioni di Riegl invitano a riflettere sulle vicende della crisi dell'impero asburgico, ed ecco emergere l'importanza della memoria, dei valori e dei ricordi.

Pochi anni dopo i conservatori polacchi, in linea con i principi della Central Commission, emanano una carta del restauro nel 1909. "Rozwinac dzialanosc jak najszersza tylko w kierunku konserwacji, aby przy niewielkich kosztach zachowac jak najwieksza ilosc zabytkow, przy czym przystepujac do konserwacji zabytku nalezy..." ("agire intensamente solo verso la conservazione, in modo da preservare con costi modesti il maggior numero possibile di monumenti..."). E ancora dal punto d, "ograniczac sie konserwacji do prostej naprawy i wymiany uszkodzonych czesci na nowe, o ile to jest niezbedne dla utrzymania calosci zabytku" ("nella conservazione limitarsi alla mera riparazione o ... se ciò è indispensabile per la preservazione dell'intero monumento").¹¹

Sempre l'ambiente culturale austriaco fornisce altri contributi con Max Dvořák: "Solche Schäden müssen Selbstverständlich der erhaltung der denkmäler wegen nach möglichkeit behoben werden"¹² ("questi danni devono essere riparati nel miglior modo possibile per la conservazione del monumento").

Pochi anni dopo si avrà la prima formulazione a livello internazionale con la Carta di Atene del 1931, i cui risultati furono in gran parte ispirati da Gustavo Giovannoni e si qualifica quel metodo, scientifico-filologico, del restauro di matrice italiana già enunciato e attuato da Camillo Boito, quindi da Corrado Ricci e Antonio Muñoz. Il documento raccomanda i principi della collaborazione fra Stati in favore della Conservazione, "... per il rispetto

dell'opera storica e artistica, senza prescrivere lo stile di alcuna epoca...".¹³

Il dramma della seconda guerra mondiale mette in crisi le certezze e gli equilibri raggiunti. Nel secondo dopoguerra mentre l'Europa vive la stagione delle ricostruzioni, dei nuovi investimenti per l'architettura moderna e il rilancio economico, si sente la necessità di chiarire le diverse posizioni sui restauri anche per meglio disciplinare gli interventi sulle preesistenze. In questo momento storico si inserisce la Carta di Venezia del 1964, che malgrado tutto, contiene degli equivoci terminologici per l'iniziale assenza di efficaci traduzioni nelle varie lingue. Mentre l'art. 3 indica che "la conservazione ed il restauro dei monumenti mirano a salvaguardare tanto l'opera d'arte che la testimonianza storica", il successivo articolo 4 precisa che: "la conservazione dei monumenti impone anzitutto una manutenzione sistematica".¹⁴ Questa ultima definizione fornirà quasi un alibi per interventi di manutenzione spinta, e aprirà una crisi fra alcuni padri della dottrina italiana del restauro.

Negli anni settanta del Novecento si affermano altre posizioni teoriche in Italia fra le quali quella della pura conservazione; ma con Giovanni Carbonara, nel 1987, il concetto di conservazione trova una equilibrata affermazione. Si considera: "la conservazione come opera di prevenzione, condotta prima sull'ambiente e poi sulle cose, di salvaguardia e costante manutenzione, da attuare proprio per evitare che si debba poi intervenire col restauro, il quale costituisce pur sempre un momento traumatico." ¹⁵

Poco dopo, per l'ampia incidenza e diffusione nei paesi anglosassoni è importante rammentare la Burra Charter del 1979, con revisioni del 1981, 1988 fino al testo definitivo del 1999. Il termine *conservation* oltre ad una prima definizione "means all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance" presenta una serie di "retention or reintroduction of a use, retention of associations and meanings..." ¹⁶, ma possiede alcune ambiguità e degli equivoci.

Le successive *Guidelines* per la gestione dei siti inseriti nella lista del patrimonio mondiale del 1998 redatte da B. Feilden e J. Jokilehto propongono il termine di conservazione con la seguente definizione: "Conservation implies keeping in safety or preserving the existing state of a heritage resource from destruction or change ... the action taken to prevent decay and to prolong life. The general concept of conservation implies various types of treatments aimed at safeguarding buildings, sites or historic towns; these include maintenance repair, consolidation, reinforcement." ¹⁷

Nello stesso anno Miriam Clavir sostiene che per conservazione si debbano considerare: "all actions aimed at the safeguarding of cultural property for the future. The purpose of conservation is to study, record,

retain and restore the culturally significant qualities of the object with the least possible intervention." ¹⁸ Più recentemente Michael Petzet nel 2004 definisce conservation: "To conserve means to keep, to preserve. Thus the basic attitude of preservation comes most purely to expression in conservation: to conserve is the supreme preservation principle." ¹⁹

Restauro

Per restauro si intende generalmente l'intervento diretto sull'opera e anche come sua eventuale modifica, condotta sempre sotto un rigoroso controllo storico-critico.

Già alla metà del XIX secolo altre due espressioni della cultura francese dimostrano la differenza di orientamento fra le posizioni; dall'enunciato di A. Didron del 1845, al più diffuso assioma, quasi il manifesto del restauro in Francia, di E.E. Viollet-le-Duc, del 1846.²⁰

Negli stessi anni in Spagna una Real Órden del 10 ottobre del 1850 sembra riprendere il pensiero di Viollet-le-Duc. Infatti si trova: "que si por su seguridad fuese necesario restaurar (las fachadas), se respete el pensamiento primitivo, acomodando las renovaciones al carácter de la fábrica, y procurando que las partes antiguas y las modernas se asemejen y parezcan de una misma época." ²¹

Ancora il documento polacco redatto della Konferencji Konserwatorskiej del 1909, apporta altre definizioni. Il a. "Forma Zabytku winna być zachowana bez względu na rozniotność zawartych w nim stylów" ("la forma del monumento deve essere preservata nonostante l'eventuale pluralità di stili presenti nello stesso monumento"). d. "Restauracja winna przystosować się do charakteru zabytku materialem i techniką. Większe restauracje należy uwidocznić tablicą z odpowiednim napisem" ("il restauro deve adattarsi al carattere del monumento sia come tecnica che come materiali. Per i restauri di grande entità occorre procedere con particolare cautela e prevedere parziali adattamenti").²²

Con la successiva asserzione di Max Dvořák: "Man sicherte nicht nur bei den sogenannten Restaurierung das bestehende, sondern ersetzte auch alles fehlende und erneuerte das beschädigte" ²³ ("il restauro è andato al di là delle misure di conservazione necessarie. Nei cosiddetti restauri non si è consolidato soltanto ciò che rimaneva..."). Si ritrova un crescente equilibrio, come in precedenza si era espresso per il termine conservazione, con concetti meditati tali da proseguire lungo un percorso prudente del restauro.

Cesare Brandi, negli anni sessanta, dimostra di avere recepito e assimilato le enunciazioni di Riegl e Dvořák, quindi sintetizza e matura la riflessione dottrinale che si manifesta nella definizione di restauro del 1963. "S'intende generalmente per restauro qualsiasi intervento

volto a rimettere in efficienza un prodotto dell'attività umana. Il restauro costituisce il momento metodologico del riconoscimento dell'opera d'arte nella sua consistenza fisica e nella duplice polarità estetico- storica, in vista della sua trasmissione al futuro". E ancora il restauro "deve mirare al ristabilimento dell'unità potenziale dell'opera d'arte...senza commettere un falso artistico o un falso storico, e senza cancellare ogni traccia del passaggio dell'opera nel tempo." ²⁴

L'anno seguente è quello della Carta di Venezia del 1964. Si rammenta la definizione di restauro all'articolo 9: "... Il restauro è un processo che deve mantenere un carattere eccezionale. Il suo scopo è di conservare e di rivelare i valori formali e storici del monumento e si fonda sul rispetto della sostanza antica e delle documentazioni autentiche". ²⁵ Anche da questa asserzione si svilupperanno delle divergenze soprattutto per quel rivelare i valori anche, con toni accessi, fra alcuni padri della disciplina.

La successiva "Carta italiana del restauro" del 1972, all'articolo 4 sancisce che: "s'intende per restauro qualsiasi intervento volto a mantenere in efficienza, a facilitare la lettura e a trasmettere integralmente al futuro le opere e gli oggetti d'interesse monumentale, storico e ambientale" ²⁶. Negli stessi anni si diffondono le posizioni dottrinarie del restauro critico che vedono i maggiori pensatori in R. Pane, R. Bonelli, P. Philippot e G. Carbonara. In questa rassegna si ritiene utile inserire alcune di queste espressioni:

P. Philippot, 1959: "La reconstitution, impossible en tant que reprise du processus créateur, reste donc concevable, et même pleinement justifiée, si on la comprend comme *un acte d'interprétation critique*, destiné à rétablir une continuité formelle interrompue, dans la mesure où celle-ci reste latente dans l'oeuvre mutilée, et où la reconstitution rend à la *structure esthétique* la clarté de lecture qu'elle avait perdue." ²⁷

R. Bonelli, 1963: "ogni operazione dovrà essere subordinata allo scopo di reintegrare e conservare il valore espressivo dell'opera, poiché l'intento da raggiungere è la liberazione della sua vera forma. Al contrario, quando le distruzioni siano così gravi da avere grandemente mutilato o distrutto l'immagine, non è assolutamente possibile tornare ad avere il monumento; esso non si può riprodurre, poiché l'atto creatore dell'artista è irripetibile". E ancora: "Restauro come processo critico e restauro quale atto creativo sono dunque legati da un rapporto dialettico, in cui il primo definisce le condizioni che l'altro deve adottare, come proprie intime premesse, e dove l'azione critica realizza la comprensione dell'opera architettonica che l'azione creatrice è irripetibile." ²⁸

G. Carbonara, 1976: "Il restauro è azione critica e creativa al tempo stesso, è complesso atto di cultura, assai facilmente compromettente, estremamente raffinato e

impegnativo e perciò stesso, quasi per definizione, se atto di sensibilità architettonica, non certo atto meramente professionale o, peggio, professionalistico..." ²⁹

Si deve a Jukka Jokilehto nel 1986 un primo tentativo di chiarire meglio e soprattutto far comprendere al mondo anglosassone il concetto del restauro critico. Lo studioso di origine finlandese, ma romano d'adozione, cerca di fornire una spiegazione in inglese: "The so-called Restauro critico... the theory is based on a historical-critical evaluation of the object; it is a strictly conservative approach considering all significant historical phases, but it takes into account both historic and aesthetic aspect and allows for reintegration of a work of art under specific conditions, if this can be achieved without committing an artistic or historic fake. In the case of a conflict regarding works of art that have preserved their potential unity, and particularly when certain additions are less significant, artistic values are given priority." ³⁰

Anche per il termine restauro la Carta di Burra presenta alcune definizioni: "Restoration means returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material." ³¹ Da questa asserzione si evidenzia come il termine Restoration, in inglese, si accosti verso il ripristino, quindi determina vive preoccupazioni in alcuni ambienti culturali.

Nel 1999 si riesce a emanare in Italia il Testo Unico dei Beni Culturali, il quale all'articolo 34, propone una nuova enunciazione: "per restauro s'intende l'intervento diretto sulla cosa volto a mantenerne l'integrità materiale e ad assicurare la conservazione e la protezione dei suoi valori culturali". ³² Questa affermazione viene trasferita nel Codice del 2002, dove: "La conservazione del patrimonio culturale è assicurata mediante una coerente, coordinata e programmata attività di studio, prevenzione, manutenzione e restauro". ³³

Più recentemente si trovano altre complesse definizioni. Una di queste si deve a Michael Petzet il quale codifica il termine restoration: "To restore (restaurare) means to re-establish; in the following it is not to be defined as a term meaning major preservation work in general, as is often customary, but rather as a measure that is to be differentiated from conservation and safeguarding as well as from renovation." ³⁴

Quindi nel 2005, si pubblica una nuova raccolta di saggi di autori italiani e emergono alcune incisive asserzioni. Queste dimostrano come si concordi nel definire l'oggetto del restauro con una natura prettamente storica con varie declinazioni. ³⁵ L'anno seguente nel 2006 un Seminario Internazionale tenutosi a Lisbona e dedicato a Brandi contiene una sorpresa. "Il restauro è un'attività finalizzata alla trasmissione al futuro di un bene culturale per mantenere l'esistenza e assicurarne la fruizione, nel rispetto della sua identità

particolare (somma di originalità più integrità) di un progetto pluridisciplinare di conservazione...”.³⁶ La definizione sembra esterna all’accordo delle voci nella pur grande varietà delle note e dei motivi. Essa si sbilancia sul piano operativo, forse desidera risultare provocatoria, ma certamente, al limite di quella robusta e matura pianta del restauro che si sta ripercorrendo.

Ancora nel 2006 a Cracovia, a cento anni dalla nascita di Brandi, si svolge un incontro internazionale che segna la costituzione di un comitato internazionale dell’ICOMOS sulla Teoria, dopo la creazione ufficiale a Xi’an nell’ottobre del 2005, suscitando ampie convergenze, ma dimostrando anche posizioni differenti sul lessico.³⁷

Authenticity

Alla luce dei recenti incontri e dalle affermazioni enunciate sono emersi due raggruppamenti di definizioni, quelle della conservazione e del restauro e si nota come le problematiche terminologiche siano di natura storica e riflettono le singole realtà nazionali e particolari necessità delle società. I nodi maggiori, allo stato attuale, sembrano riferirsi all’autenticità e alle sue molteplici differenziazioni. Una lettura per agevolare quell’ampia piattaforma di convergenze teoriche, come accennato in precedenza, sulla conservazione e sul restauro si potrebbe orientare verso i principi dell’autenticità. Ma anche questo idioma si presenta con dense sfumature, in particolare, in alcune realtà culturali.

Per cercare di esplicitare meglio alcune riflessioni si ritiene di inserire ancora alcune definizioni.

Già alla fine del secolo scorso Giacomo Boni nel 1885 scriveva che il nostro compito è di conservare “l’autenticità” (materiale) delle antiche testimonianze, la quale non sarà forse “... il maggior pregio dei monumenti, ma la condizione di ogni pregio ch’essi possano avere.”³⁸ Pochi anni dopo Camillo Boito nel 1893 asseriva che: “serbar io devo ai vecchi monumenti l’aspetto venerando e pittoresco, e se scansare aggiunte o compimenti con tutto il buon volere non riesco, fare devo così ce ognun discerna esser l’opera mia tutta moderna”.³⁹

Ma soprattutto Walter Benjamin aveva insistito sull’importanza dell’autenticità. “Anche nel caso di una riproduzione altamente perfezionata, manca un elemento *l’hic et nunc* dell’opera d’arte... *l’hic et nunc* dell’originale costituisce il concetto della sua autenticità. L’intero ambito dell’autenticità si sottrae alla riproducibilità tecnica - e naturalmente non di quella tecnica soltanto... L’autenticità è la quintessenza di tutto ciò che, fin dall’origine di essa, può venir tramandato, dalla sua durata materiale alla sua virtù di testimonianza storica.”⁴⁰

Uno dei più autorevoli *architecte en chef* dei monumenti storici francesi, Boiret, definisce l’autenticità

in uno scritto del 1990: “C’est la conservation scrupuleuse de tous les témoignages, même le plus récent...”.⁴¹ Raymond Lemaire nel 1993 con il saggio *Authenticité et patrimoine monumental* innesca una serie di riflessioni, da parte di numerosi studiosi, dopo trenta anni dalla Carta di Venezia e in preparazione del convegno di Nara. Si rammenti fra l’altro che: “... Son authenticité est essentiellement déterminée par l’absence de toute modification ou altération des formes initiales. N’est vraiment authentique, en ce sens, que le monument, le tableau, la sculpture qui sont restés en l’état voulu par son créateur”. Ma ancora specifica che: “la notion d’Authenticité... elle varie non seulement selon les cultures, mais aussi, selon l’évolution des idées et des sensibilités au sein d’une même culture...”. Quindi ... “Authenticité: incontestablement une notion complexe... seule une approche beaucoup plus nuancée, plus analytique permet de jauger la nature et l’ampleur du lien entre l’oeuvre d’art ancienne et la vérité formelle et historique.”⁴²

Dopo il documento di Nara del 1994 c’è stato un incremento di saggi e soprattutto ci si è confrontati più apertamente con le culture orientali nelle quali si evidenzia un concetto diverso dell’autentico occidentale quindi sono stati meglio trattati i vari parametri dell’autenticità.⁴³ Da una prima tendenza a superare l’autenticità formale o estetica da quella materiale o storica, ad una seconda che sosteneva l’unitarietà del concetto di autenticità nelle opere sempre determinate da materia e forma. A tal fine si ricorda il contributo di Jukka Jokilehto pubblicato nel 1995: “... that authenticity can be defined as something that sustains and proves itself, as well as having credit and authority from itself. Authenticity refers to something creative, an authorship, something having a deep identity in form and substance. It means something specific and unique, and is different from ‘identical’ which refers to universal, representing a class, reproduction, replica, copy or reconstruction...”.⁴⁴

Ancora Jokilehto, uno dei più acuti conoscitori e studiosi contemporanei della realtà mondiale della conservazione, per la redazione delle linee guida per la gestione dei siti iscritti nella UNESCO World Heritage List nel 1998 insieme a Bernard Feilden definisce “authenticity is a crucial aspect in the assessment of heritage resources. Generally speaking, authenticity is ascribed to a heritage resource that is materially original or genuine as it was constructed and as it has aged and weathered in time. With regard to an historic monument or site conceived as a work of art, being authentic can be understood in relation to the creative process that produced it as a genuine product of its time, and includes the effects of its passage through historic time...”.⁴⁵

Infine Jokilehto nel 2000 propone, in italiano: “L’autenticità è una qualità del patrimonio storico che si riferisce al suo essere ‘riconosciuto’ come patrimonio

e come storico. Tale identificazione non dovrebbe limitarsi a un singolo aspetto ma dovrebbe invece comportare un giudizio critico.”⁴⁶ Questa proposta, quasi ecumenica, è suffragata da una pluridecennale riflessione e risente del costante incontro e scambio di opinioni con la scuola romana.

Considerazioni finali

Questa è una riflessione che vuol essere una premessa o meglio una semplice anticipazione di un contributo più esteso da tempo in approfondimento. Ma sin da adesso si auspica che il ripristino, o *la remise à l'état original*, e ancora *restoration to its original state*, o *restaurierung in den originalen zustand*, venga definitivamente giudicato all'esterno della conservazione e del restauro.

La cultura del XXI secolo non deve cercare il nuovo autentico e similmente che non si esageri nelle continue riproposizioni dell'antico nuovo di zecca o del pristino splendore.

Nello stesso tempo il creare falsi e copie per attrazioni pseudo-turistiche deve essere limitato per non offendere i veri valori che per secoli hanno determinato l'autenticità e le diverse espressioni artistiche.⁴⁷ La cultura della conservazione e del restauro non deve farsi travolgere dall'era della globalizzazione. La nostra società ha la responsabilità di rispettare e tutelare le diversità culturali e per queste ragioni si dovrebbe convergere verso l'innovazione scientifica con i minimi interventi, le rispettive compatibilità e le autenticità. La nozione di autenticità, come è stato proposto, può avere varie connotazioni; una di queste fra le più significative può essere data dal senso di sincerità.

Si devono e possono sempre studiare idonee forme di adattamento e di nuove proposizioni in modo da esprimere al meglio il potenziale culturale delle singole espressioni architettoniche. Pertanto si prefigura per le nuove generazioni l'antico e sempre valido assioma, studio e conoscenza prima di qualsiasi scelta operativa per gli interventi sulle preesistenze.

Notes

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ABSTRACT

Conservation, restauration, restauro: brief gleanings of architectural terminology

Calogero Bellanca

The essay provides a synthetic picture of a research project on architectural terminology. This outline

aims to present some of the cornerblocks of the history and theory of restoration immersed in the gentle current of the principles of conservation and restoration.

The idea has been to find concepts, principles and definitions in the form of short quotes, going back to the sources in the main European languages via the history of restoration, and thus to present some original citations and other quotes of the various specialists in this field. This has the purpose of continuing the process of research while avoiding proposing once again translations of dry definitions of terms with all the complications that have been known for decades. Rehearsing the history of the definitions should also help re-discover the origins of the differences between different authorities.

This contribution considers a number of pronouncements from the mid-19th century up to today. Thus it synthesises various historic statements of Merimée, of Ruskin and of the Austro-Hungarian Regia and Imperial Commission in Vienna, then of Riegl and of Polish conservators with their little known Charter of Restoration of 1909, and then of Dvořák, Boni, Boito and Benjamin.

Among the reflections of our own times, I take up again some important studies launched after the dissemination of the Venice Charter of 1964, and then that memorable special issue (no. 32 of 1978) of the journal *Restauro*, followed by the *Glossarium Artis* and some points arising from the proceedings of the Nara conference of 1994. I also consider the Guidelines published for the management of World Heritage sites and the unified legislation of the subsequent Italian Law of Cultural Heritage from 2002.

Particular attention is given to the terms restoration, conservation, and authenticity. The languages used for this study are English, French, Italian, German, Spanish and Polish. Preference is accorded here to statements made in times closer to our own by Piero Gazzola, Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat, Renato Bonelli, Cesare Brandi, Raymond Lemaire, Bernard Feilden, Paul Philippot, Giovanni Carbonara, Jukka Jokilehto, Michael Petzet and others. The final considerations include a hope that the architectural culture of the 21st century will not have to look for a new authenticity nor, similarly, will it keep proposing an antiquity as fresh as if it had just been minted or attempting to return it to a pristine glory.

The naming of parts

[D. BELL]

Preamble

Compared to the hundreds of people involved in and the hundreds of thousands of pounds spent annually on technical research, scarcely more than a handful of people are involved in and virtually no money is spent on clarifying what - precisely - we are trying to conserve aesthetically in each site, and what - precisely - are the implications for action.

For conservation is fundamentally an action - an intervention, however minimal, that changes what is harmful in the condition or context of the thing in question, for the better survival of its value in supporting the individuality, strength and vitality of a culture. This is an important point, impossible to overstate. It is not the thing per se we are trying to conserve, but its cultural significance (and so its value), that we conserve by conserving the thing. That is to say, there are two components that direct action;

- i the thing itself (its nature, condition and context), on which the action is taken;
- ii its aspects of significance, for whose conservation¹ the action is designed.

‘Thing’ is a far from elegant word, but is used here to cover all that we recognise today as holding such significance; not only the aspects found in places, buildings and artefacts (all tangible or material), but

also those in poetry, songs, ceremonials and so on (all intangible or immaterial).

Significance itself - and value - are, of course, conceptual and therefore intangible; so there is:

- a. action to conserve (intangible) significance through alteration to the conditions of its tangible holders and also
- b. action to conserve (intangible) significance through alteration to the conditions of its intangible holders.

The first type of action will differ considerably from the second (and different expertise will be needed to define it), but the process of definition for both actions, and the principles behind it, as set out in current international charters, are the same.

Some intangible holders of cultural significance do have ties to the tangible; ceremonies, for instance, that are always performed in a specific place, and certain memories or associations, so there is also:

- c. action to conserve (intangible) significance through alterations to the conditions of holders whose nature has both tangible and intangible components that are inseparable.

Action taken here will need to be defined by means of two different but equal areas of expertise, working in close accord.

This paper is concerned with the defining of

action to conserve (intangible) 'Art' (also known as aesthetic or sensory) significance resting in the tangible, specifically that of sites. But the equal importance of other aspects of significance resting in the partly or purely intangible (and the different expertise needed for its analysis and protection), should also be recognised.

Recognition of significance in sites

Of the two components to defining an act of conservation - that is, (1) understanding of the holder of significance (the 'thing'), and (2) of the particular significance it holds - the analysis of a site's nature, condition and context is generally well understood by the architects, technical experts and other professionals who tend to be those undertaking the work, as are the implications of their analyses. Both are clearly within their pooled areas of expertise. Less so is the other, arguably the primary part of defining action; that is, analysis of the site's significance, and, least well practised of all, recognition of its implications for action.

Significance of sites in all its aspects (not only those of 'Art') has itself been a thorny issue from the very beginnings of 'conservation'. In Europe, for many years, the matter - however contentious - was relatively simple. By the late eighteenth century, a clear dividing-line had been drawn between 'historic' monuments (intentional and unintentional²) and the rest: on one side the very ancient, almost iconic, time-eroded remnants of civilizations' roots that deserved preservation as they were (mainly the remains of ancient Greece and Rome and sites associated with the early Christian saints and martyrs); on the other, 'architecture', valued for its use and appearance. From those structures on the 'architecture' side of the line, the best (such as the great cathedrals and Renaissance palaces), were extracted as 'artistic' monuments, put in the same category as other artworks and given the same treatment; that is, presented in the best condition possible and, if necessary, retouched to show them in full glory. The value of the rest, neither high art nor of great age, was regarded as purely utilitarian and they could be altered, rebuilt or replaced as needed. This was such a crude division between age and appearance that generations of conservers have been left struggling to make sense of it, while the concept of 'artistic' lay in wait to spring its own booby trap.

Almost immediately, the dividing-line proved useless when, in the 1800s, taste swung from the classical towards the Gothic, and mediaeval work (not old enough to be considered 'historic'), began to

be studied as seriously as previous generations had studied classical remains. Until then, mediaeval sites had sat with all those on the 'architecture' side of the line, buildings valued for their use and appearance, and, since the Gothic style had not been sufficiently to public taste to be 'artistic', their ease of use was all that mattered. Suddenly, they were being as treasured for their history as classical structures, and more appreciated for their art than the great Renaissance palaces. Which side of the line should they be on?

Architects working on mediaeval sites were attacked whatever they did: by some for not removing 'the vilest rubbish that got stuffed into churches over the last century or so'³ (that is, anything from roughly the fifteenth century onwards); and, if anything was removed, by others for tearing 'a page out of the records of ... History'.⁴ The most prominent architect in the United Kingdom of the time, George Gilbert Scott, in 1874 had to suffer the public humiliation of Ruskin's refusal of the Royal Institute of Architects' gold medal, on the grounds that architects were vandals where restoring was concerned, and the President, Scott, was the worst of them all.⁵

To resolve the problem, a new dividing-line acceptable to everyone was sought, and in 1883 Camillo Boito (1836-1914), the great Italian theorist, suggested three, slightly more precise divisions:

- i the antique, with a value that demanded preservation of all its parts as a document (archaeological restoration);
- ii the mediaeval, whose main value rested in a picturesque appearance and so needed 'pictorial' restoration - at its best when it seemed nothing had been done;
- iii the modern, whose main value was architectural beauty, and therefore reproduction and replacement, even stylistic completion, were acceptable ('modern', at this time, tended to be any work from roughly the fifteenth century onwards).⁶

Boito's divisions made no great change. Mediaeval work still hovered uneasily between history and art,⁷ and though its recommended treatment 'at its best when it seemed nothing had been done' was a definite step towards a new conception of protection, all three divisions still overlapped.

Ten years later, a Belgian engineer from Ghent, Louis Cloquet (1849-1920), tried changing the emphasis from art and history to use. The old 'historic' category became instead 'dead' monuments (with no use but documentary value), that should be preserved, and the rest, including the 'artistic' category, became 'living' monuments (those with a contemporary use), where preservation was too restrictive and therefore unacceptable.⁸ Again, this did little to change the

basic problem. All the sites whose treatment had been causing a furore throughout the century - the great cathedrals, for instance - were buildings in contemporary use and also 'high art' sites of great age, so any destruction of their evidence and change in their appearance would continue to be fought with passion, whether or not this restricted the meeting of current users' wants and needs.

Ten more years, and there was an attempt to push the line further back, allowing change even in ancient monuments. 'Dead' buildings (Cloquet's all too memorable but unhelpful headings stuck), were now divided into:

- i pure ruins with no specific art value, that could be left with minimum protection,
- ii those with a roof but no use, that needed only maintenance to prevent ruin, and
- iii those with great artistic and historic value, that would be 'ridiculous' to leave to 'beautiful death'.

In 'living' buildings, it was argued, art value should have priority; they should be presented as complete and entire works of art; 'the impact on the layman ... must be the same as when looking at a new church.'⁹

This last redrawing of the line had recognised finally that ruins, however ancient, are often in their own way also artworks, but not that artworks are also holders of invaluable evidence.¹⁰ The neat separation between history and art (or between sites still in use and those unused or ruined), so effective verbally, was in practice meaningless. 'Dead' buildings had strong, living value; 'living' buildings had strong evidential value. The problem was not where the line should be drawn, but how all value - however varied its nature - could be maintained as a whole in each specific intervention.

In effect, there were (and are) no neat dividing-lines as such. Reuse or preservation is not a matter of building type. The real question was (and is), whether as evidence (history) or as sensory experience (art), how far each particular architectural form, old, new, used, unused, whole or ruinous, could accept change, and what sort of change it could accept, without losing cultural significance of any kind.

Significance and its implications for action

The essence of History - as evidence and therefore support of a culture's particular nature and social, technical (and artistic) achievement over time - was relatively well understood, as were its implications for action.

These, inherently the same as for evidence in law, rested in the subject's authenticity and importance as 'proof' (that is, the degree to which it confirmed hypotheses about or added to information on a culture's past bore a direct relation to the degree to which its physical being, as found, should be subject to alteration, other than the minimum action needed to protect it from the worst ravages of decay). Any alteration had to be discernible as a modification, thus preventing any distortion or falsification of what could be learned from the whole).¹¹

The nature of Art, on the other hand, though discussed as much as, if not more than History, was more contentious. Here, the analytical process required not a historicist but an aesthetic, spatial understanding of form, as did the implications for the design of interventions - something outwith normal academic skills, however refined these might be. Indeed, the approaches that relied most heavily on the historian's understanding of the site's past tended, perversely, to be those most damaging to historical (evidential) significance: namely the attempt to replace missing, damaged or altered parts of the fabric

- a. with a copy of the initial but now severely damaged work (replication), or
- b. with what might have been the initial work (conjectural recreation or restoration *en style*), or
- c. with a patchwork of details roughly resembling those from the time of building (pastiche).

Not only did such approaches confuse or distort the 'proof' (to the non-specialist eye),¹² but they often required considerable destruction of remaining fabric surrounding the area in question, it no longer being capable of taking the same stress it once had without new reinforcement or rebuilding. A clearer understanding of where 'Art' itself lay in architecture and what precisely its protection meant in terms of change were, therefore, crucial.

In the event, the main line of enquiry swerved away from these difficult questions. Instead, twentieth-century theorists began to concentrate on a more detailed consideration of significance, of culture and of the hitherto unregarded parts of the built environment that should now be protected. So, almost by default, for a considerable number of years the treatment of fabric as evidence alone - that is, as an historical document - became the generally approved base line for all action.

This avoidance of anything other than an evidential analysis was no accident. The impossibility of defining 'Art' in any satisfactory and objective manner had, for philosophers, long been a constant theme,¹³ and in 1928 Alois Riegl contended that

because the concept of 'art value' was unworkable, it should be abandoned - or rather replaced by its more evidential aspects. This, a lengthy argument set out in *The Modern Cult of Monuments*, is the justification that still underlies much governmental advice and analysis in protective legislation today.

Riegl was, of course, a man of his time and of his own professional (art historian) mindset. While the first part of his essay, that concerned itself mainly with evidential matters, still stands up well (even taking into account the much wider range of significance we acknowledge today), the latter part, on mainly visual aspects of value, significantly lacks the same clarity and close reasoning.

Having argued that 'Art' - whatever it is - can be appreciated by contemporary eyes only in their own contemporary way, and never in the way of its original creators, he allotted it a 'present-day' (as opposed to historic) value, along with use and what he termed 'newness' value. With something of a logical leap, he then asserted that 'every work of art needs to be a discrete entity, which reveals no decay of shape or colour', and that generally 'only the new and whole things tend to be considered beautiful; the old, fragmentary, and faded are thought to be ugly', both somewhat dubious assertions (particularly in light of the early-nineteenth-century Romantic movement that still holds much of its power). But here Riegl was primarily referring to the attitude of what he termed 'the masses', who, he wrote, 'have always enjoyed new things and have wanted to see the hand of man exert its creative power rather than the destructive effects of nature' - yet another highly contentious statement. To the 'aesthetically educated modern person', he assigned a heightened appreciation that could manage to see significance in art of a different era, though this would not necessarily be to the taste of his or her own age, and which modern artists, bound by their time, could never achieve. For both the masses and the others, therefore, he could assert a strong predisposition to see a site recreated as an artistic whole. In effect, the logical outcome of Riegl's argument was much the same approach as ever - a careful consideration of evidence and its protection as evidence, along with a jumble of new interventions of every kind, mostly re-creative to address other needs. The one crucial difference was that the 'art' of a site itself now could be dismissed as an aspect too subjective for analysis.¹⁴

But whilst all of a site's fabric may have evidential significance, not all significance is evidential. As theorists defined more and more of its aspects with greater and greater precision, as the value of vernacular structures, of districts and towns, of

techniques and constructional methods and details and, above all, of social and emotive significance were acknowledged, this other necessary definition - that is, the specific nature of these particular aspects of significance in each site, and how its protection could, therefore, best be carried out in each specific case - also lay in abeyance. Without the means to take the process of analysis further, the choice was either to accept what became known as the 'purist' policy of minimal - and (very) discernible - intervention (in effect, a crude application of the evidential base line), or, seeing its aesthetic and emotive deficiencies, to reject it. Those rejecting it were then totally dependent on their architect's own depth of understanding of the site's value and design skill in problem resolution, in combination with personal preference.

The result was a hotchpotch of approaches little different from those of the century before. Re-creation and pastiche continued to flourish, as did interventions *en style*. There were also strong designs, highly aggressive, that aesthetically dominated the existing work, and weak designs that, like parasites, lived off and weakened its quality. Only a very few sites received the attention of those who not only understood all aspects of significance but also had the design skill to intervene in a way that supported their quality with the minimum of physical change to the existing fabric.

This, generally, remained the case until the publication in 1979 of the highly influential Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter (revised 1999). In this, sites' full sensory impact, intentionally or unintentionally created, was put back firmly into play. Here, aesthetic (or art) value was defined as including

aspects of sensory perception for which criteria can and should be stated. Such criteria may include consideration of the form, scale, colour, texture and material of the fabric; the smell and sounds associated with the place and its use (*Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Cultural Significance: 2.2*)

By returning to the root of the word 'aesthetic' (derived from the ancient Greek verb *ΑΙΣΘΑΝΟΜΑΙ*, *aisthanomai*, to understand, perceive through one's senses, that, in turn, derives from a yet older verb *ΑΙΩ*, *aio*, to hear), not only was the significance of sites' visual impact acknowledged but also its effect on all the other senses. In addition, the need to state the criteria used in its assessment was another major breakthrough. In Australia, at least, these no longer could be purely evidential. The one part still to be resolved was how, precisely, this value once acknowledged could be recognised and protected in practice.

‘Art’ value and the analytical process

Since not all sites’ significance is deemed worthy of special protection, the process of judging that a site has art, aesthetic, architectural or sensory value to a culture (whichever term is preferred), is essentially comparative, a judgement on greater or lesser quality, and, despite the Burra Charter’s suggestions, as Riegl pointed out, the criteria are - and, logically, must be - wholly evidential, since the quality of ‘Art’ (or sensory value) in itself has not yet been sufficiently defined, nor has any definition so far offered been generally accepted. ‘Beauty’ is another word of non-specific meaning. To paraphrase David Hume, it is in the eye of the beholder. Everyone, every culture, every age has its own perception of it. It is not, therefore, a term that can be usefully part of the professional vocabulary (though the professional, as an individual, undoubtedly will have his or her own preference).

How then can art value be established and defined? No one would deny that there is such a thing, or that there is an aspect of sites that has a strong impact on the senses rather than on the intellect, that is of cultural significance in itself, separate from and regardless of the ‘proof’ that a site offers intellectually. Judgements can be made between one or more examples of the same formal style, where rules of that style exists; that is, something created within the rules of a certain style can be judged to meet their requirements to a greater or lesser extent, and in a more or less refined way.

No ground, purely in terms of ‘Art’ (or sensory value), exists for comparisons of relative value between different styles, between a building of formal and one of informal design, between a variety of vernacular buildings or between buildings of different ages, let alone sites’ different smells, sound and feel.

The most common solution adopted by authorities has been to group art-related but primarily evidential aspects of value under the term; that is, the evidence given by, for example:

- i the artwork’s subject matter (proof of topographical, social, technical conditions, etc. of a specific period in time);
- ii its physical construction, constituents, detail (of not only evidential but also educational value);
- iii its style and, in the case of sites, manipulation of space and form (evidence of the artist/architect’s own creative development and that of his or her time); and

- iv its implications for understanding the cultural outlook of the time of the original (in what is depicted or, in the case of sites, the uses to which space is put).

All these aspects are conserved by the same approach as for any other type of evidence but, as has been argued above, that does not necessarily protect the quality of ‘Art’ itself, or its significance.

Understanding the ‘Art’ or sensory nature of sites

‘If action in relation to the artwork is strictly connected to a judgement that it is art - and recognised as such - the quality of its conservation will be just as strictly determined.’ [The words ‘sensory (or aesthetic) value’ can be substituted for ‘art’, with no loss of validity].¹⁵

Returning to the Burra criteria of form, scale, colour, texture and material, since ‘Art’ value in itself is not quantifiable, neither is that of a work’s parts, so they cannot relate to the process of judging the degree to which a site has ‘Art’ value to a culture that is worth protecting.¹⁶ Either they are simply descriptive (indicating features that, as evidence, must remain unchanged) or, once an aesthetic value worthy of special protection has been established (by whatever means), they are intended to indicate the specifics of its visual character that must be understood in order to moderate action: a different exercise entirely.

At this secondary stage, some ‘Art’ value must have already been acknowledged for it to be part of the criteria for deciding action, so its degree comparative to that of other sites is no longer at issue, only its particular nature in the site, and the contribution made to that by its parts; that is to say, pre-intervention analysis for each site is made on the site’s own aesthetic terms (or, rather, on our understanding of these, regardless of personal preference). In effect, defining the indefinable is sidestepped by (implicitly) assuming a degree of sensory significance worth protecting to be present in every evidentially valuable site, whose nature - if not comparative quality and so significance - can be defined and so protected. The evidential approach to action still remains the baseline (minimal intervention, etc.), but the possible solutions arising from that baseline are then to be refined by the need to protect and maintain the particularities of its sensory nature and so its significance, whatever its degree.

As in the Burra Charter, authorities who accept the need to protect sites’ sensory nature as well as their evidence generally now use the existing form, scale,

colour, texture, material and so on of the fabric as a basis for assessing the compatibility of interventions' design.¹⁷ This has one great advantage: these are simple factors recognisable by anyone, skilled or unskilled. Their great disadvantages are:

- i that these alone are of little use in understanding the compositional entity or 'oneness' of the site (intentionally or unintentionally created); and
- ii that their simple repetition in a new intervention will not necessarily result in maintaining the visual quality, and indeed may cause it considerable harm.

This is discussed fully in Cesare Brandi's *Teoria del Restauro* of 1963. Brandi, the one major figure since the publication of Riegl's *Modern Cult of Monuments* who has grasped the nettle of defining, or rather, of understanding not only the 'Art' of a work, but also its implications for action, was like Riegl an art historian. Unlike Riegl, he was as closely involved with the act of conserving as with issues of theory and, whilst his argument is densely philosophical, perhaps uniquely he follows it through to address exactly these practical issues.

In Brandi's *Teoria*, his discussion of the 'oneness' of an artwork (or work of sensory value), is crucial. It is extremely difficult to paraphrase the concentrated reasoning but, to put it very crudely, by 'oneness', he referred to the unique quality of a particular aesthetic experience, its qualitative not quantitative value, and, above all, the absolute requirement in designing any action to see the work (the site), as an entity, a whole, not as a sum of parts. He also showed the inherent fallacy of the 'neutral' or inconspicuous addition; that any addition to a work has an influence on its appearance, that 'neutral' does not, in reality, exist.¹⁸

Understanding a work's aesthetic is particularly crucial in buildings' conservation, as opposed to that of other artworks such as paintings and sculpture, for with use as an integral component of the original creation, conservation here frequently implies not just prevention of decay, minor repairs and treatment of lacunae, but alterations and additions necessitated by changing needs. These, inevitably, affect the nature of the whole, and so its significance, for good or ill.

The problem with asking that factors of the existing work should be 'considered', is that, without further definition, that which results tends to be, again, the mere description of parts. Perhaps this is a relic of the evidential mindset, simply enumerating all and every feature of the evidence to be preserved, but today's use of such a list is, generally, much more than that: permission to add to or alter a site frequently is dependent on it. The implication, therefore, is that, should these be repeated (what might be termed the architectural equivalent of painting by numbers), an

aesthetically compatible intervention will result: a triumph of hope over experience.

Understanding why a site has a visual impact, its experiential particularity, and its acceptance of change, demands more. At least in Scotland and the other countries of the UK, this it rarely, if ever, receives. Here, architects - the designers of the interventions - rarely, if ever, have had any practice in understanding (as opposed to describing), the essence of an existing site's aesthetic; it is not a normal part of their education. Local and national government officers - the approvers of the interventions - mostly have even less. In by far the majority of reports on the significance of sites, design briefs and plans for their conservation, a considerable number of pages are devoted to past and present history, from which the particulars of evidential, social and emotive value are extracted. Usually, an even greater number of pages, with photographs and diagrams, is given to the physical condition, with detailed analysis of the causes of decay and the comparison of advantages versus disadvantages in the means to prevent these. But on visual impact, invariably there is remarkably little - at the most, this very list of named parts, accompanied (and repeated by) plans, elevations and photographs of the site in various stages of its evolution. Rarely are these anything other than descriptive. Rarely is there any attempt to define the essence of the site's impact as it stands, and its implications except on the most superficial level. With no rigorous aesthetic analysis, the proposed intervention's design rises fully formed from the page, like Venus from the waves. Its acceptance - or rejection - is mostly equally unreasoned.

A way forward

So where do we go from here? As a first logical step, Scotland and all other countries that have not already done so should define what they mean by art or sensory value in their legislation. They should also either ensure that the 'Art' of sites is included in criteria for assessing significance (though this will have to be explicitly noted as assumed rather than quantified), or cease to use aesthetic criteria in the assessment of interventions to conserve significance.

Next, the conservation community should be asked to describe not merely what are the constituents of a site's aesthetic, but which of their characteristics are being used, in what way and in which specific parts; that is, not only to name the parts but to analyse, visually by sketch, diagram and so on, their (sensory) nature and contribution to the whole: for example:

- not just a ‘consideration’ of the form, but its (and its components’) degree and elements of symmetry, its asymmetrical balance and so on, as set within its context, from all sides, near view and far, and, kinetically, from the approach or approaches; in short, all intentional or unintentional effects with their implications for the outline form of an addition or an alteration clearly shown;
- not just the scale, but the site’s implicit hierarchy of scale; spatially, which parts of the existing structure are larger than the human figure’s demands for ease of use (in height, width or area), which openings are over- or undersized in comparison to the site’s norm, which details are exaggerated in size and so on, again with the implications for the new work’s hierarchy of scale that can be drawn from this;
- not just the colour, texture and material, but the quality and variations in these and the pattern of their use, the effect of natural light on them, the subtleties of finishing and their implications for choice and use of material in new work, and so on.

In addition, it should supply:

- an analysis of the site’s kinetic character inside as well as out, the intended path of movement from one spatial experience to another, the intended (or unintended) effect of natural light and views both coming and going, and the implications for its extension or alteration.

This is no more onerous than the analysis of physical condition, and is something that every architect will (or should) have carried out in reaching his or her design solution. The requirement is merely to make the process explicit (and so open to reasoned criticism), and communicate it simply and clearly to inform comment. Given the present lack of expertise in this area, the process itself will first have to be fully developed (as opposed to the brief sketch here), and a guide produced that, crucially, underlines the difference between description and analysis, and the tie between implications and design.

With this, each conservation plan should be able to summarise the site’s aesthetic essence and how new parts will conform to its restraints; that is, the proposed intervention’s recognition and adoption of the aesthetic ‘cause’ (as opposed to following, superficially, the ‘effects’ of another age).

Such analysis will not guarantee the aesthetic compatibility of interventions - since the process is not mechanistic, no guidelines can do that - but it will ensure a deeper understanding of each

site’s aesthetic, and force the implications to be recognised. Debate about whether any intervention is aesthetically as well as evidentially compatible or not should then begin to have a sounder base (and, as a side effect, the onus of producing design guides will be removed from local government officers, a task for which they have neither the time nor sufficient depth of expertise to carry out on innumerable sites of highly varied age and character - thus the prevalent dependence on ineffective, descriptive generalities - and place it firmly on those intervening). Finally, not only will the site’s art value be more likely safeguarded, but also the quality of intervention itself may start to improve as more is demanded, in a more reasoned way, from designers.

