Heritage Management Practices: Voices from the Field





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Edited by

Valerie Magar, Jane Thompson & Gamini Wijesuriya

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Foreword

Webber Ndoro, Director-General, ICCROM

he publication of such diverse experiences, and from different parts of the world, on heritage site conservation and management practices is rare and long overdue. The examples featured in this groundbreaking publication cover 13 countries from different regions. These papers epitomize the very heart of ICCROM, representing various partners and Member States coming together to address the issues surrounding the complexity of conservation and management of cultural heritage places. This is the *raison d'être* for the founding of ICCROM, to promote cooperation among states to ensure the conservation of our fragile heritage.

The Heritage Site Management Practices workshop gathered former participants and resource persons from various ICCROM programmes and courses together with colleagues from the Herculaneum Conservation Project, the Associazione Herculaneum, the municipality of the city of Ercolano and the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei (now the Parco Archeologico di Ercolano), who offered the site of Herculaneum, and several other surrounding sites in the vicinity, as local case studies against which to discuss and compare different facets of conservation and management. We are grateful to them for opening the site of Herculaneum to scrutiny and debate, but, certain of the value of peer-review, we also know that the site has benefitted from the feedback and experience of professionals working in different environments.

The results of the workshop presented in this publication represent and profile some of the major issues faced by many heritage places in the world, in terms of the challenges and complexities. These range from material decay and erosion, to the engagement of communities and stakeholders, and issues related to sustainability and suitability of the options available to the conservation community, among other competing priorities. The Herculaneum project, which had been ongoing for more than seven years before the workshop, also represented exemplary efforts dedicated to ensuring partnership and cooperation among different institutions with similar visions but different mandates. The project provided a unique opportunity to study a fragile but intriguing heritage site with diverse stakeholder interests. It is an example worth emulating in many places around the world.

The international scope of the workshop papers again emphasizes the importance of better conservation and management of cultural heritage, particularly with our world currently facing impacts from climate change, poverty, conflict and health pandemics. The workshop remains a landmark event for ICCROM, being the first at which all its main programmes relating to sites or built heritage were represented, thus highlighting the need for multi-disciplinary and multi-skilled approaches to heritage conservation and management, including financial and legal issues. Today, the demands for better and sustainable solutions are even more paramount.

The challenges are in managing change and continuity as we engage in conservation and preservation of cultural heritage. How do we ensure that conservation and management of cultural heritage contributes to our world, and also that the many stakeholders play a part? This publication, complemented by the Herculaneum Conservation Project, is a valuable tool for meeting such challenges in today's ever-changing world. ICCROM hopes the real-life experiences shared within these papers will enrich the conservation and management of our heritage.

Foreword

Francesco Sirano, Director, Herculaneum Archaeological Park

ach person has key turning points in their career that are not just intellectually stimulating experiences but are moments which encourage personal and professional growth over time. This was the case for me with the Heritage Site Management Practices workshop, when I had the privilege of participating in 2008 in my role as the archaeologist responsible for the site of Teano (Italy).

Looking back at the last decade, I can see the influence the workshop has had on me. I have significantly improved my ability to analyse my work in terms of good management principles for heritage places; to define a shared understanding on which to act; and to identify criteria for setting priorities and ensuring good results and wider benefits from a management system in the mid- and long-term. Perhaps above all, those two intensive weeks, and the dialogue that followed, opened me up to intercultural approaches that overcome disciplinary and sectoral boundaries; to the need to establish personal relationships with colleagues from around the world; to listening by letting go of distrust; and to learning how to embrace moments of growth.

Today, as Director of the new dedicated management authority for Herculaneum, I have an even greater appreciation for that experience. The world has changed dramatically in the years since the workshop. Heritage is placed under ever-increasing external pressures, often putting conservation and heritage values at risk. At the same time, in many countries, the environment's and society's well-being are topics that have moved up political agendas, often taking heritage with them. This creates new openings for the heritage sector to build bridges to other sectors and innovate. These are exciting times in which to draw on the lessons of the 2008 workshop and the reflections it provoked in subsequent years.

Developments in Italy respect this wider trend of heritage practitioners having to navigate untrodden ground, with the challenges and opportunities that brings. The heritage management system in Italy has undergone changes we could never even have imagined in 2008.