Notes

- 1 The term 'conservation' is used throughout in the Burra Charter meaning of 'all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance'. *Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter*, 1999, 1.4.
- 2 The term 'intentional monument' is used in Riegl's meaning of 'a human creation erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations'; 'unintentional monuments' are those not created for that reason, but regardless of intent, act as reminders (and evidence) of humanity's past achievement.
- 3 Edmund Beckett, *Church restoration*, London 1880, p.11.
- 4 John J. Stevenson, 'Architectural restoration: its principles and practice', *Sessional papers of the R.I.B.A.* XXVII (1876-77, 1877), p. 226.
- 5 Scott had taken the established line, separating ancient structures whose function was lost (testaments of the past) from the ancient churches he had altered; buildings still in use and also houses of God, so in need of presentation in their best form. See George Gilbert Scott, *A plea for the faithful restoration of our ancient church*, London 1850.
- 6 In 1882, the Italian Directorate of Antiquities and Fine Art produced guidelines that distinguished the value of the original 'normal' state from that of the 'actual' state; in restoration the difference was to be suppressed, reactivating the normal state in all that was being conserved, and reproduction was considered justified if non-conjectural, or needed structurally (then conjecture was allowed).
- 7 'Considering that architectural monuments from the past are not only valuable for the study of architecture but contribute as essential documents to explain and illustrate all the facets of history of various people throughout the ages. They should, therefore, be scrupulously and religiously respected as documents in which any alteration, however slight, if it appears to be part of the original could be misleading and eventually give rise to erroneous assumptions.' Camillo Boito, *Resolutions of the third congress of engineers and architects*, 1883, cited by Jukka Jokilehto, *A history of architectural conservation*, Oxford 1999, p.201. Boito went on to compare this to filling in the gaps on a fragment of manuscript by a philologist, so that it could not be distinguished from the original (so philological restoration).
- 8 Louis Cloquet, 'Restauration des monuments anciens', *Bulletin du cercle historique et archéologique de Gand* I (1894), 123-47, 49-72, 77-106, cited by Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration and anti-Restoration*, Universitetsforlaget 1976, pp.98, 99.
- 9 C. Weber (Danzig), *International congress of architects*, Trier 1909, cited by Jokilehto, op. cit., p.196.
- 10 In 1877, Alvise Piero Zorzi (1846-1922) was commenting: 'Restoration presupposes innovations according to needs; conservation excludes them completely. Restoration is applicable to anything that has no archaeological importance, but purely artistic; conservation aims at safeguarding from decay what, for its antiquity and for historic reasons, has special merit superior to art, symmetry, architectural orders and good taste. Even more necessary will this conservation be, when to archaeological interest is added artistic value and when the object, in its whole and its parts, has such a mark of history that this would be completely destroyed in a restoration carried out in the modern fashion'. *Osservazioni intorno ai restauri interni ed esterni della Basilica San Marco*, 1877, *ibid*, p.199.
- 11 Whilst it may seem obvious, where the evidential value lies does need careful definition. In cases such as the continuous rebuilding of Japanese temples, the historical significance - as proof - arguably rests not in the fabric as such, which is mostly new, but in the site-specific constructional 'blueprint', process and technique that have all been specifically protected from alteration, and whose authenticity rests in their verifiably unaltered (or minimally altered) state. (See discussions leading to the Nara Declaration of 1994).
- 12 Ruskin was particularly vehement on this point: 'Do not let us talk then of restoration [meaning replication]. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end.' John Ruskin, *The seven lamps of architecture: the lamp of memory*, 1849, XIX.
- 13 Arguments against the possibility of defining 'Art' or 'beauty' can be found in works from David Hume's *Dissertation IV: on the standard of taste* of 1757, to Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Lectures and conversations* of 1966.
- 14 It should be noted that the value placed on evidence is also subjective, and depends heavily on the interests of the age; for example, the evidence of how the poor lived their lives and certain highly indigenous methods of construction were considered of little value until the second half of the twentieth century.
- 15 The word 'restauro' has been translated here as 'conservation' (as defined in the Burra Charter), to avoid confusion. Though not exactly similar, its meaning is nearer than 'restoration' to Brandi's own definition of the term; that is, 'any intervention that permits a product of human activity to be returned to use', and, in the context of artworks, 'the methodological moment in which the work of art is recognised, in its physical being, and in its dual aesthetic and historical nature, in view of its transmission to the future'. Cesare Brandi, *Theory of restoration*, Florence 2005, pp. 47, 48.
- 16 A site may be considered worth protecting because of the rarity of its form, scale etc., an aspect that can be quantified, but that is an assessment that takes no account of the site's 'Art' as such.
- 17 In Scotland (and many other nations), a totally illogical situation exists: daily the aesthetic compatibility of alterations and additions is being judged (against similar criteria) on the degree to which they affect the 'character', and are 'in keeping' with other parts (Historic Scotland, *Memorandum of guidance*, 1998, 2.21, 6.0.0.), which not only begs the question of what defines character, what is 'in keeping' and what is not - other than personal taste - but also involves a quality (the 'Art' of the whole) that plays no part in the decision to award protection, indeed is not mentioned in any guideline.
- 18 Brandi here was referring primarily to the treatment of *lacunae* in a painting, but it applies equally to those in structures, and even more to the effect of additions and alterations. Brandi, op.cit., pp. 58,59.

Genius loci – the spirit of monuments and sites

[MICHAEL PETZET]

Of course, it is almost impossible to surprise Jukka Jokilehto, with whom I already worked during the legendary Nara Conference on Authenticity ¹ in 1994 where I was chairman and keynote speaker of session 1, with a new topic in this Festschrift of essays in his honour. After his work for ICCROM that moulded entire generations of conservationists, only he with his comprehensive experience was able to write a *History of Architectural Conservation*,² a standard work already translated into several languages. ICOMOS, to whose success as an advisory body to UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee Jukka Jokilehto has considerably contributed in past years, also owes him many fundamental insights, for instance his considerations on authenticity and integrity ³ and two of the most important working tools in the Monuments and Sites series, the so-called Gap Report ⁴ and the report on Outstanding Universal Value. ⁵

Since unfortunately he could not take part in the symposium of the 2008 General Assembly of ICOMOS in Quebec on the topic of “Où se cache l’esprit du lieu / Finding the Spirit of Place”, I would like to dedicate to Jukka the following attempt to better grasp the *genius loci* of monuments and sites.⁶

The idea of *genius loci*

Originally, the *genius loci* was a Roman invention. ⁷ In Roman antiquity it was not only man that had his genius, a sort of guardian angel that accompanied him through life and determined his fate, but also certain places, be it the location of a temple or an entire city, had their *genius loci*. In the Forum Romanum stood a statue of the genius of the Roman people, and in connection with the imperial cult Augustus gave orders that in the chapels of the quarters of Rome his own genius be placed between the *Lares*. Aside from the popular *genii* related to a certain person (the word is derived from *gignere*, which means to engender or man’s power to engender), there were also countless *genii* related to a place. Aurelius Prudentius writes in late antiquity: “You also tend to give *genii* to the gates, to the houses, the *thermae*, the stables, and one has to assume that there are many thousands of *genii* for each place and all parts of a town so that no angle has to be without its own spirit.” Not only villages, towns and communities had their *genius loci* (*genius vici, oppidi, municipi, genius urbis Roma*, etc); also the places of natural landscape were attributed a genius, that is the genius of the valley, the spring, the river, the mountain (*genius valli, fontis, fluminis, montis*) or of a certain part of a mountain (*genius huius loci montis*). The genius was represented as a sacrificing man or personified as a snake.

The Greek *daimon*, which to some extent is also related to the *genius loci*, was also depicted as a snake. Without wanting to go any further into the relationship between the Roman *genius loci* and the *daimones*⁸ more closely linked to the underworld, or into the later connection between the *genii* and the Christian guardian angels shown as winged beings, I would only like to emphasise that in many regions of the world and in different periods there have been ideas comparable to these *genii*. This starts with animistic or totemistic phenomena – for example, in connection with the mythical place of origin of a clan or the holy places of the ghost-ancestors of the Aborigines; sites marked by totem poles in Canada; or places in Iceland inhabited by elves and trolls, which sometimes nowadays obstruct road construction. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that, even in our globalised world, the term *genius loci*, normally only used metaphorically, plays a not unimportant role, namely in various scientific fields: in the study of religions, in geography and in a kind of eco-psychology in combination with the auratic experience of certain ecological and also aesthetic and synaesthetic qualities of certain places. It also plays a role in modern architectural theory with regard to investigating the possibilities of landscape design and the influence of landscape on architecture (“landschaftsgebundenes Bauen”), or of architecture on landscape, as discussed by the Norwegian architectural historian Christian Norberg-Schulz.⁹

If in our principles and guidelines little was said about “spirit of place”, this has to do with the fact that the message of the *genius loci* has always been a phenomenon accepted as a matter of course. Already in the preamble of the foundation document of ICOMOS, the Venice Charter, this message finds expression: “*Chargées d’un message spirituel du passé, les œuvres monumentales des peuples demeurent dans la vie présente le témoignage vivant de leurs traditions séculaires*”. As is well known, these words stand for a very broad concept of monuments and sites: Monuments as an archive of authentic sources for cultural history, social history, industrial history, etc. are evidence created by man that, according to the definition in a late classical commentary on Cicero, “should evoke remembrance of something” (*omnia monumenta sunt, quae faciunt alicuius rei recordationem*). The material from which the monument as an object of remembrance is made can thus be just as variable as the degree of “materialization” of the spiritual message that the monument represents – from the traces of a prehistoric settlement detectable now only in the dark-coloured negative form of postholes, to the immense stone blocks of an “immortal”

pyramid created as it were for eternity. As an idea that took shape, the monument is in any case more than an “object” consisting of a certain material. There are even monuments whose materials are so ephemeral that they are in need of renewal again and again; indeed even the mere replica of a monument that no longer exists materially could still “evoke remembrance of something”.

The Nara and Yamato Declarations

Our most important guideline for the topic of *genius loci/spirit of place* is the document that in many respects is fundamental, the *Nara Document on Authenticity* of 1994, which contains statements on authentic spirit and authentic location. Here for the first time, spirit and place are explicitly included in the reform of the old test of authenticity. Particularly important is article 13: « *Dépendant de la nature du monument ou du site et de son contexte culturel, le jugement sur l’authenticité est lié à une variété de sources d’information. Les dernières comprennent conception et forme, matériaux et substance, usage et fonction, tradition et techniques, situation et emplacement, esprit et expression, état original et devenir historique. Les sources sont internes à l’œuvre ou elles lui sont externes...* »

An example which could illustrate the various authenticities of the Nara Document is one of the first references to the term “monument” in the Bible: Jacob’s dream is also a wonderful example for the birth of a *genius loci* connecting heaven and earth. After his dream of the ladder to heaven, Jacob marks the place where the vision occurred with an enduring sign made of stone: “*Then Jacob rose early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put at his head, set it up as a pillar and poured oil on top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel*” (Genesis 28:10 ff.). The authentic place here is *locus sacer*, a holy place that refers to something supra-human. The authentic function of this monument was for the stone to be a reminder of his dream, an authentic “*matière à mémoire*”, which by a miracle was later identified with the “Stone of Destiny” in Westminster Abbey (now transferred to Edinburgh). In connection with the word “monument”, the Bible also mentions individual burial places, a wide field closely linked to local spirits, from the Roman tombs on the Via Appia in Rome to the cemeteries of the 19th and 20th centuries where the ghosts of the dead and their *genies* also appear in person in countless statues.

Different examples of spiritual places could be taken from all over the world and from different

cultures, including “intended monuments” in the sense of an intentional creation of a monument from the very beginning, but above all a wealth of objects whose monument quality as an “object of remembrance” has first evolved over the course of centuries. A perfect example for the spirit of place in connection with monuments and sites would of course be places connected with the genius of certain people, for instance Goethe’s houses in Weimar and Frankfurt. In Weimar the rooms are still as he had them arranged, including the large plaster head of Juno Ludovisi that had been transported from Italy to Weimar, the books that he collected and used, and so on – all reminders of a great poet whose genius seems present in the objects he left behind, tangible traces of his life concentrated here into an “aura” marked by his unique personality. The Goethe house in Frankfurt, destroyed in World War II, was rebuilt *in situ* over the old foundations and exhibits the old inventory. Some of my colleagues, still obsessed with a blind fetishism for historic fabric, maintain that the house never should have been rebuilt – although in the meantime thousands of school children and other visitors have been able to experience the *genius loci* that survived there despite war and destruction.

In any case, for a differentiated evaluation of the chances and possibilities of a strong *genius loci*, the *Nara Document on Authenticity* and our traditional monument values are a sound basis, for instance the historic, aesthetic and scientific values sought in the World Heritage Convention of 1972 (values that occasionally have dropped out of view during attempts to define the Outstanding Universal Value). There is also the still useful system of commemorative and present-day values developed a century ago in Alois Riegl’s *Modern Cult of Monuments*¹⁰ that go far beyond the question of material/immaterial or tangible/intangible. A decade after the Nara Document on Authenticity came the *Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Heritage* (2004), drawn up at another conference in Nara.

This declaration tries to interpret the new *UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003), but in fact leads to some misunderstandings, because in this paper focussing on traditional culture and folklore different areas overlap. The urgent concerns of the Convention of 2003, such as the conservation of languages threatened with extinction or the protection of traditional craftsmanship (particularly important for our work as conservationists and disappearing fast worldwide) are included in an “integrated approach” and to a certain degree also comprise the wide field of conservation. However, not everything belongs to

this – our – field of “heritage”; instead, according to the definition of the Convention of 1972, “heritage” is clearly defined as “monuments, ensembles (groups of buildings) and sites”, including the “work of man and nature” (cultural landscapes). And in this field tangible and intangible values are not separate; they are rather – according to a very helpful definition by Mounir Bouchenaki – “two sides of one coin”. Quite likely, thanks to the appropriate *genius loci*, they are a natural unity. Besides, despite our enthusiasm for music and folklore, for storytellers and snake charmers in the Jemaa-el-Fnâ market square in Marrakech, we are aware that in accordance with the Yamato Declaration there are “countless examples of intangible cultural heritage that do not depend for their existence or expression on specific places or objects”.

But we cannot agree with the statement “that the values associated with monuments and sites are not considered intangible cultural heritage ... when they belong to the past and not to the living heritage of present-day communities” (Yamato Declaration, art. 10). Such doubtful phrases have unfortunately led to a situation where “living” intangible heritage is being played off against “dead” tangible heritage – a real insult to the very much alive *genius loci* of our monuments and sites. In addition, the distinction occasionally made between a “more tangible monumental heritage” as in Europe and a “more intangible” and therefore “non-monumental” heritage, for instance in Africa, is absurd and comes from a misconceived understanding of monuments and sites. After all, the spiritual and immaterial sides of the phenomena with which we as conservationists have been dealing for decades have always been a self-evident axiom. I do not wish to go into the wide philosophical field of phenomenology, which of course also includes the phenomenon of *genius loci*. However, instead of the usual tangible/intangible debates, I would like to point out that the classification of the world into “tangible” and “intangible” phenomena should, in accordance with our Nara Document of 1994, be replaced by much more differentiated reflections: the sometimes rather banal differentiation between tangible as “capable of being touched” and intangible as “something that cannot be touched or grasped” – I am quoting from my Oxford Dictionary – is simply not enough.

The nature of ‘spirit of place’

In the following paragraphs, I will therefore try to look into certain phenomena of the spirit of place (*genius loci*) from the viewpoint of conservation theory and

practice, without falling into the gap “between the Intangible and the Tangible” (subheading of the symposium in Quebec). Under these circumstances, I am afraid I can hardly follow the main thread of the call for papers concerning the general topic “Spirit of Place” if it simply equates “spirit” with “intangible” and “place” with “tangible”. For, apart from the fact that place can also be an ideal or unreal, at any rate an intangible place (for example, Parsifal’s awe-inspiring, “unapproachable” Castle of the Holy Grail), for the time being I would like to equate place with what is called *locus* in Latin or *topos* in Greek; a certain place in the sense of location or emplacement. And not without reservation, particularly as far as our *genius loci* is concerned, I would like to connect such a place, to which of course a certain environment and “setting” belong, with the definition of “place” in article 1 of the Burra Charter: “site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, contexts, spaces and views” etc. This Australian definition may not be wrong, but nonetheless it is very general. It refers to anything and everything, and in our context I wish to regard place – in the sense of the Nara Document – as an authentic location and setting of authentic monuments and sites.

But before we talk about monuments and sites, let us think of nature untouched by man, where according to Roman perception rivers and mountains, trees and forests, caves and grottoes had their *genius loci*; a friendly, sometimes also dangerous *numen*, which obviously had to do with the aura and the atmosphere (not only in the meteorological sense) of a place. Naturally, to this also belong the breathtaking “wonders of nature”, whose special *genii loci* have again and again been discovered and rediscovered by man and which due to their specific form (nature as “architect”) have evoked comparable sensations and associations. Part of this context are, for example, holy trees and holy mountains and much that was already characterised as “monument of nature” in the conservation theory of around 1900, after the famous explorer Alexander von Humboldt had already coined the term “monument of nature” around 1800. But I would only like to mention that the individual “atmosphere” can also play an important role for built-up places and monuments and sites in the creation of a corresponding *genius loci*. A gesture by Marcel Duchamps, one of the most important artists of the 20th century, may be interpreted accordingly: in 1919, he brought to his collector Walter Arensberg in New York the Paris atmosphere in a small apothecary’s phial. Duchamps’ ready-made “Air de Paris”¹¹ transferred the *genius loci* of a metropolis in a slightly ironic form. Besides, for obvious reasons, a *genius loci* will on principle refuse to be transferred. Although

transferral is a practice occasionally adopted in conservation, at best it can only be justified in special circumstances, for example the imminent inundation of monuments in the area of a dam. Otherwise it contradicts our principle of preserving buildings and objects and their *genius loci* “*in situ*”.

Among the strongest appearances of the *genius loci* is its obvious presence at holy places. These exist also in the open country, where celestial beings, for instance in connection with holy mountains or holy trees, have enough space to reveal themselves. In any case, the term of the “atmosphere” noticeable only “*in situ*”, at the authentic location, is by all means useful for the characterisation of a *genius loci*. It can also be easily combined with the term “aura” defined by Walter Benjamin.¹² This aura linked to a place and embedded in history does not only characterise works of art but also monuments and sites, even when the monument is hardly comprehensible as “historic fabric” or is already badly damaged. For example, the empty niches of the Bamiyan Buddhas as *locus sacer* possess – despite their destruction – the aura of an incredibly strong *genius loci*. This may also apply to the *genii loci* of many archaeological sites which may have existed unnoticed for centuries, below ground or under water, or overgrown by the jungle, like many Maya sites or the Khmer temples in Cambodia, probably not exactly waiting to be disturbed by any excavations. Actually, the ghosts of the dead do not want to be excavated, either, and the skeletons of the castle ghosts prefer to be left in peace. An example is the ghost of Canterville, which according to the story by Oscar Wilde (*The Canterville Ghost*, 1887) desperately tried to renew the blood spot in the library that had several times been removed by the family of the American ambassador. The family had reacted completely insensitively to the atmosphere of the castle.

At any rate, the phrase “the spirit of place is transmitted by living people in their every-day experience and therefore depends entirely on them for its survival”¹³ is only valid to a certain extent; for instance, with regard to the so-called “present-day global villages...characterised by major transnational population movements, increased intercultural contacts and the emergence of pluralistic societies”¹⁴ – places that would be an ordeal to every true *genius loci*. By the way, I hope that we as conservationists agree that there are monuments and sites that should remain “inapproachable” or “intangible” in the original sense of the word. Among these are historic traces that should not be renewed, but rather preserved in their old-age value; and archaeological sites that should not be excavated, because to a certain degree the subterranean historic

archive would be destroyed. The secret of the *genius loci* is definitely better preserved if not everything is “accessible” and overly managed.

Such reflections also apply to the world of indigenous people, with their spirits and places mortally threatened due to globalisation. However, if we talk about “spirit of place”, all the holy places – churches and monasteries, mosques, temples, synagogues, chapels, representing the majority of conservation challenges in most countries – should play a key role, even if “Religious Heritage and Sacred Places” had not been the topic of the 2008 International Day for Monuments and Sites. The major relevance of religion, of all world religions, in connection with a differently defined spirit of place, should not be ignored in view of the so-called “dialectics between spirit and place, the intangible and tangible”.¹⁵ Sacred places are first and foremost a matter of belief, adoration and worship. If we look, for instance, at such an exemplary spiritual space as the interior of one of the famous French cathedrals still in authentic use, which alone can preserve the authentic spirit, for some colleagues who mostly think in materialistic categories it might be a classic example of “tangible heritage”. In reality, it is a holy place created as an image of heaven, a place of worship used for centuries. And to this day the *genius loci* of such a monument speaks to everyone, not only to the believer, but even to the tourist who, during his “pilgrimage” as visitor, feels the breath of history and the spirit of craftsmen and artists who created this work.

Under these circumstances, the aura of a place or an object embodied by the *genius loci* is also an important criterion as far as the questions how to conserve, restore, renovate or, under certain conditions, reconstruct are concerned. We have to ask: can our planned measures and our conservation concept do justice to the individual *genius loci*? Are we preserving the spiritual message of a monument which, compared with a long history, has been entrusted to us only for a short time? Such questions need to be raised by all who are involved in a restoration project, starting with the engineer who is in charge of the structural consolidation concept and the restorer who takes care of the conservation of artistically important surfaces, individual furnishings or works of art. The first aim will always have to be to interfere as little as possible with the existing “*matière à mémoire*” and to do only what is necessary for the conservation of the historic structure. For, despite the impressive wealth of possible investigations, documentations, consolidation techniques and conservation and restoration methods that are available today, even a

thoroughly prepared conservation project can lead to a dead end. This happens if the spirit of the monument and the corresponding monument values are not understood, or, using the conservationist’s jargon so readily borrowed from the field of medicine, if the profound “diagnosis” and “anamnesis” concentrate, as it were, on the tangible material substance lying on the dissecting table, while the soul is being ignored.

Emotional feeling and conservation

Once again, I would like to go back to the authentic spirit of monuments and sites determined by the *genius loci* and to the emotional basis of our work (the authentic “feeling” in the sense of art. 13 of the Nara Document). Added to this, of course, is time as a historical dimension: time that has passed at this place, a process that has left many traces since the creation of an object, which has perhaps become an object of remembrance only in the course of centuries; time that is also present in the form of the “*Zeitgeist*” that the monument embodies, a hard-to-translate German word suggesting the spirit of the times in which the way of life and the “style” of a particular period or epoch are reflected. Space and time can even become one in the spiritual message of the monument – the apparently paradoxical but quite tangible presence of the past. Thanks to the *genius loci* in the still extant “*matière à mémoire*”, the decaying remnants of a castle ruin, for example, can evoke generations of knights that lived and fought there, or the stones on the floor of a cloister, worn down over the centuries by footsteps, recall the monument’s function as a place of prayer. Finally, the spirit of monuments and sites that is conceivable in space and time, and as evidence of the “*Zeitgeist*”, is considerably determined by another essential factor, the authentic use that I have already mentioned. The function that in some circumstances may have continued in its original or modified form into the present also has a special social dimension; for example the old house that is still occupied, in which generations of inhabitants have already left their traces. These traces contribute not only to the historic value but also to the “feeling value”.

I therefore make a final brief comment on the emotional basis of conservation practice, on “monument feeling”, an aspect that is hardly ever taken into account in our professional discussions but that should not be underrated in our context of “spirit of place”, since this emotional basis can often achieve much in public disputes over the

fate of certain monuments. An example was my successful struggle to prevent the building of a large hotel near Neuschwanstein Castle.¹⁶ To show the harm that would be done to one of the most beautiful cultural landscapes in Bavaria I did not confine myself to the usual arguments but, instead, evoked the spirit of dream king Ludwig II as a sort of *genius loci* looking down onto the hotel project and being particularly worried about his sleigh rides at night, which would have ended for ever at the golf course planned together with the hotel.

Not only in such a case can emotional values be of great importance for our conservation policy. For these values have not only to do with the aesthetic dimension, in the sense of enthusiasm for a work of art and with the historical dimension of a monument (the “breath of history”), but also with a monument’s spirit, its “trace”, “aura” and “atmosphere”. Monument feeling finds expression in the love of a monument, for example an old house that makes one “feel at home”, or in the emotion generated by a historic site that serves as a memorial. Georg Dehio, a famous German conservationist, emphasised national feeling as a motive for preservation,¹⁷ whereas the Austrian art historian Alois Riegl links “an irresistibly compelling feeling” to the central concept of age-value expressed in traces of transience.¹⁸ If Riegl’s age-value is connected with a certain longing for death – the idea of the *fin-de-siècle* of “letting things pass away in beauty” – in contrast, at the beginning of the 21st century, a kind of longing for survival can be presumed to be an essential motive in view of the general environmental crisis, an attempt to preserve memory in a world that is changing as never before. If indeed we take the spirit of monuments and sites seriously, the idea of a *genius loci* as guarantor of a certain continuity and diversity in a globalised world could perhaps help us in these difficult times that are dominated by rather profane spirits of total change.

Notes

- 1 Larsen, K. E. (ed.), *Nara conference on authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention, Proceedings, Nara, Japan, 1-6 November 1994*, UNESCO, Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, Trondheim 1995, 77-99.
- 2 Jokilehto, J., *A history of architectural conservation*, Oxford 1999.
- 3 Jokilehto, J., Considerations on authenticity and integrity in World Heritage context, in *New views on authenticity and integrity in the World Heritage of the Americas (Monuments and sites XIII)*, San Miguel de Allende 2005.
- 4 *The World Heritage List / filling the gaps – an action plan for the future*, an ICOMOS study compiled by Jukka Jokilehto (*Monuments and sites XII*), Munich 2005.
- 5 *The World Heritage List / What is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage properties*, an ICOMOS study compiled by Jukka Jokilehto (*Monuments and sites XVI*), Berlin 2008.
- 6 This is a revised version of my keynote speech given at the symposium of the ICOMOS General Assembly in Quebec on 30 September 2008.
- 7 The following information on the topic of “genius” follows the *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, (Andresen, C. ed.), Tübingen/Zürich 1965, and the *Lexikon der Antike in 5 Bänden (Der Kleine Pauli)*, Munich 1979.
- 8 Upon the relationship between genius and daimon, see Bischof, M., ‘Genius und daimon’, *Hagia chora* 6 (2000).
- 9 Norberg-Schulz, N., *Genius loci. Towards a phenomenology of architecture*, New York 1980.
- 10 Riegl, A., *Der moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*, Wien 1903, in Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Augsburg/Vienna 1929, 144-193.
- 11 Schwarz, A., *New York Dada: Duchamp, Man Ray, Picabia*, (Zweite, A., Petzet, M. and Adriani, G. eds), Munich 1974, cat. no. 38, fig. 54.
- 12 Benjamin, W., ‘Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit’, in *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, 1 (1936) (reprint Frankfurt a.M. 1963), 14, 16.
- 13 Quotation from ICOMOS General Assembly Quebec, call for papers.
- 14 See footnote 13.
- 15 See footnote 13.
- 16 For press articles on the hotel project near Neuschwanstein, see Petzet, M., z. A. *Presse GK / Ein Vierteljahrhundert Bayerische Denkmalpflege im Spiegel der Presse (Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamts für Denkmalpflege*, vol. 110), Munich 2000, 698ff.
- 17 Dehio, G., *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im 19. Jahrhundert*, Strasbourg 1905, in Dehio, *Kunsthistorische Aufsätze*, Munich/Berlin 1914, 268.
- 18 Riegl, A., *Der moderne Denkmalkultus* (see note 10) and *Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege*, 1905.

Developments in the practice of heritage management in sub-Saharan Africa

WEBBER NDORO AND SHADRECK CHIRIKURE

“...western science is not only far poorer if it attempts to ignore indigenous perceptions, beliefs and rights...in the twenty-first century western science cannot ignore the contribution of all with a legitimate interest in the past, and in the use of the past in the present”

(Layton *et al.* 2006:5)

Abstract

When compared to its sibling archaeology, the rise of heritage management is a fairly recent phenomenon. Yet, few would disagree that heritage management is “the discipline of the moment”. In Africa, this success is largely influenced by archaeology’s inability to create a synergy between the past and the present. Heritage management’s appeal is therefore deeply ingrained in its presentness, a characteristic loaded with contemporary relevance. This paper attempts to evaluate some of the key issues that influence the practice of heritage management in the sub-continent. These are the inter-related concepts of heritage legislation, international conventions and community participation. The paper debates the opportunities and constraints associated with these concepts. It is suggested that the legislation and

international conventions, although important tools in heritage management, must be domesticated to embrace local cultural ethos. This can be achieved through a meaningful engagement of interested communities and developing a culture of research in heritage management at African universities.

Introduction

The roots of western-derived heritage management can be traced to developments in Europe and America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Harvey 2001; Walsh 1992; Smith 2006; Lowenthal 1998; Layton *et al.* 2006). With the advent of colonial expansion and globalisation, this type of heritage management was exported to other parts of the world such as southern Africa. Nowadays, heritage management has established itself as a lush field of human endeavour with a potential to solve contemporary socio-economic problems (Ndoro 2005; Delmont 2004; Cleere 2006; Finneran 2005; Chirikure 2005). In the global context, heritage and its management have been integrated into programmes geared towards socio-economic upliftment (Lowenthal 1998). In fact, many leading universities in the world are now offering degrees in heritage management. Africa, however, has been slow to respond to this global trend. As such, there

is a dearth of research on the theory and practice of heritage management, creating an over-reliance on solutions and ideas developed in other parts of the world. This demonstrates the need to reverse this negative situation by activating a culture of research into the theory of heritage management at African universities. The engagement of universities in Africa in research and teaching of heritage management and conservation is essential, given that this is the basis of the production of critical knowledge desirable for any long-term protection of heritage places. In fact, that several leading inter-governmental agencies are interested in African heritage should be seen as a positive incentive.

The emergence of heritage management in Africa was inextricably linked with the beginning of archaeology as a discipline in the late 19th century (Ndoro 1997; Abungu 2006; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). The scramble for African colonies was achieved at a time when archaeology was becoming fashionable in the western world. It is therefore not surprising that, when colonialism became fully entrenched, a handful of the settlers became interested in the antiquities and patrimony of the colonised (Delmont 2004; Ndoro and Pwiti 2001). In fact during the first half-century of colonialism, heritage management remained as an appendage of archaeology (Ndoro 1997) and only managed to come out of this shadow in the 1980s due to a number of reasons, chiefly among them the efforts of inter-governmental bodies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS.

Although the first archaeological activities in Africa were sometimes occasioned by treasure hunters (Bent 1896; Hall 1910), colonial governments were quick to establish legal frameworks and administrative structures to protect the antiquities of the colonies and thus place them under bureaucratic control. Indeed, organisations such as the National Monuments Council of South Africa and the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia were set up to achieve these ends (Ndoro and Pwiti 2001; Abungu 2006). The legal instruments privileged elites and often barred the majority from using their heritage and landscapes. The laws stipulated that nobody could excavate or alter a site without permission from the relevant authority, thus effectively marginalising the majority of the population who used the sites and landscapes which they inhabited as burial grounds, grazing lands and even religious shrines (Ndoro 2005). Regrettably, this alienated indigenous people and their values from official archaeology and heritage protection programmes (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). Explicitly, the legislation gave prominence to settler values that emphasised monumentality,

thereby ignoring the intangible value of heritage. Therefore, the most potent challenge facing heritage management in Africa is the need to transform heritage management from a rarefied discipline into a practice that broadly appeals to local cultural ethos.

While some colonial legal instruments are still operating in countries such as Zimbabwe, independent South Africa created a new heritage act which largely considers previously marginalised values (Deacon *et al.* 2004; Delmont 2004; Hall 2005; Abungu 2006). On a broader scale, the weaknesses in these legal instruments were largely addressed by making recourse to international conventions and charters such as the Venice and Burra Charters and the World Heritage Convention. Because of the emphasis on western values enshrined in these charters and legislation in operation in most of Africa, local values were not always taken on board (Ndoro 1997). This has led to the growth of approaches mooted to engage and co-opt local values into the mainstream. Therefore, community participation is now viewed as an integral component of the practice of heritage management. While this approach has the potential to domesticate some of the western values and develop heritage management systems sensitive to local needs, its success has been lukewarm (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). This is because heritage management is mainly practised in a hegemonic way that advantages specialists over non-specialists and thus those trained in western ways over the communities in which the resources are located (Smith 2006). This suggests that more research should be done to find ways of balancing local values with those championed in western value systems. This approach calls for a change in roles of the experts who normally deal with heritage management in Africa, using a narrow scientific methodology that views heritage as only being about the past, to broader roles including those of community consultant and facilitator (Mackay and Sullivan 2006; Layton *et al.* 2006).

In view of the need to temper western-based heritage management systems with traditional approaches, this paper discusses two main issues integral to heritage management in Africa. These are heritage legislation and international charters and conventions. It suggests that community participation is probably one way of achieving this. However, on its own community participation is beset by a series of hurdles which sometimes limit participation to attending official functions and providing labour during heritage restorations. Therefore, a vibrant culture of research on the practice and theory of heritage management in Africa is now long overdue.

Managing heritage places

Generally, in southern and eastern Africa, the mandate to manage the cultural heritage is entrusted to national organisations. In countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Malawi and Tanzania, the responsibility for heritage resources is shared between departments of Antiquities and Museums (Ndoro 2005). And yet, in others such as Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe where there was a large European settler population, heritage management developed as a preserve for the few and as a result it was seen as a highly academic subject and never meant for popular consumption. In these cases museum organisations and universities were responsible for the management of sites (Pwiti and Ndoro 2001; Deacon *et al.* 2004). The main functions of these institutions were research and the application of scientific principles to understand the past. The resultant studies usually focused on the establishment of artefact categories, typologies and chronologies. Very few attempts were made to link the research and its output with the local communities, who were also themselves seen as objects of study and not consumers of the past. Furthermore, the local communities and their cultures were “otherised” and thus were seen as objects to be discovered, analysed and taxonomised as cultural and geographical entities (Kifle 1994). Many people, particularly in countries which had a large European settler community, were excluded from cultural resources, their use and management. For decades in schools and churches, they were taught to despise their cultures. There was an assumption that only Europeans would be interested in these things as objects of study.

Furthermore, since colonisation local communities in Africa have become increasingly alienated from their cultural heritage. Most of the legislation and administrative structures were set up during the colonial period and as a result they seem to have been aimed at limited interests. Government interest amounted to modernisation, and this meant that the heritage agents could not permit cultural or ritual ceremonies to take place on the sites. In many instances local communities were moved hundreds of kilometres away from their original homes, thereby creating physical and spiritual distance between them and their ancestral homes (cultural landscapes and monuments) (Pwiti and Ndoro 1999). It appears that the pioneering protective legislation was not founded on an objective approach to preserve the diverse African cultural landscape but rather on protecting a few sites which served the interest of the early settlers.

This limited scope of colonial management regimes was not immediately realised by the new breed of local archaeologists who took over from former white archaeologists in countries such as Zimbabwe and Kenya. The new black archaeologists saw the space left by the white archaeologists at Independence as an opportunity for self-advancement. They continued to profess the discipline in the same way as their predecessors. The result was that neither were legal instruments amended to incorporate local sentiments nor were administrative structures democratised to Africanise approaches to managing heritage places. Even nowadays, this failure to create some form of local relevance continues to alienate heritage management from local communities and local ethos. Therefore, the challenge facing heritage managers in many African countries is the need to domesticate these western systems by incorporating local values and indigenous practices and knowledge systems in managing heritage places. Perhaps African heritage managers should take a cue from Layton *et al.* (2006: 5) who note that effective heritage management can only derive from melding western practices and local practices.

By way of comparison, it is necessary to turn to the post-independence situation in West Africa. Here the system of heritage management seems to be different from that in Eastern and Southern Africa. Most West African heritage places are managed or looked after by the local community with very limited effort from the government or some central authority. For example, the World Heritage sites of Nigeria, the Osogbo Groves and the Sukur cultural landscapes, are under traditional or customary management systems. The same situation also prevails in Benin with the Royal Palaces of Abomey. This is in contrast to Southern and Eastern Africa where western-derived systems seem to have hegemony, with no place for customary management systems. Presumably, the lack of large settler populations in some West African nations has promoted a greater flourishing of traditional systems than was possible in the settler-dominated southern Africa.

There also appear to be variations in the way that cultural heritage is managed in different parts of Africa. For example, in most of Africa, particularly the French-speaking area, architectural and sacred places seem to dominate what is protected by the heritage authorities. The Royal Places of Abomey in Benin readily come to mind. This situation is mirrored in anglophone West Africa where the Sacred Groves of Osogbo and the Sukur cultural landscape in Nigeria and the forts and castles of Ghana, feature prominently on the heritage register. Perhaps the most important observation is that

most West African heritage sites are lived in and hence constantly evolve as the local cultural ethos changes. A good example is the Koutammahou cultural landscapes of Togo, remarkable for their mud-tower houses. Here the landscape and nature are inextricably associated with the indigenous rituals and belief systems. Yet such mud villages with strong spiritual connections exist also in most of Southern Africa but have never been considered of heritage importance by the authorities there. This distinction implies that different heritage types are protected in West and Southern Africa. Arguably, the architectural ensembles and sacred cultural landscapes appear to be the main heritage places identified for protection in West Africa. This is at variance with Southern and Eastern Africa where archaeological sites dominate the heritage register. It is unarguable that West Africa needs to learn from the experience of Southern Africa and vice-versa. This can enable the protection of Africa's fragile cultural, archaeological and natural heritage. The key to achieving this is to cultivate a culture of research in heritage management at African institutions with the aim of using local solutions to solving problems affecting African heritage places. This is because locally available solutions exist, but heritage practitioners seem reluctant to utilise them.

Of interest in this discussion is heritage practice in Ethiopia, a country which experienced limited colonisation. Ethiopian communities look after the cultural heritage places with minimum supervision from a central authority. Places such as Lalibela, Aksum and Gondar are managed without driving the people away, as was customary in Southern Africa. Archaeological and scientific inquiries in these places did not necessitate removing communities from heritage places. As a result, Ethiopians are very proud of their heritage and consider it a resource to be exploited but also to be protected. This Ethiopian case is a potent reminder that home-grown solutions do play an important part in managing heritage in Africa and they should not be marginalised in favour of western-derived therapies.

Heritage legislation and international conventions

One of the most critical ingredients that underpins the principles and practice of heritage management in Africa is legislation. On a broad scale, heritage legislation created the need to protect, conserve and manage portable and non-portable heritage. Perhaps the earliest legislation in South Africa

appeared with the South African Bushman Relics Act of 1911. Subsequent to this development, administrative structures were created to protect antiquities. By the 1970s, heritage legislation had evolved in Southern Africa. Then, the National Monuments Council of South Africa and the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia were fully operational. Heritage legislation in Africa had many commonalities. For example, the laws stated that nobody could disturb archaeological heritage without permission from relevant authorities and imposed a fine on those who infringed the law. A notable omission was the recognition of local values associated with the heritage. Furthermore, the practice of heritage management had no place for indigenous peoples. This created the cult of the experts who knew everything about heritage matters, on the one hand, and non-experts who were neither providers of knowledge nor consumers of the past, on the other.

Surprisingly, the democratisation of the political process in Africa did not witness any democratisation of the practice of heritage management. Neither was the legislation amended to broaden the process by including local communities. In fact, the new breed of African heritage managers who took over at independence simply continued to profess the discipline in the same elitist way as their colonial predecessors. The result has been that, for most of the Independence period, heritage management has largely been influenced by western value-systems and traditional custodians of heritage and the systems that they represented have been confined to the sidelines.

Unlike most African countries, South Africa completely overhauled its colonial legislation and, in its place, enacted a law largely inspired by local values and the need to involve members of the public in matters that affect the management of their heritage. The South African National Heritage Resources Act (1999) was mooted to transform the colonial heritage institutions into multicultural centres which gave voice and attention to the long-alienated indigenous people and their heritage. Significantly, the Act gave prominence to intangible heritage and living traditions, and empowered the public to control the destiny of their heritage. This provision has far-reaching implications, as revealed by events surrounding the unearthing of a massive burial site at Prestwitch place in Cape Town (Shepherd 2007). The descendent communities refused archaeologists permission to study the human remains and successfully lobbied the government to build a mausoleum where the Prestwitch dead could rest in peace. While this represents a loss to science, at

least the communities now have a powerful say in the protection of their heritage and can refuse practices that violate their beliefs.

Inasmuch as the Prestwitch Place controversy represents a landmark, the situation in the rest of South Africa is still far from rosy. This is because some of the important heritage resources are located on private lands or in national parks. Interested communities cannot access these sites at will for fear of violating property rights. Furthermore, traditional systems of heritage management remain largely unnoticed. Perhaps this is caused by the difficulty of reconciling diametrically opposed systems. The western system is based on access while the traditional system is based on restricted access. Striking the balance between the two is a goal yet to be pursued and has not become standard practice (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). However, some international conventions are lobbying for the recognition of traditional systems of heritage management and values which they represent.

Together with the legislation, international charters and conventions have largely defined the complexion of the practice of heritage management in southern Africa. Of particular importance are the Venice Charter of 1964, the Burra Charter of 1999 and UNESCO's World Heritage Convention of 1972. Taken together, these charters and conventions have defined heritage values (based on a western cultural ethos) and set out influential guidelines. For example, the principle of respecting the original fabric in any restoration that is enshrined in both the Venice and Burra Charters has guided conservators at places like Great Zimbabwe, the Royal Palaces of Abomey (Benin) and the Kasubi Tombs (Uganda) in their effort to stabilise the fabric. Taking the example of Great Zimbabwe further, the fabric largely consists of drystone walls built using a precise placement method without any binding mortar. From time to time, Great Zimbabwe's walls experience stability problems which require intervention on the physical fabric. In restoring sections of the Great Enclosure, Matenga (1996) and his team adhered to most of the principles of the charters.

A number of countries in Africa have borrowed from the Australian Burra Charter which, contrary to many views, is a national and not an international charter. Perhaps the most important principle enshrined in the Burra Charter is that it relegates the emphasis on monumentality of heritage to the background. Instead, it emphasises the idea of a "place" which incorporates the fabric and landscape in which heritage resources are located. Also, it recognises the cultural significance and multiple voices associated with heritage. This broadly appeals to the Southern

African context where heritage resources have so many values attached to them. There is no doubt that this principle has influenced many heritage managers in Africa to co-opt the spiritual values of heritage places.

An international convention that has influenced the practice of heritage management in Africa is UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. This convention established the agenda for the preservation of heritage of resources of outstanding universal value. Such heritage is listed on the World Heritage List. The process of listing involves the preparation of management plans which are assessed by the World Heritage Committee. Currently 76 heritage sites in Africa feature on the World Heritage List and a significant amount of resources has been made available for the management of these sites. In view of the fact that most African sites are faced with preservation problems, this makes a very big difference. The only drawback, however, comes from the fact that western value-systems dominate in the way that they are managed (Munjeri 2004).

Although one cannot doubt the effectiveness of the combined effect of legislation and international charters in influencing the practice of heritage management in Africa, the major criticism levelled against them is that they have internationalised European values, concepts of heritage and principles of conservation (Smith 2006: 11). This has pushed traditional systems of heritage management and indigenous values into the sidelines (Munjeri 2004). Cleere (2006: 68) however argues that there is nothing wrong with the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention because it merely spells out guidelines to be followed (see also ICOMOS 2004). Neither is it prescriptive; the only problem is that African heritage managers view the document as a "cure for all" and thus neglect local solutions to heritage's detriment.

The reality on the ground, however, is that the international conventions and charters privilege experts at the expense of non-experts who are excluded from heritage practice. This is despite the fact that their local knowledge is important in any heritage management initiative. Naturally, this promoted the genesis of approaches with a potential to domesticate the conventions and charters, thereby making them suitable in the local context. As such, community participation has been seen as the missing link with potential to develop locally grown alternatives to international practices in Southern African heritage management. But has it been successful? This invites a discussion of community participation, its application and success or failure.

Taming the legislation and international charters and conventions?

Community participation in Southern African heritage management

Community participation is the process of actively involving interested stakeholders in heritage protection activities. Even though the degree of participation varies from context to context, it is universally agreed that the local communities should be seen as knowledge-providers, users of the heritage resource and consumers of the past. The alienation of local communities from heritage protection activities has often created conflicts between heritage managers and other stakeholders (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). While heritage resources and the landscapes in which they are located have multiple uses, the bureaucratic protection of heritage freezes the value of such places. For example, such areas may be grazing lands, burial spaces and even places of worship. However, contemporary heritage management tends to privilege elite values over other uses.

With time (and rightly so), the disenfranchised communities began to clamour for involvement in matters that concerned the management of heritage in Southern Africa. This is dramatised by the events associated with the heritage landscape at Domboshava in Zimbabwe. Located about 30 kilometres northeast of Harare, Domboshava was proclaimed a national monument during the colonial period because of its spectacular rock art. Yet, the site was used as a religious shrine by local people. They carried out rainmaking ceremonies, using the geological tunnel in the rock shelter. The proclamation of the site effectively barred the community from conducting this practice which was thought to be disfiguring the art (Pwiti and Mvenge 1996). At independence, the antiquities authorities continued with this policy of alienating competing values, which then prompted the community to commit several acts of vandalism in protest. Realising the futility of ignoring the spiritual value of the site, the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe had to pay reparations to the local community and established a workable heritage management partnership. The NMMZ undertook to develop community-driven tourist programmes by allowing local communities to sell curios at the site. The NMMZ, however, continued to administer the site in terms of the National Museums and Monuments Act of 1972. Community

participation seemed to work until one individual decided to build a restaurant which was affecting part of the sacred landscape of Domboshava. The developer was authorised by the Chief in terms of his traditional powers. The NMMZ protested and tried to stop the development. The local chief in turn demanded 50% of the revenue generated at the site. He further stated that, if the NMMZ did not want to consider his sentiments, then the organisation should relocate the rock art to Harare and leave him and his people to use locally available resources.

In the end, the restaurant was built. The importance of this case lies in showing that community involvement has to be meaningful if there is going to be a change in approach. A review of the success of community participation at Domboshava revealed that participation did not go far enough since the local communities' freedom to use the site was severely limited. For example, they could only conduct their religious activities under the watchful gaze of officials. Traditional management systems and custodians have largely been ignored. Perhaps this suggests that, unless traditional systems are allowed to co-exist alongside western-based systems, problems may continue to exist.

Other heritage resources in which communities have actively participated in heritage management are Great Zimbabwe, Mapungubwe (South Africa), and Thulamela (South Africa). Local communities around Great Zimbabwe are involved in most activities taking place at the site. They are consulted during restoration activities and perform their religious ceremonies. Furthermore, a vibrant community-based tourism exists around the site, with local communities selling their curios. Significantly, however, a fence keeps these people outside the site and they are restricted from entering it freely. South African heritage managers have actively involved local Venda and Tsonga communities living around the site of Thulamela in the Kruger National Park (Nemaheni 2002). All the communities participated in the reburial of skeletons. However, there was a great deal of uneasiness in the process as some modern customs were included. These include reburying the skeletons in coffins. Burial ceremonies were performed but at a distance considered safe enough for there to be less impact on the heritage. However, after this burial, the same communities find themselves excluded from the resource, which is situated in the National Park. Permission to enter the site has to be granted from the Parks warden. Does this form of participation, which essentially involves inviting people to official functions, go far enough in order to instigate a change of approach? Perhaps the answer is no, as the bureaucratic protection system is still dominant. There is a need, perhaps, for dedicated research to understand the issue better.

Discussion

There is no doubt that contemporary heritage management in Africa has achieved considerable success in maintaining the physical fabric of important heritage places such as Great Zimbabwe and Thulamela (Ndoro 2005). Obviously, such efforts were not only backed by legislation but are also inspired by making recourse to international principles of conservation. The major issue with the resultant approach is that it protects elite and western values while disenfranchising local people from their heritage. One can advocate the amendment of legislation to involve local people but this is unlikely to yield any meaningful results because of the hegemony of the specialists. Moreover, having legislation and implementing it are two different things. The internationalisation of western values implicit in international charters has also created some difficulties and potential conflicts. For example, they advocate the presentation of sites and their use in tourism. However, such a move means that the sites should be open to the public whereas some traditional management systems and values thrive on limiting access to different groups (Joffroy 2006). Often this opening of sites is synonymous with the desecration of shrines and other important cultural places. As heritage managers, how then do we reconcile these diametrically opposing positions? Perhaps the way forward is to create space in which the two different systems can operate. The challenge therefore is to domesticate these conventions by incorporating local values and recognising that traditional custodians are providers of knowledge, just as the experts are.

The concept of community participation, while laudable, is fraught with difficulties. Firstly, the multiple values associated with heritage and the idea of “one heritage fits all” implies that there exist multiple stakeholders (Ashworth and Turnbridge 1996). That some stakeholders are more powerful than others suggest that some values are dominant when compared to others. As shown at Domboshava and Thulamela, elite values are always privileged over spiritual and other traditional values. With this disparity in power, it is unlikely that community participation can lead to a change in approach, let alone the domestication of international values.

The other issue with community participation is that, in some cases, heritage managers talk of local communities but the so-called communities live far away from the heritage in question (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). For instance, the site of Thulamela is located in the Kruger National Park and the Venda and Tsonga peoples can hardly be referred to as

local communities. In this case participation involves inviting the communities to attend official ceremonies. This also applies to sites such as Domboshava and Great Zimbabwe, where ceremonies are practiced under the watchful eyes of the heritage managers. Probably this reflects the dominance of authorised heritage discourse (Smith 2006) and shows that, as long as heritage management is practiced within the limits of legislation, charters and conventions, domesticating the discipline and incorporating local values remains a major challenge. This is not helped by the fact that it is difficult to reconcile western-based heritage management systems with traditional ones since the two are based on two very different premises. Developing a dual management system may work, in which the existence of traditional custodians are recognised, but their terms of reference have to be established. This solution can potentially work because very few individuals were usually given access to shrines under traditional systems. Even though they may be peripheral, recognising them would be a step in the right direction.

To take the example of the site of Na-yiri Kokologo in Burkina Faso, it is a living heritage site where the chief of eight villages lives. The chief, in partnership with international organisations, began a project to reinforce and promote the traditional practices of conserving the site’s cultural and architectural significance. Due to the need for water for implementing the conservation project, a borehole and solar lighting system had to be installed. Apart from bringing together the village to make decisions about their cultural heritage, the conservation project which focused on traditional conservation techniques became an opportunity to address developmental issues. The borehole and lighting became useful not only for conservation of the cultural and historical environment but also for the benefit of the whole community. Thus, in this case, a heritage site is not only about the past but has potential to act as a catalyst in addressing developmental issues.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that heritage management is enjoying wide support from governments and intergovernmental institutions in Africa. The fusion of legislation, administrative bodies and international conventions has provided the home-grown and international fuel that has sparked the growth of the subject. It is, however, beyond reasonable doubt that the dominance of international conventions and the funds that they channel, if not properly planned for, can contribute to the sidelining of local values. This is

not helped by a lack of research into African systems of heritage management. As a result, Africa looks up to the international world for solutions, some of which will be divorced from the local context. While community participation may be a missing link in domesticating international values, it is difficult to measure its success as its application hitherto has been at best lukewarm. Furthermore, we know only about the position of heritage managers and very little of the point of view of the communities. Also, at present heritage management is a practice which is not matched by research at African universities. Perhaps teaching heritage management can help towards producing home-grown solutions. Since there is a symbiotic relationship between theory and practice, we may be able to find more ways of incorporating local solutions into managing local heritage.

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The multiplier effect of ICCROM's capacity-building: conservation training for professionals in Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia

ANDREA URLAND

ICCROM is a crossroads... and each of us who passed it have gained precious experiences, a common basis of understanding, a common language, and often lasting friendships and professional exchange contacts with other colleagues from all over the world. Through this ICCROM family the organization's mission is being carried on, extended and implemented outside its regular programmes, by means of new forms of action.

This contribution aims at showing the impact of the experiences gained through course participation at ICCROM, in the form of implementing specific training in a national and regional context. In other words, it illustrates the 'multiplier effect' of ICCROM training.

It is also a tribute to Jukka Jokilehto whose name is firmly associated with the organization and whose direct colleague I had the honour of being for a long period. Our professional collaboration has fruitfully continued even after our leaving ICCROM – it has been a vivid and very inspiring experience for me, based on a lasting respect between colleagues.

The case study – Banská Štiavnica

The series of inter-related training programmes presented here has been organized in the World

Heritage Site of Banská Štiavnica (inscribed in 1993, Fig. 1).

In this town, despite recognition of its values and its importance as part of the common heritage of mankind and many achievements as a result of professional conservation projects, some practices such as poor execution of restoration works and the widespread and incompatible use of heavily advertised new building materials and modern technologies threatened the survival of the original fabric of the historic buildings, many of which had started to lose much of their intrinsic values. The gradually changing circumstances and attitudes over the years since the political changes in 1989 called for new types of action. The local team of professionals - formed quite spontaneously on the basis of a common understanding – played the key role in identifying these dangerous trends and connected threats to the built heritage. It was led by former ICCROM participants, namely Katarina Vošková, the former Head of the local Monuments Board Office (ITUC 99 participant) and Pavel Fabian (ASC 96 participant) and in the very early stages of the process also by Beth Yenchko (ARC 94 participant).

To sum up the main concerns: preference had for decades been given to reconstruction and replacement rather than conservation, thus compromising the authenticity of the historic fabric; most craftsmen

were not familiar with the use of traditional materials, techniques and technologies and questions of compatibility between new and traditional materials; maintenance of historic buildings had not been seen as part of the safeguarding and preservation process; and the lack of awareness of the owners and the local residents showed a lack of community consciousness towards the importance of safeguarding this irreplaceable heritage. New losses continued to occur annually and the situation called for an immediate adoption of suitable measures (Vošková and Urand 2002, 7).

The training methodology

In response to this situation and to the needs identified at the beginning of the year 2000, the initiative of the team started to focus on training and awareness-building. I was asked to join the team and share my experiences in professional training design and methodology. These stemmed from my previous role as co-ordinator and lecturer for the ICCROM ARC courses and as co-designer of other ICCROM courses in the conservation of modern architecture (MARC) and architectural surfaces (ASC). Throughout the following years we were able to develop a successful model of training

tailored to Banská Štiavnica and reacting also to broader Slovak and even regional conditions and needs.

We decided to start with a bigger event, bringing together some of the most experienced and renowned professionals and practitioners in the field, with the aim of finding ways to face the challenges. So an international workshop was held in the year 2002, with representatives of the local stakeholders and contributions by several invited key speakers, in order to mark a starting point and possibly to formulate a strategic document for future actions. In order to reach out to the broader public, we combined on-site demonstrations of exemplary conservation and restoration works by skilled craftsmen (repair of a Renaissance render, repair of a Baroque roof structure, repair of a Baroque entrance door and the repair of a stone retaining wall that also defines the plot limits) (Fig. 2) with a workshop focused on the selected issues and challenges. This model proved to be effective: the combination of practice and theory was found to be interesting and clear, the message easier to pass; and so it was used for all the subsequent training sessions which focused on the individual aspects pre-selected in the 2002 workshop.

On average, the model consisted of a 5-day practical training programme (course) in craftwork (mostly for craftsmen, but other professions could also participate), concluding with a 2-day seminar or workshop addressing the related challenges and providing the most recent theoretical and practical knowledge and research results and achievements. In the framework of the seminar, we tried each year to incorporate one or more public events in order to allow for dissemination of the seminar message and of the results of the practical interventions by craftsmen as an inspiration and to set standards and examples for similar works. Through the presentation of theoretical issues and case studies by invited experts and discussions during visits of the on-site demonstrations of conservation and



FIG. 1. Banská Štiavnica, location of the training courses (photo author)



FIG. 2. Repair of a typical stone retaining wall – a demonstration site for the 2002 international workshop (photo author)

restoration works, it was hoped that fundamental arguments about authenticity and integrity, in the spirit of relevant international documents, would be formulated and recommendations (declaration of principles) produced which would help better orient current practice. Another objective was to discuss capacity-building in view of the identified needs, and to provide a basis for establishing a training strategy in this field.

Each training event was conceptually prepared by the same core working group, and each time a new fundraising initiative had to be made. The principal organizing institution tended to be different in the individual events.

A coherent part of the programme consisted of related exhibitions, sometimes competitions, and the publication of Proceedings with the presentations and the most detailed explanation possible of the practical on-site working process and its results, in order to let it serve as a practical handbook on the subject. These publications were distributed widely and also offered in local bookshops.

The training sessions from 2002 to 2007

The target groups aimed at by the training, capacity- and awareness-building were conservation

professionals, decision-makers, representatives of authorities, building contractors, owners of historic buildings as well as residents and the general public. All training activities were international, with English or German as the official languages.

The international workshop in 2002 was organized by the Slovak National Board for Monuments and Sites Preservation (Banská Štiavnica Office) under the auspices and financial support of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and the Slovak Ministry of Culture, and in collaboration with the Town of Banská Štiavnica, Faculty of Architecture of the Slovak University of Technology, the Slovak Mining Museum, the Slovak UNESCO Commission for Cultural Heritage, ICOMOS Slovakia and the Université Laval UNESCO Chair for Cultural Heritage. The workshop was attended by 22

European professionals, mostly from the region, and by 30 Slovak professionals. The core lectures were given by Jukka Jokilehto, Michel Bonnette, Ian Constantinides, Hannes Weissenbach (former ASC participant and later an instructor), and Gennaro Tampone.

At the conclusion of the workshop the participants adopted the Banská Štiavnica Appeal on Materials, Techniques and Technologies in the Preservation of the Built Heritage. The Appeal was published also in a recent Slovak ICOMOS publication on Charters and Guidelines and gained a wide distribution across the country. The Appeal was prepared by our small international interdisciplinary working group (including K. Vošková, V. Dvořáková and V. Kohút) with Jukka Jokilehto, Gennaro Tampone and Michel Bonnette contributing significantly to its formulation (Fig. 3). The document called for strengthening communication and coordination between subjects involved in the preservation of World Heritage Sites in Slovakia; for raising the quality of preservation and knowledge transfer; for promoting the value of good craftsmanship; for designing and implementing training strategies addressing needs to increase knowledge and skills in heritage preservation; for encouraging collaboration between training centres in different countries, and encouraging and sustaining the production and

certification of materials suitable for built heritage conservation; for searching for necessary funding and resources required for the establishment of a training centre, possibly to be located in Banská Štiavnica, for mid-level craftspersons and technicians; for encouraging property owners to request the support of qualified craftspersons and conservation architects when undertaking work on heritage properties; for building an information and documentation centre to support training activities; for giving special attention to the monitoring of the condition of heritage sites and the effectiveness of the measures that have been taken; for introducing legislation that would force contractors to demonstrate the required standard and level of knowledge and capacity when undertaking projects in heritage conservation; and for ensuring that the legal framework and relevant building norms and standards support the implementation of good conservation practice. The Appeal also provided recommendations specifically for Banská Štiavnica.

In 2005 we organized a course and seminar on Lime and Lime Technologies in Built Heritage

Conservation with Hannes Weissenbach, craftsman and conservator of the Austrian Federal Office for Monuments (Bundesdenkmalamt - Restaurierungswerkstätten Baudenkmalpflege) of Kartause Mauerbach as principal resource person at both practical and theoretical levels. This time the main organizer was an NGO - Spolok Banskej Štiavnice '91 - in collaboration with the Slovak National Board for Monuments and Sites Preservation, Austrian Federal Office for Monuments, the Town of Banská Štiavnica, the Faculty of Architecture and other institutions, with the main financial support coming from the Slovak Ministry of Culture.

During the 12-days course programme under the guidance of Hannes Weissenbach, a kiln was built in a publicly accessible place, lime was burnt, slaked, and then used in restoring the façade of the House of Crafts in Banská Štiavnica (Fig. 4). The interconnected seminar discussed challenges of preserving lime renders and the most recent knowledge about traditional lime technologies in present-day applications. In the framework of the seminar participants agreed upon



FIG. 3. Work on the draft Banská Štiavnica Appeal by Jukka Jokilehto, Gennaro Tampone (right) and the author (photo Michel Bonnette)



FIG. 4. H. Weissenbach instructing the participants of the 2005 international course in lime slaking (photo author)

Recommendations prepared by our working group, with Hannes Weissenbach and Astrid Huber as key members. The Recommendations concerned the safeguarding and conservation of originals in the most appropriate and least invasive way; strengthening the practice of regular maintenance; strengthening research and broadening knowledge about these materials and technologies for the needs of conservation practice; the elaboration and publication of relevant methodical instructions; the introduction of a system of certified craftsmen and a system of scholarships for their specialization training; and the introduction of a system of life-long learning for craftsmen at national and regional levels (Fabian, Huber, Kohút, Michoinová, Vošková, Urland and Weissenbach 2005, 151).

In 2006 we focused on Doors and Windows in Built Heritage Conservation. The principal organizer was again the NGO Spolok Banskej Štiavnice '91 in co-operation with the Faculty of Architecture, the Slovak National Board for Monuments and Sites Preservation, Schreinerei, Buildhauerei, Denkmalpflege Hubert Labisch, and Fensterhandwerker Johannes Mosler. This time the financial support was obtained through a grant from the Headley Trust. In eight days the principal lecturers of the course and seminar, Hubert Labisch and Johannes Mosler, showed the methods of repair of windows (on examples from the 18th and 19th centuries) and of a Baroque wooden

door from the Calvary complex. There were 19 participants in the course and 46 in the seminar.

In 2007 the theme selected for the international colloquium was the Revitalization of the Banská Štiavnica Calvary. It was organized by the Faculty of Architecture of the Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava and financially supported by the Slovak Ministry of Culture and the Visegrad Fund. Also in this case we managed to come up with recommendations and a preliminary action plan for the safeguarding of this unique heritage complex.

Conclusion

The effort invested in this series of training programmes has already started yielding results, e.g. in the form of impact on better practice and interest in a more conscious

conservation and restoration of houses by their owners. The publications of the individual training sessions have been available in local bookshops, and they have helped some new owners to contact the authors about conservation approaches for their own properties. Several local craftsmen have improved their professional capacities. Public interest has been growing from one event to the next, volunteers have been involved in many ways, and the local authorities have started to be more collaborative and supportive.

The interest of the media, both press and television, in the training activities and public events, as well as the articles published by participants (Slovak and foreign) on their return home about their newly gained experiences, have helped to strengthen the overall impact.

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Historic reconstruction: prospects for heritage preservation or metamorphoses of theory?

[NATALIA DUSHKINA]

This contribution presents the theme of reconstruction that I first broached at its Helsinki meeting in 1995 at the request of the ICOMOS CIF committee. Thus, Dr. Jukka Jokilehto – as the CIF President since 1993 and currently its Honorary President – became a father of my first public discussion on reconstruction and of my longstanding interest in this field. Since then this phenomenon has been analysed many times in recent decades with regard to the extraordinary Russian experience and the international context, including in papers given at the 11th and 15th ICOMOS General Assemblies in Sofia (1996) and X'ian (2005), at ICCROM (2002) and at the 10th International DOCOMOMO Conference (Rotterdam, 2008). Therefore it seems appropriate in this Festschrift publication to concentrate anew on the issue of historic reconstruction in its present forms and to sum up my observations of previous years.

Introductory overview

Looking at the heritage landscape of the 20th–21st centuries, it is possible to state that the quantity of reconstructed monuments is insignificant in comparison with the whole scope of conservation activities. However, reproduction of historical buildings claims to be one of the most intriguing aspects of modern

heritage practice. The clarity of numerous problems – scientific and cultural, political and ideological as well as ethical, always revealing in relation to the action of reproduction – gives this phenomenon an extreme position.

The destructions of two World Wars and of revolutions of the 20th century, especially the 1917 Russian Revolution with its global political and cultural cataclysms, brought about a new vision of the world. In combination with the destructive methods of the internationally widespread Modernism, several well-known peaks in the history of European reconstruction were passed. I dare to assume that today we are witnessing another outburst of this phenomenon, starting in the mid-1980s and still continuing, with every sign of expanding in the future. The recent blossoming of reconstruction activities has been provoked by deep changes within culture itself, as well as by the significant political metamorphoses of the late 20th century (strong globalisation, disintegration of the Soviet empire, reunification of Germany and political liberation of the Eastern European and Baltic countries, flourishing of the Asian development model marked by a global Chinese presence, etc.).

Most countries and their heritage are currently affected by different methods of historical reconstruction. Just to enumerate briefly several well-known examples, in Barcelona (the Liceo), Venice (La Fenice) and Drammen (in Norway) we come across



FIG. 1. Shakespeare's Globe Theatre in London, UK. Destroyed by parliamentary edict in the 17th century and reconstructed in the 1990s (photo author, 2007)



FIG. 2. The Frauenkirche at Neumarkt in Dresden, Germany, built by George Bähr in 1726-1743, destroyed in 1945 and reconstructed from mid-1990s to 2005 within a World Heritage site (photo author, 2005)



FIG. 3. Promotion in favour of reconstruction project for the Bauakademie by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1831-1836, in central Berlin, Germany, destroyed in 1945 and totally dismantled in 1962 (photo author, 2007)

different approaches and methods in the reconstruction of theatres lost to fire (an action rightly justified in conservation theory). In London, on the contrary, we have witnessed an unprecedentedly bold reproduction of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre (Fig. 1). It had never been seen in the 20th century, having been destroyed following a Parliamentary edict in the 17th century; however today there is an idea not only to duplicate other structures of that type in London, but also to build a Globe Theatre in Berlin (more revealing of its commercial impact in London than its cultural one).

In Germany one can identify a state programme for national revival achieved by means of historical reconstruction. Here, we mention first of all the ambitious replication of the Frauenkirche (Fig. 2) at Neumarkt in Dresden, a grandiose 18th century building by George Bähr that was destroyed in 1945. For decades the ruin itself had been a significant war memorial. The work was carried out with punctilious German attention to detail, with all of the authentic fragments that had survived being collected, identified and included in the new structure. The Neumarkt in Dresden itself currently presents further scope for reconstruction through imitating lost historical fabric. The practice recalls the post-war construction work in Warsaw's Old Town rather than the modern urban capacities of the site.

After Dresden, dozens of reconstruction projects in Germany are under discussion, with striking examples in central Berlin, with plans to clone the famous Karl Friedrich Schinkel Bauakademie (Fig. 3) and to reconstruct (in line with the Act of the German Parliament of 2003) the 18th-century Königsschloss by Andreas Schlüter, both of them destroyed in the 1940s-1960s. In the same cluster, the Kommandantehaus with imitation classical facades and totally new interior space was rebuilt in 2003. This case has been followed by the sensational proposal to reproduce the 16th-century Palais des Tuileries by Philibert Delorme in Paris, burned in 1871 and dismantled in 1883. In the Old City of Jerusalem a reinforced concrete reconstruction of the Hurva Synagogue, with work due to be completed in 2009, is intended to replace the commemorative arch at the site and ancient and mediaeval remains. A desire for a full visual "completeness" and "integrity" is often heard today with regard to the ancient sites of the Athenian Acropolis and Rome. It is symptomatic that, even at archaeological excavation sites for which reconstruction (except anastylosis) was a strict taboo for decades, the imitation of full-size prehistoric structures, including Neolithic monuments, is fast spreading for tourism purposes.

There are numerous examples of sound large-scale reconstruction projects proclaiming national identity in the post-Soviet countries: the large-scale concrete

replicas of the 1990s in Kiev, Ukraine (the 13th century Church of Pirogoscha, and the 18th century St. Michael and Assumption Cathedrals of early medieval origin (Fig. 4) that had been destroyed in the 1930s-1940s); the copy of the 18th century City Hall in Minsk, Belarus, dismantled in 1857 and reinstituted in 2004; the mediaeval Schwarzhäuperhaus at the Rathaus square reconstructed for the 800th anniversary of Riga in Latvia; and the Royal Palace of Lithuania in Vilnius, completely demolished in 1801, and due to be reconstructed in 2009 following the decision of the Lithuanian Parliament; and so on.

Even young or recent heritage of the 20th century is the target of reconstruction efforts. Paradoxically, temporary and previously dismantled ephemeral exhibition pavilions represent a series of replicated structures turned into permanent ones (and often at different locations). Among them, such famous Modernist structures as L'Esprit Nouveau Pavilion (Le Corbusier, Paris, 1925) was copied in 1977 in Bologna. The German Pavilion by Mies van der Rohe (Barcelona, 1929) was rebuilt on the same site in 1986; while the Sonsbeek Pavilion by Aldo Van Eyke (Arnhem, 1966) was reconstructed in 2005 in Otterlo at the Kröller-Müller Museum. Another Le Corbusier structure - the Philips Pavilion (Brussels, 1958) - is about to find its modern replication in the Netherlands. ICOMOS International supports the idea of reconstructing the Walter Gropius Master's house (Bauhaus, Dessau, 1925-1926). Simultaneously, unfinished or non-built projects start to be subject to final completion, with

the Church of Saint-Pierre (Fig. 5) in Firminy-Vert (Le Corbusier, 1960-1965) as the most illustrative case of the last decade. This newly built structure of 2006 has even been nominated by France to the World Heritage List within the Le Corbusier cluster nomination in 2008. As the paper reporting the debate session at the Rotterdam DOCOMOMO meeting on reconstruction states: "recent reconstruction practice has become more and more a case of heritage education, cultural and tourism entrepreneurship and sometimes even plain real-estate development." And, further on, "heritage industry has developed a growing interest in staging icons of this era of progress and growth."

This list of newly-built "historical monuments" in different countries of the world could be continued ad infinitum. Importantly, the majority of the above-mentioned structures are constituent elements of UNESCO World Heritage sites.

Some of the realised reconstruction projects for buildings of different periods have been marked by a certain violation of the existing theoretical rules, having been carried out without an exhaustive documentary basis and including both hypothetical elements and modern "improvements", thus distorting the original idea and author's intentions. To a great extent, this is explained by the phenomenon of reconstruction itself, which epitomises the dialectics of preservation and development. It is exactly in this notion that the forces of a constructive-destructive pattern are concentrated. We are dealing here with the kind of relationship between reconstruction as a conservation notion and



FIG. 4. The Cathedral of the Assumption in Kiev, Ukraine, destroyed in 1941, and reconstructed in the 18th century baroque style in mid-1990s to 2000 within a World Heritage site (photo Todor Krestev, 2009)



FIG. 5. The Church of Saint-Pierre in Firminy-Vert, France, built following Le Corbusier's preliminary sketches of 1960-1965 by José Oubrierie, 1968-2006, and nominated for the World Heritage list as part of the Le Corbusier cluster nomination, 2008 (photo author, 2008)

the nature of architectural creative work that aims at making new forms and spaces. This sometimes hidden conflict leaves its mark on all aspects of activities linked with heritage preservation.

The Russian experience of the last two decades represents, perhaps, one of the most intriguing and extreme cases. In most of its features there is a kind of prophetic force, which could throw light on one of the possible scenarios for heritage presentation and development in the future.

Reconstruction: an insight into the recent Russian phenomenon

The historical centre of the old Russian capital, currently undergoing large-scale redevelopment, represents the climax of a continuous expansion of reconstruction. The impact of events on the city's architectural heritage is extensive and massive. No other European city faces today such a complex tangle of problems relating to culture and the preservation of historical heritage as contemporary Moscow. It is one of the most striking examples of increasing heritage imbalance, and deserves special analysis. In the mid-1990s no other problem related to heritage preservation was debated with such relentless polemical intensity as this one. Even at that time the criticism included warnings that the falsification of values would lead to the devaluation of cultural heritage, with the result that the public would be deprived of any coherent insight into history. This problem remains an issue of the utmost urgency in Russia to the present day.

Needless to say, political, social and economic aspects are the core components of this phenomenon. In a country where the beginning of the last century was marked by harsh measures of expropriation, and for almost eight decades the state owned all forms of property including land and any historic buildings standing on it, where money was effectively a virtual concept for most of the population, stupendous cataclysms have been unleashed by the activation of market economy mechanisms. The return to private property and capitalism resulted in the chaotic transformation of the city centre. Its historical stratification became mixed up. Heritage defenders bore the brunt of a ferocious onslaught from the authorities at various levels, the construction corporations, the architects and investors, who are laying siege to the city centre with feverish development projects. It is quite obvious that the forces of the opposing sides are unevenly matched. Legal mechanisms of heritage protection are unable to impede this avalanche

process. As Moscow is transformed into a gleaming European urban centre, equipped with all the attributes of expensive modern life, it is gradually losing its distinctive historical character. Its material substance is gradually gone, cultural codes and memories laid down by generations are distorted. The gaps are filled as quickly as they appear – in rare instances by original works of modern architecture, most often by architectural clones constructed in new materials or structures that imitate the old buildings.

However, the cultural constituent became the main victim of these processes. One of the fundamental qualities of architectural heritage that has been dealt a crushing blow is authenticity – the fundamental quality that makes the heritage what it is, synonymous in the very broadest sense with what is genuine and original. It is a fundamental and inalienable aspect of scholarly restoration work, an independent sphere of activity, in which time is regarded as a directional process with a beginning and an end, a past and a future. Within this framework, a monument is the embodiment of a linear conception of time based on the uniqueness of form and substance and the irreversibility of events. In the heated arguments over the fate of monuments and the historical city as such, authenticity plays a key role and is the first casualty of the methods of renewal and reconstruction adopted in Moscow.

A strange, paradoxical situation has been brought about in this regard. On the Russian property market the historic buildings are attacked, declared to be “non-cost-effective” and commercially unviable. The age of a building is seen only as a factor that reduces its worth and market value, leading to it being demolished. The process by which Moscow has embarked on the new stage of its development and which serves as an example for imitation in all other cities in Russia including St Petersburg and former capitals of the Soviet republics – from Tbilisi to Tallinn – is a process of the gradual erosion of historical authenticity along every one of its parameters. The Mayor of Moscow has defended the legitimacy of erecting the life-size models of historical buildings that have overwhelmed the contemporary city, as if he seriously believes that “in Moscow culture the concept of the copy is sometimes no less meaningful than that of the original. Because the semantic, historical and cultural “charge” that such a copy carries can often be even richer and deeper than the original architectural solution”. As a result, a great deal of architectural value has already been irretrievably lost, and consequently the essential substance of Russia's cultural heritage has been sharply reduced.

An understanding of the character of the events requires at least a brief overview of their sequence. The process can be divided into two sharply differentiated stages. The first of these – let us call it the “Romantic”

stage – was typified by the campaign in the late 1980s and 1990s for the reconstruction of monuments that had been lost, a campaign that lingers in the memory in the words of vociferous appeals for a renaissance of the Russian historical heritage. The objective significance of this stage was determined by the unprecedented destruction of important architectural monuments and Orthodox sacred places during the Soviet period. Beginning in the early 1990s, many outstanding Moscow buildings of symbolic significance from the 17th to 19th centuries, destroyed in the late 1920s-1930s, were rebuilt anew. These included the Cathedral of Our Lady of Kazan (Fig. 6) and the Gates of the Resurrection on Red Square as well as the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour (Fig. 7) by Konstantin Thon (1837-1883), which was blown up in 1931 and rebuilt in 1995-2002 – the largest cathedral in Moscow at more than 100m. high. The reconstruction work carried out in 1996-1999 on the St. Andrei and St. Alexander Halls of the Great Kremlin Palace, also by Thon (1839-1849), culminated in the installation of the throne of the Tsar. All of these measures, which became symbols of the new Russian history, were carried out under the patronage of the authorities and completed in time periods that would have been extremely short for such restoration work in Europe. The romantic component of the process was intimately interwoven with questions of ideology and politics. The value of the structures that were built – as reference points to historical space – was substantial. They achieved at last a partial restoration of a historical unity in the panoramic views and silhouettes of the centre of Moscow, which had been distorted during the former period. The Cathedral of Christ the Saviour has crowned the perspectives of many streets and skyline, and has become visually and spiritually dominant in the city.

However, certain parameters of these structures (within scientific conservation treatment) turned out to be imprecise and marked by elements of a hypothetical character. Construction materials alien to the historical structures were used (for instance, the reinforced concrete frameworks in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour and the Kremlin Halls). The tendency towards “mutation” characteristics (in overall dimensions, heights, texture of materials) appeared for the first time, when the necessity for quick results began to predominate over the quality of strict reproduction. So, in the case of the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, the structure has been set upon a raised ground floor that altered its proportions; several new underground stories which never existed before have appeared beneath it, including an auditorium and garages. Original stone details and sculpture have been reproduced in bronze and plastic.



FIG. 6. The Cathedral of Our Lady of Kazan on Red Square, Moscow, Russia, built in 1620-1636; restored in 1925-1933; destroyed in 1936; reconstructed in 1992-1993 within a World Heritage site (photo author, 2008)



FIG. 7. The Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, Russia, built by Konstantin Thon, 1837-1883, destroyed in 1931, reconstructed in 1995-2002 and nominated for the World Heritage Tentative List for Russia in 1996 (photo author, 2008)

Another important point is that the work on the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour – the most ambitious of all the projects – was effectively removed from the professional conservation sphere and handed over to practising architects of general profile. This was the precedent that determined a trend and provided the impetus for the remodelling of the historical heritage on an unprecedented massive scale. As a rule, it is now architects who develop the projects for “reinstitution”

sites (with restorers only involved for discrete elements of the work), and the construction contracts are often awarded not to specialised restoration organisations but to straightforward construction firms. Servile and, as a rule, non-sensitive architects and builders who work quickly and do not possess special scientific conservation knowledge have proved convenient for the realisation of sound projects and ideological programmes. The latest reconstruction of the 18th century Palace of Catherine the Great in Tzaritzino (Moscow, 2008) represents a phantom or, better to say, simulacrum way of creating historical objects, based on hypotheses and an interior design that never existed previously, not even as an architect's design (Fig. 8). Sensationally, this very project executed by practicing architects has been recently given an award by the Remmers Academy at the Denkmal Leipzig 2008, an international heritage fair functioning under the aegis of UNESCO. In this context the restoration methodology developed over decades has become a mere hindrance. Only the external "historical" form of the building is required, without the complex process of scientific restoration that would ensure the integrity and completeness of the phenomenon that we refer to as culture.

Moscow's experience in the reconstruction of monuments in the 1990s proved that working within the framework of restoration theory and practice is not only a lengthy process, but also a much more expensive way of doing things than the new construction of historical buildings - especially since the visible results are similar or even, for the non-professional, identical. Another logical conclusion has also been drawn. If an entire stratum of historical heritage could be so easily destroyed in past times and then reconstructed, at least fragmentarily, does this not signify the emergence of a fundamentally new method for the renovation of monuments that is convenient both economically and politically? In other words, is it not simpler, instead of engaging in restoration, to demolish historical structures and then rebuild them in profitable projects with the help of architects using new and durable materials?

So, the Moscow phenomenon of "a new vision of historical heritage" spawned a Trojan horse that advanced deep into the heart of the city, with results that

were not long in making themselves felt. The second reconstruction period, which began in the late 1990s and is still continuing today, has been distinguished by the mass demolition of historic structures and the violation of national legislation (the law of the Russian Federation entitled "On items of the cultural heritage", 2002). It can justifiably be called barbarous. The scale of the destruction is almost comparable with the damage that was inflicted from the 1930s to the 1960s. In recent years dozens of listed living monuments from the 17th to the 19th centuries and more than three hundred historic buildings have been demolished, as well as entire fragments of city streets and blocks of ordinary housing - from corner to corner. The idea that a city is not a mere aggregation of separate restored buildings, but a unitary structure (the appropriately named "historic fabric of the city"), in which each building forms an inalienable part of the whole, is no longer seen as useful in the modern context. The city's character and its fabric are being methodically laid waste. Today, in peacetime, the historical capital is being subjected to devastation for the rapid generation of super-profits.

Declaring buildings dilapidated and unsafe condemns to demolition large, robust structures located in the very centre of the city, an extremely attractive area for investment. In 2003-2004 this process led to the destruction of the famous Voentorg department store (1911-1913) from the Art Nouveau period and the Hotel Moskva (1932-1938) close to the Kremlin



FIG. 8. The Ekaterininsky Hall in the Palace of Catherine the Great in Tzaritzino, Moscow, Russia, 2007-2008, a simulacrum creation of an 18th century interior that never existed previously, not even as an architect's design (photo Grigory Revzin, 2008)



FIG. 9. The Hotel Moskva near the Moscow Kremlin, Russia, built by Alexei Schusev in 1932-1938, demolished in 2004 and under reconstruction since 2006 within a buffer zone of the World Heritage site (photo author, 2009)



FIG. 10. The Palace of the Tsar Alexei Michailovitch in Kolomenskoe, Moscow, Russia, a wooden 17th-century structure dismantled in the second half of the 18th century and currently being re-erected with a concrete skeleton and wooden facades (photo Natalia Samover, 2008)

– a symbol of the 20th century city as a whole (Fig. 9). All structures with wooden floors are also under threat of reconstruction, which as a rule is often a euphemism for demolition. For every one of these buildings plans had been drawn up that involved the construction of multilevel underground space, with the subsequent construction of a copy of the demolished building. Presently the city centre is swamped by the construction of surrogates, pseudo-historical buildings and reproductions. Dozens of clones of historical buildings have appeared, making up entire streets and architectural ensembles. There are even some almost

unbelievable examples of the reinstitution of classical monuments of wooden architecture from the 18th century “in more enduring materials” – brick and reinforced concrete. At the moment, the wooden 17th-century Palace of the Tsar Alexei Michailovitch in Kolomenskoe, Moscow, dismantled in the second half of the 18th century, is being re-erected with a concrete skeleton and wooden facades (Fig. 10).

A true professional approach, based on definite principles and a clear ideology, has become unnecessary and valueless. This is essentially a process that goes outside ethical restraints. On the one hand, there is no need to conserve, which is to say that the need for costly restoration work no longer exists. At the same time, there is no need to make any intellectual effort and attempt to construct a new building that is equal in quality to the old one or even surpasses it. What we get instead is a reconstruction of what has been just demolished. Of the three possible scenarios following the demolition of a building, the choice has fallen on the worst – which requires the least expenditure in terms of intellectual effort, creative imagination and costs. The growing numbers of such structures glorifying the cult of newness introduce an imbalance into the cultural space of the city, gradually shifting the historical architectural environment outside the range of the concept of heritage and devaluing genuine architectural monuments. Under these conditions, a deformation of consciousness and of professional qualification of both practising architects and restorers is ongoing.

All these facts prove that we are witnessing today not only a specific stage in the history of development of the reconstruction phenomenon that started at the end of the 1980s and has lasted until nowadays. We are talking about the ongoing distortion or, better to say, transformation of the theoretical and scientific principles regarding this field of professional conservation activities.

Reconstruction: definitions and shifts in terminology. Reflections on the international charters and doctrinal texts

As it is generally known from conservation theory, the meaning of the very term “reconstruction” is commonly connected with “building anew”, having in mind the reproduction of a destroyed monument *in situ* on a precise documentary basis, using old or new materials, and preserving the original forms lost during a war, fire or calamity. Importantly, any type of conjecture or hypothesis is excluded. As a rule,

reconstruction should be undertaken soon after a monument's tragic destruction, in a situation in which many living witnesses could receive the satisfaction of a reinstituted historical completeness and integrity. In theory, the decision to launch a reconstruction is an exceptional one.

Let us trace briefly the development of this notion in the major international documents worked out on the basis of a widespread restoration experience. In the first document of this type – the Athens Charter of 1931, which marked a significant stage in professional evolution from the 19th to the first third of the 20th centuries – the notion “reconstruction” was not used at all. Instead, a rather strict demand reflecting the general theoretical tendency that predominated in different European countries was proclaimed: “to abandon restorations in toto and to avoid the attendant dangers by initiating a system of regular and permanent maintenance calculated to ensure the preservation of the buildings”. The notion of conservation and the importance of documentary evidence occupied a key position in the Athens Charter, thus demonstrating the final scientific advantage of archaeological principles over stylistic restoration. Neither in content nor in lexical form – even despite the significant destructions of the First World War that entailed major re-erection work – was the very term “reconstruction” used as a specific type of treatment of a monument. At the same time, namely at the Athens conference, the notion of anastylosis (being by its very nature one of the methods of limited reconstruction) was introduced. Characterising the re-erection works carried out by Nicolas Balanos at the Propylaea and the Parthenon as the method of anastylosis, the impossibility of using restoration treatment was stressed anew.

Another post-war document, by its significance a “monument” in itself – the Venice Charter of 1964 –, marked another new stage in principles. Until today, this text has presented the theoretical doctrine and ethics of the global professional conservation community. Here again, in a similar succession, the statements that “restoration” is “operation qui doit garder un caractère exceptionnel” (Art.9), and that the monuments should be handed on “dans toute la richesse de leur authenticité” reinforce the doctrine. Reconstruction as one possible treatment is not used, as it was not before; however, a hidden idea of this notion made its presence felt. The term “reconstruction” has been diffused, leaving its generic indications superficially in the theoretical doctrines. So, in the Venice Charter itself we meet “reconstitutions conjecturales”, “les adjonctions”, “le dégagement d'un état sous-jacent” as well as “le déplacement de tout ou partie d'un monument”, which all are permitted in exceptional cases. And only in the section on “Excavations” (Art.15), when a strong

desire for potential reconstitution could arise, the term “reconstruction” appears for the first time, openly, and takes on an imperative form: “Tout travail de reconstruction devra cependant être exclu *a priori*, seule l'anastylose peut être envisagé”. And further on, the Venice Charter establishes the minimal possibility for any reconstruction action: “Les éléments d'intégration seront toujours reconnaissables et représenteront le minimum nécessaire pour assurer les conditions de conservation du monument et rétablir la continuité de ses formes”.

In fact, this brief overview indicates the methodological vagueness of boundaries between “restoration” and “reconstruction” on a terminological level, stresses the vitality of fragmentary reconstruction, and preserves the possibility of its wide practical use. In this ambivalence the objective nature of the notion has been revealed. On the one hand, the formal rejection of reconstruction reflected an aspiration for the maximum preservation of heritage authenticity and a purity of theoretical principles. In the mid-1960s, the results of numerous post-war reconstruction works prevented an outright promotion of this method. However, in spite of all its limits, reconstruction proved its potential to exist in real practice, as an instrument for reproducing a perceived completeness and as a creative force peculiar to human beings.

The next years were marked by the ratification of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972, a programmatic document in international preventive theory and practice, which minimised anew reconstruction practice at a monument. The Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, first written in 1977, established the “test of authenticity” in design, materials, workmanship and setting. A hierarchy of treatment approaches for the maximum maintenance of authenticity had been established – protection, preservation, conservation, consolidation, restoration, reconstruction, and anastylosis, which are enumerated in the order of their growing destructive impact on a structure. At that time, anastylosis was the only possible form of reconstruction acceptable at World Heritage Sites. However, already in 1980, the Operational Guidelines had been completed which, in addition to the test of authenticity, included a special comment on reconstruction that opened up the gates for replicated structures, namely those in the historical centre of Warsaw that had been inscribed on the World Heritage List in the same year. It became evident that, if on a theoretical level the taboo against reconstruction had not been removed, the production of copies had become tolerated both *de facto* and *de jure*.

At this point, it is worth recalling that the very nature of authenticity, which could not be repeated, reproduced

or copied, contradicts the notion of reconstruction. On a purely theoretical level, the use of two notions in a single phrase combination – “authentic reconstruction” – is a philological, philosophical and cultural nonsense. As Jukka Jokilehto has argued, “Being authentic refers to a specific event; it describes someone or something acting autonomously and not depending on others, having authority and deep identity in form and substance, being original, creative, unrepeated, unique, sincere, true, exceptional or genuine. ‘Being identical’, however, does not refer to a specific event, but to ‘universal’ in the sense of being representative to a class with the same material constitution, properties, qualities, or meaning, e.g., identical reproduction, replica, copy, reconstruction”.

In the 1980s-1990s, the growth of theoretical flexibility became evident. In 1982, the Declaration of Dresden was approved, being specially devoted to the reconstruction of monuments destroyed by war. It was based on the existing theoretical principles and stated: “The complete reconstruction of severely damaged monuments must be regarded as an exceptional circumstance which is justified only for special reason resulting from the destruction of a monument of great significance by war. Such a reconstruction must be based on reliable documentation of its condition before destruction” (Art. 8). At the same time, positive results of reconstruction works were enumerated (besides political, social, architectural and urban effects): detailed scientific methodology; new modes of documentation; development of various techniques and skills in technology, artistry and craftsmanship; fundamental archaeological researches, etc. A statement that reconstruction brings “a new cultural dimension” concluded this declaration. It is hard to ignore the historical value of this document; however, its duality (in spite of numerous emphases on the exclusiveness of reconstruction methodology) promoted reconstruction for the first time within the international doctrines and adjusted its consequences for heritage conservation. The Nara Document on Authenticity of 1994 was perhaps the last doctrine to attract attention to the existing problem of heritage purity. The very arrival of this document has confirmed indirectly the existing threads and signs of heritage devaluation.

In 2000, several institutions including ICCROM and English Heritage approved at an international conference in Latvia “The Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage” of 2000. The title of this charter is marked by a combination of two incompatible words – authenticity and reconstruction. The tendency towards a liberation from strict restoration principles and an aspiration for flexible criteria which took shape during the 1980s-1990s were finally revealed in a declaration

pretending to be a new doctrine. Enumerating the most important international documents and arguments declaring the utmost caution towards reconstruction activities, the Riga document states that “the purpose of conservation (and/or reconstruction) is to maintain and reveal the significance of the cultural heritage”; that the need for reconstruction should be established “through full and open consultations among national and local authorities and the community concerned” (NB: conservation professionals are not mentioned). In conclusion, a recommendation to urge integration of this document on administrative and academic levels and to include it into training programmes was made. In fact, this text (being written as a kind of indulgence for the numerous recently built copies) gave carte blanche for reconstruction treated as “evocation, interpretation, restoration or replication of a previous form”. A political and ideological cause of this charter is clearly to be seen, for which the value categories of heritage have been sacrificed.