In the case of Herculaneum, thanks to the management autonomy it now enjoys, we have been able to finally put into practice all the things that were discussed during the 2008 workshop: implementing back-to-back cycles of programmed maintenance; using internal funding to guarantee conservation for the entire site and not just individual buildings; directing one-off capital funds for enhancement projects, such as increased accessibility and visitor management. We have also consolidated engagement with the community of the modern town of Ercolano and its institutional representatives, so that collaborative projects can extend to areas beyond the archaeological park and the reciprocal benefits of this new dynamism can be harnessed by the local community and the heritage assets alike.

Building on the many years of support of the Packard Humanities Institute and our shared Herculaneum Conservation Project, this ancient city and its wider setting are today an open-air laboratory in which we continue to try and push boundaries in heritage management approaches. Through learning to support sustainability better in terms of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, we also work to reinforce the resilience of the archaeological site, its surrounding community and wider heritage assets in the area as they face new forms of adversity and disaster, ranging from economic decline to climate change, from a potential new eruption of Vesuvius to the immediate reality of the COVID-19 outbreak. In particular, the pandemic has brought into question many of the assumptions on which management strategies were based.

For this reason, while the management system for Herculaneum continues to improve, the following pages show an ongoing usefulness in taking a systematic approach to managing cultural heritage places in an enthusiastic, participatory and multidisciplinary way. The voices of those working on the front line of heritage management not only remind us of how far we have come but also, more importantly, how far much more we can aim to do.

Foreword

Christian Biggi, Manager, Herculaneum Centre (2007–2015)

he international workshop on Heritage Site Management Practices was hosted by the Herculaneum Centre as part of a wider programme of capacity-building initiatives launched in the modern town of Ercolano and its archaeological site of Herculaneum, Italy. It was organized in collaboration with ICCROM and the Herculaneum Conservation Project,¹ and took place 13-24 October 2008. It was a defining moment for Ercolano when 17 heritage practitioners, representing 13 countries and 7 different ICCROM programmes, met with local heritage professionals to share their experiences in the field and move practice forward. All participants brought experience from long-term involvement at a single heritage place and some also drew on contributions at a national or international level. It was an event which created fertile ground for finding approaches to heritage management that do not discard existing management systems but seek to understand them, open them up and draw inspiration from others - adopting and adapting elements of success. The richness of this experience echoes through each and every contribution to this publication.

It is useful to place this specific workshop in the wider context of the Herculaneum Centre's efforts. The partners who launched the Centre² had wanted to bring together international, national and local stakeholders to provide a more sustainable future for both ancient Herculaneum and modern Ercolano. From its inception, the Centre had the ambitious objective of connecting people with heritage at both a local and an international level, improving physical, social and intellectual access to cultural heritage and overcoming the late-twentieth-century isolation of Herculaneum and other cultural heritage from the rest of society. It was hoped that this would also help gain support for the conservation efforts being carried out on site and ensure that heritage contributed to sustainable development efforts by working with other sectors. A wide range of stakeholder groups - many brought together for the first time - collaborated in these efforts, from heritage organizations and universities to local residents and businesses. The Centre's role often involved bringing together an assortment of partners in new combinations to problem-solve and reach consensus. Bringing international groups, as for the workshop that is the subject of this volume, was one such initiative that had an impact far beyond the core results that can be read here: opening up Ercolano to international guests and converting them into ambassadors for Herculaneum was as important as producing this publication.

The time that has passed since we hosted the Heritage Site Management Practices workshop has provided us with a real sense of perspective on how our work to reconnect the local community to their cultural heritage, to raise awareness and to revitalize what had been a vibrant cultural ecosystem only half a century earlier, was never a linear process. It was

often a slow-going one. Certain events and initiatives shine out in hindsight and this workshop is definitely one of them because of the positive repercussions it stimulated more widely.