Soon after, in 2005, the test of authenticity in the newly approved World Heritage Operational Guidelines was removed and changed into “Integrity and/or Authenticity” with an extension of paragraph 86: “In relation to authenticity, the reconstruction of archaeological remains or historic buildings or districts is justifiable only in exceptional circumstances. Reconstruction is acceptable only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture”. Obviously, these tactics had been called upon again to provide a basis for the numerous examples of reconstruction that had been undertaken at World Heritage sites, including archaeological remains, historic buildings and quarters. While there was a call to strengthen the variety of authenticity attributes in the World Heritage official documents after the Nara conference, other prospects for newly built historical structures appeared. This fact acknowledges that the method had survived, had demonstrated its amazing tenacity, had built a line of defence and had proved itself anew: reconstruction remains attractive not only for governments, clients and the public at large (which is understandable), but also for professionals.

Extensive and uncontrolled application of reconstruction as an instrument of practical activity in architectural and urban design aimed at radical change also encourages the vital usefulness of this method. Such intensive, hard actions as rebuilding, re-planning, redevelopment, new construction (and even soft rehabilitation and revitalisation), which are widely used by practicing architects, belong (due to their nature) to a class of re-construction. At this point we meet a coincidence of different meanings, often opposed to each other in one and the same term, bearing conservative, creative and destructive

forces simultaneously. Duality of meanings and terms produces a “scissors effect”, which starts influencing the conservation field, changes its professional sense, and leads to a devaluation of both authentic heritage and the notions of reconstruction itself.

All this testifies to existing shifts in terminology, and proves again the necessity for sustainability of high-level conservation culture and ethical consciousness, which might help to level and correct the existing variant readings and falsifications.

Towards a new reality of heritage

In view of the numerous European examples today and the latest Russian experience of mass reconstruction of historic structures, comparable in scale only with that of the post-war period, and realising that this experience has erased the efforts of several generations of restorers and shattered the results of international work on doctrine, should we treat this development as an evil or as inevitability? Is this process a natural and objective one? Should we admit today that the time of outstanding thinkers, the time of heroes and great ideas, which served as a basis for scientific restoration and international doctrines has come to an end? Should we talk about an existing vacuum in modern conservation philosophy? Or are we witnessing merely another change in value hierarchy which will define new approaches for heritage conservation and give a new turn to the restoration cycle?

Answers to some of these questions lie within the history of conservation itself, which could be roughly depicted as two logical schemes. The first one is based on a concept of cycles of life. In this model, all time dimensions are merged together – the past forms the real content of the present and the future is modelled on the basis of existing experience. Values are encompassed in repetitions, periodicity, regularly renewed actions, forms and traditions. In fact, this is an expression of identity. A cyclical system excludes direction and does not know the final goal of history. In this model, which is linked in conservation theory with the principles of Viollet-le-Duc, one finds the advocates of stylistic restoration and the apologists for reconstruction identifying themselves with the authors of historic buildings at the moment of their creation. Within a cyclical model, time itself is unhistorical and human consciousness lies beyond the notion of time.

On the contrary, the second model defends the irreversibility of time and life processes. A monument becomes an embodiment of the linear time concept. In this ideology, Christian in its essence, time has a beginning and an end; it possesses extension and

irreversible historical succession. It has a vector direction and a linear development. In spite of inevitable cyclical elements in this model, its place belongs to the philosophy of history and authenticity, which is fundamental in this context. This perception is linked with concepts going back to Ruskin and Riegl, to the methods of archaeological restoration and modern conservation principles. In fact, the whole 20th century was marked by a struggle in favour of this “straight line”, that is for the priority of historical process. Both models – cyclical and linear – reveal the inevitability and resistance of the existing antinomy in the heritage field (i.e. both opinions are equally valid but opposed to each other).

Evaluating contemporary conservation tendencies, one can assert that the widespread reconstruction trend has taken the heritage community back more than a hundred years, back to the era of cyclical ideas. Preference is given anew to replicas and copies instead of authenticity, and the possibilities of identity are overestimated. A “Second Coming” of Viollet-le-Duc and his methodology is evident, while the longstanding pan-European discussion on “restoration or conservation?” has returned to its starting point.

At the same time, this process has other external roots that are linked with the fundamental changes happening in the surrounding world, where conservative modes of thinking in the preservation field come up against the new reality with its super-highspeed systems of communications and information. The onset of new superpowerful speeds never before experienced, and the feelings of an accelerated time and a condensed space, come into conflict with a slow-motion historical environment where one needs to master the new time-reality. It is possible to talk about an asynchronism in modern life-rhythms in the built environment – between a static or slow-motion rhythm for heritage and a swift, dynamic rhythm for life processes. The outward, operational side, which is undergoing rapid change, begins to prevail over content, and practice and visual images over concepts. As a result, the processes of globalisation, unification and simplification that affect heritage and conservation treatments are becoming stronger. Due to the highspeed rates of information streams and visual images, we are approaching a fragmentation of consciousness. Culture is breaking down into mosaic fragments within the process of extreme visualisation, leading to the loss of integrity in the perception of the surrounding world. The newly built virtual universe, and the manipulation of facts, information and human consciousness, have brought about a new vision of reality in general.

Against this background, changes start affecting the conservation profession and its mentality. If, during the entire history of restoration, an introverted, closed

conservation system with its strict scientific principles was consciously created, today we can see the tendencies towards gradually opening up this system, marked by an aspiration for flexibility of criteria. The classical methods and the whole apparatus of scientific restoration developed in the second half of the 19th century, having evolved over a long period of time, are undergoing mutations. The tendencies of the last decade marked by such key words and functions in heritage as “development”, “creativity” and “movement” testify to rather quick qualitative changes. Contemporary architecture itself as a professional product is gradually turning into a matter for recycling processes, as also is the design of our facilities of everyday life (cars, computers, and washing machines). If architecture is not addressed to eternity, for what reason are we to preserve it and to sustain conservation?

Results: threats and risks

This contribution has argued that, at the beginning of the 21st century, the notions of reconstruction and reproduction of copies have lost their restrictive limits and acquired the same relationship to architectural creativity as they had more than a hundred years ago. It seems that today no barriers exist to prevent the spread of reconstruction methodology which, at the dawn of conservation theory, had been considered in general to be ruled out.

The following major trends have been revealed in this survey:

- A remarkable survival of reconstruction method in practice despite its being strictly limited in theory. Historically a component of conservation work, reconstruction has returned to the architectural profession and is presently seen as closely related to creative architectural work;
- A growing number of reconstructed structures in different countries, especially evident during the last two decades (despite endless proclamations of reconstruction exceptionality in the doctrinal texts). Their growth in number has glorified the cult of newness and changed the heritage balance towards a devaluation of real, authentic monuments and a gradual shift of the historic architectural environment outside the range of heritage concepts;
- A weakening within conservation work of the strict scientific principles and authenticity criteria which had been fought for internationally for more than a century; and a mutation of conservation methodology under the pressures of political, commercial or tourism interests, which presently impact conservation theory;

- A gradual return of reconstruction work from the conservation field to architectural practice of a general profile. Separating these notions, as in the 19th century, cannot be a panacea for heritage protection, and that has now become obvious. Under these conditions, there is an ongoing deformation of consciousness, ethics and professional qualification of both restorers and architects;
- A devaluation of authentic heritage in the background of these processes leads to the falsification of national historical awareness, and the disorientation of the public in time and space.

It is evident that we are standing today on the eve of a new epoch in the history of architectural conservation. The dominance of commercial values and a cult of visual images – one of the facets of modern civilisation – are starting to consolidate their penetration into the treatment of heritage, thus producing a menace to the very philosophy and theory of classical conservation. Do we need, under the existing circumstances, to search for a new language in conservation or, instead, to analyze and work out a preventive strategy, a kind of risk preparedness programme?

The flourishing of historical reconstruction (now arrived on a massive scale at World Heritage sites) stresses the urgent necessity for a wide international debate. In 1999, at the 12th ICOMOS General Assembly held in Mexico, I proposed a draft Resolution on Reconstruction. Its aim was “to initiate international scientific discussion in order to establish the criteria and limits of reconstruction in the present-day conservation theory and practice”. Several ICOMOS National Committees supported this draft. However, the Resolution Committee turned down my suggestion, thus rejecting the initiation of a discussion of this phenomenon even on a theoretical level. Ten years ago, this warning was not taken into consideration.

The World Heritage Centre, in cooperation with ICCROM, ICOMOS and DOCOMOMO International, should finally consolidate their intellectual capacities for launching this debate.

Notes

- 1 See Dushkina, N., ‘Authenticity: towards the ecology of culture’, in Larsen, K.E. (ed.), *Nara conference on authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention*, Proceedings, Nara, Japan, 1-6 November 1994, UNESCO, Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, Trondheim 1995, 307-310; Dushkina, N., ‘Reconstruction and the architectural profession in Russia’, in Ahoniemi, Anu (ed.), *Conservation training - needs and ethics*, ICOMOS Finnish National Committee, Helsinki 1995, 85-102; Dushkina N., ‘Reconstruction and its interpretation in Russia’, in *ICOMOS 11th general assembly and international symposium. Symposium papers*,

- Sofia 1996, 91-96; Dushkina, N., 'Bauwut in Moskau', *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 9 (1996), 22-24; Dushkina, N., 'Reconstruction: recent Russian experience', in *Restauro, storia e tecnica, quaderni ARCo*, (1998), 47-58; Dushkina, N., 'Korabban lerombolt muemlekek rekonstrukcioja Oroszorszagban', in *Müemlékvédelem* (A public review on monument preservation in Hungary), XLIV/3, (2000), 135-144; Dushkina, N., 'Il monumento ed il mutamento del concetto di tempo', in Cristinelli, G. and Foramitti, V. (eds), *Il restauro fra identità e autenticità*, Marsilio Editori, Venezia 2000, 83-91; 287-295; Dushkina N., 'Reconstruction and its interpretation in Russia-2', in *ICOMOS 15th general assembly and scientific symposium*, ICOMOS, World Publishing Corporation, Xi'an 2005, Vol. 1, 329-335. Several other papers were published in Russia.
- Papers on reconstruction were presented in Norway at the Riksantikvaren, Oslo, (1997); in Spain, 'IX Jornadas de intervencion en el patrimonio historico-artistico', Logroño (1997); at ICOMOS and ICCROM International conferences: in Sweden, Stockholm (1998); in Lithuania, Druskinikai (1998); at the TU Dresden, Germany (2000); for ICOMOS/Israel, general assembly (2002); in Italy (ICCROM), Rome 2002, etc. Debates on 'Reconstruction of Modern Movement buildings', were chaired by Natalia Dushkina at the 10th international DOCOMOMO conference, Rotterdam 2008.
- 2 Von Buttlar, A., 'Berlin's Castle versus Palace: a proper past for Germany's future?', in *Future anterior* (New York: GSAPP, Columbia University), 4/1 (2007), 13-29; Falser, M.S., *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität. Zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland*, Thelem Universitätsverlag, Dresden 2008.
 - 3 The 'Comité national pour la reconstruction des Tuileries' was established in 2003.
 - 4 Konstantin Melnikov's Pavilion of the same international exhibition in Paris in 1925 is to be duplicated in Moscow.
 - 5 DOCOMOMO Committees of Germany and Austria, along with many internationally known specialists, are against this proposed reconstruction project.
 - 6 The Church of Saint-Pierre, Firminy-Vert (1960-1965; 1968-2006), built following Le Corbusier's preliminary sketches of 1964 by José Oubrière, who enriched the church project.
 - 7 Dushkina, N. (Chair), 'Reconstruction of Modern Movement buildings', Debates, in *The challenge of change. Dealing with the legacy of the Modern Movement. 10th international DOCOMOMO conference. Programme* (Rotterdam), 2008, 33-34.
 - 8 Luzhkov, Yu., 'What is the capital's architectural style?', *Izvestia*, 19 May (86), 2004.
 - 9 The Cathedral of Our Lady of Kazan, Moscow: originally built in 1620-1636; restored in 1925-1933; destroyed in 1936; reconstructed in 1992-1993.
 - 10 The Gates of Resurrection, Moscow: originally built in 1680; destroyed in 1931; reconstructed in 1994-1995; restored in 2005.
 - 11 Feilden, B.M., *Conservation of historic buildings*, Butterworth, London 1982, 252-255.
 - 12 Conclusions of the Athens Conference, in http://www.icomos.org/docs/athens_charter.html
 - 13 Proceedings of the conference on the anastylosis of the Acropolis monuments, in *Conclusions of the Athens conference* (1931).
 - 14 I prefer here to use the original French text of the Venice Charter, taking into consideration the different shades of meaning when translated into different languages including English. The French version provides exact and clear wording which corresponds better to the initial intentions.
 - 15 As in the Athens Charter on restoration, where the terms of 're-erection' and 'reinstatement' were used instead of 'reconstruction' (see *Conclusions of the Athens conference* (1931)).
 - 16 Feilden, B.M., Jokilehto, J., *Management guidelines for World Cultural Heritage sites*, ICCROM, Rome 1998, 61-63; 'Criteria for the inclusion of cultural properties in the World Heritage List', in *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, World Heritage Centre, UNESCO, Paris 1977.
 - 17 'The Committee stresses that reconstruction is only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture.' In *Operational guidelines*, World Heritage Centre, UNESCO, Paris 1980.
 - 18 Jokilehto, J. (1995), 'Authenticity: a general framework for the concept', in Larsen, K.E. (ed.), *Nara conference on authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention*, Proceedings, Nara, Japan, 1-6 November 1994, UNESCO, Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, Trondheim 1995, 17-34.
 - 19 For different shades of approach: Gonzalez, A., 'Originality and authenticity. Reflections deriving from the restoration of Gaudi's Palau Güell in Barcelona', in *ICOMOS 11th general assembly and international symposium. Symposium papers*, ICOMOS, Sofia 1996, 112-118; Laenen, M., 'Authenticity in relation to development', in Larsen, K.E. (ed.), *Nara conference on authenticity*, op. cit., 351-357.
 - 20 Jokilehto, J., 'Authenticity: a general framework for the concept', op. cit., 18.
 - 21 The Declaration of Dresden, in <http://www.icomos.org/docs/dresden.html>
 - 22 Nara document on authenticity, in Larsen, K. E. (ed.), *Nara conference on authenticity*, op. cit., xxi-xxv.
 - 23 Stovel, H., 'The Riga Charter on authenticity and historical reconstruction in relationship to cultural heritage', in *Conservation and management of archaeological sites*, 4/4 (2001), 241-244.
 - 24 The same ideas were expressed in the Charter of Architectural Heritage, aimed at an international status, and adopted at the Congress of restorers in Moscow, 1996.
 - 25 For instance, the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, replicated beyond the norms of strict conservation principles, is presently on the national Tentative List (1996) for the World Heritage List.
 - 26 Since 2005, the World Heritage operational guidelines (UNESCO: World Heritage Centre, 2005), includes the following variety of authenticity attributes: form and design; material and substance; use and function; traditions, technique and management systems; location and setting; language and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling.
 - 27 In this regard see the article of Sir Nicolas Pevsner, in which he cites the famous maxim of Viollet-le-Duc from the *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française de XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1854-1868, 10 vols. Vol. VIII, 1866, p. 14): 'To restore a building is not just to preserve it, to repair it, and to remodel it, it is to re-instate it in a complete state such as it may never have been in at any given moment.' Pevsner, N., 'Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc: Englishness and Frenchness in the appreciation of Gothic architecture', in *Viollet-le-Duc, Architectural design profile*, Academy Editions, London 1980, 48-53.
 - 28 Dushkina, N., 'Il monumento ed il mutamento del concetto di tempo', in Cristinelli, G. and Foramitti, V. (eds), *Il restauro fra identità e autenticità*, Marsilio Editori, Venezia 2000, 83-91.

Possession



FIG. 1. View of the greater Tower of Clonmacnoise (from George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 1845)

A place belongs forever to whoever claims it hardest, remembers it most obsessively, wrenches it from itself, shapes it, renders it, loves it so radically that he remakes it in his image.

Joan Didion

[LOUGHLIN KEALY]

Introduction

Writing over thirty years ago, the planner and theorist John Friedman (1973, 87-114) identified “antinomies of knowing” and “crisis of valuing” as being at the heart of the dilemmas of post-industrial society. His thesis was that the deep-seated dichotomies of perspective and value were characteristic of post-industrial society, and meant that within democratic societies, planning as a social act had to be based on a new paradigm. Since planning required “future-directed thinking”, goals could only be established through dialogue, and methods rooted in existing social relationships would be inadequate in the future. In his view, future-directed societal action was now predicated on a new process that he termed “transactive planning” rather than on planning through prescription or resource allocation. It was a radical perspective at the time, but one that has contemporary resonances and that also offers a perspective on material heritage conservation.

Acts of conservation and restoration of cultural heritage are social acts: they depend on the acceptance by societies that, in principle and on account of their value, the physical manifestations of cultural heritage can be exempted from everyday transactions affecting use and exchange, so that their existence

can be prolonged. In so far as societies frame their values in law, such acceptance will be found in legal enactments that, in turn, identify actors and their roles in the interests of the public good. Judgments of cultural value are rooted in epistemology, aesthetics, memory and sentiment. Perhaps inevitably, we encounter something of a mismatch: legal minds are not enthusiastic about ambiguity and look to levels of clarity rarely found in expressions of cultural significance and value. In this arena, it is fair to say that social acceptance does not imply consensus on the value of specific artifacts. The progressive elaboration of conservation principles can be seen as an ongoing attempt to articulate more precisely values that are achieving greater depth and subtlety of expression while maintaining cross-cultural relevance.

Rendering unto Caesar

In 2001, Duchas, the Heritage Service, circulated draft *Guidelines for Local Authorities* on the protection of architectural heritage. These were intended to indicate how recent legislation on the matter should be implemented. That legislation, enacted in 2000, had introduced some new concepts into how architectural heritage was to be protected in Ireland, by obliging local authorities to compile lists of “protected structures” within their statutory development plans. Placing a building on the list of Protected Structures meant that the building in its entirety would be protected, including its fixtures and fittings and ancillary structures within the curtilage of the protected structure. The legislation also contained a provision under which the building owner could seek a declaration from the planning authority as to what works could be considered exempt from the need to procure planning permission. Addressing the question of buildings used regularly for worship, the draft *cove* stated:

Notwithstanding liturgical requirements, a declaration cannot be used to ‘exempt’ development that would have a material effect on the character of the interior of these protected structures

(Duchas 2001, 68)

Resistance from authorities of the four principal Christian denominations was swift, opposing this interpretation of the law as it applied to their churches. Irish legislation protecting buildings and structures of historic or architectural importance

occurs under two sets of legislation, the Monuments Acts and the Planning Acts. Both fall under the authority of the Minister for Environment, Heritage and Local Government, but the latter are administered through the local authorities. Buildings in use for worship can be protected under the Planning Acts but, for reasons embedded in the history of monument protection, cannot be designated as monuments. It is a significant circumstance and we will return to it later in this essay. But for the moment we can observe that the church authorities, in seeking certain freedoms that placed their church buildings beyond the reach of aspects of the new legislation, had some historic reference on their side. The objection sparked intense discussions between the parties and a special agreement was published in amended Guidelines re-issued in 2003, providing for a new interpretation of the legal requirements.¹

In relation to declarations, this may mean that some works which are necessitated by liturgical requirements and which have a material effect on the character of the structure do not require planning permission

(DoEHLG 2003)

When the final version of the Guidelines was issued in 2004, the provisions as set out regarding church interiors simply incorporated the language of the 2003 agreement. It seemed that the church authorities had achieved a significant position regarding the status of church interiors that affected their protection under the new legislation. However, the matter did not rest there.

The re-ordering of historic church interiors has been a matter of controversy for some time. In Ireland the controversies have arisen predominantly, if not exclusively, with regard to actions undertaken by the Roman Catholic Church. Citing the pronouncements of the Second Vatican Council about the importance of the liturgy and its relationship to the worship of the faithful, the authorities have instigated significant changes in the interior layouts of churches, their fittings and furnishings. Critics have, on occasion, polemically contrasted the enthusiasm for re-ordering with the more reserved position adopted by the Irish bishops towards theological debates within the Council. As in the case of other countries, differences have arisen within the body of the denomination itself on the subject, and differences of opinion

between the church authorities and defenders of the architectural heritage mirror those in other jurisdictions. The passage of the 2000 legislation meant that the matter of re-ordering was now one of civil law and its interpretation, rather than a judgment as to appropriate arrangement for specified purposes. The introduction of “liturgical requirements” as a qualifying factor proved not to be the resolution it was thought to be in 2003, but to be the point at which the significant differences of perspective and value between civil and church authorities were to be explored. However, although the issue presents a screen against which certain value conflicts can be projected, somehow the images seem poorly focused. Are the differences really about the value attributed to these cultural artifacts, or about jurisdiction over their meaning, or about whether “secular” concepts of significance and cultural value should be applied at all?

A critical point was reached with the proposed re-ordering of the interior of the St. Colman’s Cathedral at Cobh (pronounced “cove”). The cathedral is generally accepted as a fine example of Gothic revival architecture, designed by Pugin and Ashlin. It is located prominently above Cobh, an attractive town on the estuary of the River Lee a few miles from the city of Cork. Cobh was at various times a point of emigrant embarkation and an important port for transatlantic liners. It is still a port of call. The first step in the challenge to the *Guidelines* came about when the Planning Appeals Board (An Bord Pleanála) ruled against the planning authority’s decision to permit certain changes to the internal layout of the cathedral. In so doing it also ruled against the recommendation of its own inspector, although that in itself is not unusual.

The re-ordering had been instigated on the basis of the bishop’s understanding of “liturgical necessity”. The changes included removal of communion rails, relocation of the pulpit and extension of the sanctuary area into the nave. The judgment of the Board was that decisions as to what was necessary for the performance of the liturgy were the province of the denomination and its authorities, as regulated under canon law. Although argument concerning liturgical necessity occupied considerable time in the enquiry, the matter of whether this had been properly determined was not one for the planning authority or the Appeals Board – the function of the secular authorities lay in their role in protecting the architectural heritage in accordance with the law. The Board’s decision noted the strong local opposition to the proposal – an explicit acknowledgement that the proposals

were an authority-driven initiative - and that the *Guidelines* were an important point of reference in the decision-making process. The decision can be seen as a clear case of rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s.

However, it is notable that the Board had available to it an extract from a letter written in 1996 by the then Cardinal Ratzinger, now Pope Benedict XVI, to the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin in which he stated: “It is certainly true that a great number of churches since the Second Vatican Council have been re-arranged: such changes, while inspired by the liturgical reform, cannot however be said to have been required by the legislation of the church”. While such differences of opinion as to what constituted “liturgical requirements” and the force of such requirements with regard to specific changes in an historic interior would seem to go to the heart of the matter, the Board felt that adjudicating on the justification for the proposed changes lay outside its jurisdiction, washed its hands of the matter, and relied on an interpretation of the Planning Act in upholding the appeal.

The second step was more dramatic in many ways and concerned the proposed re-ordering of the interior of the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Balbriggan, County Dublin, which was also a Protected Structure under the Planning Acts. The proposed changes to the internal layout initiated by the church authorities had similarities to those proposed at Cobh: they included bringing forward the sanctuary area on a raised curved platform into the nave, and removing and relocating the remaining altar rails; relocating the baptismal font, the removal of several pews, the installation of a tabernacle on a raised dais, contemporary in design, between the reredos and the altar table, and the installation of new celebrant seating and lighting. The Appeals Board, while stating that these proposals, if implemented, would materially affect the character of the sanctuary and the structure as a whole, took the view that, arising from the requirement to respect liturgical requirements, the changes came within the scope of section 57 of the 2000 Act, and could be regarded as exempted development. The changes therefore did not require planning permission at all. To say that most minds might be confused is to understate the matter.

However, the decision was referred to the High Court by a layperson who opposed the re-ordering and was a supporter of the Tridentalist viewpoint, seeking a judicial review. The Court found that the interpretation of the Appeals Board was incorrect in law, in that it had conflated two separate and stand-

alone provisions of the legislation: the need to take liturgical requirements into account in establishing appropriate intervention, and the exemption of interventions so determined from the requirement to seek planning permission. In consequence, all planning authorities had to be informed by the responsible Government Department that the clause in the Guidelines was being withdrawn and should no longer be relied upon. In effect, the position achieved by the churches in 2003 could no longer stand, and the preservation of significant heritage value was given priority.

These episodes are perched awkwardly on a delicate interface between church and state – an interface that should raise questions about cultural and aesthetic values and the extent to which ecclesiastical hierarchies engage with ideas on these matters in the exercise of their authority. They raise issues regarding policy and practice in conservation of significant architectural heritage in Ireland. Analogous issues apply to jurisdictions other than ours. But there is more to the matter than that. These controversies exhibit the interplay of social relationships in which church fabric and space comprise the theatre – in the sense of a setting for social drama rather than a liturgical space. The social drama arises because the spaces also evoke history and cultural memory and a form of identification with place-based tradition that can evade not only secular sensibilities but also the perceptions of elites. This essay explores some related inter-woven themes, reaching back into history to consider contemporary attitudes that appear to be rooted in it. In particular, it is a reflection on the question of “sacred space” in Ireland and on how that idea sits alongside the idea of cultural value in our society.

The embodiment of eternity

Jokilehto (1994) has written about the destruction and reconstruction of the Basilica of St. Peter's in Rome in the sixteenth century. In a striking passage he argues that the celebration of the work by the faithful at the time demonstrated the belief that even the complete physical transformation of the monument would not change its “indestructible essence”. The passage is an indication of the distance to be travelled on the way to understanding the place of particular sacred spaces in mentalities of the past and, I would contend, also of the present. The point of departure is the persistence over time of the quiet (sometimes not so quiet) impetus

towards the re-roofing and re-use of abandoned medieval churches in Ireland.

That impetus has resulted in several abandoned important medieval churches being re-roofed and restored to worship. The church of Duiske Cistercian Abbey at Graigenamanagh, County Kilkenny, which had a varied history including near destruction through a collapse of its tower in the 18th century, was largely re-roofed in 1813 (Harbison 1970, 130), with the re-roofing completed in 1883. The church at Ballintubber (Ballintober), County Mayo, was part of an Augustinian Abbey founded in the 13th century. In ruin since its destruction in 1653 by Cromwellian soldiers, it was partly restored in 1846 and 1889, and the final restoration was completed in time for its 750th anniversary in 1966 (Harbison 1970, 168-9). The church of the Abbey at Holycross in the County Tipperary, a 12th century Benedictine foundation that became a Cistercian abbey, was re-roofed in the 1970's. In this case there had been sporadic occupation by monks of the site since its suppression in the 16th century (Harbison 1970, 227-9). We will return to consider aspects of the story of these buildings later in this essay. They are prominent examples of a more widespread phenomenon that is worthy of exploration. To place them in context requires some time-travel to examine the serial dispossessions and repossessions that over a period of three hundred years interleaved the lives of ecclesiastical structures.

A useful starting point is provided by a recent publication of Francis Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* first published in 1791. Beranger and Grose in the eighteenth and Petrie in the nineteenth century documented the views, buildings and antiquities of the Irish countryside through drawings, paintings and prints that evoked a magical and sometimes desolate land (Murray 2004). Ivy-clad, ruined castles and monasteries and forsaken churches convey a picture of melancholic beauty that accorded with the romantic spirit of the times. Recent years had seen their works re-published. As well as being a testament to the sensibility of the times, the work of Grose in particular brings us something more. A closer look at his images of “ancient” churches and monasteries reveals that not all are entirely ruinous² (2). Some have been reconstructed, others, such as Tintern Abbey, have been converted to new uses. Among those seeming ruins, many are partly roofed, and the roofed sections sometimes have chimneys. Several are fitted with windows and doors of a style that indicates that they are in use for worship. That aspect of the buildings portrayed was clearly secondary to the aesthetic and moral



FIG. 2. Baltinglass Abbey, County Wicklow (from Francis Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland*, 1791)

appeal of the subject to the artist and the reader, the latter eager to experience, even vicariously, the “Burkean delight in the indeterminacy of ruins” and the sentimentalised view of the country common among the more benign of cultural tourists. Along with the mountains and lakes, the contemplative gaze appreciated the communion of nature with the works of man. But it is the fact of re-use and adaptation of the medieval churches and the implications of that phenomenon that is significant in this reflection.

The adaptation of the medieval churches dates, in the first instance, from the years following the formal proclamation of the Reformation in Ireland in the Church of St. Mary in Clonmel, during which the Irish monasteries were suppressed and their assets redistributed. The process was gradual, with many of those located in areas outside crown control surviving for years. In the

allocation of monastic property by crown jurors, if the church was found to have been used by the local parish, it was often retained for worship. Rural churches, which were not surrounded by rival churches, were generally declared ‘parochial’. If not so declared, they were either included in the allocations or, like Dunbrody and Tintern, were retained for defensive purposes. Urban churches, if not declared to be ‘parochial’, were usually granted to the local Corporation or passed into lay hands.

The complexities of the process can be seen from the fate of various foundations. The site and buildings of Duiske Cistercian Abbey at Graiguenamanagh (referred to above) and the tithes of five rectories, previously held by the Abbey, were granted to James, Earl of Ormond. The holdings of the Dominican Friary or Black Abbey in Kilkenny, which included the church, were granted to the

sovereign and commonality of the City of Kilkenny. The mayor and citizens also acquired the priory and much of the property of St. John's, as well as the tithes of eight churches in which the priory had an interest. In this case the church was declared "parochial". In the case of the monastery of St. Selskar's, the jurors decided in 1541 that the priory church had been the parish church and would so continue and that all other buildings were necessary "for the farmer". These latter, together with an interest in twenty-one rectories and vicarages, were included in a grant to John Parker. The priory was granted with other monasteries to Sir Edmond Butler in 1566, the priory church was declared parochial and the remaining buildings were re-assigned and converted to new uses (Gwynne and Hadcock 1970, 127).

In summary, post-Dissolution designation was the single most important factor governing the survival of medieval monastic churches in Ireland. Those churches which had not been declared parochial passed into lay hands and many, especially those in urban areas, disappeared. This occurrence was not confined to Ireland. In Scotland, where Cathedrals and Abbey kirks proved too large for Protestant worship, the conventual buildings often survived as private houses, and either the choir or the nave, whichever was the smaller, was adapted for new usages. The rest became quarries, and much of towns such as Arbroath and St. Andrews, for instance, were constructed of stone from their respective abbeys and priories (Fenwick 1978, 21). A remarkable body of medieval parish churches survives in England. It is notable that abbeys were usually passed into private ownership rather than retained for the use of the Church of England.

The Reformation in Ireland progressed in sporadic fashion, modulated by fluctuating military and political circumstance. The Latin service was abolished under Edward VI, bringing about changes in internal layout. To some extent these were reversed by the Catholic Queen Mary, who succeeded in 1553. Elizabeth I, who succeeded in 1558, re-banned the Latin service and mass, although the practices continued in many parish churches for a time. After 1549, the Protestant service was based on the Book of Common Prayer. It was introduced to Ireland in 1608. Within half a century, "prayer book" churches, with a more participatory ritual, became the norm.

These changes were piecemeal and variously executed. As regards the fabric of medieval churches, it was commonplace for part of the structure to be retained for worship, with either the nave or the chancel being re-roofed. It is of

interest to note that this reflected a division of responsibility for different parts of these churches that dated to medieval times (Dolan 2000). Of greater significance in the context of this essay is that fact that the dispossessions were not accepted as permanent by those displaced. As fortunes fluctuated in the political/religious conflict over the following century, there were repossession by one side or the other. Upon news of Queen Elizabeth's death in 1603, Catholics seized the major churches and celebrated mass in many of the Anglo-Norman towns. Waterford Cathedral was repossessed for a few days. The Black Abbey and St. Mary's in Kilkenny were briefly used to celebrate mass. In the 1640's, during the time of the Confederation of Kilkenny, the churches of that city were taken over by Catholics. Generally throughout the country many churches were repossessed, restored and rededicated. However, with the triumph of Cromwell, Catholics were again ejected from the churches they had repossessed.

The desire to occupy the ancient places of worship, and their enduring symbolic position, is further illustrated in the period of the Jacobean Restoration. Perhaps conscious of the fragility of his grasp on the throne, James II determined that the Established Church should not be formally deprived of its position. The Act for Liberty of Conscience tried to prevent the Catholics from seizing Protestant churches, even those that had been abandoned by their clergy. The attempt was often unsuccessful, and in the period between the English revolution and the battle of the Boyne, there were many instances of Protestant churches being seized. In a sense, churches became a locus of the struggle between the armies with the victor celebrating in the principal church with his preferred service. There is yet a further chapter to this tale.

Much of the income of the Protestant church was derived from land attached to diocesan sees. While revenues rose steadily through the eighteenth century, the church suffered dramatic decline in the latter years of the century. The result was a spate of modifications of medieval structures. The principal agent of change was the Board of First Fruits. The origins of this body predate the Reformation. The First Fruit, also known as the annates, represented the first year's revenue of a benefice, dignity or bishopric. Before the Reformation, this tax was sent to Rome. After 1534 the Irish administration determined the value of the payment and transferred it to the English crown. Because of difficulties arising from lack of proper churches and glebes, the clergy resisted

payment. In 1711 the Board of First Fruits was established to buy up impropriations, to purchase glebes and glebe houses, and to build and repair parish churches.

In the 1777-1778 session of the Irish Parliament, a system of annual grants to the Board of First Fruits was instigated. The purpose was to encourage church building and glebe construction, and by 1829, the year in which Catholic Emancipation was passed into law, almost seven hundred churches were built, rebuilt or enlarged by the Board under the scheme (Akenson 1971, 20). Medieval churches were adapted, sometimes having new structures inserted within them. Given the scale of new building undertaken at this time by the Established Church, one might wonder that any medieval fabric survived.

Politics, religion and cultural value

Amid the upheavals of the 19th century, the pre-Reformation ecclesiastical sites became significant monuments to religious and political identity for all protagonists. The retention by the Established Church of these remains was seen as expressing a claim - an assertion of legitimacy of occupation - in the context of an emerging Catholic resurgence. Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Penal Laws gave political expression to developing social and economic realities, and architectural expressions of the emerging Roman church had begun to appear. There was an expectation, and with reason, that if a site were abandoned, the Roman church would occupy it. The church of the former Carmelite abbey in Kilcormac, County Meath, had been declared “parochial” by the 16th century jurors and was used for worship of the

reformed church, but had fallen into disrepair during the 17th century. The congregation transferred to the church at Birr, and the roofless ruin was later demolished. In 1838 a new Catholic church was built on the site (Fitzpatrick and O’Brien 1998, 37). This was seen as a reclaiming of the site, and as reinforcing renewed Catholic claims to continuity with the pre-colonial past.

That claim had continued to be asserted whenever opportunity offered. In the case of Duiske Abbey, prior to its partial re-roofings in the 19th century, a mass house had been quietly constructed against the south wall of the transept in 1728. The desire on the part of the Catholic community to secure repossession seems, from the distance of today, to have been at times beyond the reach of reason or the authority of the hierarchy. At the Dissolution, the Black Abbey in Kilkenny had been granted to the Sovereign, the burgesses and the commonality of the city, and the church later become a courthouse. Occupied by Catholics at the death of Elizabeth I and during the Confederation, it reverted to being a courthouse in the eighteenth century. In 1776, a Dominican curate became a tenant, re-roofed the transept and did some repairs, but was forbidden by the bishop to use it as a church. However, mass was celebrated there in 1816, against the bishop’s

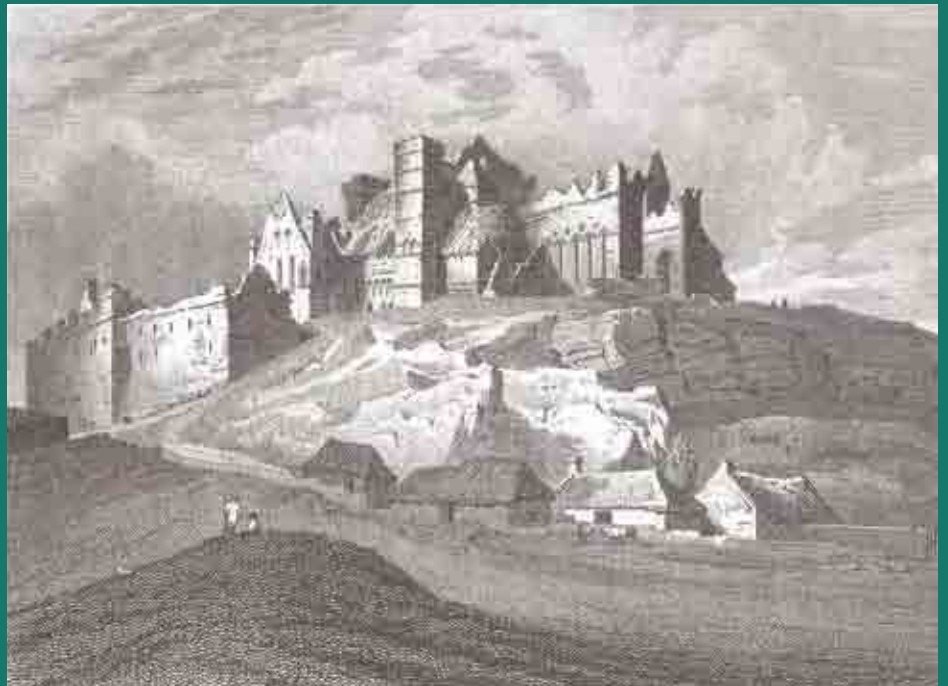


FIG. 3. Mount Cashel, Co of Tipperary (from J.N. Brewer, *Engravings after Petrie* 1825-6)

wishes, and the curate responsible was sacked. His replacement also ignored the injunction, and this unorthodox situation continued until persistence prevailed, and in 1864 the church was rededicated (Fenning, undated). We may note again the distinct trace of misalignment between popular and elite understandings.

The site as monument

At this stage two parallel developments, retrenchment by the Church of Ireland, resulting in abandonment of churches, and the introduction of legislative measures to protect important medieval ecclesiastical remains, occurred to resolve this seemingly eternal dialectic. The latter half of the century saw the emergence of common ground between antiquarian interest in the survivals of the medieval past and the practical, psychological and political needs of the Church of Ireland. Years of agitation by the Catholic community resulted in the Irish Church Act of 1869, through which the Church of Ireland was disestablished and partially dis-endowed. Churches in use were vested in the Representative Church Body. A number of those that were not in use, but that were considered important on the grounds of age or architectural merit, were vested in the Commissioners of Public Works. The category of *National Monument* was devised for these buildings. The Act explicitly stipulated that these churches could not be used for worship, but would be preserved as ruins. In 1873, the cathedral on the Rock of Cashel was vested in the Commissioners, effectively the first of these churches to be given the status of National Monument.

It was a significant choice. Sited on a rock outcrop, high above the surrounding landscape, the buildings on the Rock comprise a complex dating from the 12th to the 16th century. It was and remains a focus for antiquarian and scholarly interest (Stalley 2002, 25-29). The place was fortified by the kings of Munster in the 4th century and was the location of the coronation of Brian Boru as king of Munster in 977. He subsequently made it his capital. The Rock was granted to the church in 1101. Cashel was the site of bitter fighting during the 17th century Confederation of Kilkenny and the site was in a ruinous state by the 18th (Harbison 1970, 168-9). It had long held iconographic status, representing to Catholics the glories of a time before invasion and conflict – a time when there was coherence of political power and religious affiliation. The

politico/religious significance of the legislation was not lost on this community, and an attempt was made, while the 1869 legislation was being prepared, to introduce a Bill that would transfer the cathedral to a group of trustees, with a view to its re-roofing for use for Catholic services. The attempt failed and the Irish Church Act was duly enacted.

The Abbey at Holycross was re-roofed in more recent times. The ruined complex was a designated National Monument. Local initiative resulted in a restoration campaign in the 1970's that attracted widespread support from America. To permit the restoration for worship, a legal enactment was required, exempting the church and some of the ancillary buildings from classification as a monument. Some years later, in the 1980's, the parish church at Ballintubber, County Mayo, was re-roofed.

It is possible to see the re-roofing of churches such as the Black Abbey, Graigenamanagh, Holy Cross and Ballintubber as a continuation of the cycle of dispossession and repossession of significant religious sites that was a feature of the politico/religious historic struggle in Ireland, even if we allow for the changing perception of the value of historic ruins in the wider world. The attachment to the sacred site was shared by the competing religious denominations, albeit with distinct perspectives – a common and contested inheritance.

It may be, however, that the attachment to the sacred site runs deeper than the fact that possession underpinned claims to legitimacy. This attachment is, after all, also a contemporary phenomenon. It has its roots, not just in a more distant past but possibly also in a distinct sensibility. The holy well at Leamanaghan in County Offaly forms part of an early Christian complex deriving from a foundation by St. Manachán in the 8th century. The holy well at St. Mullins is part of a complex incorporating physical remains from an early Christian monastic foundation and a motte built by the Anglo-Normans. The Board of First Fruits erected a church adjoining the ruined medieval church in the 19th century. These places and many others across the country are the locus for popular religious events, sometimes with annual pattern days as the high point of devotion (O'Brien 2006, 163,180). The pattern days are specific to the place and are not part of the general church calendar. The wells themselves are not usually marked by much in the way of architectural expression, although sometimes, and often to their detriment, there have been efforts to improve access and to

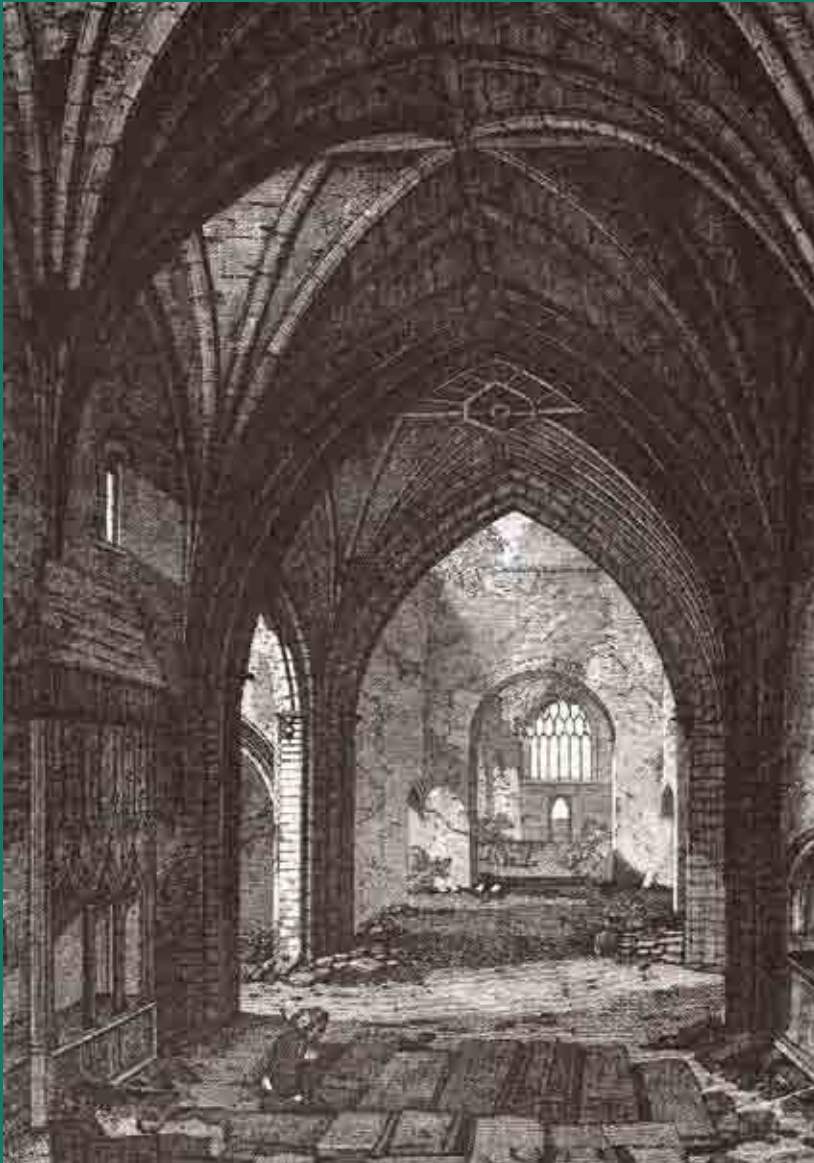


FIG. 4. Holycross Abbey, County Tipperary (from Francis Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland*, 1791)

tidy them up. One is tempted to think that such measured intervention is incapable of finding appropriate expression. But local people have regular private as well as public recourse, seeking the assistance of God, the Virgin Mary or the local saint in bearing the trials of everyday life. On the pattern days, there is an influx of visitors, many of them former locals or the descendents of locals who left the area.

There is also, in some cases, a powerful tradition of burial within the ruined church or in a related graveyard, and the possession of such burial plots is highly valued and not easily relinquished. For example, the “restoration” of Holy Cross Abbey

in the 1970’s proved controversial locally, not because the alterations affected the authenticity of the complex, but because it involved disinterment and reburial of bodies from the nave of the church. While many of these burials dated from monastic times, others were modern and represented the continuation of a long-established tradition of association with the place. Similar disquiet accompanied the removal and re-interment of burials from the roofless nave of Ardfert Cathedral in Kerry in the 1990’s, although the intervention in that case involved archaeological excavation in advance of structural conservation work rather than restoration. One might note that re-roofing of this monument remains on the agenda of prominent local interests.

One is struck by the continuing power of pilgrimage to ancient sacred sites. The annual pilgrimage to Croagh Patrick in County Mayo attracts thousands, many of whom climb the mountain barefoot in the hours of darkness, to worship at the summit as the sun rises. Barefoot penitential circuits of the church are a feature of the annual pilgrimage to the island known as St. Patrick’s Purgatory. The attachment to places of spiritual significance is the common denominator and the origins of that attachment lie beyond the reach of recorded history.

Many of the medieval foundations whose sites were disputed in the three centuries following the Reformation had been built on the sites of earlier foundations. Of those mentioned in this essay, Ballintubber, Cashel, and Graiguenamanagh, all occupied places where there is evidence of pre-Christian occupation. Accounts of the establishment of early religious foundations are explicit on this topic – the sites were chosen precisely because of their place in the understanding

of the local population, because they already represented manifestations of another world. Sensibility towards the sacredness of place has sometimes been described as a characteristic of Celtic peoples. Perhaps it is, but it is certainly one shared with other cultures. It is notable that, in developing awareness of conservation and in framing conservation legislation since the mid-1990’s, the document that has appealed most widely is the Australian Burra Charter. This is so, not just because of the clarity of its prose, but because its focus on the significance of “place” has found ready echoes in the Irish sensibility.

Concluding reflections

This essay began with some recent controversies regarding re-ordering of church interiors. Those controversies had several dimensions. One of these lay in the attempt by the church authorities to acquire recognition of the special status of church interiors, and the attempt by the state, in its concern to protect architectural heritage, to have due regard to liturgical requirements. Giving “due regard” to liturgical requirements distinguishes churches from secular buildings in a fundamental respect. One could argue that this fact places an onus on the owners and guardians to engage with the rationale for special treatment at a deeper level than has yet been the case in Ireland. In that context it is instructive to read the guidance documents posted by the Church of England on its website. That guidance explicitly links characteristics of the physical fabric with acts of worship. The discussion is not about the embodiment of immaterial values but about the role and power of the setting in enabling and supporting acts of worship. In the context of this essay it is notable that the text states that the act of prayer is not confined to a specific instance in time, but also encompasses past acts and crucial memories. It is an important statement and one that would be shared by Christian denominations generally. Such a consensus is unlikely to extend to the further statement that certain changes in the church environment may get in the way of true worship.

A further dimension in the early discussion lay in the apparent difference between hierarchy and congregation on the value of the inherited interior environment. In the light of the psychology evident in the historical engagements described above, it would be simplistic to argue that the congregation is in need of enlightenment and that the authorities know best. Church authorities have always adapted their buildings and often for purely pragmatic reasons, but history is often silent on how those adaptations have been received by the faithful. What is very clear is that popular memory and imagination evoke or construct powerful continuities that are themselves evidence of living culture. One way in which we know this is that certain places remain sacred and that the desire to re-roof and re-occupy persists.

Perhaps the most consistent candidate for re-roofing is the 13th century cathedral on the Rock of Cashel. The desire to re-roof the cathedral is revisited at regular intervals and often articulated in speeches by local politicians. Some commentators might be tempted to regard these calls as contemporary expressions of the historic dynamic discussed above.

Given that the proposed re-roofing is seen as a means of attracting increased numbers of tourists to the location, there is certain perverse logic to the proposition. After all, we live in a commercialised world where consumption has been compared to a new religion. While the planning authorities and the guardians of the site, the Office of Public Works, have stood firm so far, there are signs that the principled rationale for resistance may be weaker than before. In very recent times, the Office of Public Works permitted a celebrity chef to stage a cooking demonstration within the doorway to the cathedral as one of series of television broadcasts featuring demonstrations in notable places.

Such debasement of a monument on the part of its managers can be understood if one accepts one of two propositions: either that the decision to do so was taken by an official on his or her own authority and without reference to others who might have advised against it; alternatively, that the secularisation of society has reduced (if not obliterated) sensitivity towards sites formerly held sacred. But, as a rider to the second, one might wonder if the very process of opening the site to mass tourism has, over time, weakened perceptions of its significance and diminished its value. Placing the attachment to sacred places alongside contemporary attitudes to material culture presents challenges even when the present-day approach is one of respect. We return here to the intersection of responsibilities as regulated through legislation, and where the resolution of conflict depends on understanding the immaterial and material values of the artifact. The treatment of such sites cannot be regulated solely by the provisions of law regarding access to facilities in state care and the legal remit of those responsible for the administration of such regulations, undiluted by considerations of what might be appropriate.

This essay began with the assertion that the conservation of architectural heritage is a “social” responsibility. Friedman’s perception of “antinomies” led him to conclude that setting goals was the most fundamental operation for a society facing an uncertain future and that this would best be achieved through a transactive process. It is, I believe, a conclusion that has its echoes in the Nara Document on Authenticity:

...the respect due to all cultures requires that cultural heritage must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which it belongs

(Larsen 1995, xxiii, Art. 11)

Time has shown that establishing that cultural context can in itself be a complex and controversial process. The controversies on re-ordering of historic church interiors and the historical context sketched out above allow an exploration of the relationship between the secular and religious sensibility and for speculation on its meaning for conservation of sacred spaces and places in this country. At a time when the country is undergoing rapid social, cultural and environmental transformation, such exploration becomes essential. The transformation process has exposed significant differences of value and perspective, not least with regard to the inherited environment.

The accommodation of profound differences is not a function of reason alone - reasoned argument is hesitant at the threshold: it requires the conscription of other capacities. For the individual, it is at root the function of love, desire, patience and intuition. At the level of society, as well as the application of scholarship, it involves articulating partial understandings and the exercise of sympathetic imagination. Writing about her volume *The Lost Land* the poet Eavan Boland has said that the Land is “not exactly a country and not entirely a state of mind ... the lost land is not a place that can be subdivided into history, or love, or memory” (Boland 1998). Through her poetry, she attempts to articulate its essence and thus recover it. The society that shaped these differences has almost disappeared – its residues of attitude and lore are as fragile as the landscape that encapsulates its physical remains. But both the land and the imagination are obdurate and have much to say.

The challenge for protagonists in the cause of material heritage protection is now to find a language that can mediate more effectively between the culture of tradition and the culture of change. The challenge is to protect the territory in which so much human experience is stored and to acknowledge the continuity of tradition that animates that landscape.

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Notes

- 1 Dúchas, the Heritage Service was the arm of Government responsible for all aspects of built and natural heritage. It was abolished in 2002 and its functions allocated between the Office of Public Works and the newly formed Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government.
- 2 That aspect of the buildings portrayed by Grose was the starting point of an essay written in collaboration with my colleague Ana Dolan some years ago (Kealy and Dolan 2000, 74-93). The substance of the article arose from her research into a series of medieval churches in the dioceses of Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory. That research was subsequently published in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* (see reference)
- 3 The principal buildings of the Rock of Cashel complex are: Cormac's Chapel (12th century), the cathedral (13th century, the tower above the crossing is probably 14th century), a round tower (12th century) and Vicar's Choral (15th century).

The Cathedral of León: an example of restoration in Spain during the 19th century

JAVIER RIVERA BLANCO

A symbolic case of Spanish and European stylistic restoration: introduction

The Cathedral of León was the first building Spain to be declared a National Monument (in 1844), thus converting its protection and conservation into a matter for the State. Its deterioration and serious condition at the beginning of the 19th century raised awareness among intellectuals, lovers of the fine arts and literature, architects and institutions of the need to conserve it and consequently, following the thought of the time, to restore it, leading to a profound debate as to the techniques, methods and criteria to use. Thus during the 19th century it became the Spanish paradigm, the emblematic example, in these discussions and the laboratory par excellence for applying the knowledge that then prevailed in the country.¹

There then prevailed the interventionist approaches emanating from the theories of Viollet-le-Duc which reigned in all of Europe and which led the cathedral of León to be seen as one of the clearest examples of stylistic restoration.

Prior to Madrazo and Ríos' work, Laviña and Hernández Ferrero - the first architects to direct

works there - used criteria anchored in an awareness of the classicist sentiment, since they were not yet familiar with the recovery of medieval features and their structural and aesthetic characteristics.

At the same time, opinions were constantly being expressed in various media that were against these and the previous interventions, defending instead the need to maintain the "status quo" of conservation of the building in its entirety as it had survived to that time - although these positions were never taken seriously into consideration either by the architects or by the very Academia de San Fernando that approved proposals.

The intervention of Juan Bautista Lázaro, at the end of the 19th century, has been seen as representing progress in this respect.² He carried out a restoration of the north tower with minimum intervention, a simple consolidation but a genuine instance of intervention on a Gothic element, even though his other major restorations at Santa Cristina de Lena - a stone vault - and at San Miguel de Escalada - destroying the brick part of a Romanesque tower - distanced him from these avant-garde or, better said, anti-stylistic approaches.

In this way León cathedral during the second half of the 19th century is the paradigmatic example in Spain of Viollet-le-Duc-type approaches, both from the point of view of observing the preferred

sociocultural parameters (neocatholicism, nationalism and rationalism) and as a surgical implant, in line with Viollet-le-Duc's search to re-create the ideal model, the perfection of the Gothic style, which confirmed him in his rational and precise vision of the "cathedral", transplanting the model of Reims.

This involved every type of purification (going back to earlier forms), eliminating Renaissance, baroque and neoclassical additions, promoting the archetype by wanting to erect a great spire or dome above the crossing, inclined roofs following French examples, the gables, crochets and other ornamental elements with the same inspiration (specifically in this case the cathedrals of Reims and Notre Dame de Paris) which fortunately in León were never completed – with new facades on the west and south according to the regional style of Champagne, with the substitution of numerous cut stones and ashlar with the result that – as Ríos commented – hardly a centimeter of the cathedral of León remained untouched while mural paintings, retables and other ecclesiastical furnishings were removed.

This was a method of operation that had profound repercussions later, for example the demolition of the building of the Puerta Obispo by the architect Manuel Cárdenas who was following indications emanating from Paris and elsewhere that monuments should be isolated from their surroundings.

The example of León was very influential in all of Spain and its pioneering approach was followed on every type of project to attain that perfection and original unity of style, both during the 19th century and well into the following century. It is seen in such projects as the facade of the cathedral of Barcelona, the reconstruction of San Martín de Frómista, the reproduction of the city hall in Ciudad Rodrigo, the reconstruction of the castle of Olite or of the crossing of Seville cathedral and some of its facades, the re-design of the main facade of Cuenca cathedral, the interventions in the Alhambra in Granada or in the monastery of Ripoll or the isolation of that of Burgos; and countless other similar cases overall which witnessed a revival during the period of Franco, for example the tower of Oviedo cathedral, the great Mudéjar window in Guadalupe, the tower and apse at Sahagún or the city hall of Tarazona. This is to cite only some of the many examples that showed that the lesson was a useful one not only for the Romanesque and Gothic but also for the Renaissance and other styles depending on the (amazing) ability of the architect to find the controlling archetype in order to insert into

the lacuna the missing element "as if he were the original architect", as the theory and dictates of Viollet-le-Duc demanded.

The "exemplary" case of León Cathedral is comparable to the great stylistic restorations in France (Paul Abadie, Mége, etc.), Germany (Zwinger), England (Scott), Italy (Alvino, Nava, Meduna, Berchet) or America, as seen in the reintegrations made on many Precolumbian buildings (by the Carnegie Foundation, etc.).

The manipulation of history: Demetrio de los Ríos forges the image of the restored building as the ideal building

The present stylistic and structural appearance of León cathedral took shape during the last three decades of the 19th century, and is due fundamentally to the restorers Juan de Madrazo and Demetrio de los Ríos. Nevertheless, it was the latter who was officially the author of the work by virtue of the propaganda created by his book published posthumously in 1895.³ In this he devoted a monograph to the building and reviewed his own contribution to it, finding it entirely positive whereas that of all his predecessors was negative, to the extent of not recognising the many doubts that he had inherited from them such as the failure of the projects that had been rejected by the Academia de San Fernando.⁴

Thus there was produced one more of the many manipulations of history and of the sources, a manipulation to which many students of the first León cathedral for a long time have fallen prey. It is curious that most of the projects drawn up by Demetrio de los Ríos, in fact those that were the most significantly influenced by Viollet-le-Duc, were not implemented because judged too creative and so not approved by the Academia de San Fernando and the Ministry of Grace and Justice; whereas his work to a great extent, if we except the main face of the west front (incidentally, inspired by the southern facade which his predecessor had planned), was limited to implementing the ideas of Juan de Madrazo, who was the real originator of the cathedral that resulted from the works of the 19th century.

Ríos wanted a church reconstructed and complete in pure Gothic style following the more radical examples of Viollet-le-Duc, especially those

overseen by Lassus and the master himself at Notre Dame in Paris, with roofs with steep pitch, an immense cimborio (dome) above the crossing, the recovery of the choir space in the presbytery, etc., which also repeated the appearance of Reims Cathedral and the archetype disseminated by Viollet-le-Duc.

Nevertheless, arguments for prudence in defining criteria and economic reasons caused the competent institutions to reject most of Ríos' idealistic projects and constantly to put him back on the path wisely traced out by Madrazo.

The true history of the construction and the restorations of the cathedral of León can now be recounted, made possible by an intimate knowledge of the documentary sources in different archives.⁵

The cathedral of León: origin, construction problems and historical deterioration ⁶

To understand the events of the 19th century and the great restorations of that period, an account is needed of the construction of León cathedral and its journey through time until that period, and then the historical context that motivated the heavy 19th-century interventions.

The see of León is founded on a site of long history which finds its origins in the Roman baths built in the city at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. and which are still preserved in the subsoil of the present building. Its architectural remains were converted into a residence and palace of the kings of León until in 916 Ordoño II gave them to the bishop Fruminio II who installed in them the cathedral of the diocese.

After various destructions the prelate Pelagius II reconstructed a new cathedral between 1067 and 1073, logically following Romanesque taste.⁷ Later, with the growth of the city and the arrival of the new Gothic aesthetic, the bishop Manrique de Lara initiated in 1181 a new building which failed to thrive. The present building began to be built in 1255 by the bishop Martín Fernández and King Alfonso X. Three years later, when it is said that the chapels of the apse started to be built, the Master of Works is a certain Simón. He followed the model of Reims⁸ and was succeeded by Master Enrique who held the same position at Burgos and who died in 1277 according to the Spanish author Juan Pérez (died 1296). In 1289 when the bishop don Martín died, the church was already open

for worship. After 1302 the bishop don Gonzalo Osorio considered the greater part of the church built by turning it over completely to worship. In mid-century the greater part of the building was constructed, which explains its great stylistic unity and its relationship to the French examples (Reims, Chartres, Sainte Chapelle and Notre Dame de Paris, Amiens, etc.), in both plan and elevation.⁹

The Gothic building, erected on the ground previously occupied by medieval and Roman constructions, frequently throughout the centuries acknowledged their presence. The cathedral was built with various technical problems that were not well resolved by the first planners. Together with its extraordinary structure (reduced thickness of walls), the use of poor stone (from local quarries) and poor foundations (with some evidence of those of the pre-existing buildings) have meant that since the 15th century until today the cathedral of León has undergone constant interventions and restorations. Some have had the aim of rectifying its deficiencies, others of adapting it to the different tastes and fashions in art and liturgy as they have evolved up to today. All these works have made of the cathedral a good example of interventions to transform, restore and conserve it, and an authentic laboratory in which have been tested all the techniques and aesthetic criteria produced in Europe between the 15th and 20th centuries.¹⁰

The problem of resistance to the thrust of the crossing has already been pointed out by Gómez Moreno: "starting from the foundations the architect dared to erect an artificial buttress, or stirrup, of two wings over the low windows, wisely remedying this weak point with a stronger pyramid; however, the problem was towards the apse where, to develop five naves in the building, it was necessary either to suppress the flying buttress in each arm of the crossing, thus risking its stability, as had been done in Paris and Toledo, or to make a crossing in the vicinity of the apse over a freestanding secondary pier, as had been done in Amiens; but the León Master was not aware of this convenient and simple solution and had recourse to a different, more deficient one, the same as had been used by Monterol in Saint-Denis....it consisted in erecting a small hollow tower, with pointed arches in its walls, that was designed to receive the four groups of flying buttresses of each angle, lifting its forces towards the periphery, but overloading the pier with an excessive weight. These small towers, the one to the north called "La Limona" and the one to the south called "Silla de la Reina" and in front, the "Torre del Tesoro", were the cause and the initial

point of collapse of the church, for which there were already apprehensions in the 15th century when, in 1454, they raised a second structure with elegant windows and cresting on its exterior walls, so as to reduce the forces by means of gravity: the hideousness and incongruity of these anomalous makeshift additions jump out at the eye”.¹¹

So already in the 15th century, the meeting of the apse with the crossing was weakened, which obliged the Masters Jusquín and Juan de Cándamo to erect there the towers of La Limona and the Silla de la Reina, so ugly and extraneous to the building when seen from this side. In the same century, some years later, they erected the Chapel of Santiago over the medieval and Roman walls (the work of Juan de Badajoz the elder) and the sacristy for the apse (the work of Alfonso Ramos).

In the 16th century, the master builder Juan de Badajoz el Mozo and other craftsmen completed in Plateresque style the western gable end, and he also built the Oratory/Treasury attached to the sacresty. At the same time Badajoz completed the vaults and exterior facades of the cloister. At the end of that century the cathedral might have had its exterior appearance substantially transformed since the town council charged the architects Juan de Ribero, Baltasar Gutiérrez and Felipe de la Cagija with a project to build a classical chapel extending to the south of the crossing (above Puerta del Obispo), but this was not carried out.

The 17th century was a period of intensive works. Early on important projects were started: an archive was built in the free space between the Roman and medieval walls, on the north side of the cloister. In 1631 the vault of the crossing partially collapsed, and the town council entrusted its repair to the architect Juan de Naveda. Wanting the people of León to adapt to the baroque fashion of the time, he nevertheless from 1634 raised a large cupula, badly calculated and worse constructed, which later would cause the displacement of the radial load towards the northern gable end due to the weakness of the main arches and the principal footings, with the failure also of the foundations. The lantern of this half-dome was provisionally completed in 1651, but at the end of the century some failures were noted in the cupula which shifted from its axis towards the north. At the time the architect Manuel Conde Martínez proposed stabilising it with buttresses and building also the definitive lantern. Nothing was done until 1710 when the architect Pantaleón del Pontón Setién was called in, and to this end raised some “buttresses tied to four pyramids”, or large pilasters, erected on top of the piers of the crossing. Pontón died without

completing the lantern, and the excess weight of the pyramids and their four buttresses aggravated the condition of the whole cupula, directing new forces towards the north. Following various consultations of the leading specialists, it was the Italian Giacomo Pavía who built the definitive lantern in wood, lead and paint.

Another locus of great instability of the building lay in the northern gable end and its adjacent areas. With respect to the problem already mentioned of the piers of the crossing, the pyramids and the cupula, which was never resolved, the southern side also suffered. This was the area on which fell the excesses of the unbalanced loads and which also was founded in part on the poor foundations of the Roman baths and the Romanesque basilica, designed as work of less elegance and weight than the Gothic cathedral. The northern side had already been affected in the 15th century when Jusquín and Cándamo had been obliged to shore it up with the Silla de la Reina. At the end of the 16th century, alarming cracks opened up in the facade; when the cupula was constructed this also weakened the chapel of the Carmen, the first of the apses on this side. At the end of the 17th century the crest of the gable gave way, with a displacement of the whole wall of several centimetres and threatening it with collapse.

In 1694 the architect Manuel Conde Martínez built a new attic for the gable of San Froilán, looking for a stylistic equilibrium, so he followed the forms with which Juan de Badajoz el Mozo designed the western facade, while also not renouncing the modern trends of the Baroque.

With this side strengthened and shored up, the displaced and out-of-balance thrusts of the crossing were directed towards the weakest points, in such a way that in 1743 part of the chapel of the Carmen collapsed with the secondary pier which tied it to the retrochoir, as did the vault of the chapel of the Virgen del Dado on the opposite side. Both were reconstructed in Gothic style by the Italian Giacomo Pavía without understanding the reasons for their collapse. These simply constituted rebuilding works without resolving any of the real structural problems of the building.

These were aggravated when the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 struck, which made the cathedral of León literally shake. It caused large cracks to appear in the facade, making it necessary to block off the triforium, take down the rose window and to replace it with a small similar window. These were efforts of little technical value, nor did they stop the deterioration. In 1830 the architect Fernando Sánchez Pertejo was obliged to strengthen the support abutments of the gable.



FIG. 1. León Cathedral in the mid-19th century (author unknown)

FIG. 2. The cathedral before restoration. Engraving by Francisco Javier Parcerisa, published in José María Quadrado, *Asturias y León*, Madrid, 1855.



The cathedral of León in the 19th century: the search for stylistic unity

As we can appreciate, the León cathedral at the start of the 19th century exhibited serious deterioration and its state of conservation was truly precarious.¹² In the first decades the movements out of plumb, the problems of the central nave and crossing, and the facade of the north side, caused alarm which extended throughout Spain and Europe.

Finally in 1844 the national government recognised the state of the cathedral and the State felt obliged to contribute to its repair. To this end, in that year – and following French models – it was declared a National Monument, the first building in Spain to achieve that status and so in itself an aspect of great historical and conceptual value.

In 1849, before the work of the architects nominated by the organisations of the central government began, the cathedral council intervened

by charging the Jesuit P. Ibáñez to plan a new rose window for the northern gable to replace the windows that had been broken. The Benedictine P. Echano built this window.

Nevertheless, the deficiencies became more acute in 1857 when the vault of the crossing fell to the ground and the structural faults became more evident. Once again, the alarm was raised in all the communication media and among art lovers and the authorities who feared the total collapse of the cathedral.

The state institutions and the Real Academia de Bellas Artes could not abstain from actively participating in a search for solutions. They appealed for proposals for urgent repair measures. In the midst of various prevarications and the exclusion of certain professionals, some for lack of qualification and others for personal timidity and incapacity to be up to the task, in 1859 there was named as architect in charge Matías Laviña. Trained in Madrid and Italy, he lacked knowledge of the architecture of the Middle Ages and did not have a good understanding of Gothic practice which he approached intuitively.

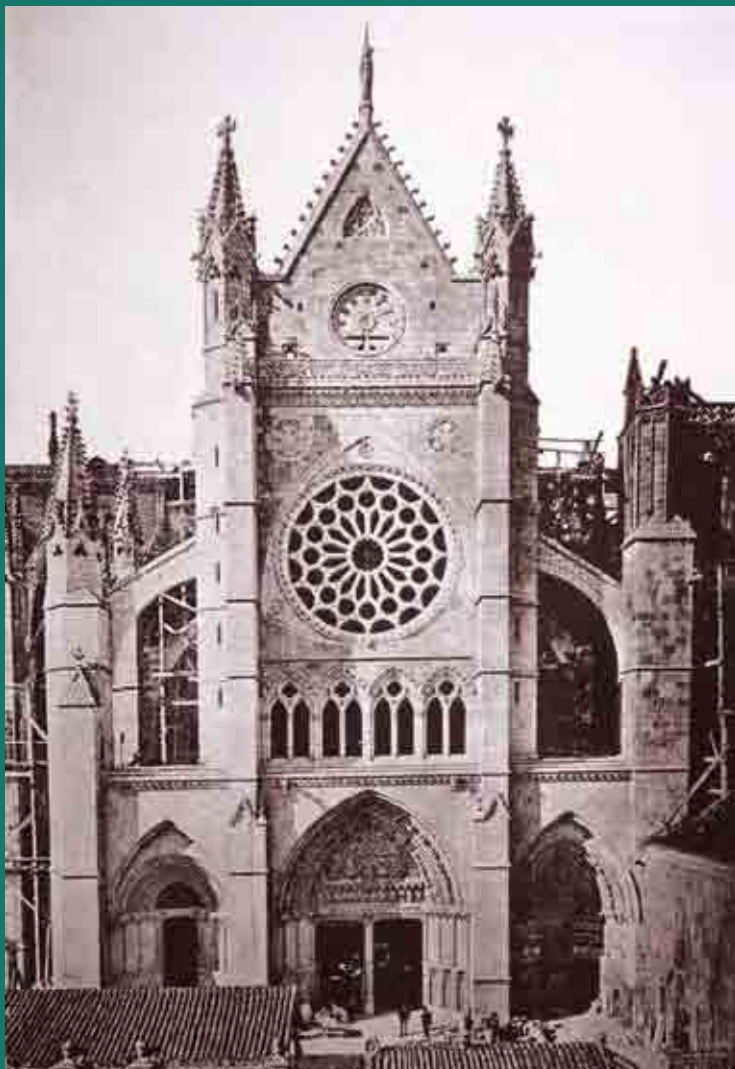


FIG. 3. León Cathedral, north facade by Juan Madrazo
(from Archivo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando)

He understood that the failure of the building lay in the four large main piers, which he noted were extremely distorted, and in the loads exerted by the large pilasters which surrounded the cupula. He proposed first to create an iron belt – with stays and props – which would tie in the northern crossing, a solution that was not accepted by the Academia; and when he removed the pilasters, he had rapidly to dismantle the half-dome and all of the southern part as it would have caused the collapse of all of the crossing together with its northern arm, the facade included.

He proposed a new cupola, and a new gable end, both of them in a strange neogothic style, as Navascués has noted, all of them of a hybrid character, attempting however to find a certain equilibrium between the Gothic fabric and the new forms to be added.

In essence he was incapable of slowing the deterioration of the cathedral and his proposals were rudely rejected and criticised. He died in 1868, having hardly started to erect the triforium of the crossing, in an erroneous form as was appreciated later by Madrazo who had to redo it.

There was then nominated as successor the architect Andrés Fernández Callejo who already had experience of restoring the basilica of San Vicente de Ávila. Callejo planned to resolve the chaos that affected the fabric, controlling the disappearance of materials, and he set out to follow to a great extent the projects carried out by his predecessor, for all of which he prepared new plans, especially those relating to the construction of the northern facade.

Part of his problems derived from the council with whom he fell out. Moreover, both in León and in Madrid there arose intrigues, jealousies and the disloyalty of Ricardo Velázquez Bosco who – although only a draughtsman – wanted to have Callejo's post, as also did Demetrio de los Ríos who had the support of his family at the Court. All of these factors weighed against his work and soon afterwards he was suspended by the professional directoral body.

Juan de Madrazo (1869-1876): stylistic rationalism in the cathedral

Despite the intrigues of Demetrio de los Ríos and his supporters, the Academia de San Fernando and the Ministry decided now to nominate an architect capable of confronting the many difficulties presented by the cathedral of León. It was Juan de Madrazo who in 1869 was to be witness to these, at a moment when the building was badly damaged, with the open crossing threatening to drag down the whole building through a domino effect and with the north facade beginning to be replanned following the design of Laviña.

Madrazo was an excellent professional, knowing well and friendly with Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, the great French thinker and restorer, whose theories and knowledge he knew and applied and whose Dictionary he had mastered and whose rationalist ideas he understood well. He was also an exceptional restorer who had developed the French methodology of “unity of style” with intelligence and who possessed the necessary technical, artistic and archaeological knowledge.

In this sense, he would look for the archetype of the León cathedral by analysing in depth its

architectural structure, understanding the Gothic model as a scientific deduction which led him to find in Reims and the contemporary architecture of Champagne the stylistic reference he sought, its proportions based on the number three, on the equilateral triangle and on the square root of three. Thus he would go on to plan the lost parts of the building starting from this rational and logical knowledge of each and every one of its parts, expressing the ideal of the type in all its constructional, functional and decorative elements.

In this way his restoration of León would come to express the most paradigmatic application in Spain of the ideas of “stylistic restoration”, stemming from a scrupulous study of the type, the archaeology and construction techniques of the building, and consequently all the fundamental components definitive of the style.

As a first measure, he shored up the central area of the church with an ingenious form of scaffolding which caught the attention of numerous European architects and engineers.¹³ He planned the reconstruction of the north gable – badly planned by his predecessors – and of the crossing, adopting as ideology the search for the purity of the Champagne Gothic to which he had ascribed the building following his studies. Using such sources he rationalised all the parts that had disappeared, an aspect worth emphasising, since his idea of reconstruction ceased when the lacuna had been completed and never did he propose to destroy anything that had a static capacity. In this way he achieved the aesthetic unity of the building and its structural coherence.

Madrazo was a man of progressive and liberal persuasion which led him to adopt sides in the serious social issues that shook Spain at that time, clashing angrily with the town council, with the bishop and with the conservative León society which accused him of being a freemason, according to some, or a Protestant, according to others, while the bishop accused him of anti-catholic propaganda, though he declared himself a theist or as having no religion. While he was rebuilding the northern gable end in 1879, he was relieved of his post and died brokenhearted a few months later. However he had had time to leave a complete collection of plans as to how the work should continue on all the building, as well as full and meticulous reports on all its problems. Equally, he placed the cathedral of León at the level of the most advanced projects in Europe so far as the methods, techniques and criteria of restoration were concerned.

Demetrio de los Ríos (1880-1992): the radicalism of Viollet-le-Duc and the ‘splendid’ restoration

To succeed Madrazo, the Academia di San Fernando named the architect Demetrio de los Ríos, who had been intriguing so much for years to obtain the position, and a new era for the cathedral started. Ríos was a man of considerable ability but far removed from the technical ability and archaeological knowledge of his predecessor. He had studied the building for many years and also conceived an extensive programme of changes, seeking the original splendour of the cathedral. A “splendid” restoration, following a term cleverly introduced by Susana Mora, would be achieved by applying the ideas of Viollet-le-Duc in all their radicality, renewing completely the cathedral complex, interior as much as exterior, purifying it by demolishing all the additions that did not belong to the original style, implanting the “ideal” model in full, with all its structural and aesthetic characteristics, and reaching the constructional system in its most absolute equilibrium using every kind of reintegration. Definitively it was, as Viollet-le-Duc had proclaimed, “to bring back a building to a state of completeness which may never have existed at any given time”, by means of projects carried out as if one were the original architect.

Such high ambitions led to León being situated as the paradigm for “stylistic restoration” not only in Spain but in the whole of Europe, in the class of extremely radical interventions such as those carried out by Paul Abadie at Saint-Front de Périgueux or Sainte-Croix de Burdeos, by Di Mége for Venerque, by Federico Zwiner for Cologne, by Alvino and della Corte for Amalfi or San Babila in Milan by Nava and Cesa-Bianchi, to cite only some emblematic cases in Europe that were practically contemporaneous.

Nevertheless Ríos found that he had to follow most of the projects of Madrazo or to a great extent start from them. So it was for the north gable end in which he limited himself to continuing what had been started, although with errors in construction which years later had to be rectified by Menéndez Pidal in substituting the crest of the gable in another Viollet-type action in the time of Franco. Equally he had to work on the vaults of the crossing and of all the main nave. He carried out an impressive job of substitution of details (pinnacles, finials, etc.) throughout the building, eventually declaring that not a square centimetre had been left untouched.



FIG. 4. León Cathedral at the end of the 19th century, after restoration
(from Demetrio de los Ríos, *La Catedral de León*, Madrid, 1895)

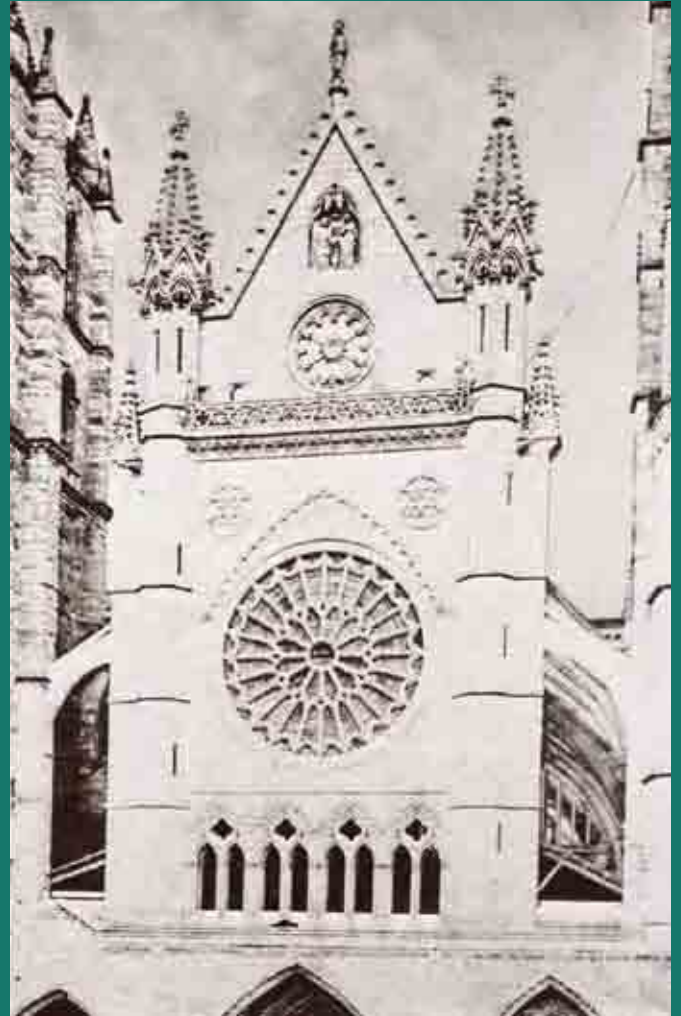


FIG. 5. León Cathedral, west facade
(from Demetrio de los Ríos, *La Catedral de León*, Madrid, 1895)

An original project of his own in the terms described earlier of stylistic radicalism was his invention of the ridge of the western facade, which to a large extent imitated that of Madrazo's of the north facade so far as formal coherence was concerned. However, it must also be noted that the Academy played an important role with respect to this option, since Ríos had presented together with this proposal another one for consolidating the gable end in Plateresque style, a proposal that was not accepted, whereupon he demolished it to build it anew in the search for stylistic unity.

Now his radicalism and his intention to aspire to the original splendour expressed itself in a good number of other projects which remained unpublished in the complex reports that he sent to the official state institutions, where they were considered negative for the building and counterproductive for

various reasons. Such were his intention to transfer the choir to the presbytery, his plans to make new floors or to construct new roofs which would follow the slopes of the gables, his proposal to reintegrate gables on the exterior in the manner of Notre Dame in Paris or the presumption of erecting a huge cimborio above the crossing – as in Notre Dame or in the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris and in the Reims model of Viollet-le-Duc – which, as we have said, followed to the letter the most romantic and radical theories of Viollet-le-Duc, at precisely the time that these were beginning to be seriously questioned in the most informed circles of the world of monument restoration.

Despite everything, although Ríos did not manage to realise all his projects, he succeeded in creating an “original Gothic purity” in the interior and exterior of the cathedral.

Juan Bautista Lázaro and the intervention of consolidation

The arrival of Juan Bautista Lázaro at the cathedral is firmly stated to have consisted in careful work of simple consolidation which brought in the new concepts of restoration then spreading throughout Europe, whether emanating from Ruskin, from Boito or from Beltrami.

It is true that León Lázaro, also an excellent professional, restored the north tower of the cathedral by girdling it with iron ties although this solution does not appear to have been very effective. But this was not a question of restoring a non-Gothic element, and so its position remained undocumented on the supposition of what it would have been. As examples of more compromising work and solutions that were certainly dubious and inserted into the “stylistic restoration”, we can mention his destruction of the parts in brick of the Romanesque tower of San Miguel de Escalada and the construction – in style – of the Bóveda de Santa Cristina de Lena.

In a different type of intervention on the cathedral, Lázaro carried out projects of conservation, cleaning and consolidation of roofs and drains of the lateral naves, and in 1892 started to restore and reconstruct 800 square metres of stained glass windows, a task that was completed by his successor Juan Crisóstomo Torbado.¹⁴ The building was inaugurated for the public on 27 May, 1901.

The 20th century: the presence of Viollet-le-Duc beyond his defining influence

When with the new century it seemed that the cathedral of León was entering a phase of simple conservation, there reached the city, however, the negative effects of some of the theories of Viollet-le-Duc. So, as the latter would have had destroyed the quarter surrounding Notre-Dame in Paris, so the architect Manuel Cárdenas in 1911 unfortunately demolished the Puerta del Obispo, a Gothic civil building which united the cathedral with the episcopal palace, an excellent construction in its Gothic features and one that moreover belonged in its early construction and most authentic form to the original “stylistic unity”. Thus Cárdenas followed

the initial destructions carried out by Demetrio de los Ríos who destroyed the Treasury. Other Spanish cathedrals (Burgos, Zamora, etc.) witnessed similar operations to isolate them and were later to be denounced by Torres Balbás and forbidden by the Charter of Athens.

New interventions of a stylistic character were undertaken by Luis Menéndez Pidal (in a project of 1960) when, in order to avoid construction failures in the crest of the southern gable because of the effects of air pollution, he decided to dismantle it and took the opportunity to plan a new “more truthful” one, making a copy of the opposite one (the north gable) of hispanic-flamenco style, a work of the 15th century of the Master Jusquín.

The remainder of the 20th century interventions on the building have been, in general, works of consolidation and substitution.¹⁵

Translated from Spanish by Nicholas Stanley-Price

Notes

- 1 So also for France, see Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Les cathédrales au XIXe siècle*, Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites, Economica, Paris 1993, and for Italy, G. Fiengo, A. Bellini et al., *La parabola del restauro stilistico nella rilettura di sette casi emblematici*, Politecnico di Milano - Facoltà di Architettura, Guerini studio, Milan 1994.
- 2 I myself have defended him in this stance. See my work *Historia de las restauraciones de la Catedral de León*, Valladolid 1993, and ‘La restauración histórica de la arquitectura de la Alta Edad Media’, in *La intervención en la arquitectura prerrománica asturiana*, Universidad de Oviedo, Gijón 1997, 59ff.
- 3 D. de los Ríos y Serrano, *La Catedral de León*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1895 (facsimile edition with introduction by J. Rivera and J. Arrechea, Valladolid-León 1989).
- 4 See the book by M. Laviña, *La Catedral de León*, Madrid 1876, and the article by J.B. Lázaro, ‘La Catedral de León’, *Anales de la construcción y de la industria*, Madrid 1885-1886.
- 5 See in this context: J. Rivera, *Historia de las restauraciones de la Catedral de León*, Valladolid 1993; I. González-Varas, *La Catedral de León. Historia y restauración (1859-1901)*, León 1993, and M. Valdés, C. Cosmen, M.V. Herráez, M.D. Campos and I. González-Varas, *Una historia arquitectónica de la Catedral de León*, León 1994.
- 6 Frequently restorations of European monuments in the 19th and 20th centuries are described without first narrating the construction history and the vicissitudes suffered by the buildings. We consider this to be indispensable since in many cases – and León is an example – it explains the measures that were taken in their contemporary context.
- 7 For the period prior to the Gothic cathedral, see G. Boto Varela, *La memoria perdida. La Catedral de León (917-1255)*, León 1955.
- 8 M. Valdés Fernández, *La Catedral de León*, Historia 16, número 82, Madrid 1993.

- 9 V. Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*, Madrid 1930; E. Lambert, *El arte gótico en España*, Madrid 1928; L. Torres Balbás, *Arquitectura gótica*, Madrid 1955; J. Rivera, *La Catedral de León y su museo*, León 1979; J.M^a Villanueva Lázaro, *La ciudad de León. El Gótico*, León 1986; M. Rascón Gómez, *La Catedral de León. Cristal y Fe*, León 1991; and the book already cited by M. Valdés and others, *Una historia arquitectónica de la Catedral de León*, León 1994. See also the doctoral thesis on the church of León by I. Represa (unpublished, 1997). Also J. Rivera, 'Restauraciones durante el siglo XIX de la Catedral de León', *Sacras moles*, Junta de Castilla y León, 1996, and in *Jornadas técnicas de conservadores de las catedrales. Las catedrales de España*, M.R.R.P., Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 1997.
- 10 On these periods, see W. Merino Rubio, *Arquitectura hispano-flamenca en León*, León 1974; J. Rivera, *La arquitectura de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI en la ciudad de León*, León 1982 and M. Valdés and others, *Una historia arquitectónica de la Catedral de León*, León 1994.
- 11 M. Gómez Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental de España. Provincia de León (1906-1908)*, Madrid 1925, p. 85.
- 12 In addition to the works already cited on the restoration of the cathedral of León by J. Rivera and I. González-Varas, see P. Navascues, 'La Catedral de León: de la verdad histórica al espejismo erudito', in *Medievalismo y neomedievalismo en la arquitectura española*, Ávila 1990; also the articles cited by J. Rivera in *Sacras moles* (1997) and *Jornadas técnicas de conservadores de las catedrales. Las catedrales de España* (1998).
- 13 In 1881 he was awarded the Gold Medal at the Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes.
- 14 For the stained glass windows, see J. Fernández Arenas and C. F. Fernández Espino, *Las vidrieras de la Catedral de León*, León 1982, and M. Gómez Rascón, op. cit.
- 15 For the 20th century, see I. Represa, 'Catedral de León. Restauraciones 1939-1985', *Sacras moles. Catedrales de Castilla y León. Tempus edax, homo edacior*, Valladolid 1996, 46-52, and M. D. Sáenz de Miera and C. Vallejo Fernández, 'León (Plan Director de la catedral)', *Ars Sacra*, n° 4-5, 1997-98, Madrid 83-93.

Conservation of conservation methods

[MAHDI HODJAT]

Turning attention to the wide scope of the concept of conservation deepens our understanding of the significance of conservation and its methods. Passage of time threatens the survival of beings, and Man needs to protect the context of his life as well as his own attainments. Conservation, in its broadest sense, is considered to be the relief from these worries. Protection of the context of life, i.e. the environment, is considered among the most significant challenges faced by Man today. Furthermore, Man relies on food and other products of nature, the protection and conservation of which or prolonging the life of which have always been vital to continuity and improvement of human life. Man has invented various methods for conservation of natural foods to achieve this objective.

Conservation is not limited to the physical phenomena related to human life. From the dawn of history, Man has been aware of the necessity to preserve also his metaphysical attainments. The invention of writing is the most significant human measure for conservation of transient phenomena. In the same way, works of art are being created to keep the ideas, feelings, and subjective concepts from changing and to help the permanence of human metaphysical attainments. Thus, employing poems, proverbs, tales, and the like is in essence a wise application of conservation methods for transferring the values from one generation to the next. How would such transient subjective matters have been preserved and transferred

to future generations if the feelings and conceptions of artists had not been trapped in pieces of poetry, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture?

Since conservation, in its modern sense, is concerned mostly with prolonging the life of created work and does not consider the course of creating an artwork as a conservation endeavour, it therefore covers only a limited area of a longstanding practice performed with the intention of avoiding and preventing the destruction of the resources of physical and metaphysical life of Man. Making ourselves aware of the original intention inspiring conservation helps us to avoid those methods not in correspondence with realising the original intention. If an idea or feeling has become so clear that it is worthy of being expressed, and if what is worthy of being expressed has been realised in this or that way, and if what has been actually realised deserves to continue its life, then the preferred method to achieve this objective should consider and respect the formation of those steps taken from the preliminary stages and throughout this course of actions for conservation of the original idea. It should be remembered that this course of actions is entirely of a conservational nature; therefore, thinking of conservation merely in terms of its most recent stage, as it is observed today, does not seem to be justifiable. So it is obvious that the methods for conservation of heritage must be in harmony with their origin. In other words, the continuity of the physical life of a property would be acceptable on the condition that it follows

the same course that it has gone through from the initial intention to the emergence of its physical form.

Taking this notion into account influences our understanding of conservation in many ways. However, the main consideration here is to examine the origin and basis of diversity in human behaviours, *inter alia* conservation. Hence, we shall ask: which factors have inspired Man to choose different, even contradictory, methods for conservation of what has been fundamentally influential in the physical and metaphysical life of Man in the 'length of history' and 'breadth of geography'? Is it true that existence of such differences affects the adoption of conservation methods in the present circumstances? To what extent might or should the contemporary methods that are recommended and practiced be based on these differences? And what changes will be made to the quality of conservation if the mentioned differences are respected?