It is important to recognize the 2008 workshop, including its preparations and follow-up, as much more than an event organized to encourage capacity-building among heritage practitioners. In all its initiatives, the Herculaneum Centre always placed emphasis on achieving benefits for the local residents in Ercolano, which is an area that is culturally vibrant and interesting, while also complex in terms of socio-economic disadvantages and the long-term failure of institutions to address them. The public authority for cultural heritage in Ercolano, as in many other places, not only lacked a clear institutional mandate to work with other stakeholders but was also under-resourced even for day-to-day conservation obligations, and margins to introduce innovation in approaches were minimal. As a result, the local community was the most excluded stakeholder, even though they should be able to offer support due to their strong sense of connection to the heritage and their physical proximity. It was considered important to reverse this, even at an event that was seemingly aimed at practitioners. While hosting the group of international participants for over a week, the Herculaneum Centre sought to bring them together with community members as part of a much longer-term collaborative process.

The Herculaneum Centre organized this workshop as a shared journey over time, rather than a single event. The programme was developed so that as many local players as possible were involved, from pre-workshop events in schools, local businesses providing services, residents participating in key moments of the week, and local representatives reviewing the participants' final presentations at the close of the workshop. Perhaps the most stimulating element of this process was the particularly rich exchange between visiting and local practitioners with local stakeholders. One initiative in particular stands out. School students were provided with information on the international case studies prior to the workshop and produced an exhibition on all the heritage sites, which went on public display at the entrance to Herculaneum. The inauguration of the exhibition was also the opening of the workshop, ensuring that the local community played a role in welcoming guests to their town. It was of particular significance that the participation of school students in this opening event meant that their family members also attended, bringing in new segments of the local community who had not previously visited the archaeological site. It made cultural heritage a stimulus for intergenerational dialogue within the local community.

Herculaneum, as a component of a World Heritage property, was obviously already known to the international heritage community, thanks to previous collaborations with ICCROM, the Getty Conservation Institute and others. However, the richness of the interactions with the community resulted in the international participants becoming enthusiastic ambassadors for this small Vesuvian town all over the world, establishing a network that is a long-term legacy for the site. The workshop was also a significant example of the success of Herculaneum as an open-air classroom, which encouraged the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage, as well as the local heritage authority, to secure public funding, which allowed the

Herculaneum Centre to implement its programmes and activities for a further seven years (Biggi *et al.* 2018). Moreover, the neutral, yet prestigious, international interest was a catalyst for new or transformed relationships, and for breaking down barriers and overcoming the distrust that existed between the local community, the municipality and heritage authorities. It disrupted the status quo in a positive way and constituted a very significant step in a long journey aimed at changing perceptions and local self-esteem.

It is important to note that the process that was adopted in this workshop and other activities in Ercolano allowed us to create meaningful relationships and overcome the syndrome of one-off events for local communities. At Herculaneum, there is a continuing desire to root decision-making within an endogenous process in order to achieve equitable outcomes and a long-lasting legacy. Many years have passed since the initial wave of positive impacts from the Heritage Site Management Practices workshop. This publication, which points to the key role Ercolano and Herculaneum played in the success of the workshop, will renew and consolidate progress started at the time. It will be a new source of pride among local stakeholders and a stimulus for finding similar participatory ways of bringing together local, national and international voices, in order to build connections, learn from each other and provide benefits for heritage and its communities.

Notes

- 1. See Pesaresi et al. in this volume.
- 2. The Centre was launched in 2006 by the members of the Associazione Herculaneum: the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei (the heritage authority for the Vesuvian area), the Comune di Ercolano (the municipality) and the British School at Rome (an international research institute). Major contributions were also provided by the conservation project for the archaeological site, the Herculaneum Conservation Project, and the urban regeneration programme, Urban Herculaneum.

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Introduction. Heritage Site Management Practices: A Global Snapshot at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century

Valerie Magar, Jane Thompson & Gamini Wijesuriya

In the autumn of 2008, a two-week international workshop dedicated to Heritage Site Management Practices took place on the Bay of Naples, Italy. This initiative, at first sight typical of the many events that fill the calendar of heritage practitioners worldwide, broke new ground. It was the first time that the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (better known as ICCROM) brought together staff and participants from its international programmes and flagship courses in a single workshop. It can be said with hindsight that this meeting not only marked a new intellectual chapter for ICCROM but was also to prove influential in determining the next decade of learning resources and capacity-building initiatives, in particular for World Heritage. It was an outcome that exceeded our own expectations as the team behind the initiative in 2008. The results of the meeting even years on, in our opinion, constitute an exceptional window on heritage practices in the field at a specific and a significant moment in time.