Since these issues require further thorough deliberation, I adopt here a specific approach for the purpose of the present essay. Accordingly, I observe a few instances of distinctions between the three vast cultural realms of the East, the West, and what is located in between. In this way, the eligibility of a uniform application of widely practiced contemporary methods to those cultures would be revealed by comparing the road each of these cultures has followed by way of conservation, in a broad sense.

Distinction between cultures

Man utilises nature and changes it due to various causes and motivations. Sometimes he engages in discovering secrets, mysteries, and covert truths in nature and the relationship between its elements and phenomena, and in this way generates science. Sometimes, relying on the acquired knowledge, Man employs nature to utilise its resources and potentialities to improve his welfare, and in this way creates technology. And, at times, he relates to nature in order to express feelings, moods, or perceptions and, as an outcome, art appears. Therefore, knowledge, technology, and art are similar, considering that all of them are products of a human act and their emergence is consequent to an interaction between Man and nature. Science, technology, and art become manifested in the real world in a certain form and become stabilised or, according to our interpretation, 'conserved'. Nevertheless, the quality of manifestation or conservation of each is under the strong influence of the environment in which it emerges.

The evident distinction between art and other kinds of human interaction with nature is the main aim of art, which is expressing the feelings or

perceptions of Man. Therefore, artistic work is subsequent to a kind of tangible or intuitive or rational perception or understanding which is being materialised through making changes in nature. Any human intent expressed using the available elements of nature - even knocking on a desk by a teacher to silence the class - possesses a certain level of artistic value, the degree of which depends on the value of what has been expressed and the mastery in expressing that intent. Hence, whatever is expressed by Man through his interaction with nature pertains to a specific level of analogical gradation concerning its artistic value. In the realm of speech, for instance, what transcends language to become literature is this same elevation of content and form of expression. If the highest level of human knowledge would be called 'wisdom', then artistic work is subsequent to wisdom. If the ability to make changes in nature would be called 'technique', then art means 'technique based on wisdom'. Whenever wisdom is transformed into technique, that is to say a truth becomes revealed in the form of reality, an artwork is created.

Artistic creation is a particular kind of Man's treatment regarding nature, and in general it may be considered as a kind of relationship between Man and nature, which - to a greater extent than in other activities - is indicative of Man's intrinsic characteristics on the one hand, and limited by the available environmental potentials on the other hand. This mode of relationship between Man and nature has always been present from the first moment that Man found himself next to nature. In this view, artistic activity is not subsequent to other needs and requirements of Man, as some have supposed. In fact, it has the greatest capacity for echoing the footsteps of Man travelling throughout history. The first treatments of Man in nature performed with the aim of expressing feelings, perceptions, and human worlds in different forms of engraving, painting, sculpture, architecture, dancing, or music bear witness to how the most exalted perceptions of primitive humans have been projected and registered.

The nature of the external manifestation of art, i.e. the product or artwork, is related to the perceptions of Man, on the one hand, and to the environment and the available natural materials or the ones chosen to be used in creating an artwork, on the other. It is obvious that what Man understands of himself and of Being has varied in various places and times. Likewise, the materials available or chosen to create an artwork have varied. These very differences have led to the emergence of kinds of art and their various forms throughout time in different places. Human art has become altered in the 'length of history' and 'breadth of geography' proportionate to his perceptions and also to

the materials in nature which have been more available to him. In each time and place, both perceptions and beliefs of Man and the natural context and the natural potentials at his disposal have been different. Undoubtedly, the mental perceptions and beliefs of an artist at any one time have a kind of interaction with the natural context and the potentialities at his disposal to create an artwork. In other words, the perceptions of the artists are not formed apart from time and place, i.e. the history and geography in which they are living. The extent to which artists go beyond the confines of their actual place and time and reach to the farther horizons might be considered a criterion to evaluate artworks.

A constancy of the common natural features and historical accumulation of perceptual experiences regarding the universe and therefore ethnic spirit in each nation and territory leads to the emergence of certain set of components in their people which is interpreted as 'culture'. Through suggesting a particular goal for the world and Man, religions endeavour to direct the cultural repertoire of a nation toward their particular ultimate goal, i.e. telos. In other words, the form of living of every individual human is the consequence of interactions of time, place, and human beliefs. Undoubtedly, beliefs possess the most significant role among the three mentioned components, due to their decisive role in regulating cultural repertoire.

East and west

In every territory and among any ethnic group or nation, a sort of spirit, or according to a particular interpretation, a kind of unique identity or culture may be observed which has retained its main elements more or less throughout history. Accordingly, some more general and wide-ranging spirits or cultures may be observed in different regions of the world which have remained more or less constant through time. If we divide the world into two general regions of East and West, merely to illustrate the issue in question, we may observe some similarities between the cultures of eastern nations, on one hand, and the cultures of western nations, on the other. Hence, we may talk about distinctive eastern and western cultures, and accordingly, the distinctive perceptions of eastern and western artists.

It was mentioned that Man treats and interacts with the world based on his mental perceptions, and that the interaction performed with the intent of expressing those perceptions is called art. So, perceptions emerge in the form of art, and artwork is the embodiment or manifestation of perceptions, the accumulation of which is a main constituent of culture. Therefore, it is possible to discover the existential quality of eastern

and western mental perceptions and cultures through studying the distinctions between works of art.

We know that east and west are relative concepts from the viewpoint of geography; that is to say, there would be a different east and west depending on where we are standing on the Earth. Therefore, the concept of a cultural east and west corresponds to its geographical position only when the basis and the axis of such a division are clear. Inevitably, there exists an axis, east of which is called by everyone 'the East' or 'Orient' and west of which is called 'the West' or 'Occident'. The area supposed in this way to be 'the middle' of world includes a land generally called the 'Middle East'.

Considering the special geographical position of Iran in the Middle East and the relative familiarity of the author with the cultural heritage of Iran, he has chosen Iranian culture from among the present cultures in this region merely to study and make comparisons.

Has this geographical middleness been manifested also in the form of cultural middleness? To find the answer to this question, it seems proper to review some examples of such manifestations belonging to Eastern and Western cultures and the one in the middle. It is recalled once more that studying different cultural manifestations is carried out solely with the aim of comparing the distinctions between methods of manifestation or, according to our interpretation, conservation of thoughts and feelings in different cultural realms, and to clarify the necessity of paying attention to the continuance of the very same methods in fostering the continuance of the life of cultural heritage. It should be remembered that, first, what is absolutely not my intent is any kind of inclination to prefer the culture of one region to the others (which I believe to be a non-cultural approach); and secondly, the following examples are presented merely to increase awareness of the mentioned distinctions in the most general form. Obviously, several exceptions may be found in such comparisons.

Manifestation *vis-à-vis* presence

Among the most significant and expressive cultural manifestations is painting. The traditional painter in the East seems to try to express 'the hidden' by clawing at 'the visible'. What is visible is the absent evidence; or, to explain more precisely, the limited shapes and colours on a canvas lead us to the void, the invisible, or the absent presence which is truly present. It is as if the painting board of an Eastern painter is a board of light on which little shadows have been diffused. What is manifested is not important here; it is enough if it expresses 'the hidden'. This is achieved through the ways of expression

more than through the subject matter; although in this approach, there is not even a small gap between subject matter and method. As a result, it is free from common worldly rules such as for rendering the details of light and shadow, perspective, colour, proportions and other similar features. Such painting becomes unveiled, it leads you to the 'presence' and, disregarding all differences, it always observes a unique ultimate aim. Here, observing the amazing variation in the diversity of the world is not the intention; indeed, all these are merely excuses to have a vision of Him.

By way of contrast, western painting appears to be more 'manifested'. In this approach to painting, the artist exerts considerable effort to draw a scene in detail in order to present a precise reproduction of the reality. Giving great consideration to details, to the quality of light in a scene, its physical proportions and the like is an invitation to encounter the real world and to comprehend the perceptions or feelings of an artist regarding that real world, the ultimate point of which is of course sometimes beyond the material world. We should notice that in artistic trends following classicism, such as impressionism, pointillism, and even cubism, the main aim is to represent reality more really. Reviewing the cultural and artistic manifestations of the west shows that paying more attention to what is manifested and giving precedence to it in understanding the Being, even with the aim of discovering its depth, is an undeniable fact. However, Iranian painting, for instance, seems to stand in between these two extremes. In Iranian miniatures, the entire manifestations of nature and worldly life are present; nevertheless, the totality of a work is not intended to represent the external physical reality.

Music reveals a similar story. In eastern traditional music, the main aim is to initiate an internal motion; musical atmosphere is created through the motion generated by imagination. Sounds appear in the context of silence and disappear again, while western music seems to be mostly about utilising the brilliant capacities of sound while relying on the context of silence. Eastern music invites you to understand what truly exists there, of which you may perceive part through the melody. On the contrary, in the west, music is composed on the basis of sound, and silence is considered to be no more than a mere ground on which to allow the sound figures to be revealed. Eastern music invites you to look away from manifestations of nature and, at the same time, to contemplate them. Western music, on the other hand, is a sort of expression under the influence of nature and sensual impression, of course in its most exalted forms. As another instance, Iranian music stands between these two extremes, semi-earthly and semi-heavenly, as if, by imploring through nature, it calls you to go beyond nature.

The same happens in poetry. The preference of

a Haiku style in Japanese poetry compared with the ode in the West and the tendency to lyric poems in the Middle East may lead to similar findings.

The same differences may be observed in the field of architecture. A review of works of architecture in the west, including temples, castles, public facilities, and the like constructed from the time of ancient Greece to today, reveals an emphasis on an internal or external crust, dependent on the type of materials, forms, proportions, decorations, and colours used, with its appropriateness as a settlement for humans dependent on the quality that it provides. In western architecture, any space has a wall surface, internal or external, which makes it the centre of attention. Here, what physically exists is considered, and not that existing Being which is seemingly not there. A similar review of eastern architecture clarifies immediately its different approach to space and environment. Here, it seems that spaces are not surrounded by walls. All the elements are in a state of minimal manifestation to express that 'presence' which exists in the centre of attention. The characteristics of Iranian architecture suggest that it stands in a position between the other two. Here the body exists, and is completely visible and noticeable; nevertheless, it is not meant to be the centre of attention. The body of a construction is a bridge between what you are and what you should be, in the middle of the Earth and the Sky.

Several examples other than those of historic buildings confirm this argument, in other forms of cultural manifestation such as food, costume, garden landscaping and the like. Nevertheless, these examples have already shown that the methods for stabilising or conservation in the cultural realms of the West and of the East possess their own distinctive features. Since I regard the creating works of art as a method for the conservation of ideas, feelings, and perceptions, then the differences between the methods of creating works of art in various cultures may be considered identical to the difference between the methods for their conservation.

Conservation of conservation

Up to this point I have argued that methods of conservation in every culture are peculiar to that specific culture and constitute a significant part of its cultural heritage. Naturally, anything which is considered to be a part of our valuable cultural heritage should be conserved, and there is no controversy over the necessity for conservation of this part of cultural heritage. But the significant difference between this branch of cultural heritage and others is that, if it becomes impaired or distorted, other instances of cultural heritage would

be exposed to danger of destruction. Therefore, the most essential duty of cultural heritage authorities in every country, and certainly the pertinent international institutions, is to recognise and strengthen the authentic traditional and vernacular methods for conservation practiced in each region and, at the same time and with the same forcefulness, to take action to bring these methods up to date. Insisting on returning to the roots of conservation and stressing the need to bring these methods up to date might seem to be contradictory and thus requires explanation.

As I mentioned at the beginning of the present essay, practicing conservation is as old as the presence of humans on Earth. In addition, contrary to those who suppose that the idea of conservation of cultural heritage is a product of the modern world, thinkers all over the world have emphasised from ancient times the necessity of preserving the things produced by Man. Anyhow, it should be noticed that becoming up to date is a feature inherent in conservation. Conservation is always performed to counter the effects of those factors threatening the life of heritage. It is obvious that threatening factors change throughout time and new ones appear every day. Therefore, it is indispensable to update the methods needed to counter the new threats. It should be noted that it is incumbent upon conservation to link the past to the future, and that its characteristics results from this very dual nature. Conservation is a two-sided coin, one side of which bears all the past achievements and the other side includes all the present potential for a continuing presence of heritage in the future. Undoubtedly, to divest conservation practice of modern knowledge is an acceptance of the gradual destruction of cultural heritage. Unfortunately, sometimes cultural concerns regarding conservation are being ignored through giving one-sided consideration to its scientific aspects and, at times, an appropriate continuation of a property's life is being hindered by giving absolute priority to cultural aspects of conservation. Considering the far-sightedness of the experts drawing up international instruments regarding conservation, in which the necessity of drawing up national conservation charters peculiar to each country is appropriately emphasised, studying and regulating conservation methods based on the conservation tradition in each country should be put high on the agenda by conservators of cultural heritage.

A question that may occur here is: considering the expansion of communication facilities and the world becoming a global village, how is it possible to live in this village and yet emphasise the preservation of cultural authenticity? It might even be perceived, perhaps, that dominating subcultures is essentially the prerequisite to becoming globalised, and that the first step for such dominance to come about is to destroy the conservation systems of each culture. The

importance of methods of cultural conservation, in its broad sense mentioned before, would be illuminated by observing the battle in which subcultures are being gradually destroyed. Conservators of cultures, and in fact conservators of the cultural heritage of each culture, should give due consideration to this issue. It should be admitted that any culture, regardless of its capabilities, could not continue to be alive without some kind of cultural exchange. Different groups of people possessing various potentialities have lived in different places for long periods of time and have selected the most suitable ways of life to overcome difficulties. Exchanging these solutions is the simplest way to accumulate experiences and to improve the living conditions in every human society. Such exchanges would lead to the prosperity of a society in which everyone would have the freedom of choice regarding what they are being exposed to. What I mean by freedom of choice is not freedom to follow personal tastes or ideas; rather, it is the freedom to accept or reject a specific cultural product, based on its conformity to the essence of the specific need for which the product has been presented. A prerequisite for making such choices is to have an appropriate opportunity to fully comprehend all the cultural aspects of that specific need.

Unfortunately, what today has converted cultural exchange into a kind of imposition is the massive and rapid provision of cultural products to highly demanding societies who have no opportunity to decide whether or not the products are appropriate to the reality of their needs. In Europe, when westerners began to observe the world in a new light after the Renaissance and became capable of presenting, and even imposing, their views to the world through their scientific growth and industrial prosperity, the particular attainments of this dominant culture became widespread. In this way, the danger of annihilation of other cultural approaches, each of which was valuable and efficient in its own place, was increased. Non-industrial or underdeveloped countries perceived their happiness and prosperity to lie in escaping from themselves and becoming as similar as possible to the developed countries. They neglected their own cultural heritage and did not notice that true prosperity appears when the plant grows from its own roots. The result was a chaotic situation in which the hope of returning to self-awareness seemed to be as weak as the probability of success through imitating others seemed to be strong.

Thus, the most valuable achievements of scientists and scholars in developed countries, which could be a proper resolution of these problems if presented appropriately, became themselves transformed into a new problem. A few years ago, the author visited a restoration master educated in Europe who said that

“while the laws regarding endowment (waqf) are in force in Iran, conservation of cultural heritage is not possible” - whereas all experts acquainted with the cultural heritage of the Islamic world are aware that endowment laws have always been among the most significant factors in conservation of Islamic historic heritage in these countries. If, in addition to the scientific aspects of conservation, its cultural nature would be given due consideration and if the principles of cultural exchange would be respected as far as possible in proposing new methods, then the minimum benefit would be that those interested in cultural heritage do not annihilate the historic methods of conservation and do not destroy the true shield protecting cultures in a world rapidly moving toward cultural uniformity and, even worse, toward cultural shapelessness.

The acquisition of knowledge

Another more fundamental issue in the historic-cultural context of conservation is the need to avoid performing any kind of treatment of historic works prior to acquiring sufficient knowledge about them. The extent and depth of knowledge vary. Most experts today acquire knowledge about historic works in a way similar to acquiring knowledge when hiring a person for a job – for example, reviewing records and files, arranging interviews, making local investigations, and gathering data. Nevertheless, everyone knows that the extent to which a person is really considered suitable for a job would be revealed only after a few years of employment. There is no place for negligence in acquiring knowledge about cultural-historic remains and making mistakes is irreversible and damage irretrievable, so a profound knowledge of the remains is essential. How can one live several years with a historic-cultural work in order to become fully acquainted with its condition and background before treating it? There are those who belong to a culture and are familiar with its traditions, who have lived with a property a hundred times longer than their actual age, and who have acquired a sort of knowledge about the property which is not merely empirical. They are indeed relatives of the property or, better to say, friends of a property. In the absence of such a person, only an old friend may be a true introducer, not someone who has acquired knowledge about the person in question through reviewing the files and gathering data related to him.

Now the question is under what circumstances is such knowledge acquirable? Firstly, the conservator should belong to the cultural context of the heritage as far as possible. Secondly, s(he) should be acquainted with the national traditions regarding conservation. Thirdly, s(he) should endeavour to become friendly with

the property before undertaking any kind of treatment of it. Establishing friendly relations with a historic work signifies giving true consideration to the human message that it bears. Such a message may be called ‘the soul’ of a historic work. Accordingly, conservation of the body of a historic work is supposed to be carried out with the aim of realising the permanence of its soul.

In conclusion

To return to the questions posed in the opening section, there is much evidence of distinctions between cultures in different regions of the world. The main cause of such distinctions is the status of Man in different geographical, historic, and doctrinal positions. Such distinctions are the consequence of interaction between Man and his surroundings and are considered to be the greatest experimental investment by Man for continuation of life on Earth. If instead of seeking dominance and trying to eliminate these distinctions, we consider their hidden and intrinsic values as an immeasurable treasure, we have reached the most reliable way for Man to enjoy his historic attainments through cultural exchange of them. Endeavouring in the direction of uniformity instead of unity threatens the repertoire of Man’s cultural-historic attainments and leads him toward a kind of cultural shapelessness. Understanding that such remarkable cultural diversity has emerged from the different ways that Man has interacted with his environment obliges us to conserve heritage while respecting cultural diversity and employing methods of conservation appropriate to that culture.

The conservator should establish a friendly relationship with a historic work, as I explained earlier, and should master the local traditions of conservation, while not ignoring the latest scientific and international advances. The amount of knowledge provided to conservators should not so overwhelm them that they abandon national methods altogether. Centres for education in conservation, particularly the pertinent international institutions, should give this issue due consideration. Hence, it seems appropriate to establish specialised centres in such institutions, each of which would concentrate on gaining knowledge about a particular cultural realm.

Supposing that all these conditions would be realised, what kind of changes would actually occur in the prevalent modern methods of conservation? The most significant change would probably be that modern conservation measures would approximate more closely the methods by which a historic work has been created, preserved, and transmitted to us. This approach will guarantee the authenticity of conservation methods and a more desirable form of survival of cultural heritage;

moreover, it is a conservation measure itself with respect to a highly significant part of our cultural heritage which deserves to be preserved.

Understanding this extended concept of conservation would bring about fruitful outcomes, including:

Firstly, consciousness regarding the existence of distinctions between cultures would be strengthened and hence the probability of cultural imposition would be reduced;

Secondly, the risks of destroying threatened cultures would be avoided through recognising longstanding traditions of conservation in each culture;

Thirdly, modern methods of conservation of historic-cultural works would be harmonised with methods of conserving such works appropriate to the time of creation of a work up to now;

Fourthly, learning about and continuing historic methods of conservation would give rise to a new situation in which conservation activities would go beyond merely formal aspects towards content-based aspects;

Fifthly, the different achievements of conservation in each culture would promote cultural exchanges in this field;

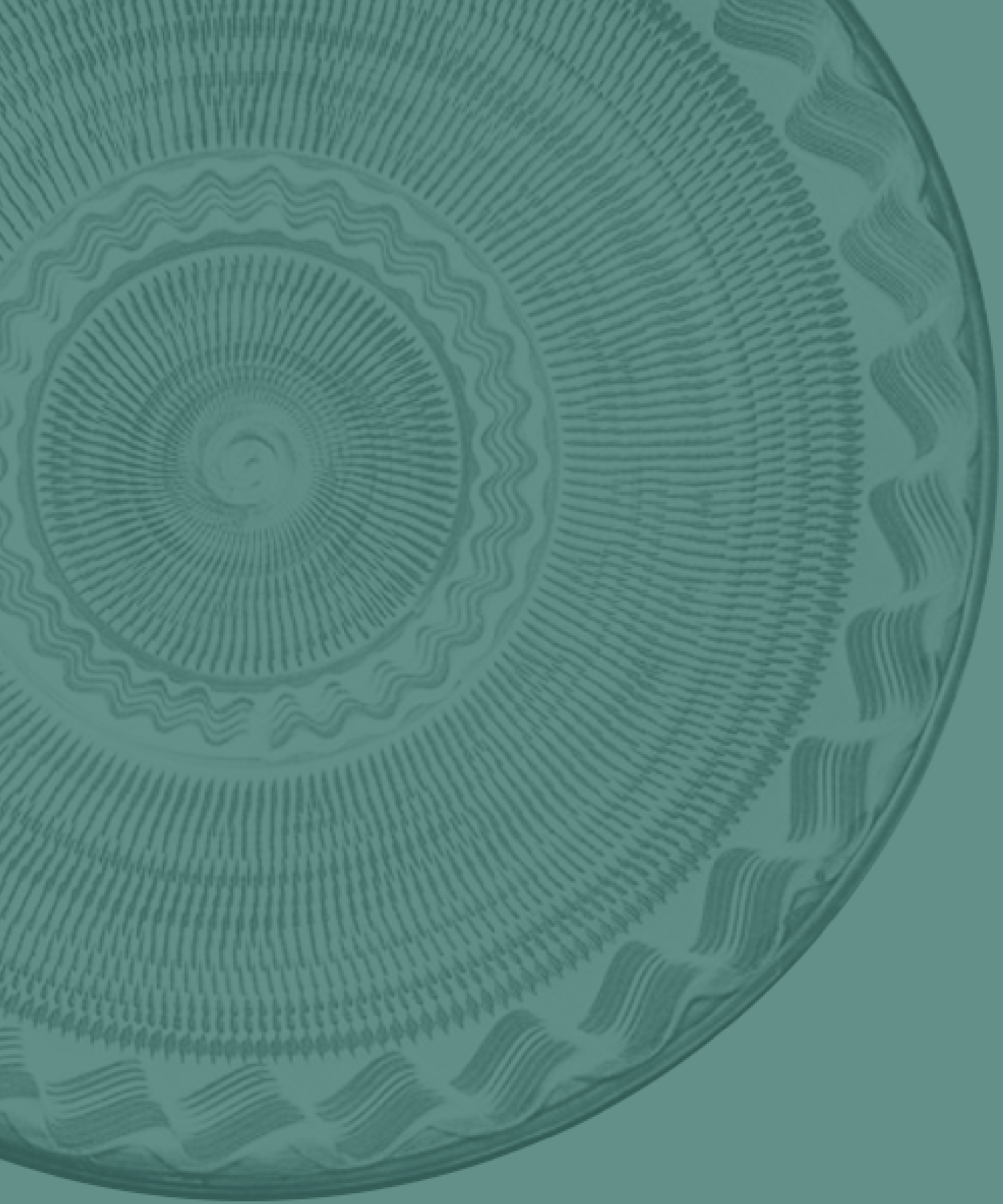
Finally, following this approach, pertinent educational centres and cultural institutions would undertake a new role of unifying the diverse methods that have emerged in different cultures, rather than merely disseminating a kind of uniformity under the title of scientific methods of conservation.

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Authenticity and World Heritage



The evolution of the concept of Outstanding Universal Value

CHRISTINA CAMERON

The concept of Outstanding Universal Value is an idea rooted in the search for elements that link us together as human beings. In the aftermath of two cataclysmic world wars, global leaders sought to create international instruments that would reinforce the ties that bind us together and emphasize our common humanity. The creation in 1945 of the United Nations system and UNESCO, its related educational, scientific and cultural organization, grew out of this desire to stimulate intercultural dialogue and a climate of peace. A vision of “universal” value is directly connected to UNESCO’s founding constitution which states that “since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed”.¹

The convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, known as the World Heritage Convention, was adopted during the UNESCO General Conference on 16 November 1972. It originated in two separate movements that were brought together under UNESCO’s leadership to become the world’s most important international conservation instrument. On the cultural side, the idea for the convention grew out of UNESCO’s international safeguarding campaigns of the 1960s as well as other international cultural initiatives like the UNESCO Recommendation for Preserving Cultural Property endangered by Public or Private Works.² During this same period, a parallel movement to

protect natural sites emerged from the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) as well as from an international conference at the White House in 1965 which introduced for the first time the idea of a World Heritage Trust.³

This paper will examine the evolution of the concept of “Outstanding Universal Value” as it applies to the nomination process for World Heritage listing. In particular, it will look at early challenges faced by the World Heritage Committee in defining and applying this term. The paper then traces the evolution and the impact of the Committee’s decisions on Outstanding Universal Value, concluding with some predictions for the future.

The term “Outstanding Universal Value” is used thirteen times in the English text of the World Heritage Convention. This is not the phrase initially proposed for articles 1 and 2 to define what kind of heritage would be covered in the Convention. Heritage of “universal interest” was the proposed text submitted to the special committee of government experts charged with preparing a draft convention in April 1972. During the expert meeting, the Nigerian delegation wanted to delete entirely the word “universal” from the text, a proposal that was not retained.⁴ It was the United Kingdom that proposed replacing “universal interest” with the term “outstanding universal value”.⁵

While the World Heritage Convention refers to cultural and natural heritage of Outstanding Universal

Value from the point of view of history, art, science, conservation and natural beauty, the actual term is never defined. It is odd that a term which is at the very heart of the treaty – its defining feature and its threshold for inclusion in the World Heritage system – is not given a working definition in the text.

It is only in the 2005 revision of the *Operational Guidelines*, a document used by the Committee to guide its work, that we find this not particularly helpful definition:

Outstanding Universal Value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations.⁶

From the beginning, it fell to the World Heritage Committee to figure out what Outstanding Universal Value means. At a simple level, one can argue that the Committee defines and fleshes out the term each time it inscribes a property on the World Heritage List or each time it considers threats to the values of properties that could lead to inscription on the list of World Heritage in Danger. The Convention is very clear on this point. Only properties that possess Outstanding Universal Value may be inscribed on the World Heritage List.⁷ But determining which properties are eligible for inclusion is not simple.

The complexity of this task probably explains why the Convention includes three important conditions aimed at ensuring professional and technical competence. The first is the requirement for countries to choose as their representatives to the World Heritage Committee persons qualified in the field of cultural or natural heritage. The second is the specific advisory role assigned to three professional organizations. The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) are called on to support the Committee's work. The third is the support of UNESCO to prepare the work of the Committee and to implement its decisions.⁸

Although the Convention was signed in 1972, it took time to create the administrative structures needed for its implementation. The first Committee meeting was held in 1977 when about 35 countries had signed on. Prior to this first meeting, the secretariat had identified the need to support the Committee in interpreting Outstanding Universal Value and proposed inscription criteria. Following initial work by ICOMOS and IUCN, UNESCO worked with two expert working groups - one for cultural heritage and one for natural heritage - to consider the matter and

to propose criteria for inscription that would *de facto* establish the threshold of Outstanding Universal Value. In its first *Operational Guidelines*, the Committee noted that the definition of "universal" required comment. Acknowledging that some properties "may not be recognized by all people, everywhere, to be of great importance and significance," the Committee decided that the term must be interpreted as referring to a property which is "highly representative of the culture of which it forms part."⁹

Following discussions of the expert proposals at the 1977 meeting, the inscription criteria and other requirements for identifying properties of Outstanding Universal Value were approved and published in the 1978 *Operational Guidelines*. The first set of criteria was divided into two groups: cultural and natural criteria.

For cultural sites, each property should:

- (i) represent a unique artistic or aesthetic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius;
- (ii) have exerted considerable influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental sculpture, garden and landscape design, related arts, or human settlements;
- (iii) be unique, extremely rare, or of great antiquity;
- (iv) be among the most characteristic examples of a type of structure, the type representing an important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological or industrial development;
- (v) be a characteristic example of a significant style of architecture, method of construction or form of town-planning or traditional human settlement, that is fragile by nature or has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible socio-cultural or economic change;
- (vi) be most importantly associated with ideas or beliefs, with events or with persons, of outstanding historical importance or significance.

For natural sites, each property should:

- (i) be outstanding examples representing the major stages of the earth's evolutionary history. This category would include sites which represent the major "eras" of geological history such as "the age of reptiles" where the development of the planet's natural diversity can well be demonstrated and such as the "ice age" where early man and his environment underwent major changes;
- (ii) be outstanding examples representing significant ongoing geological processes, biological evolution and man's interaction with his natural environment. As distinct from the periods of the earth's development, this focuses

- upon ongoing processes in the development of communities of plants and animals, landforms and marine and fresh water bodies. This category would include for example (a) as geological processes, glaciation and volcanism, (b) as biological evolution, examples of biomes such as tropical rainforests, deserts and tundra, (c) as interaction between man and his natural environment, terraced agricultural landscapes;
- (iii) contain unique, rare or superlative natural phenomena, formations or features or areas of exceptional natural beauty, such as superlative examples of the most important ecosystems—natural features, (for instance, rivers, mountains, waterfalls), spectacles presented by great concentrations of animals, sweeping vistas covered by natural vegetation and exceptional combinations of natural and cultural elements;
 - (iv) be habitats where populations of rare or endangered species of plants and animals still survive. This category would include those ecosystems in which concentrations of plants and animals of universal interest and significance are found.¹⁰

If the properties met one of more of these criteria, they were deemed to possess Outstanding Universal Value. In addition, such properties had to meet other conditions. For cultural sites, they had to meet the test of authenticity. For natural sites, they had to meet the test of integrity. For both groups, properties had to have legal protection and management mechanisms in place to ensure their continuing protection.

Initial challenges in determining Outstanding Universal Value

As States Parties began to submit lists of potential sites, the Committee was challenged to determine Outstanding Universal Value. A debate began – which still continues today – as to whether such properties had to be the “best of the best” or “representative of the best”.¹¹ This is, of course, a fundamental question. The “best of the best” implies a strict scientific comparison of all similar properties and the inscription of one – or possibly a few – sites in the category. Such an approach would lead to a World Heritage List with a restricted number of properties because it would take years of scientific assessment and comparative analysis to make sure that the “best” properties had been identified. How big would the List be? Presumably more than the famous seven wonders of the world, but by how many? On the other hand, the selection of sites that are “representative of the best” could lead to a lower threshold. It might mean that all the properties of a given type would find their way onto a heavily-populated World Heritage List.

Some evidence exists that the creators of the Convention envisaged a restrictive and exclusive list. For example, in a note to the special committee of government experts preparing the convention, the General Secretariat of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment envisioned a World Heritage List of “about a hundred sites”.¹² This spirit was repeated in the early working documents of the committee. The convention “is not intended to provide for the protection of all properties and areas of great interest, importance, or value, but only for a select list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint.”¹³

Many early inscriptions meet the threshold of “the best of the best”. They are unique sites, iconic and self-evident manifestations of exceptional interest. The first twelve sites on the World Heritage List comfortably met this high standard, including Nahanni National Park (Canada),

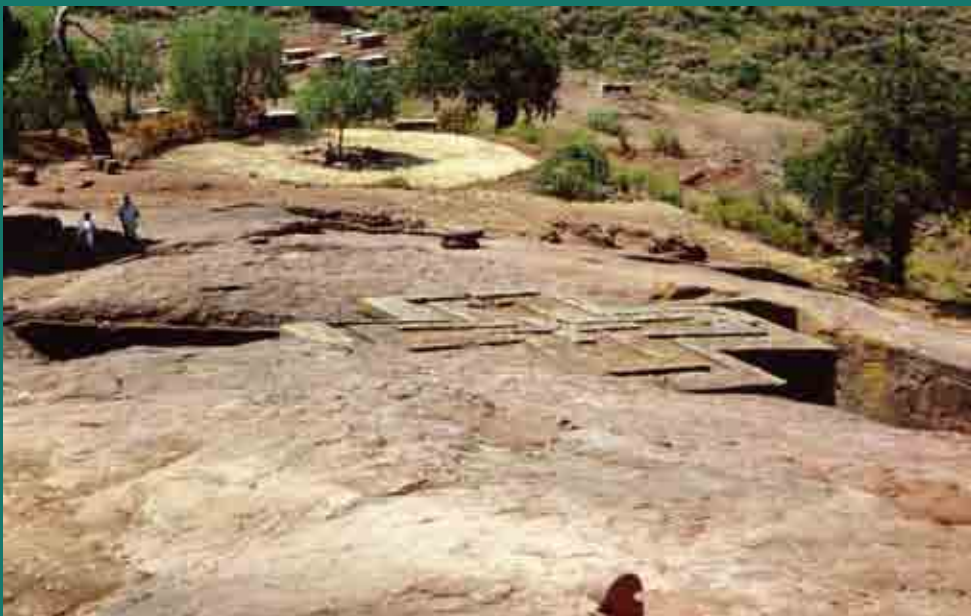


FIG. 1. The rock-hewn churches, Lalibela (Ethiopia), inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1978 (photo Joseph King, ICCROM, 2001)

the Galapagos Islands (Ecuador), the Rock Hewn Churches at Lalibela (Ethiopia), Aachen Cathedral (Germany) and Yellowstone National Park (United States of America).¹⁴

From the outset, ICOMOS and the Committee had difficulty with the application of criterion (vi). This is the criterion which recognizes associative and intangible values of properties – what today we would call the spirit of place. It was the early nominations that brought this problem into focus. Some proposals came forward for recognition on the basis of associative value alone. They included properties like the Island of Gorée (Senegal) where African slaves bound for America were held in captivity awaiting transport, Auschwitz Concentration Camp (Poland) where over a million people were exterminated during World War Two, and the house of the inventor Thomas Edison (United States of America).

Some participants feared that the World Heritage List might veer away from what they considered its original celebratory purpose into nationalism and negativity.¹⁵ In 1979 the Committee considered a report on the principles and criteria for inclusion on the World Heritage List prepared by Michel Parent, Inspecteur général des monuments historiques in France and Rapporteur for the 1979 meeting. On the question of sites with no tangible cultural property on them, but which had been the scene of important historical events, Parent argued for great selectivity. He went so far as to suggest that Auschwitz might stand alone as a symbol for all cultural properties that bear witness to the depths and horror of human suffering. As for sites associated with the achievements of great men, he warned against creating a “sort of competitive Honours Board for famous men” and called for a focus instead on places that demonstrate their great works.¹⁶

The 1979 Committee also directed that particular attention be paid to criterion (vi) “so that the net result would not be a reduction in the value of the List, due to the large potential number of nominations as well as to political difficulties. Nominations concerning, in particular, historical events or famous people could be strongly influenced by nationalism or other particularisms in contradiction with the objectives of the World Heritage Convention.”¹⁷ The Committee then changed the wording of criterion (vi) by adding that “the Committee considered that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria.”¹⁸ The Island of Gorée and Auschwitz Concentration Camp were inscribed on the List under criterion (vi) alone. The Edison house was not inscribed.

The World Heritage Committee also had difficulty with the application of the requirement for authenticity. At the beginning, the test of authenticity as a condition for inscription was interpreted from a predominantly European perspective, particularly as it related to monumental architecture. This in essence meant that properties would have to possess material or physical authenticity. The definition in the 1977 *Operational Guidelines* defines authenticity in terms of design, materials, workmanship and setting. But one of the first sites proposed for inscription was the historic centre



FIG. 2. Castle Geyser at Yellowstone National Park (USA), inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1978 (photo National Parks Service, USA)

FIG. 3. Island of Gorée (Senegal), inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1978 (photo Baba Keita, ICCROM)



of Warsaw (Poland), which had been essentially reduced to rubble during the Second World War and had subsequently been reconstructed by Poland. For three years ICOMOS and the Committee discussed whether a reconstructed site could be considered to possess authenticity. In the end, the Committee inscribed Warsaw on the World Heritage List as an exception, adding that no other reconstructed sites would be considered for listing.¹⁹

On-going challenges in determining Outstanding Universal Value

Defining Outstanding Universal Value has continued to challenge the World Heritage Committee. Factors that have contributed to the debate include the increasing size and growing imbalance of the World Heritage List, the expanded meaning of authenticity and the politicization of the World Heritage system.

Size of the World Heritage List

Over time, concern has been expressed about the number of sites on the World Heritage List. Some argue that if there are too many sites, the List will become meaningless. Others see no problem with a limitless number of sites. Judging from early Committee discussions, as noted above, the List was intended to be limited and exclusive. By 1992, when a strategic review was launched as part of the 20th anniversary of the Convention, there were just over 350 properties on the World Heritage List. Yet, the expert group charged with the preparatory work wondered whether this number of sites already risked debasing the coinage. This concern found expression in the subsequent *Strategic Orientations* adopted by the 1992 Committee in Santa Fe (U.S.A.). The second goal called for ensuring the credibility of the World Heritage List through objective and consistent evaluation procedures as well as possible removal of sites that no longer qualified.²⁰

These measures were intended to keep the List short and controllable. But the issue did not go away. It emerged a few years later during a major revision of the *Operational Guidelines* that began in 1999. The revised document was finally published in 2005. The 2005 *Operational Guidelines* specifically require ICOMOS and IUCN to be objective, rigorous and scientific in their evaluations of nominations. With the World Heritage List approaching 900 properties, the 2008 Committee once again reinforced the

message for “the rigorous, objective and consistent application of the three key tests to determine Outstanding Universal Value as set out in the *Operational Guidelines*.”²¹

Balance of the World Heritage List

A related issue is the growing imbalance of the World Heritage List and its failure to represent equitably the diverse cultures, regions and manifestations of heritage. With the steady increase in the number of States Parties joining the convention, pressure has grown for greater representation of the diverse cultures and regions of the world. It is a reasonable assumption that countries expect to participate in the Convention, not only through international collaboration but also by inscribing properties from their territories on the World Heritage List.

What does balanced representation have to do with Outstanding Universal Value? Balanced representation on the World Heritage List is linked directly to definitions of heritage and to the kinds of properties that are considered eligible to meet the benchmark of Outstanding Universal Value. The Convention had its origins in a largely European notion of cultural heritage – high aesthetic values and monumental structures – and a notion of natural heritage as pristine wilderness on the model of North American national parks or as African game parks with their spectacular mega-fauna. Pressure to broaden this scope grew during the 1980s, as new countries with different kinds of heritage joined the Convention.

An early and partial Committee response was the creation of the so-called Global Study, a narrow thematic approach that imploded under its own theoretical limitations. Later the Committee adopted two measures that significantly enlarged the interpretation of Outstanding Universal Value. The first was the adoption in 1992 of the cultural landscapes category which has been successful in opening up the Convention to more cultures and regions. The second was the adoption in 1994 of *A Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List*. The experts working on this strategy were directed to develop a dynamic thematic framework that would be free from cultural bias – probably not a realistic goal – in order to encourage nominations from cultures, regions and typologies not well represented on the List. Rooted in a more anthropological view of heritage properties, it proposed two broad categories under the heading of “human coexistence with the land” and “human beings in society”.²²

Arguably, the *Global Strategy* had an important influence on the implementation of the Convention. One of the immediate impacts was a change in several inscription criteria. With regard to criterion (i), the phrase “unique artistic achievement” was deleted as a result of the *Global Strategy* on the grounds that it encouraged high-style European sites. The aesthetic dimension was replaced with the more neutral “masterpiece of human creative genius”. Evidence that this was a significant change may be found in the discussion on Las Médulas (Spain), a Roman gold mining site inscribed by the 1997 World Heritage Committee under several criteria, including criterion (i). While some delegations were satisfied that this inventive approach to extracting gold did indeed display human creative genius, other delegations strongly disagreed with the application of criterion (i) on the grounds that the resulting mining landscape was ugly and demonstrated destructive human activities that harmed the environment.²³ A second example, criterion (iii), was also changed as a result of the *Global Strategy*. In recognition of the continuing presence of indigenous peoples at some sites, the criterion was expanded to include living cultural traditions or civilizations, not just those that

had disappeared. This change paved the way for sites like Sukur Cultural Landscape (Nigeria) which was listed in 1999 as a remarkably intact physical expression of a society and its culture.

The *Global Strategy* has over time also influenced the implementation of the Convention through its proposed thematic approach. While its purpose was to improve the balance of the World Heritage List, an unintended consequence of considering properties by theme is a drift towards “representative of the best”. A thematic approach leads to the identification and selection of properties that best represent particular themes. The question to be asked, however, is whether such properties still meet the threshold of “most outstanding” and “so exceptional”. Could it be that the thematic approach, with its improved science and rigour, introduces by its very nature a bias towards “representative of the best” rather than “best of the best”? The thematic approach makes it more difficult to determine the threshold for Outstanding Universal Value.²⁴

Initially the *Global Strategy* was directed to cultural properties. The approach was soon extended to natural properties. As a basis for improving global comparative studies, IUCN developed and applied two tools for



FIG. 4. Las Médulas (Spain), inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1997 (photo Grupo de Investigación GI EST-AP, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid)



FIG. 5. Sukur cultural landscape (Nigeria), inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1999 (photo Dipo Alafiatayo, National Commission for Museums and Monuments, Nigeria)

the Committee's work. The first was the Udvardy classification system based on bio-geographical realms, biomes and provinces. The second was the initiation of global thematic studies on wetlands, mountains, boreal forests, and so on. Like the cultural thematic studies, there is an assumption that natural thematic studies will identify sites that round out representation of specific categories on the World Heritage List.

A good illustration of the application of a thematic approach is the nomination of the Pitons (Saint Lucia), a natural feature formed by volcanic activity. The Pitons were proposed for inscription under two natural criteria. In this case, IUCN used a thematic approach to express its views on the threshold for Outstanding Universal Value. The IUCN evaluation did not support inscription of the Pitons on the World Heritage List stating that "similar features are found in many other areas including existing World Heritage sites (such as the nearby World Heritage site in Dominica)" and "the scenic qualities are significant at the regional level but are secondary to other island/coastal settings found in other areas of the world."²⁵ After a lengthy debate on this technical assessment, the Committee decided to overrule IUCN's advice and inscribe the site on the World Heritage List.



FIG. 6. Gros Piton (Saint Lucia), inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 2004 (photo IUCN, 2004)

It can be justly argued that the *Global Strategy* helped the Committee to make progress towards its stated goal of achieving a more balanced and representative World Heritage List. Yet the *Global Strategy*, with its anthropological bias and thematic approach, affected the implementation of the Convention by shifting the inscription process away from the "best of the best" – the iconic manifestations of heritage – towards properties that could be considered "representative of the best". If future inscriptions shift even further, the Committee could potentially inscribe sites that are "representative of the representative". At this point, the World Heritage Convention could be at risk of imploding under its weight.

Authenticity

Authenticity is a requirement that continues to affect the way in which the Committee interprets Outstanding Universal Value. As stated earlier, the test of authenticity has always been a qualifying condition for Outstanding Universal Value. The early guidelines defined the term authenticity in substantially material attributes: design, materials, workmanship and setting.

ICOMOS has consistently held the view that sites with major reconstructions do not meet the test of authenticity. For example, three properties that had been heavily reconstructed during the 19th century were not recommended by ICOMOS: the Rila Monastery (Bulgaria), the fortified city of Carcassonne (France), and the mediaeval city of Rhodes (Greece). As noted by the French expert Léon Pressouyre, the Committee was not so consistent.²⁶ Despite ICOMOS' advice, Rila Monastery was inscribed in 1983 under criterion (vi) alone, not as a testimony of mediaeval civilization (which would have required material authenticity) but "as a symbol of the 19th-century Bulgarian Renaissance which imparted Slavic cultural values upon Rila in trying to re-establish an uninterrupted historical continuity."²⁷ Two years later, however, the mediaeval city of Carcassonne was not inscribed for the stated reason that "the ramparts ... have undergone important modifications in the 19th century which impinge upon the authenticity of the site."²⁸ Yet in 1988, despite significant reconstruction of the ancient city of Rhodes, the Committee accepted it as a mediaeval urban ensemble and chose to look forward to subsequent work that would be "carried out under the control of the Greek Ministry of Culture and in accordance with the Venice Charter and the Toledo International Charter for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas".²⁹

As countries with diverse cultures and different kinds of sites joined the Convention, they expressed concerns about a materials-based definition of authenticity which could pose problems with regard to the inscription of their properties. The first change to the definition of authenticity came with the new category of cultural landscapes. The need to accommodate the impacts that would necessarily arise from people continuing to occupy these natural areas led the Committee to add specific attributes for cultural landscapes. The authenticity of cultural landscapes would be tested through the ability of “their distinctive character and components” to express their Outstanding Universal Values.³⁰

The more important changes came as a result of Japan joining the Convention in 1992. The Japanese authorities were concerned about a possible conflict between a materials-based definition of authenticity and the Japanese approach to conserving wooden structures – an approach that involved the meticulous replacement of decayed components with new material. It was this concern – shared by other cultures – that stimulated a global discussion on the question of authenticity.

Initiated by an expert meeting in Norway, the debate culminated in a second meeting in Nara, Japan in 1994 with the preparation of the *Nara Document on Authenticity*. This document proposes a doctrinal shift towards recognition of the relativity of the concept of authenticity, due to the diversity of cultures and manifestations of heritage. It also places greater emphasis on the credibility of traditional information sources as well as the associative, intangible values of heritage sites.³¹ Although it took a number of years before the Nara conclusions were endorsed by the Committee, they finally appeared in the 2005 *Operational Guidelines*, along with a revised list of attributes for authenticity: form, substance, use, function, traditions, techniques, management systems, location, language, forms of intangible heritage, spirit, feeling, and other factors.³² This expanded list of attributes reflects a shift towards greater recognition of intangible values as part of a property’s authenticity.

Politicization of the World Heritage system

A real threat to an objective assessment of Outstanding Universal Value comes from increased politicization within the World Heritage system. As stated earlier, the complexity of the technical issues covered by the Convention requires a high level of professional skill. For this reason, the Convention specifically calls for

heritage experts as part of Committee delegations as well as the involvement of three professional organizations as advisors to the Committee. It is interesting to note that the first World Heritage Committee was composed of delegations headed by professional experts in cultural or natural heritage. By contrast, in recent years almost all Committee delegations have been led by diplomats, often in the person of ambassadors to UNESCO. The impact of this change is to shift the Committee debates from a technical to a political level.

Political pressure typically arises when the advisory bodies make negative recommendations with regard to proposed inscriptions of new sites. Over the years, the trend is towards an increased scale and intensity of political activity. Diplomatic representations are made throughout the world with the purpose of convincing Committee members to set aside the technical advice of the advisory bodies and proceed in a more favourable direction. While no system is perfect, it is perhaps unfair to attack the work of the advisory bodies if one considers the Committee’s own directive to “be objective, rigorous and scientific”. An analysis of nominations over the last few years reveals that the Committee has over-ruled the advice of ICOMOS and IUCN in about 20 to 30 per cent of cases. While there is undoubtedly merit in a robust dialogue between professional and political viewpoints, it is essential that this be a balanced one. When political considerations overtake professional ones, there is a clear risk that the interpretation of Outstanding Universal Value will be undermined and unqualified sites will be inscribed, hence undermining the value of the World Heritage system as a whole.

Current initiatives to clarify Outstanding Universal Value

Given the ongoing challenges of defining and applying the concept of Outstanding Universal Value, the Committee has continued its reflections on the matter. After reviewing an evaluation of the 2000 Cairns decision which aimed at encouraging nominations from under-represented cultures and regions, the 2004 Committee expressed its disappointment that there had been so little progress in improving the representativity of the World Heritage List. It called for an expert meeting to reflect on the concept of Outstanding Universal Value, with a view to improving the quality of nominations and the success rate for under-represented and non-represented cultures and regions. It also directed ICOMOS and IUCN to carry out analytical work to support this objective.

Since that time, the subject has been a permanent item on the Committee's agenda. The 2005 Committee focussed on the results of the expert meeting held in Kazan, Russia.³³ The 2006 Committee asked that ICOMOS and IUCN prepare two compendiums: the first volume to contain detailed analyses of the inscription criteria, including lists of sites that have been inscribed under each criterion and landmark cases that illustrate the threshold for Outstanding Universal Value; the second volume to provide an analysis of Committee discussions on inscription, with particular emphasis again on the reasons why sites were considered to have – or not to have – Outstanding Universal Value.³⁴ The 2008 Committee reviewed a mature draft of volume one and recommended that it be completed and published in the World Heritage Papers series. The second volume will be considered next year at the 2009 meeting of the World Heritage Committee.

Conclusions

In considering the evolution of the concept of Outstanding Universal Value, we can draw a number of conclusions. First, Outstanding Universal Value remains the threshold for inclusion on the World Heritage List. Lacking any definition in the World Heritage Convention, the concept is defined through the ten inscription criteria and ultimately through the Committee's decisions to inscribe or not to inscribe. Secondly, the concept of Outstanding Universal Value is not static. It has evolved because of changes to the wording in some of the inscription criteria, an expansion of the definition of authenticity and the cumulative effect of Committee decisions on inscriptions. In general, this evolution has resulted in a shift towards more representative sites as well as towards properties which have strong intangible and associative values.

While the Committee seeks greater clarity and guidance – almost a set of rules – for determining which properties have Outstanding Universal Value, such clarity will likely remain elusive. This discussion will probably continue for the foreseeable future because determination of Outstanding Universal Value is not a robotic black-and-white exercise but is rather a judgement made at a specific time by individuals of diverse cultural backgrounds. It is an important debate because all countries have a stake in the existing system and do not want to see an interpretation of Outstanding Universal Value that lowers the threshold to the point that the World Heritage label becomes meaningless and pressure builds to create a new global system.

Most of the effort towards defining Outstanding Universal Value has been carried out to support the

nominations process. But it is important to remember that inscription is only the beginning. The World Heritage Committee now needs to focus on the relationship between Outstanding Universal Value and conservation. World Heritage Sites need careful conservation and management to ensure their on-going health. Today's stewards are responsible for caring for these extraordinary places to ensure their transmission to future generations as evidence of the evolution of our planet and the rich creative diversity of our cultures. We need to remind ourselves that the World Heritage Convention is one of the most widely recognized and effective conservation instrument dedicated to the protection of the world's cultural and natural heritage. This larger goal must remain at the centre of our deliberations.

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Approaching 40 years old: World Heritage now and its possible future

TAMÁS FEJÉRDY

If we play with some figures for a moment, the World Heritage Convention is now approaching the 40th anniversary of its adoption (due in 2012), and might also be heading towards the inscription of the 1000th property on its List (though this moment might arrive a bit later).¹ If we stay with a superficial and outsider's view of the implementation of the Convention, we find a positive picture of what appears to have been a real success story. It is sure that the 1972 Convention on World Heritage has become the most visible and widely known activity of UNESCO. The number of State Parties acceding to it has already reached 185 of the 192 UNESCO Member States. The famous World Heritage List now has 878 Properties (after the new inscriptions made during the 32nd session of the Committee held in Québec, Canada, in 2008). Moreover, in spite of the specific ceilings given to State Parties, the dynamism of presenting new nominations is still the same.

Changing implementation of the Convention

Studying the “prehistory” of the Convention, when the founders wisely joined culture and nature as equally important and significant components of the common heritage of humankind (and deliberately using the term “heritage”), we can state that they

made a new start in widening or, possibly, even changing the meaning of previous “monuments and sites” approaches. Now, after three decades of the real history of implementation of the Convention, we are in a position to evaluate some of its results: a widening of the identification of heritage to include different and more or less recently recognised categories such as cultural landscapes (with their specific sub-types), industrial heritage, sites representing transhumance, the heritage of 20th-century architecture (and more recently also urban planning), and now, the newest, the heritage of science has already appeared on the scene. This process has certainly not ended.

Looking back at its origins, it is clear that UNESCO in adopting this Convention was targeting mainly, if not exclusively, the protection (conservation) of those World Heritage properties that have Outstanding Universal Value. Therefore, the central thought and goal were to create and sustain a tool of international solidarity, in order to facilitate common actions of urgent intervention to help preserve properties that were already damaged or seriously threatened by different dangers, regardless of their natural or man-made origins. I do not want to state that during the three past decades this very important role of the Convention has disappeared but certainly it is no longer its dominating priority – not of course as a declared policy but undoubtedly so in practice. Underlying this change in approach there are several reasons which are worth identifying.

The current situation is paradoxical to some extent, because this change in practice seems to be connected to the above-mentioned success of the Convention. In other words, the Convention in a way could be seen as a victim of its own success (as do several WH properties, but I will deal with this phenomenon later). Another factor which could be blamed for some of the unforeseen changes to the original conception of the Convention stems from the financial weakness of the whole WH system. The World Heritage Fund was established by the Convention itself to make possible international co-operation. The problem has been that the Fund, right from the start, has never had satisfactory resources.

I think it not too strong to say that the current situation has become in some ways alarming, because the system has remained almost the same, without being strengthened or subjected to the fundamental renewal that was needed, while the number of State Parties, inscribed properties and, more generally, every sphere of WH activity has multiplied considerably. Combining this situation with a lack of financial resources, the expected level of international participation based on funding by the WH Fund has never been reached. As a result, larger operations, for instance necessary interventions on endangered WH properties, have been made possible only thanks to so-called extra-budgetary co-operation. On the other hand, “the good news” was recognised quite early, namely that the really huge potential of the WH List to guarantee for inscribed properties a worldwide visibility has had enormous importance in stimulating financial resources. This effect could hardly have been reproduced by any other means.

In order to complete this controversial picture, we should add immediately that this worldwide visibility has tended to be increasingly converted into the highest level attraction to world tourism. WH sites have become the main tourism targets, with all the advantages and, unfortunately, disadvantages of this status. The advantages are mostly – but not exclusively – on the investors’ side and favour a new heritage-based tourism industry. The disadvantages for conservation emerge when the carrying capacity (and/or sustainability) of those properties – many of them really fragile – is not respected. Recalling the change in priorities of the main lines of the Convention’s implementation, nowadays there is usually no doubt that the nomination of new properties to the WH List by State Parties is initiated because of the properties’ (national) prestige and no less for their potential as tourist attractions. Nevertheless, the WH Convention still has the capacity to promote and strengthen heritage preservation but using slightly different tools

and means than those foreseen when it was adopted; for instance, developing new forms of national and international partnership and cooperation between different branches of local, regional and even global players in the economy.

After 36 years, the questions are: where are we now? what are the sustainable achievements of the Convention? and what old or new challenges are facing us?

The issue of credibility of the WH List

In order to sketch out tentative answers, I think it would be useful to take the model put forward by the 2002 Budapest Declaration.² The fact that the *Credibility* (of the World Heritage list) is the first of “the four C’s” mentioned in the Declaration already says something about the changed priorities in the original goals of the Convention that I mentioned earlier. I am personally convinced that *Conservation* should have been by a long way the first one to be listed! There is no space nor need to address here the issue of the Global Strategy, only to mention it as the origin of this worry about a “balanced representativeness (representivity?)” being a key requirement in order to reach a credible WH List. In my view, the responsible bodies of the Convention were introducing a new requirement with this idea since such a prescription cannot be identified in the Convention itself (nor can one concerning the *composition* of the Committee, but that is clearly a different issue).

I also detect a certain contradiction when seeking “balance” and at the same time “representivity”, particularly when balance requires looking at numbers. Comparing numbers of natural and cultural properties or of properties in different UNESCO regions of the world makes me feel really uncomfortable. I will come later to the question of a possible upper limit of inscriptions, but here I only suggest how artificial it was to create an a priori fixed framework, which might work for reaching a numerical balance but, as a professional approach, has almost nothing to do with the representation of different features of cultural and/or natural regions. Regions which are, of course, of the same importance should not be evaluated as being equally or unequally represented only on the basis of numbers (because they may or may not have the same number of properties having OUV).

Furthermore, I strongly believe that if we do decide to proceed on the basis of numerical balance, we should refine the system in at least two directions.

One is to make a fine-tuning of cultural regions, and develop a new approach based upon about 12-15 subregions instead of the five UNESCO world regions. This would certainly offer us a more realistic picture. The second would be to assess balance with regard to natural and cultural sites (if this is really necessary?) on the basis not of numbers but of another measure such as square kilometres. A third, and perhaps the most realistic refinement, might be to apply the 1972 Convention always together with the 2003 Convention (on the Protection of Intangible Heritage), thus giving recognition to whatever may be the “stronger” qualities or specificities of different regions.

On a more optimistic note, it is worth recognising the positive results arising from the credibility issue, namely the effort made to enlarge the scope of heritage that can be considered for possible WH nomination. The concept of a cultural landscape (CL) received a boost because of this effort and has been extremely important even though it has not proved an effective enough tool for reaching a better balance in the WH list (the cultural landscape category was introduced with so-called under-represented regions in mind, but with only limited success since the European region has taken most advantage of this category too).

One of the most interesting and most important outcomes of this effort is the so-called “Gap Report” produced by ICOMOS as a tool for balancing the List.³ The idea of using three complementary frameworks is a really fresh and helpful approach, giving support equally to State Parties and to WH organisations. The fact that the Gap Report is to be subject to cyclic renewal does nothing to diminish the extremely high value of the first edition. On the contrary, its existence gives us already a solid basis for future enhancements.

Studying the Gap Report brings out the growing importance of national Tentative Lists. But these are difficult to influence given that ownership of Tentative Lists is exclusively for State Parties. I personally do not believe that this situation could be changed by creating a higher level of participation by the Advisory Bodies in the process of constructing and maintaining national Tentative Lists. The decision to do so was a dangerous one especially for the Advisory Bodies, since it increased their responsibility without giving them the necessary powers or any guarantee concerning the final decision of the WH Committee. In other words, the Advisory Bodies were potentially to be open to blame both by the State Parties if the “pre-filtered” Tentative List property did not qualify as the basis for a successful nomination, and by the Committee for having acted in advance of its

sovereign decision. With that, I do not want to state that Tentative Lists could not have an important role in balancing representation on the List but in a different way: namely, in providing ideas to the Committee and to the Advisory Bodies about the Global Studies that might be needed in order to help revise Tentative Lists.

A final comment on the issue of credibility of the WH List: the existing List already contains a lot of information on successful nominations and the Advisory Bodies have experience of those nominations that were less successful or not at all. It is not by chance that research on OUV as a key factor for inscription has now become so urgent. Without describing here the conclusions already reached, I think it is important to highlight the responsibility of the Committee in its decisions about inscription. It is true that there are the ten criteria, the test of authenticity and/or integrity, and all kind of evaluations of success in managing nominated properties. But, in spite of all of these checks, the Committee is free to accept nominations. Its inscription means automatically that the property in question has OUV. In other words, the Committee creates case law by virtue of its decisions.

Here the decision-makers are faced with a further characteristic of the construction of the WH List, namely that it has a time-dimension. This evolving process has no final result that is already defined. It has only a more or less open goal, which might possibly be a holistic and balanced representation of the common heritage of humankind. But there is no definition of the meaning of “holistic”, so there is no picture of what the final List might look like. At present, the picture is still an evolving one. I do not believe that it is a real problem, but I do think that is a challenge.

Since the final picture is not yet identified, we cannot of course fix an eventual limit to the number of inscriptions of sites on the List, even if such a limit should exist. If with regard to a balanced representation we seek a numerical balance between natural and cultural sites, might we not have to reduce the cultural ones because an (unofficial, of course) estimate for the final number of natural sites is around 300? This does not seem a good way forward. There are, however, new trends towards serial and transnational nominations, and it may be possible to imagine grouping similar sites (e.g. cathedrals) that are at present individually inscribed. Considering the current dynamism and tendencies of nominations, I have a personal conviction that the final number of inscriptions on the WH List could be placed at a little under two thousand – shall we say 1972?

Conservation of WH sites

As I mentioned earlier, to me the most important of “the 4C’s” is *Conservation*, since this is the core goal of the Convention that aims to protect the common heritage of humankind. This was and should remain the highest priority in the implementation of the Convention. The challenge is really huge and adequate answers might not have been identified yet. The growing importance of the requirement of an efficient management of Properties emerged during the last decade because of this expectation. However, there are some alarming signs: the first deletion of a site from the List (so far the only one, fortunately) and the removal of certain sites from the List of WH Sites in Danger. The conservation of heritage in general, and not exclusively of WH, seems to be in a period in which the ruling paradigm is being challenged, highlighting the need for changes and adequate tools to manage them.

In the WH field, one of the problems for successful protection of WH properties lies precisely in the transformed meaning or use of the Convention. The properties on the List are now the hotspots for international mass tourism, at least (but not exclusively) the cultural sites. They therefore become in many cases the most attractive places for investment. WH properties, fragile and vulnerable by definition, are exposed to exploitation and, instead of a peaceful and protective environment, they find themselves subjected to different pressures resulting from overuse. It is true that we have the tool of Buffer Zones to reduce the impact of those uses on the WH property (the core zone) but this tool is not always effective and may not exist in many cases. I strongly believe that it is fundamental to declare that Buffer Zones, while not part of the WH property, are also under the protection of the Convention, as indispensable and inseparable zones for its protection.

In recent sessions of the WH Committee, the presentations by the Advisory Bodies on new nominations gave rise to a number of complex issues. It is becoming clearer that, in the search for “sustainable authenticity and/or integrity”, people or their communities can easily be put in a situation that will affect their future and where development can be seen as a threat to the preservation of the site’s OUV. The most memorable case was that of a property in Asia, in which a possible change in faith by the inhabitants was mentioned as a danger to maintaining traditional ways of relating to the environment. This is really an ethical question about implementation of the Convention: are we allowed to ask people to remain “authentic” at any price and possibly deprive them of any kind of contemporary development?

But for the more efficient preservation of WH properties, the main issue really is: How to deal with endangered Properties? This was the first and foremost goal of the Convention. As I mentioned earlier, unfortunately the necessary tools are not in the possession of the Committee nor of other bodies of UNESCO. The situation has not changed much since the start, but the ratio between financial resources and the need for help from the international community has worsened. Extrabudgetary action and co-operation have been highly appreciated but there is still no functioning system with satisfactory funding resources, nor any process that is launched almost automatically when the international community wishes to make an immediate intervention. This is something to be established, strengthened and kept updated, and should be strong enough at least to help solve the problems of properties on the Endangered WH List.

Capacity-building, communication and communities involvement

Concerning the *Capacity-building activities*, it is worth underlining that the WH “movement” itself has already made good progress in identifying domains where capacity-building is needed. One of the greatest achievements of the 1972 Convention has been to highlight the needs and possible solutions of conservation; WH work could be seen as a kind of laboratory in that respect. The only possible adverse effect arises if a concentration on WH sites results in less attention (and fewer resources) being devoted to other, non-WH listed properties.

Efforts for capacity-building are closely connected to the next “C”, *Communication*. Not being a specialist with this tool, I want only to underline that here too there is a need for change. Until now the emphasis – at least in my experience – has been given to new inscriptions, and it is not by chance that the media’s interest is the highest when the Committee decides on inscriptions. A true and transparent communication could help a lot in promoting better understanding and large-scale participation in conserving values. This communication should not be only one-way, mostly focussing on successes and spectacular events or even on scandals if Properties are seriously threatened, but should present the real meaning, challenges and best practice in saving our common heritage.

The fifth “C”, added in 2007, is *Communities involvement* and my view of it is similar. The large-scale participation of peoples and communities is

possible only if genuinely information-based and taking into consideration bottom-up approaches. This is a very delicate issue, how to reach reconciliation between the local and global values and interests. Local and national pride is important but of course not enough to support OUV. Studying Tentative Lists it becomes clear what role local (or better, regional) expectations play in the selection process. There are many local initiatives to have sites included, certainly not because the local communities are looking for more restrictions of the kind required by conservationists, but because they hope for economic benefits from WH recognition.

Two factors should be considered when dealing with communities' involvement: the first is to underline the long-term character of the impact of WH inscription on their property and life. It is important not to give them false hopes about immediate benefits and success, and also to be very clear that success can be guaranteed only if they (the locals) are ready to preserve values and not change their traditional activities when exposed to the tourism industry (as is the case in a number of current WH sites, some of them now placed on the endangered WH list). The second is that community involvement should be much broader than only with communities living inside the WH properties. The attraction power of WH sites could serve a larger area, enhancing possibilities for all communities in the neighbourhood. It is beneficial also for increasing the carrying-capacity of a WH site, since supporting tourism with all its additional requirements will also help in the conservation of WH sites.

Conclusion

In summary, the Convention has become a unique and irreplaceable tool for international cooperation in the field of conservation of the common heritage of humankind. But, after more than three decades, there is a need to re-think its main goals and to identify new solutions, in order to enhance the efficiency of its implementation.

The Periodic Reporting exercise has already shown the importance of reaching a more or less global and holistic review of the status of conservation of WH properties and how it might be done. But it has also indicated that the current situation and trends are not really reassuring. Therefore the priority has to be given to the conservation of WH properties instead of continuing to inscribe new sites, unless the whole system is strengthened as a means to a properly functioning, solidarity-based international cooperation.

Notes

- 1 If the usual dynamism of inscriptions – 12 to 20 properties per session – is maintained, this milestone would be reached in 5-10 years' time, around the 45th anniversary of the Convention.
- 2 Adopted by the World Heritage Committee during its 26th session held in Budapest, Hungary, June 2002. (The Declaration called for greater attention to be paid to the credibility of the WH List, to effective conservation of WH properties, to capacity-building measures, and to communication about WH. These were referred to as “the four C’s”. Note added by the editors).
- 3 ICOMOS, *The World Heritage List / filling the gaps – an action plan for the future, Monuments and sites XII*, Munich 2005. Its main author was Dr. Jukka Jokilehto, with the work itself largely organised by Professor Michael Petzet, then President of ICOMOS, with the participation of many other ICOMOS and independent experts.

Authentic? Nara revisited...

[JOAN DOMICELJ AM]

Jukka, I have thought about communal intellectual efforts that we've shared, and 1994 seemed a significant time. In that year, both UNESCO'S Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List and the Nara Document on Authenticity were born. So here is a celebratory attempt to see how those thoughts and principles are working fifteen years later, in the context of a vast, wild and much loved Australian landscape and within an environmentally and culturally troubled world.

Context 1: in Japan, the Nara Conference on Authenticity

“For six days in November 1994, 45 of the leading experts in the field of preservation of cultural properties met in Nara, Japan. They represented international organisations and 26 countries from around the world. Their goal was to clarify the application of ‘the test of authenticity’ to World Heritage nominations by revising and extending the definition of the various aspects of authenticity now noted in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (Larsen 1995).

In 1994, my life with Serge was urban - in a balconied flat tucked beside Sydney's Harbour Bridge; in an artist's studio overlooking les Gobelins; in war-scarred Croatia and then the week in Nara ...In Europe, Serge's work was with UNESCO and ISoCaRP; mine with ICOMOS and UNESCO. Professional work was, by then, already assumed to be inter-disciplinary and contextual and to search for social, environmental and economic sustainability. And then came the Nara Conference in Japan, a weird, contemplative event, though still within that conceptual framework. Jukka Jokilehto was one of the five-person editorial group. I, together with 43 others, agreed to take part. Jukka's paper offered a central framework for the concept; mine concerned cultural diversity.

How many angels can dance on the point of a needle?

Here is how the conference happened. On a 1993 visit to Japan, with much debate over that nation's refined tradition of conservation, including the dismantling and re-assembly of much of its wooden built heritage, ICOMOS proposed to colleagues in Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs the co-hosting of an international colloquium of experts, with it (ICOMOS), UNESCO and ICCROM on the pertinent question of authenticity. There is nothing so curious about that; such international events are almost common place.



FIG. 1. Korrawal (Mt Solitary) (photo S. Domicelj)

What was unusual was the notion of concentrating on the interpretation of the single word ‘authenticity’ throughout the ensuing meeting and the related visits to the Horyu-ji Buddhist temples, the Kasuga Taisha Shinto shrine and the Heijo Palace archaeological site. Over two thousand person-hours of expert deliberation on one word! Of course, it was never as exquisitely focussed as that sounds. In fact, such significant issues emerged that passionate discussions continued deep into the night. Even then consensus was not fully reached and so we have a ‘Document’ not a ‘Declaration’.

The findings of that 1994 conference, shared with Jukka, underpin this paper - it is surprising the scope of one word. Please realise that this is not an academic study; it is more a contemplation. Even as I write it, it is transforming from an analysis, as intended, into something else.

Context 2: in Australia, the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area

“The Greater Blue Mountains Area is a dissected sandstone tableland that cradled the birth of new continental flora, while at the same time sheltering in its deepest recesses the floristic remnants of Gondwana. This vast and beautiful area of upland reserves, inhabited by indigenous people over millennia, stands adjacent to the largest metropolis in Australia. Through their scale and symbiosis with the City of Sydney,

the Greater Blue Mountains exemplify the links between wild places and human aspirations” (NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service *et al.*, 1998: foreword).

Now, in 2008, my life is less urban than it was in 1994. I sit in my wooden raft-house, floating on the cliff edge, and muse on the authenticity of human connections with this sweeping landscape. And, more urgently, on how to protect them.

Mt Korrawal has rippled across the horizon in front of me for ten years now, golden or grey-green according to the time of day; sharply delineated or shrouded in white cloud, crossed by shrieking cockatoos and hidden Yowies. Its other names are Mt Mimie, or Mt Solitary, and it stands proud within the million wild hectares of the World Heritage Area, inscribed in 2000 as the Greater Blue Mountains (Fig. 1).

The valley floor, 300 metres below me, is a blue-grey harbour filled with the sounds of spilling water and birds - as beautiful and as dangerous as the sea. Lightning recognises the ironstone in the rock and strikes the mountain with vertical force. Here raging fire is as dramatic a risk as ocean surge or tidal wave. In the far distance, the sinuous line of eucalyptine blue, wispy with mists. It is a wild, scratchy, ancient, diverse, yet peopled place.

Its cultural associations are multiple, deep and diverse. The people of six indigenous language groups are directly related to this country and its spirits; the place is cherished too by poets, artists, climbers, fire-fighters, bird-watchers, canyoners and people who jump off cliffs.

It was in 1998 that the Australian government nominated these million hectares for inscription on the World Heritage List. The land is made up of seven uplifted nature reserves and a caves karst system. Excluded are the nineteen small towns, that together make up the City of the Blue Mountains and are strung across the area along an east-west spine.

The nomination claimed that the area’s outstanding universal values met four of the ten evaluation criteria set out at the time in the Operational Guidelines to the 1972 Convention. However, in 2000, the World Heritage Committee’s decision to inscribe the property on the List acknowledged only two of the cited criteria, both applying to its extraordinary natural characteristics.

To the bitter disappointment of the local community, the cultural values were not recognised as of universal significance and the aesthetic values

were not even discussed. Later, in 2003 to be exact, the State local member and Minister for the Environment announced the initiation of a process towards co-management of the World Heritage Area with its traditional owners; also towards its eventual re-nomination to the World Heritage List seeking recognition of, amongst other outstanding values, its deep cultural associations.

The values acknowledged by the World Heritage Committee in 2000 fell within the criteria:

Para.44(a)(ii) An outstanding example representing significant ongoing ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial ... ecosystems and communities of plants and animals.

This was, above all, for its bio-diversity associated with the dominantly eucalypt-related vegetation; and

Para.44(a)(iv) contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

This was principally due to the area's complex geomorphology, with formations such as slot canyons that provide habitats capable of sheltering very rare ancient species - for example, the then recently discovered Wollemi pine.

Not recognised were the values described in the following two criteria:

Para.44(a)(iii) contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance; and

Para.24(a)(vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the list only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural; in this case they would be natural).

This paper contemplates the value of the Greater Blue Mountains Area through its 'direct or tangible associations with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs ...of outstanding universal significance' and with the maintenance of the authenticity of those cultural associations over time, within living cultures. The tenacious determination to achieve this is to be found among indigenous communities and environmental groups alike.

"In a world that is increasingly subject to the

forces of globalisation and homogenisation, and in a world where the search for cultural identity is sometimes pursued through aggressive nationalism and the suppression of the cultures of minorities, the essential contribution made by the consideration of authenticity in conservation practice is to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity" (UNESCO *et al.* 1995: Nara Document Preamble 4).

Since the Nara Conference, much of relevance to that original assertion has been written internationally and much has been further developed. UNESCO's 'Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List' is continuously being implemented through co-ordinated action plans, the report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, 'Our Creative Diversity', appeared only a year later in 1995, as did UNESCO's publication 'Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value' (Von Droste *et al.* 1995).

In 2003 UNESCO's further 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage' was adopted and is in operation, so that the work of the world's skilled people who weave colour into artefacts, language, song, dance, literature and life can be celebrated.

The formal advisory bodies to the World Heritage Committee under the Convention, ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM, are constantly discussing these issues in specialised committees and workshops and developing relevant protocols and charters. Only last year, at its General Assembly in Quebec City, ICOMOS adopted the 'Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place, through the safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage'. On the environmental front, public awareness and action has leapt forward, in the face of traumatic evidence of impending and actual changes to the health of this fragile planet. Heritage at risk is now a compelling, much recorded and debated, topic. The field is enormous.

This paper, however, is much narrower. It sets out to reflect upon the meaning of authenticity for the ongoing cultural vitality of the single vast territory, the Australian Greater Blue Mountains, within the framework of the findings of that single strange conference held in Nara in 1994.

A time and a place

Archaeological evidence suggests that indigenous cultures have been associated with the Greater Blue Mountains for at least 14,000 and possibly 22,000 years. The non-indigenous have been present for

almost 200 years, a far shorter period yet with their connection nonetheless deeply felt.

This is how the 1998 nomination for World Heritage listing expressed the ‘direct or tangible associations with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs ...of outstanding universal significance’ in the area. It stated, at Chapter 2.5, that

“The direct and tangible cultural association with the million hectares of wild country is expressed in two forms. First are the widespread Aboriginal occupation sites, rock shelter paintings and rock platform engravings. Second is the narrower network of historic walking tracks, staircases and lookouts, festooned from the edges of the ridge crossing the mountains and down to the valley floor. Both rock art and tracks are intact and authentic.”

This was presented as the physical evidence of a far deeper sense of place and spirituality. The chapter elaborated on how those tangible elements gave witness to:

- first, through the archaeological remains and rock art, the long presence, interaction and strong traditional beliefs and practices of Aboriginal peoples over that extensive terrain and
- second, through the tens of kilometres of hand-built tracks, the nineteenth and twentieth century pioneering conservation endeavours, that enabled public exposure to, and hence appreciation of, the natural environment’s savage beauty.

Continuity for indigenous cultural attachment to the Greater Blue Mountains has been sorely tested. Amongst other factors, periods of disruptive government policies have caused dislocation, institutionalisation, attempted assimilation, fragmentation and loss of language. Several people living here have learnt of their Aboriginality only in their teen years, once cautious parents ceased to feel they must protect their children from the pervasive racial prejudice that surrounded them.

Despite all this, six indigenous language groups – the Gundungurra, Darug, Wiradjuri, Darkinjung, Wonaruah and Dharawal – continue their strong associations with the area (Fig. 2). They are linked to one of the largest and most ecologically diverse protected areas in Australia, of ideal topography for conserving delicate sites undisturbed, yet adjoining the greatest human agglomeration in the country and, historically, the site of possibly the most disruptive and influential of cultural encounters experienced by indigenous people on this continent (Domicelj 2006).

A brief social history of the Greater Blue Mountains

would encompass the longevity of occupation, custodianship and inter-relationships (including occasional warfare) of the first inhabitants, their later fraught (though sometimes harmonious) encounters with the colonists who crossed the mountains from the coast to settle inland farm and grazing lands, the nineteenth century spread of settlement and mining around the edges of the uplands and, eventually after concerted advocacy, the strong growth of public determination to protect the natural, living condition of its dissected plateaus and valleys.

The place itself has played several roles – as barrier between coast and inland, as site of resistance (Conner 1999) and as refuge. An Aboriginal timeline from the millennia pre-white arrival, with its adaptation to changes in climate and other circumstances, until today, would illustrate both resilience and dispossession, as in the case of the indigenous people of The Gully in the now urban heart of the area. It also adds the uplifting dimension of indigenous cultural recovery to Australia’s cultural history.

This social history is elaborated in the nomination



FIG. 2. Darug and Gundungurra women elders Carol Cooper and Mary King (photo P. Cardeaux)

document and will not be repeated here. It should be emphasised, however, that indigenous people, while exploiting and caring for the mountains' natural resources over millennia, derived and continue to derive strong spiritual, as well as physical, sustenance from the landscape and its flora and fauna. That spirituality is expressed in stories. By way of example, one creation story has been recorded in detail. The Gundungurra describe the complex route and series of events of the epic journey of Gurangatch, the rainbow serpent, and Mirragan, the quoll, and the consequent detailed creation of two of the area's great valleys and their river catchment landscapes.

Under the heading of 'Cultural Diversity and Heritage Diversity', the Nara Document states, *inter alia*, that:

"The diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind... All cultures are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression which constitute their heritage and these should be respected... Responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it, and subsequently, to that which cares for it."

As already argued, this rugged country is not only of exceptional diversity in geological form, flora and fauna and spectacular ephemeral beauty. It is also tied to the lives of the people who have occupied, travelled through, thought about, been nourished by and cared for it over time, and still do. Current studies, following its world heritage listing, continue to reveal new evidence of the strength of those human connections. As specific knowledge expands, so must the authenticity of conservation policies be re-thought and adjusted.

State government proposals to co-manage the Greater Blue Mountains acknowledge that both traditional and scientific knowledge sources are essential for the effective conservation of the Area's outstanding qualities, and that both forms of knowledge must be credible, or 'authentic'. The concept of co-management supports indigenous reconnection with country, beliefs, knowledge and practice in and around the upland property.

For scientific data, we have as a benchmark the substantial archaeological information documented in the 1998 nomination. Since that time, however, *in situ* research has greatly extended our understanding, not only of the number of eucalypt species in the area, but also of the array of rock art sites in cliff-faced inaccessible terrains (Tacon *et al.* 2005). Of equal, or perhaps greater, significance are

the ongoing revelations on indigenous languages, botanical knowledge related to food and medication and the gradual reintroduction of traditional cultural practices and ceremonies into the reserves.

In 2003 and 2004, the Parks Service ran a series of workshops across the whole Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area. Traditional owners, communities, cultural groups and individuals, encompassing the six principal language groups, gathered together to take part. With the inclusion of park managers, a draft Strategic Plan was the outcome (NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service 2002).

One initiative within the Plan is the Mapping Country project, the first stage of which has been piloted across the southern reaches of the Area (Hooper 2004). It has been carried out collaboratively, through several government agencies and the Gundungurra and Darug Tribal Councils. It seeks to introduce Aboriginal people to formal land management practices, in ways that identify and conserve Aboriginal cultural heritage - both tangible and intangible - across the landscape. Heritage values are accepted as living assets. Communities are encouraged to enter their cultural knowledge onto a controlled database, as well as accessing relevant scientific knowledge, so as to integrate both in subsequent decision-making.

The mapping of Aboriginal knowledge onto the database offers a secure, updatable, easy-to-use system to record places, values and artefacts. The mapped information comes from multiple sources - Aboriginal ecological and horticultural knowledge, recorded cultural sites and features, archival research, oral histories and identified traditional practices and linguistics. The data is revealing the wealth and the complexity of Gundungurra cultural heritage and traditional knowledge and its relevance for park management. Everyone hopes no - anticipates - that the traditional wisdom so gathered, with its holistic approach, will help in the ongoing 'caring for country', eventually across the whole region.

At the turn of the twentieth century, two elderly Gundungurra men, children of white fathers and Aboriginal mothers, were interviewed. Werriberrie (William Russell) and Maniade (William Lynch) embodied the dual cultural heritage of the region that still exists, speaking a local language already at risk of extinction and declining still, as well as English. The mapping country pilot is documenting an embryonic Gundungurra dictionary, drawn from what remains of this knowledge.

As UNESCO repeatedly acknowledges, language - the most significant of intangibles - is fundamental to culture and its traditions, including that of ecological protection. The linguist Chris Kirkbright describes

the Greater Blue Mountains Area as an indigenous ‘language-landscape’ of related indigenous languages with rich vocabularies for landscape, climate, weather, flora, fauna and indigenous history and culture. Those languages are Darkinjung, Dharawal, Darug, Gundungurra, Wonaruah and Wiradjuri. After the World Heritage listing in 2000, the government began its support of language reclamation workshops. It is hoped that they will help to revive and sustain these indigenous cultures.

A paragraph in the 1998 nomination reads:

“The contiguous protected areas included in the Greater Blue Mountains Area represent extensive tracts of highland country with minimal disturbance and much archaeological evidence of the presence of Aboriginal life over millennia. Within these areas are registered many known art sites. The potential for many more significant sites to be located is enormous.”

Scientific evidence is also mounting alongside the traditional. Since the above passage was written, its prediction has been confirmed to a spectacular degree. Two rock art complexes have been revealed relatively recently in the landscapes of Eagle’s Reach to the north and Blue Labyrinth to the south. Archaeologist Paul Tacon describes the Eagle’s Reach site as ‘not an isolated location but rather an integral part of a network of sites’ ... ‘a teaching site associated with the Eagle Ancestor shared by many groups of people speaking various languages’. He states that ‘If we compare Eagle’s reach to outstanding sites elsewhere – in terms of preservation, numbers of image layers, range of subject matter, nature of subject matter, contemporary indigenous significance – it ranks among the best in Australia’ (Tacon 2005).

The Greater Blue Mountains Area occupies some 1.3% of the land area of the State of New South Wales. A predictive model, prepared by the State’s Department of Environment and Conservation in 2006, shows that the original distribution of stone artefacts, rock art, ceremonial rings, grinding grooves, stone arrangements and stone quarries within this area would all have exceeded the average state-wide distribution (with rock art at 6.3%; Fig. 3).

Of particular note is the predicted

percentage of the remaining, as opposed to original, distribution of each feature. In every instance, that percentage has increased, thanks to the Area’s size, inaccessibility and consequent ability to conserve both archaeological and biological features from human interference. However, the resource remains endangered by the natural threats of fire and erosion through the extremes of weather conditions – feared to be worsening through climate change, and disturbance by feral animals. And questions of authenticity arise, as in other parts of Australia, over the maintenance of paintings and engravings. Is repainting in the traditional way appropriate?

The predictive model’s findings confirm the likelihood that the Area will yield further archaeological information to add to the understanding of indigenous cultural history and to the authenticity of its interpretation.



FIG. 3. Rock images at Eagle Reach, Wollemi National Park (photo P. Tacon)

The participation of local Aboriginal communities in the consultative workshops, the preparation of the strategic plan, the mapping country project and archaeological field surveys reflect their concern to acknowledge their cultural identities, socially, culturally and spiritually. Despite the severe interruptions to indigenous life, evidence abounds within the resource-rich Greater Blue Mountains of the continuity of traditional practices, not only over bush foods, medicines, fire- and land- management but also in relation to burials, stories and ceremony that relate to specific sites.

Last year, traditional elders from fourteen of Australia's World Heritage properties gathered in the Greater Blue Mountains to share their experiences with, and concerns for, the areas they represent, above all with one another, but also

with government park officials. I took part in the weekend's culture camp that followed their meeting. It was hosted by the six language communities associated with this place and supported by the state's National Parks and Wildlife Service.

We met at Dunn's Swamp, or Ganguddy, in the Wollemi National Park - Wiradjuri pagoda country, lying inside the western flank of the World Heritage area. We were ceremonially smoked, enjoyed the scent of eucalypt, the rough texture of giant basalt boulders and the shimmer of a 7km body of water, artificially created in 1929 and now happily settled into its surrounding reed beds with platypus, lizard and musk duck. Mini-tents amongst the trees, pungent fires to gossip around, kayaks on the water and, in the evening, owls, glider possums and the Southern Cross constellation overhead. An 'authentic' setting (Fig. 4).



FIG. 4. Ganguddy waters, Dunns Swamp (photo J. Barrett)

There we were in this beautiful spot, two hundred of us, quietly celebrating connection to country - toddlers, teenagers and traditional owners. A privilege to be amongst so much indigenous wisdom from across the driest inhabited continent on earth.

What about all the other custodians of the extraordinary biodiversity of this wild place?

In the Upper Blue Mountains townships alone, there are some 20 stream watch volunteer groups, 25 land care groups and over 45 bush care groups. There are innumerable dedicated rural fire-services and the Blue Mountains Conservation Society is growing at the rate of 10% per year, having now some 1,020 active members. There are other conservation bodies, heritage and historic societies, parks rangers, interpreters of the landscape and guides, quite apart from those who celebrate the bush through all the arts, both fine and performing, and bushwalkers and climbers who identify every crevasse and wildflower. There is the wildlife rescue service and a PhD student meticulously studying dingo behaviour. Non-indigenous and indigenous together.

Under the heading of ‘Values and Authenticity’, the Nara Document on Authenticity includes the statement:

“Our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources ... may be understood as credible or truthful....The respect due to all cultures requires that cultural heritage must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which it belongs ... authenticity judgments may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of these sources may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors.”

Rather than outlining the history of persistent community efforts to conserve this region’s wild attributes and, after many failures and frustrations, the success of some of those efforts in terms of the ensuing statutory protection and the more stringent declaration of wilderness areas within the Worlds Heritage Area, let’s turn to a single recent example



FIG. 5. National Pass walking track and Wentworth Falls (photo B. Correy)

of conservation. That wider story is told in the 1998 nomination document. Naturally, I have selected a successful case.

The National Pass Walking Track

This track is a spectacular, 2.5 kilometre trail running across a central section of the World Heritage area, between Wentworth Falls and the Valley of the Waters. It was originally built, with enormous effort and perseverance, in 1908, and its rugged surface is now tramped across by thousands of visitors a year. It has over 600 stepping stones and over 1,250 steps, some cut into the living sandstone of the escarpment (Fig. 5).

Over the last five years, from 2003 to 2008, and following a conservation plan of management prepared for the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, works have been carried out by specialist craftsmen on the walking track itself and on its immediately surrounding landscape. Blocks of sandstone, some weighing up to 700 kgs, were airlifted by helicopter, carved by stone masons and hand-winch to their final destination.

The National Pass Track had its 100th birthday this year and, in September, the painstaking works of restoration were awarded a 2008 UNESCO Award of Distinction as an example of outstanding cultural heritage conservation. The citation for the Award reads:

“The heroic effort to repair the National Pass Walking Track has successfully restored a significant man-made element of the landscape of the (Greater) Blue Mountains World Heritage site. Undertaken over a span of five years through the dedicated efforts of the project team, the century-old track has been upgraded to meet safety standards and growing visitor needs, while respecting the historic built fabric and the natural setting to the greatest extent possible. Unique solutions were evolved for each land form, each material used and each on-site challenge. The consolidation and reconstruction of steps, bridges and staircases using local materials and traditional building techniques demonstrate excellent craftsmanship, ensure the historic continuity of the walking track and reconfirm the relationship between nature and humankind” (NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service 2008).

In accordance with the requirements for authenticity set out in the Operational Guidelines to the World Heritage Convention, it would seem that these works can be considered to be authentic

‘in design, material, workmanship and setting’. Even better, they can claim to be informed by ‘sources that may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling’ as required in the forensic studies that led to the Nara Document.

Along with UNESCO’s Asia-Pacific Heritage Awards jury, I believe that is so (UNESCO 2007). Perhaps it is a boast on everyone’s behalf, as this has after all turned into a love song to a place and its people. Unexpectedly, it is like a mini-version of Obama’s ‘Yes, we can’. A message that is at last repeatable across many regions of the world.

I’ve left out the troubles, the grappling with what happens to native creatures when rising temperatures drive them higher and higher up the slopes, with facing the next roaring bushfires, the feral predators, the drying of the hanging swamps, with failures to contain crass ‘unauthentic’ development from reaching critically spots, with the demands of tourism. Whenever those burdens speak, the kookaburra chuckles in response, the wattle and waratah flame in gold or red, the giant dragonfly floats low, the cockatoo soars high on a scream, the lightening crackles, the hanging swamp releases its gentle trickle into the creek, the echidna plods on through the scrub.

Concluding

*“Droplets in the late sun,
a shower of silver coin
into the dark valley.
Tracer bullets,
they pinpoint the breeze
in a burst of sparkles
Or are pulled out like the streamers
curving to forces
that hold the planets in orbit.”*

(O’Connor 2007, 58)

The Nara Document presented us with a gift. It told us that authenticity did not require any significant place to stay frozen as is; it told us that the outstanding values of a place could be sustained dynamically, so long as its stories remained credible and truthful. This message is vital, when the very circumstances of each place are surrounded by so much dynamic change, climatically, humanly and in perception ...

In his paper on ‘Authenticity: a General Framework for the Concept’ presented at the Nara Conference in November 1994, Jukka Jukilehto

refers to the approach of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803): 'To him, the past, the present and the future together formed one unity, which inspired humanity to continue its creative efforts.' The view held by Aboriginal people.

He refers also to Alois Riegl (1858-1905) who 'encouraged students to learn about traditional motifs, but to use their imaginative power in developing them further, and creating ornaments that had a new authenticity, rather than simply copying stylistic features'.

'In England, in 1810, William Wordsworth published a guide to the Lake District where he saw the whole landscape as one authentic, poetic whole...' (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1995). These remain the messages of today.

Jukka also contributed a paper 'Questions about 'Authenticity', as an historical context for the preparatory workshop held in Bergen in February 1994. He quotes from Paul Philippot: 'The word preservation ... can be considered ... as expressing the modern way of maintaining living contact with cultural works of the past' and from Benedetto Croce, who 'emphasised that the real basis of history was in life and thinking, one representing the source document, the other the critical approach'.