The workshop took place against the backdrop of a wider research project being advanced by ICCROM regarding heritage 'management systems', a term adopted only a few years earlier in the 2005 edition of *The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO 2021). What was not clear back then was that this one-off event would prove to be the start of a journey that would go on to shape many conversations in the heritage community and also much of ICCROM's work over the next decade, setting in motion a series of capacity-building activities and growing aspirations for the sector. This introduction tries to recount some of this story.

Seventeen heritage practitioners representing thirteen countries worked together over a ten-day period to throw new light on issues raised by the day-to-day *practice* of management at heritage places. Prior to, during and after the workshop, attempts were made to advance understanding of heritage management systems operating at a site level. Systematic analysis sought to identify their core components and examine interdependencies among them. This deliberate focus had the broader aim of charting alignment and divergence between what was taking place in the field and the discourse prevailing in the international heritage community.

This was not an abstract academic exercise; it tested contemporary approaches to management on the ground and in a global context. It drew on the experience of heritage practitioners working with urban centres, monuments, archaeological sites, religious heritage places, gardens and landscapes in diverse contexts around the world. Some were sites of national importance while others were World Heritage properties. In addition, a number of Italian sites that illustrated a range of management challenges were used as open-air classrooms and as shared case studies to allow the group to expand their reflections on management realities.

The insights brought together in this publication often reflect a status quo that existed before the brunt of the 2008 economic crisis, the Arab Spring and other trends and instability in politics pushed cultural heritage yet further down the list of priorities¹ (perhaps with the unfortunate exception of the growing use of heritage as a pawn in conflicts and in other contexts where peace and security have been eroded).² The extent to which this previous management status quo resisted or not, and for good or bad, is of great interest. It became evident to the organizers of the workshop that the importance of the meeting's outcomes was actually growing, not diminishing, over time. This recognition has been very much behind our determination to bring these proceedings to a wider public.

Every heritage practitioner participating in the workshop, which included ICCROM staff, presented their own analysis of a particular case study site (a heritage place where they worked or had worked). These were discussed in the workshop and, in the case of Italian sites, enhanced by site visits. Each case study was assigned to one of three core themes, which provided a framework for discussion and ensured that dialogue reflected the realities of site management.

The subsequent writing-up of the case studies following the workshop added a significant step to the process. It enabled participants not only to incorporate the insights they had gained during their time together but also to reflect on their learning on return to their heritage site, and to deepen and expand their initial analysis. Their contributions now form the chapters that make up this publication. Although each paper describes a particular place at a specific time, this does not reduce the combined value of these examples for building a greater shared understanding of heritage management. Collectively, they offer a snapshot of the situation over six continents at a single moment, thanks to each author taking a systematic – and therefore comparable – approach to analysing their heritage management practices. The breadth of experiences provides some thought-provoking similarities and also specificities with regard to global problems that are still a challenge for site management today.

As mentioned above, for the workshop each case study was assigned one of three themes, and this book follows the same three-part structure: planning for management; management practice; and long-term maintenance versus project-based conservation. Readers will find, however, that each paper cuts across the three themes, demonstrating how all areas of management practice are interconnected and often overlap. This also offers us greater insight into how the initial workshop discussions have developed into more in-depth analysis of the management status quo at each site. More recently the authors provided a postscript, a brief commentary that

has been added to the end of each chapter to describe any changes at their site since the main text was written. These updates reveal how a number of the workshop participants have since been required to navigate complex and evolving management systems. The case studies from Montreal in Canada (Jean Laberge) and Porto-Novo in Benin (Souayibou Varissou) are two such examples. Indeed, the preparation arc of this publication has enabled the workshop's newly created practitioner community to continue to exchange ideas and enhance its critical capacity. The phased process has allowed for more thorough review of each case study and more informed analysis.