He concludes that 'Conservation is not only keeping the material, but also recognising this spirit, this 'non-physical' essence and authenticity of the heritage, and its relation with the society' (Larsen and Marstein 1994:9).

Thank you, Jukka. Both indigenous and non-indigenous custodians of the Greater Blue Mountains still, after fourteen years, agree with that statement. They care for, and are nourished by, a living country. They struggle to understand and protect it - authentically.

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Authenticity and heritage concepts: tangible and intangible - discussions in Japan

NOBUKO INABA

Preface

The Nara Conference on Authenticity, which was held in Japan's ancient capital city of Nara in November 1994, became a milestone event in the history of heritage conservation. Emphasising the importance of cultural diversity and heritage diversity, the Nara Conference significantly contributed to the expansion of the scope of heritage concepts, which had up to then been focused on the conservation of the material aspects of cultural heritage, as symbolised by the Venice Charter of 1964 after a history of more than a hundred years of development. The Nara Document on Authenticity developed during the Conference has been circulated widely and is well known worldwide.

Evaluating the Nara Conference, some observers have described this meeting as a re-examination of European centrism, particularly since it was held in Japan where heritage structures are made primarily of wood - a vulnerable organic material - in a context which many saw as a debate between stone / brick heritage and wooden heritage, or of European heritage vs. non-European heritage. However, this interpretation undermines the true value of this conference.

I attended the Nara meeting as a member of the Japanese organising team, delivering a presentation on the conservation theory of Japanese wooden structures from the viewpoint of authenticity. Since then I have been questioning what authenticity

means in the field of heritage conservation in the Far East, and specifically Japan.

This paper deals with conservation practice in Japan, as a non-European country, focusing on how it has been approaching the issue of authenticity as a main stem of heritage conservation theory. I will deal in particular with the important period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, examining how the Japanese scholars and professionals in those days developed the theory of conservation. In addition, I will also deal with the concept of authenticity in the intangible heritage field in Japan, the country that first introduced intangible heritage into its protection system. These discussions which took place in Japan offer a significant contribution to current discussions on authenticity in the conservation field.

Concepts of authenticity in architectural conservation - discussions in Japan in the late 19th - early 20th centuries

The history of heritage conservation in Japan started in the middle of the 19th century. After the feudal system of the Tokugawa Shogunate dissolved and its closed-door isolationist policy was abandoned, Japan started to promote modernisation, actively introducing Western culture. The blessing of the

“cultural enlightenment” atmosphere ushered in a storm of change in Japanese society. However, concerns soon began to arise that the sudden flow of Western culture into Japan could quickly undermine traditional Japanese culture and endanger its continuity.

In 1871 the Japanese government issued a proclamation for the protection of antiquities, and in 1880 started to distribute subsidies to support the management and protection of Japanese temples. Some of these subsidies were used to maintain the traditional structures. In 1888 the government started a nationwide survey of antiquities. Then in 1897 the first official law was put into place: The Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law. The timing of this first law in Japan was not belated compared with those of similar laws in Europe and North American countries. It is important to emphasise that the modern concepts of conservation in Japan developed in those early days simultaneously with those in the West.

The 1897 law covered both movable heritage (antiquities) and immovable heritage (architecture). As for architectural conservation, professors and researchers of the Imperial University, which was the only university in Japan at that time, were deeply involved in the development of the architectural

conservation profession. The professors of the Imperial University were appointed as members of the government committee established for the implementation of the Law, and graduates from the university’s school of architecture were sent to help the local governments and to take responsibility for the conservation projects. Since then, scientific research in architectural history studies and in architectural conservation theory / practice development have continued in tandem in Japan.

Soon after the Law was put into effect, conservation projects for important historic buildings were started by these university-educated architects / architectural historians. In Japan, of the historic buildings in Nara built before the 8th century, many underwent conservation projects, namely: Shin-Yakushiji Hondo (1897-98), Hokkiji Sanju-no-To (1897-98), Yakushiji Toto (1898-1900), Toshodaiji Kondo (1898-99), and Todaiji Hokkedo (1900-01).

Comparing photographs before and after the conservation work, these buildings can be seen to have been well repaired from the viewpoint of authenticity, in terms of exterior appearance (Figs. 1 and 2). However, among these projects, the Shin-Yakushiji Hondo project sparked serious



FIG. 1. Yakushiji Toto. Exterior before conservation
(photo Tokyo National Museum)



FIG. 2. Yakushiji Toto. Exterior after conservation
(photo Nobuko Inaba)



FIG. 3. Shin-Yakushiji Hondo. Exterior before conservation
(photo Nara Prefectural Board of Education)



FIG. 4. Shin-Yakushiji Hondo. Exterior after conservation
(photo Nobuko Inaba)



FIG. 5. Shin-Yakushiji Hondo. Interior before conservation
(photo Nara Prefectural Board of Education)



FIG. 6. Shin-Yakushiji Hondo. Interior after conservation
(photo Yuko Hayami)

debate among historians and architects regarding the appropriateness of the restoration. A number of magazine articles criticising this project appeared from 1899 to 1900. For this building the architect in charge of the conservation work decided to restore it to an earlier stage of the building's history by removing the front eave extension which had been added to the original structure in an earlier period; in addition, the ceiling, also not part of the original structure, was removed. This restoration drastically changed the then-existing design (Figs. 3-6).

The main points of the discussion were the justification and the appropriateness of the method that was applied here. After these initial debates, Professor Zennosuke Tsuji of the Imperial University summarised the debate issues by studying the projects in Nara and interviewing the conservation architect

who was in charge of the restoration projects, and then introduced the architectural conservation policy employed by the architect as the initial policy-making approach in those days, as follows:

“The policy of conservation is to faithfully keep the ‘koshiki’ (older state); (a) later alterations and additions can be removed and restored to the original state only in cases in which the later alterations and additions are valueless and harmful to the architectural style and in which the original style is non-conjecturally identifiable; (b) any parts which are not clearly identifiable either as originals or as later alterations and additions must be left as they are now, and must wait for future studies; (c) restoration must be avoided if the original style is not clearly identifiable, even though later

alterations and additions are unquestionable; (d) later alterations and additions must be preserved if they possess historical and aesthetic value. However, structural systems or components which do not relate to the architectural style can be considered outside of this policy and can be altered to meet structural safety requirements. In general, the original materials must be reused and the 'koshiki' must be preserved as much as possible.”¹

The discussion that took place at that time amazes us today - this was exactly the content of the discussion on material authenticity which over six decades later appeared in the 1964 Venice Charter. It is not yet clear how this concept of a scientific approach to authenticity originated in Japan; some people have speculated that there had been some influence from European sources, since European theories in many fields had already been introduced to Japan, but there is no clear evidence of a connection to a particular discussion on authenticity occurring simultaneously in Europe. However, I can quote a very interesting comment by Tsuji in the same article:

“The method for the preservation of historic shrines in Italy, limiting the conservation work only to a certain period of its history and destroying some parts that belonged to other periods, particularly of non-artistic periods, and the re-use of such materials for other buildings - this approach to conservation is clearly not recommended. Even if such parts are not artistic, they contain high value as evidence of history, and can serve as historic resources contributing to future studies...”.

This means that clearly in those days the Japanese conservationists were aware of European movements and were collecting information about them, but were observing the trends independently.

It is important to note that the same debate -- symbolised by the “Ruskin vs. Viollet-le-Duc” debate -- was under active discussion in both Japan and Europe in the late 19th century at the early stage of conservation history. From that time on, in Japan the main principle of concern to architectural conservation professionals has been the authenticity of the materials of conservation.

I would like to present another example: an important notification document dealing with authenticity issues was found in a government office archive (the actual date of the notice is not clear, but from the content it is known that it was released sometime between 1929 and 1945). This notice is written as follows:

“Official guidelines for the handling of original materials on the occasion of the maintenance repair of buildings designated as National Treasures.

1. Every effort shall be made to respect and re-use the original material for the repair of National Treasure buildings

2. Among original materials, even if such materials are deteriorated, effort should be made to re-use these materials, as long as it is not necessary to replace such materials in order to maintain structural stability or to comply with conservation needs. In particular, for the following materials, special effort should be made:

(1) materials which can be used as physical evidence of the building's history

a) materials from the time of the original construction

b) materials used for important repairs in the past

c) materials that exhibit evidence of the history of changes to the building state

d) materials which contain inscriptions or notations

e) materials that show the design details of parts of the building that have disappeared

(2) materials that can be used as resources for scientific and technical research

a) materials which have characteristics of design (parts that contain decorative lines or engravings, and any parts that give evidence of the design of the building contours, such as rafters, curved eave boards, etc.)

b) materials that help us to understand the building proportioning modules or methods

3. materials which are not able to be re-used in the original location should be considered for possible re-use in other locations

4. materials mentioned in Article 2: those that are not able to be re-used should be kept and stored in an appropriate manner.” [The rest omitted.]

These examples, the Tsuji article and the government notice, are only written documents, and I am aware that the next important step is to verify how these concepts were realised in actual conservation projects. However, at this moment I would like to introduce these documents to point out that the architectural conservation theories in Japan were developed in line with the concept of material authenticity, and this is still the main principle of current architectural conservation.

To explain more clearly the principle of architectural conservation in Japan, I would like to introduce another example, a famous building that everyone refers to whenever the subject of Japanese architectural conservation comes up - the



FIG. 7. Ise Shrine Inner Compound. Aerial photo showing new and old buildings during the reconstruction transition period; the older compound will be dismantled after the transition ceremony (photo Jingu Shicho)

Ise Shrine, a shrine founded in indigenous Shinto beliefs originating in ancient times well before the introduction of Buddhism in the 6th century. At the Ise Shrine, the reconstruction of the entire compound has been carried out periodically as an important religious ritual, following a 20-year interval ever since the inception of this custom in the 7th century (with intermittent interruptions at various times during its long history) (Fig.7).

The Ise Shrine has been a special subject of interesting discussions about architecture which is at the opposite end of the spectrum in regard to the question of where the indicators of authenticity are located. Ise's authenticity is found in its design and in the ritual reconstruction process. Ise is clearly not part of any category in which architectural authenticity is found in the material.

The Ise Shrine has not yet been designated as cultural heritage protected under the national law, even though everyone understands that it is an extremely valuable part of Japan's cultural heritage. As mentioned before, Japanese architectural conservation developed around the ethics of material authenticity. Before designating the Ise Shrine, careful consideration should be given to which spheres of the evaluation / authenticity discussion the Ise Shrine should be located in.

An interesting example related to this issue: until the middle of the 19th century, not only the Ise Shrine but also several other precious Shinto shrines carried out this reconstruction ritual, but at the time of the great social change during the governmental power shift, all of the other shrines abandoned this custom, having lost the support of the former power. The existing buildings of the shrines that stopped rebuilding are those that were built in the last reconstruction rite in the mid-19th century. Those buildings are designated and protected under the present law as architectural heritage, for which the authenticity indicator lies in the material value. In the case of the Ise Shrine, if it were to be designated, the designation would have to be done in a separate category, in such a way that it would not affect the current Japanese

architectural conservation practice of retaining the original material.

Many people misunderstand the Ise Shrine case as a typical part of the Japanese conservation methodology. However, for Japanese professionals, these two cases are clearly separated: one is straightforward conservation practice, and the other is a religious ritual ceremony.

The current law in Japan (the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties) is unique in that it covers a wide range of cultural heritage types under one law, from tangible (movable / immovable) to intangible, landscapes, and natural monuments. Obviously it is impossible to deal with such different types of heritage in the same manner, since the materials and characteristics are totally different. Therefore under the law each type of heritage has its own sections, with different criteria for evaluation as well as the conditions for conservation and utilisation. The conditions for authenticity are developed in relation to criteria for evaluation in each category. The architectural conservation mentioned above, for which the authenticity indicator lies in the material value, is included in the category of "tangible heritage". The naming of that category as "tangible heritage" itself indicates that the value is located in the material.

Concepts of authenticity for intangible heritage conservation - experiences in Japan

Changing the discussion to intangible heritage concepts, Japan was the first country in the world to introduce the concept of intangible heritage, in 1950. At the beginning the protection system was limited only to financial support, and covered a relatively wide range of intangible properties in this one category. However, due to the requirement to strengthen the intangible heritage properties protection system, the system has been divided into different categories of heritage, with separate evaluation and protection methods corresponding to the individual requirements for each category.

Currently we have three different categories of heritage types related to intangible heritage: (1) intangible cultural properties which *possess a high historical and/or artistic value for Japan*, (2) folk-cultural properties *which are indispensable for the understanding of changes in the modes of life of the Japanese people*, and (3) traditional techniques or skills which are *indispensable for the conservation of cultural properties and which require positive measures for their preservation*. (Under the law, the first two categories are among the six definitions of cultural properties. The third is not included in the definitions but is described in the law and handled together with cultural properties as an essential field for the cultural properties protection administration and implementation).

Among these categories I would like pick the first category as an example for a discussion here of the authenticity issues of intangible heritage, since it is defined as heritage which possesses historical and artistic value and thus it can be dealt with in parallel with that of tangible heritage, which may require the same conditions. This category of intangible cultural properties is defined in the law as “arts and skills employed in drama, music, craft techniques and other intangible cultural products, which possess a high historical and/or artistic value for Japan”.

Intangible cultural properties are divided into two areas in the Japanese protection system - performing arts and craft techniques. The different sets of criteria are set up and the protection systems are developed accordingly.

The protection of intangible heritage in the Japanese system can be described briefly as follows: since intangible cultural properties do not have any tangible content, the property requires the existence of human beings to embody such arts and skills. At

the time of the designation of such intangible cultural properties, the people or groups which possess such skills individually or collectively are also identified as the essential components in parallel with the designation. These designations and recognitions are inseparable and, when the people who possess such skills die, the designations are annulled.

In the case of individual people there are two types of recognitions: single individual recognitions and collective recognitions. Collective recognitions are for those intangible properties that are made up of more than two people embodying such skills collectively. The collective recognitions identify individual names; however, they are required to have belonged to the group identified at the time of designation. Currently the collective recognitions are identified only for the performing arts.

The group recognitions are for those intangible properties for which a number of people possess and transmit such skills, and in which individuality is weak or lacking. It is similar to the collective recognitions mentioned above since both recognise a group for each designation. However, in the case of group recognitions, only the representatives are identified without the individual names of others in the group. Currently the group recognitions are found only for craft techniques.

The individuals thus identified are popularly known to the public as “living national treasures” (this naming is not an official legal term - it was adopted by the general public after a journalist introduced this term at the time that the recognition category was announced). For such performing arts as Kabuki and Noh, as well as for high-level traditional arts such as pottery-making and weaving, the individuals are artists who are widely recognised, and their status is highly appreciated by the Japanese people together with the arts that these individuals produce.

In regard to the legal and administrative processes for heritage conservation, a question may arise: as long as the intangible cultural properties are designated by the authorities as having such artistic and historical value as cultural heritage, do not we have to have clear indicators about how such value can be identified, protected, and passed on? We may call such an indicator the “authenticity” of intangible heritage since the Nara Document on Authenticity defines authenticity as “the essential qualifying factor concerning value”.

It is difficult to find clear historical records of discussions that occurred among professionals talking about authenticity issues in this field, similar to the cases that I introduced in the architectural conservation field in the previous section. However, in the case of collective recognitions for performing arts and group

recognitions for craft techniques in which such skills are possessed and transmitted conjointly, at the time of designation the conditions of designation are identified by the authorities. I would like to take up those conditions here for the discussion of authenticity as they can be considered as the conditions of value assessment/authenticity issues as defined in the Japanese intangible heritage protection system.

In the conditions pertaining to the collective recognitions for performing arts, for each designation the particular association to which the performers should belong is identified and the forms of acting, directing, music, costumes, stage settings and other factors are identified. In the conditions pertaining to the group recognitions for craft-making arts, the materials to be used and the methods for creating the craftwork are identified. The following two examples help to illustrate this point.

Kabuki (theatre): Kabuki is probably the best-known classical theatre of Japan. It began in the early 17th century and developed a highly stylised type of stage performance with distinctive acting styles, costumes, make-up and stage settings. Although it was created by a female dancer, the authorities banned females from performances in 1629 and since then Kabuki has been performed solely by male actors. For more than four centuries since the time of its creation, it has been the most popular form of stage entertainment for Japanese people. Currently nine people are recognised with single individual recognitions and an organisation has been identified / set up for a collective recognition to which all performers composing the collective recognition should belong.

- (1) Performers: most of the performers who play important component roles of performance programmes should be members of The Organisation for the Preservation of Kabuki.
- (2) Programmes: these should be the traditional programmes or conform to them.
- (3) Acting and directing: acting and directing should be based on the traditional acting and directing form:
 1. by the stylised acting and the manner of delivering one's lines
 2. by Onnagata (female-impersonators)
 3. by the established form ("joshiki") of the traditional kabuki music
 4. by the established form of 'shigi' and 'tsuke' (wooden clappers and clapping techniques)
 5. by the established form of costumes (costumes, wigs and make-up)
 6. by the established form of stage sets and props
 7. principally, by the established form of stage devices.



FIG. 8. Onta Yaki plate from the catalogue of the "Skills and beauty of Japan" exhibition, 1999 (photo Agency for Cultural Affairs)

Onta-Yaki (pottery technique): this is a type of pottery from the Onta-Sarayama area in Oita Prefecture on Kyushu Island, started in 1705, with a very characteristic design using a skip-brush glazing technique (Fig.8). The possessors of these skills are recognised as an organisation made up of ten families. Each family's kiln is inherited by a son. At the time of designation in 1995, the set of conditions was prescribed as follows:

- (1) the pottery clay should be prepared by milling the original soil collected from the local Onta-Sarayama area, using water-powered piston-crusher mills and water-sieving techniques, then dried by traditional methods.
- (2) the pottery throwing should be done using traditional kick-wheels, and large-size pots should be made using the techniques of 'sokouchi', 'neritsuke', and 'koshitsugi'.
- (3) the pattern application should follow the locally inherited methods of 'hakeme', 'tobiganna', 'kushime', 'yubigaki', 'uchigake', 'nagashikake', etc.
- (4) the glazing should be 'furashi' (transparent), 'jigusuri' (brown), 'seiji' (green), 'ususeiji' (light green), 'kokuyu' (black), or 'doke' (spotted brown). The materials for the glazes are to be wood ash, straw ash, feldspar, copper,

granite, or 'sabi-ishi' stone; the glazes should be prepared in the inherited traditional method, and the application of the glaze should be done without bisque firing, following the 'namagake' tradition.

- (5) the kiln should be the family's inherited 'naborigama' (wood-fired climbing kiln).
- (6) the characteristics of the traditional Onta-Yaki style should be maintained.

These examples illustrate how detailed the designation requirements for intangible heritage can be. At the moment, for performing arts there are eleven collective recognitions - kabuki theatre, nogaku theatre, ningyo joruri bunraku puppet theatre, kumiodori musical theatre, gagaku court music, and six examples in the field of traditional music performances. For craft techniques there are fourteen group recognitions - three groups in the field of pottery-making, seven involved in weaving and dyeing, one in lacquerware, and three in paper-making, all recognised based on similar sets of conditions of designation.

Are these conditions of designation good examples that can be used in our authenticity discussion? Interestingly, these conditions are set only for collective recognitions and group recognitions and, in the case of the recognition of individuals both in the performing arts or craft techniques fields, there is no clear indication of the conditions to be followed for protection. This may be reflected, for example, in the fact that when an individual performer dies, his art dies with him, and the designation is annulled - but in the case of an organisation composed of members, there are always members who remain and new members who join the group, making it possible to pass on the skills to others and thereby justifying the heritage protection conditions administratively.

Going back to the conditions of designation identified for collective recognitions and group recognitions, examining and comparing these conditions I may say, although admitting that this is a very rough way of making my point, that on the one hand the conditions concerning material aspects such as resources, ingredients, devices or instruments for craft techniques are identified in great detail and are unique to each property, while on the other hand the conditions for truly intangible aspects of properties such as styles and designs performed and created that are often the main components for performing arts are quite simple, sometimes defined by simply stating merely that they are to be traditional following "joshiki (established forms)". As a result, the conditions for performing arts become very similar to each other in the sense that basically all that is required is to identify such factors as acting and playing, costume and stage setting styles that

are common to all performing arts and to simply say that they are to be traditional. Moreover, for some performing arts only the names of the groups to which the performers must belong are identified (gagaku court music, ningyo joruri bunraku puppet theatre, gidayubushi music, etc.).

Are quality control or authenticity issues not applicable for intangible heritage in the case of individual artists, even though there are still material results that could theoretically qualify as heritage? Are not there different words other than "traditional" or "joshiki" ("established form") that can enable us to describe the conditions in a more detailed way for the intangible aspect of properties? Are these conditions intended only for administrative requirements for the authorities for the purpose of the implementation of law?

Or is it only that heritage professionals have simply not dealt with these issues? There is no answer yet to these questions. This issue could help deepen the discussion among professionals regarding the understanding of tangible and intangible heritage, but up to now such dialogues have not yet developed, as far as I understand.

In this context, at this point an interesting term that comes to mind is the term "ie-moto", referring to the leader in a historically developed linear family system that is set up for the purpose of passing on traditional arts and skills from generation to generation. What can we say is the main point of transmitting such skills to the future? What qualifies certain "ie-moto" artists as the possessors of techniques with high artistic or historical value? Here in conclusion I would like to repeat a quotation that aptly expresses the spirit of this subject, one that is attributed to a famous Kyogen actor: "I developed my own style following my nature as an artist, but I taught my son only what my father taught me..."

Conclusion

A participant in the Nara Conference on Authenticity in 1994 asked me whether or not a word equivalent to "authenticity" exists in the Japanese language. Pointing at the banner in the conference hall, he asked me how the word "authenticity" was translated in Japanese. While he was posing this question he may have been asking himself whether or not the concept of authenticity exists in Japan or in other Asian countries, deeply pondering upon the history of the concept of authenticity in Europe, long before the modern concepts of conservation were created.

My answer to the question regarding terms equivalent to "authenticity" was "Yes". Since then

I have been paying careful attention to discussions of conservation held in European languages such as English or French, so as not to fall into etymological discussions isolating participants of non-European-language-speaking participants. More generally, the concept of truthfulness - if we say this is the concept of authenticity - exists in any society. It is very important in any society whether or not the seal of a ruler is real, or whether a land-owner's property deed is real or not - these are essential in any society. Therefore there are words to convey this meaning of authenticity in any language.

Japan is the only non-European country which developed a modern heritage protection system simultaneously with European and North American countries. Furthermore, Japan was the first country in the world to introduce intangible heritage concepts into the heritage protection system. To think about "What is conservation?" and "What are the essential principles for conservation?", Japan can be considered a valuable resource example. In this paper I presented two examples - one from architectural conservation and one from intangible heritage conservation. Architectural conservation in Japan has been developed in and around the protection of material, in principle. I would like to reserve my opinion about whether or not this was influenced by Europe. It is self-evident that this principle would be a natural result if people approach things scientifically and objectively. It is also self-evident that conservation professionals would have to develop a system based on this principle, that contains the means to carry out the necessary courses of action, going beyond the original nostalgic desire of a culture to preserve its past.

As for the intangible heritage protection experience in Japan, among the different categories related to intangible heritage concepts, I selected the area of intangible heritage that is qualified because of its high artistic and historical value - not the intangible heritage in the folk-cultural heritage field. Only for groups or organisations of possessors, in which members are to be replaced from time to time (collective recognitions and group recognitions), was I able to find the guidelines for conservation related to value qualification and quality control - guidelines in which the way of describing conditions is detailed for material aspects but not so detailed for truly intangible aspects. However, for individual artists, both in the performing arts and in the craft fields, there are no such guidelines at all. Are we on the way to identifying such concepts of essential qualifying factors concerning intangible heritage value as a whole, as the conservation professionals have been doing in the tangible heritage field over the past century? Or is this question really relevant? At least I can say that this

issue presents a very important challenge to us as we think about "What is conservation?"

The following thought comes and goes through my mind - is this a case of playing "devil's advocate"? If we try to identify the qualifying factor concerning value in a certain scientific, objective way, I am thinking that we are inevitably brought to the issue of the material aspect, because this is the only way that we can approach the heritage value in a scientific manner. This will explain the reason why in the collective craft technique field guidelines are prepared in more detailed form regarding the material aspect than in the performing arts field, with the crafts guidelines covering such points as controlling the places where the resource materials are collected, the way of preparing such raw materials for the craft production, and the production methods themselves, including the equipment, machinery and other facilities for production. Similarly, if we designate or inscribe the Ise Shrine on the heritage list, we may set the conditions in the same manner, concerning the locations where the materials are collected and the carpentry methods that are employed in its construction. Is not there something beyond this?

I remember a lady who lived in Kyoto, another important historical city, who believed that the traditional way of life cannot be kept alive solely as a matter of mind or spirit - we must keep the material shape of life, including clothing, utensils, house design and other aspects of material expression. We may take the same approach toward the cultural landscape, in such agricultural landscapes as rice terraces or vineyards. The discussion of the value of cultural heritage is not a matter of "material vs. spirit". Neither is it a matter of a European approach vs. a non-European approach. After the efforts of more than a century to establish the cultural heritage protection profession, we are at a turning point, questioning exactly what conservation is.

* * * * *

In 2004, ten years after the Nara Conference on Authenticity, in the same city of Nara another international conference was held to discuss the issue of the integration of tangible and intangible expressions of heritage ("International Conference on the Safeguarding of Tangible and Intangible Heritage", 20-23 October 2004). At that conference the professionals in the intangible heritage field concluded that "considering that intangible cultural heritage is constantly re-created, the term 'authenticity' as applied to tangible cultural heritage is not relevant when identifying and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage."

The 1994 Nara Conference expanded the concept of authenticity from material issues to such concepts as “spirit” and “feeling”. However, as long as we use the term “authenticity” in reference to these expanded concepts, the word “authenticity” itself continuously gives rise to confusion.

The creation and development of scientific research on such heritage, which does not place value on material expression, has barely begun. The ICOMOS conference held recently in September 2008 in Québec discussed the concept of “the spirit of place”, and this is one step in that direction.

Note

- 1 Zennosuke Tsuji, ‘Dealing with critiques on the policy of the conservation of historic shrines and temples’ *Rekishi Chiri* 3-2, 1901 (in Japanese).

Judging the authenticity of the city

SÍLVIO MENDES ZANCHETI, FLAVIANA LIRA AND ROSANE PICCOLO

Introduction

From the perspective of urban conservation, authenticity is the measure of the degree with which the attributes of cultural heritage, form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, spirit and feeling, and other factors (UNESCO 2005), credibly bear witness to its significance.

With regard to cities, the search for authenticity has become more complex due to its constructive dynamic. Therefore, this paper proposes a debate on the authenticity of the city as the essential condition for effectively protecting the city, and not just that of the administrative verification of the truth. Thus there is a need to verify under what dimensions the authenticity of the city is manifested, how it is expressed and how it can be judged. This is precisely the contribution that this article sets out to achieve. Interfaces with other disciplines that also focus on this theme, such as philosophy, the theory of art and tourism, make significant contributions to deepening understanding of this notion in the field of urban conservation.

In philosophy, authenticity is a question of establishing whether propositions, things and human attitudes are true or false from a specific point of view or in a specific context. It is similar to a value judgment that determines whether something is good or bad for society or for individuals.

In the field of the Theory of Art, for example, the authenticity of a picture or sculpture is about showing direct proof of authorship. But, as Dutton (2003) and Sloggett (2000) make clear, a false or plagiarised work can have the same capacity for contemplative mobilisation and aesthetic fruition as an original. What is important in such situations is that the work be correctly identified and in a specific locale for ‘fakes and forgeries’.

The approach of Tourism to cultural heritage understands that “there is less concern about what is ‘authentic’ in a firmly grounded historical sense and great emphasis is given to what is ‘attractively authentic’” (Burnett 2001, 39). In this field, authenticity is provided for the tourist by specialised professionals. In other words, the tourist is not engaged in the judgment of authenticity; rather this is presented by means of prior planning involving recreation and interpretation.

Although they may introduce approaches distinct from that found in urban conservation which targets the material authenticity of the assets, the matters that these disciplines raise are fundamental for constructing a critical approach regarding what is proposed by conservation. Therefore, it is by means of the issues raised by these fields of knowledge that this study proposes a widening of the concept of authenticity.

1. The notion of authenticity

Etymologically, authenticity appears as the substratum of that which is authentic. The concept of authentic refers to being legitimate and genuine, both with regard to being true evidence of something, as well as belonging to an autonomous human creation. For Jokilehto (2006), authenticity has a close relationship with the notion of truth. The concept of truth, according to Jokilehto, has been one of the main subjects discussed in philosophy, at different times and in different places, in both sacred and lay texts. Until the Middle Ages, truths were pre-established by divine laws and social conventions. According to Taylor (1992), the rise of modern man broke with previous logic and made him responsible for producing his truth and his own condition of existence. For modern man, the truth is the result of an act of autonomous individual judgment based on reason and an objective knowledge of the world provided by science. However, the conditions for the objective interpretation of the world, especially society, are no longer present in the contemporary world. Current knowledge of the world is defined from a “postmetaphysical standpoint” that “stands for the assumption that there is simply no way of grasping reality from the outside interpretative framework, and that there exists an irreducible multiplicity of interpretative frameworks” (Ferrara 1998, 11).

The paths along which the search for authenticity have been made get intertwined with this discussion, for they reflect the condition of human beings and their way of relating themselves to others. Taylor (1992) states that, in many cases, people seek to construct an authentic identity for themselves and, when they fail to achieve this fully, they become insecure and place an exacerbated belief in science or spirituality. On the other hand, people find other ways of achieving this as, for example, through artistic creation. Art presents itself as a vehicle for expressing its human essence, for it is produced by a creative process which gives specificity to each artifact. A work produced by means of such a creative process differs from works produced as replicas. Jokilehto (2006, 4), following the thinking of Martin Heidegger, states that “we could say that the more a work represents a creative and innovative contribution, the more truthful and the more authentic it is”.

Ferrara (1998) presents an interpretation of authenticity that relies on a new analysis of Aristotle’s theory of judgment, presented in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, specifically on the concept of *phronesis* which

is the capacity of individuals to form judgments regarding conflicting values in different situations or contexts. For Ferrara, this kind of judgment is essential when assessing if something is authentic or not, since it cannot simply appeal to objective scientific (*episteme*) or practical (*praxis*) knowledge for support. Ferrara thinks that authenticity requires a universal validation based on an inter-subjective judgment while not ignoring the pluralism and difference subjacent to it. This argument reveals the concept of authenticity relative to a work of art as a means of people expressing their essence. This is also why he suggests the notion of “reflective authenticity”. Thus, while it is subjective as it deals with an individual search, it is inherently inter-subjective, that is related to the collective consciousness of a community, because it presupposes three conditions. The first refers to the construction of the individual’s identity which is shared with other individuals. The second is about self-realisation which demands knowledge of others, and the third refers to reflective (or inter-subjective) judgment and its validity. For Ferrara, authenticity requires a universal validation based on an inter-subjective judgment while not ignoring the pluralism and difference subjacent to it.

If we take this thinking to the city, it is evident that the verification of authenticity takes place out of a collective, i.e., inter-subjective recognition by means of which society seeks its authenticity. Society seeks authenticity based on a set of rules and mutable values over time. Value is conferred on place through the activities of the past and present, of memories, of knowledge and of socio-cultural relationships which occur in space and time (Jamal and Hill 2004). In this way, the author agrees with Lowenthal (1999), by underlining that different generations see authenticity in different ways and this reflects their need for truth, standards and credos in the uses of their heritage.

2. Authenticity in the conservation doctrine

The first international document in which authenticity appears as linked to cultural heritage is the 1964 Venice Charter. This is cited only in the preamble and is not later defined. However, in the late 1970s, UNESCO (1978) started to demand the “test of authenticity” for the inclusion of an asset on the List of World Heritage Sites.

Since then, many discussions on conceptualising authenticity have been undertaken, but it was only in 1994 that a discussion was held on the concept and attributes by means of which authenticity is manifested, at the Nara Conference on Authenticity.

This forum was promoted to debate “ways and means of broadening our horizons to bring greater respect for cultural and heritage diversity to conservation practice” (Nara Document on Authenticity 1994).

Therefore, in response to this broadened understanding of types of heritage and the questions posited for their conservation, a document was drawn up at the Conference which defined the boundary posts, still valid today, for the understanding of authenticity. The central ideas that permeate it are that authenticity is the essential factor for attributing value and that it arises from cultural diversity, with due judgment being made, taking into consideration the cultural context of each asset. In this sense, the Nara Document closely follows the mainstream of current understanding regarding authenticity expressed in the works of Taylor (1992) and Ferrara (1998). However, the document did not manage to reach a precise conceptual definition, but an operational one and, once again, “the term does not have a clearly fixed meaning, but that is essentially a vague, underlying quality that is recognisable, but not easily pinned down” (Heynen 2006, 289).

Despite this, the Conference identified the means by which attributes or sources of information authenticity might be identified. To do so, other criteria were included in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention: form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting; language, and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors (UNESCO 2005, § 82).

The Declaration of San Antonio (ICOMOS 1996) re-states that transformations are intrinsic in heritage, and do not necessarily diminish its significance. The declaration also emphasises the importance of the values attributed by communities in their judgment of authenticity. The Declaration puts forward a more practical approach to authenticity. It lists five aspects or indicators related to conservation and authenticity values: I) Reflection of the true value; II) Integrity; III) Context and/or environment; IV) Identity; V) Use and function.

The Riga Charter on authenticity and the historical reconstruction of cultural heritage was drawn up to protect heritage values, and especially took into account the reality of north eastern European countries. This charter does not bring additional contributions into play with regard to those that are analyzed, except for its definition of authenticity, as an operational and measurable concept: “Authenticity is a measure of the degree to which the attributes of cultural heritage [...] credibly and accurately bear witness to their significance...” (Stovel 2001, 244).

When the heritage doctrinaire documents are analysed, it can be claimed that even with the advances of the last twenty years in constructing theoretical and methodological understandings for authenticity, there remains the need for further in-depth study. Gaps are revealed in the complexity of how they have been conceptualised and in the difficulties of making them operational.

By virtue of this fact, this article proposes a discussion on authenticity founded on constructing new means for understanding it, especially as the complex and polysemic fabric of the city is being dealt with. Discussion on the authenticity of the city is an essential critical foundation for urban conservation, i.e. it is the indispensable lens through which to eye the urban heritage.

3. The authenticity of the city

Amongst the various ways to conceptualise the city, it has been analysed and described as a social, political, economic and environmental system. However, although these understandings have contributed to the study of its innumerable dimensions, they end up restricting the complex nature of the city.

In this article, the city is configured by physical structures, natural and built, and human relations. These structures and relations are represented as significant entities, related to a mode of specific construction, living and being and are recognisable as being an essential part of an intelligible whole. Although taking the material question of the city as its point of departure, the immaterial or human aspect is equally present, since both of them are intimately related. This idea is developed by Paul Phillipot (2002) when he aligns the authenticity of an artifact to the internal unit of the mental process from which it sprang and to its material realisation.

The basic premise for the discussion of the city's authenticity is to consider that the city is made up of attributes that may or may not be recognised as true. Thus, thinking of the city in its authentic state requires admitting that it is an artifact: i) of human genius; ii) singular, specific and non-ordinary; and iii) of local and potentially universal representativeness. By referring to these aspects, pride of place must be given to the fact that the city should be comprised of a collective human artifact - an artifact constructed through its inherent, creative and transforming force which lives in it and determines what is modified and preserved. Secondly, the city or a part of it should reveal a singularity and specificity which makes it differ from countless

other examples. This characteristic is inherent in its non-ordinary character, expressed in its essence as an original representation. Lastly, the city should be understood as a fundamental reference point for the perception both of local particularities and its potential universality, even though not recognised.

In some specific cases, it would be possible to verify the authenticity of the city in its physical totality. In general, what is observed is the existence of certain urban swathes bearing its inspired, singular and representative features. Therefore in order to verify the authenticity of these bounded urban artifacts, they should reflect:

- [i] Artifact as creation, because from it emanates a state of being related to how it was formed;
- [ii] Construction process in history, an artifact as a perpetuation of a creation and reproduction process;
- [iii] Current expressive capacity, a live artifact that is recognised as being the bearer of collective memories and expression of social relations.

Thus, the city is a document which expresses the truth as the manifestation of a creative, constructive and present process even if in vestiges of its totality of yesteryear.

The starting point is from the understanding that the city is a defined space, an object of human creation, which shapes itself in an evolutionary process arising from the life and dynamics of its society, and which has the capacity of expression of its attributes.

Setting out from these considerations, the authenticity of the city can be assessed from three distinct and complementary dimensions:

The material dimension (I) refers to its creation as material recognised as a document, in which its state of existence is recorded. The material dimension is related to the “creative act made flesh in the material and inscribed in history” (Phillipot 2002).

The constructive dimension (II) refers to the capacity for reproducing its construction-inventive dynamics. In other words, to the way in which the city realises itself, relates to others and is reproduced. The constructive dimension of authenticity refers to a process and not to a state, in which the subject is the engine of this dynamic.

It is perceived that the first dimension of authenticity expresses the truth of the city as living memory and the second as the know-how to build. It is important to emphasise that the condition for the recognition of a city’s material and/or construction authenticity lies in its expressiveness. That is, in the expressive dimension (III) that its physical attributes and/or processes of creation and re-creation are put into use by people and made as symbols of their way of life, so making it possible for authenticity to be recognised inter-subjectively by a society.

4. The dimensions of the authenticity of the city

4.1 The material dimension

Most cities have been constructed over a long period of time, and are not products of a single moment of formation or unique creative act. Just as the city takes shape over time, it is transformed in the course of time, by successive interventions on the built material. Therefore, it must be stressed that most cities consist of a store of artifacts of the built material or of vestiges of it accumulated in history. Thus, the city results from successive material units which give evidence of different creative acts situated in their time of transformation and evolution. These creative acts which are materialised in constructed forms can be interlinked through ‘logical’ relationships.

The city materially shaped by fragments can be considered authentic if these fragments display the capacity to represent the authentic material. Thus, what is questioned is the extent to which, starting with a fragment, it is possible to reconstitute mentally the urban artifact that it represents. To this limit, Cesare Brandi’s criterion establishes a correspondence between the part and the whole, by means of the “potential unity of the work of art”. This characterises the entirety of the creative act, in which the parts are not autonomous, but make up an intelligible whole (Brandi 1963). The cities’ lacunae do not only consist of the absence of material, but refer to the absence of the coordinating elements that potentially make possible the mental reconstruction of the whole. In the case of the urban figurative fabric, the gaps consist of the absence of coordinating elements among the processes constituted over time. These absences act as exogenous parts to the whole, which can mar the potential unity of the work.

In this context, what are slotted in are the situations of the absence of some element considered authentic, or of the construction of elements alien to the formal context. These interferences in the work can reach the point of compromising its unity. Therefore, the absence of the lacuna, or the wholeness of the artifact, is the fundamental condition by which the ‘reading’ of the material unity of the city is made effective, i.e. that authenticity is expressed.

4.2 The constructive dimension

In this dimension, authenticity is assessed by means of the city’s construction processes in their material dimension. Such processes can be apprehended from their products, represented physically by the building material.

When dealing with cities, material, space and temporality should be considered, as these are elements which underpin the verification of authenticity. Thus, methodologically, this dimension can be investigated by adopting, as a starting point, its possible temporal validities, understood and present in the processes which:

- a) existed in the past and continue until the present;
- b) used to exist in the past and were taken up again in the present.

These two temporal validities refer, respectively, to the continuity of the process of constructing cities and to reproducing a given process of the past.

The first situation is evident in the processes that come from the past and remain until the present, thus making it possible to maintain and to be able to reproduce past customs, although they incorporate new elements and customs. In this case, authenticity is perceived by means of maintaining the continuity of the processes that are fundamentally associated with the vital forces of society. The constructive dimension of authenticity subsists when it remains the condition for renewed reproduction of the past by the society or community (Phillipot 2002, 17).

The second situation of temporal validity refers to a new creative act which is logically connected to what pre-exists. In this situation, despite the rupture, the process legitimately responds to today's context and seeks a vital tie to the past. Thus, the distinct temporal variables give shape to another process consonant with the vital demand of the present. Nevertheless, this new process is anchored on the construction essence which in the past guided the construction and development of the city in question.

This resumption of the practices of the past is fundamental to discussing the authenticity of the city. Under the situation in which the process merely existed in the past, only the material register of its result in construction is identified. The existing artifact represents the extinct process, since it can be perceived or comprehended based on the material. However, as the process no longer exists, this dimension is reduced to the material for, as Phillipot (2002) states, when the rite is ended, what remains is the material artifact. In this case, one cannot go on to discuss the authenticity of the process but rather of the material of the artifact.

With further regard to the processes that existed in the past and have been resumed in the present, one can observe those interlinked in a logic which integrates distinct temporal intervals, and which can be reproduced using the records found. These registers can be classified as direct, when they are represented by the fragments themselves or even by

the artifact; or as indirect when expressed by means of documents, such as reproduced texts and images, for example. Using such registers it is possible to find evidence of the vital links that can structure the linking of the creative acts within a unit which integrates the past and present, as was done with the reconstruction of Warsaw.

Therefore, in this dimension, the capacity of a city to express authenticity is intimately linked to the processes of creation and reproduction of past practices which have come down to the present, whether incorporating or not new ways of doing or former practices taken up again in the present.

4.3. The expressive dimension

The recognition of the two dimensions, the material and the construction, is intimately linked to the expressive dimension of the physical attributes and/or the processes of creation and re-creation of the urban space over time.

Concern about the nature of the concept of authenticity and its extension as an object of the "consumer of heritage" is widespread among academics in Tourism and leads to important contributions for deepening the notion of the authenticity of cultural assets, given the belief in a categorical coincidence between leisure, tourism and heritage.

The industry of tourism focuses on the authenticity of the sightseeing attractions of heritage, on understanding how people experienced and experimented with them. This is different from the approach common among conservation academics in which authenticity is dealt with as a characteristic intrinsic to the asset.

It is observed, however, that the experiences of authenticity, when anchored only on the "sensation" of being authentic, are not sufficiently credible, since the "sensations" are manipulable, whether in the mediation of the interlocutor (between the subject of the knowledge and the object), or because the object itself is an element that can be falsified. Therefore, a conflict arises which is at the root of the discussion of authenticity: its capacity to be distinguished from the false, from the untruthful, and from facsimile.

To do so, it is surmised that the verification of authenticity lies in the relationship between the perception and the condition of the object's being. Therefore, it is believed that the experience or the expressiveness of the object should be constructed in the ambit of "awareness", through the understanding of the object as being authentic, through knowledge of both its material characteristics and of its constructive constitution, taking into consideration the context and the historical process, space and time.

Therefore, the expressive dimension of authenticity is admitted in the sense of object – subject, in which what is presented as the main issue is the capacity of the city to express for the inhabitants or visitors a given way of life in the past, intrinsically related to the space which sets its boundaries, and which are maintained in their essence, thus becoming comprehensible in an inter-subjective way. Inter-subjective reasoning is fundamental for recognising expressiveness, for the experience of the place and the relationship which is established with it, perceived collectively, gives sense to a space framed by certain socio-spatial characteristics and of meanings which identify it.

The truth of the city does not exist for itself alone; without expressiveness it is not appropriate to discuss authenticity of urban swathes, nor even the identification of its dimensions.

5. Final considerations

Authenticity is a question of recognition, as something intrinsic to the asset and expressed by it, it being up to each society to learn it in a given form. As it is a reasoning which is not fixed in historical time, perceiving it varies culturally and socially. From this point of view, authenticity cannot be added to the object; authenticity exists because the object expresses itself and it falls to the subject to recognise it.

This understanding already reveals the complexity involved in conceptualising authenticity and making it operational - a fact which, as outlined in this paper, is not satisfactorily taken into account by the guidelines documents of the theory and practice of urban conservation, such as the heritage charters and UNESCO Guidelines.

Given the existence of these gaps, this paper proposes a dialogue with other disciplines, with philosophy, the theory of art and tourism, which have made possible a conceptual widening in the form of understanding the authenticity of a cultural asset. It was from these new disciplinary ways of looking at the issue that it was possible to insert, in the ambit of urban conservation, the indissoluble relationship between authenticity and the capacity that the cultural asset has to express it. This linkage is indispensable in the process of management and in the physical interventions upon these assets for, on modifying their form of expression, invariably their authenticity will be affected.

However, the dialogue established in this study is only an initial fresh wind on the discussions which still have to enter the field of conservation, with a view to achieving greater theoretical and operational

depth to the notion of authenticity. Regarding the results arising from the Nara Conference, based on sources of information which had nothing to say about definitions for the notion and ways of making it operational, it can be said that a new route has been opened up. Understanding authenticity based on its dimensions made it possible for a first step to be taken in the direction of structuring concepts and practical ways of understanding it, thus making it possible to make it operational and for this to be seen as a necessary instrument in the ambit of interventions on cultural assets.

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