Perhaps the clearest example of the impacts of such knowledge exchange is illustrated by the workshop's extended and multi-themed case study of the archaeological site of Herculaneum, where a significant international public-private partnership has been developed. The Roman town, only rediscovered in modern times after nearly two millennia under the debris of the volcanic eruption in 79 CE, had risked being lost for a second time at the turn of the twenty-first century due to neglect, driven not by natural disasters or civil wars but by failures in management and in continuity of care.3 The thought-provoking questions and input from all the participants during the workshop proved a stimulus for a much more systematic approach to analysing macro, micro and intermediate levels of management practice at Herculaneum. This approach enabled those managing the site to situate management decisions within a context of multifacted and interdependent site needs, and consequently led to major shifts in site management over the following ten years. These changes were diverse. At Herculaneum itself they included a focus on how to manage the gradual handover of responsibility of the conservation programme from a private to public partner (a process that is still ongoing), but also at a national level they have influenced how Italy's Ministry of Culture has (since 2016) reformed the management of many of its important sites and cultural places. This has been achieved through promoting the benefits of enhanced management autonomy, decision-making at site level and greater partnership working. Perhaps most poignantly, the Ministry reform assigned autonomy to Herculaneum, separating it from nearby Pompeii. This was a difficult choice given the shared history of the Vesuvian sites, but a choice that has allowed Herculaneum to define its own distinct heritage significance, thereby attracting greater public, human and financial resources, and substantial increases in visitor numbers and ticket income. Of particular note was the high-profile selection process for a dedicated director, resulting in the appointment of one of the 2008 workshop's participants, Francesco Sirano, whose family comes from the modern town surrounding Herculaneum.

The case of Herculaneum, however, along with all the case studies presented at the workshop, can demonstrate features that are common to every heritage management system. The empirical approach taken by the workshop organizers to elicit and define these components through the workshop format established an innovative basis on which to construct a common framework for identifying and analysing a heritage site's management status quo. Its merit was that even systems that appeared apparently complex and unique could be honed down to their most essential features. This then allowed comparisons to be made with experiences at

other sites in other countries, and offered opportunities for practitioners working in very different sites and contexts to learn from one another. Indeed, discussion during the workshop and in the follow-up period preempted much of the thinking behind the conceptual framework that finally appeared in the 2013 manual Managing Cultural World Heritage, co-edited by UNESCO and the Advisory Bodies, with ICCROM in the lead role. The manual classified management realities at a site level into the nine core components common to all heritage management systems, indifferent to the diversity of typologies of heritage, settings and socio-economic contexts, and it articulated the interdependencies among these components - three elements, three processes and three results in a shared analytical framework (Wijesuriya et al. 2013: 53-121). This establishes a baseline for structured analysis of a management system for a site or a group of sites and includes examination of how it benefits from, for example, regional- or national-level legislation and resources or local community engagement. Following such a framework within the workshop setting enabled participants to compare, contrast and discuss a range of real-life heritage management systems approaches.

Fostering greater awareness and understanding of the specific management systems within which heritage practitioners operate has been a key effort of ICCROM over the last two decades. The purpose of this has been to support practitioners in developing meaningful site management plans that take management realities into account - trends in some countries, particularly for World Heritage, to appoint external consultants to prepare management plans have proved detrimental to good heritage practice simply because those drafting the plan have not understood the existing management system and context. Indeed, the lack of local ownership of the management planning process, and the inability to embed future strategic thinking around the strengths and potential of the existing management system, was leading to numerous plans being produced but never implemented (a problem that, today, is still by no means totally resolved). Equipping practitioners with the skills to analyse extant management systems critically therefore became part of ICCROM's core management module in flagship courses, such as Conservation of Built Heritage, which ran from 2007 to 2016.

The hindsight that this publication of the workshop proceedings affords us is very interesting, not least in revealing how limited change has been in the intervening years – institutional and legal frameworks have been the slowest to advance. Yet it also reveals how the sector has become increasingly fragmented, with roles and responsibilities becoming diluted (UNESCO 2013). Also significant is the early interest expressed in some of the papers in values-based approaches, community engagement and heritage benefits. Such themes have come to dominate the international heritage discourse and national policy work in recent years, especially in light of the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the adoption of complementary policy specific to the processes of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 2015b). Similarly, some papers anticipate the ongoing shortage of knowledge, skills and competencies in disaster preparedness and project management and the potential of these areas to bridge to other sectors, enhancing support for heritage.

This portfolio of heritage management snapshots is proving its worth over a decade later as the analysis of heritage places and their management systems takes a new step forward within the World Heritage Leadership programme, delivered by ICCROM with the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), in partnership with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). The three Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Convention push for ever better management of both natural and cultural heritage; consequently, the programme's new capacity-building initiatives and nature-culture management manual are drawing greatly from the more structured approach to heritage management practice at a site level that emerged in this 2008 workshop and was developed over subsequent years. This not only shows the continued value of the workshop research, but also points to the potential for returning to these case study sites again for longitudinal research that charts the sector's progress towards conserving and managing heritage places in more effective ways.

For those of us working to ICCROM's core mandate and involved in its capacity-building initiatives since the 2008 workshop, reading the case studies now is a moment for real reflection. Each one acts as a reminder that management systems must be able to adapt to respond to evolving economic, social and environmental contexts. Success in adaptation depends on how well heritage practitioners understand the workings of these management systems and how well equipped they themselves are to identify problems and find and implement the solutions to resolve them. The case studies that we present here offer a truly valuable insight into understanding how such success might be achieved.

Acknowledgements

This publication is the result of years of effort, and we are so grateful to everyone involved for their hard work, support and unflagging enthusiasm in seeing the project Management Practices for Heritage Sites come to fruition and ensuring it continues to be relevant today and for the future. The contributors are, of course, at the heart of this volume, and we extend our warm thanks to all the authors for sharing their expert insights.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of all the organizations involved. The commitment and enthusiasm of the founding partners of the initiative, the Associazione Herculaneum and ICCROM, were matched from the outset by the local partners who made the initial workshop in October 2008 such a success. These included our local hosts and our partners for site visits.

We would also like to express our gratitude to those who made Ercolano and the workshop such a welcoming and stimulating environment for international dialogue and exchange back in 2008, including Christian Biggi and Bianca Capasso for the Associazione Herculaneum and the wider ICCROM team led by Joseph King. This achievement also created opportunities for the Herculaneum Centre to connect community members with key local partners, such as the superintendency and the Stoà Business School, as part of a much longer-term collaborative process.

Thanks must go to everyone who made this publication possible: the many peer reviewers, in particular, Kasia Katarzyna Piotrowska; and, of course, the ICCROM publications team.

Finally, a special thanks is owed to Sarah Court, who has been central to the success of every phase of this project, from our first ideas for a Herculaneum–ICCROM collaboration in 2005 to this publication. She skilfully helped us to navigate changing landscapes and numerous obstacles – ensuring a voice for heritage practitioners in the field and enabling it to be heard.

Notes

- 1 Indeed, many international organizations began to shift their attention to new ways of supporting heritage agendas much weakened by the 2008 financial crisis (Licciardi and Amirtahmasebi 2012).
- 2 Something that prompted UNESCO's dedicated strategy for heritage in the context of armed conflict of 2015 (UNESCO 2015a).
- 3 Herculaneum in the year 2000 was in a state of neglect. During an international cultural heritage conference, PisaMed 2002 in Rome, it was considered one of the worst cases in the world of preservation of a cultural heritage site, inasmuch as the causes of decay were not produced by an ongoing conflict but management failures. See Pesaresi *et al.* in this volume.

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Workshop Structure and Case Studies

Below are abstracts for the chapters that make up this publication, each of which were case studies presented at the workshop on Heritage Site Management Practices. The publication is based on the three themes discussed during that workshop and which participants explored through the lens of their own case study. Each of the sections below opens with a summary of those thematic areas.

As noted in the introduction, many papers moved outside the scope of the assigned thematic area as they were drafted and revised. Participants expanded their contributions with more insightful analysis, meaning the contents of the texts often go beyond the title of the section.

Theme 1: Planning for Management

The aim of the first workshop theme was to understand how the heritage management systems in each country were being used in the decision-making processes for the conservation and management of the case study sites.

Workshop prompts for Theme 1

In order to address this thematic area, the participants charted:

- the legislative mandate (constitution, heritage legislation, site-specific legislation, state government legislation, etc.) that defines heritage, empowers protection and influences the decision-making process for the conservation and management of the site;
- which organization(s) institutions or agencies use the above-mentioned legislative frameworks for the conservation and management of the site and what organizational structure they employ;
- the decision-making process or processes within the organization and outside it, with reference to the sources of knowledge traditionally used, such as national charters, principles or international documents, or a combination;
- external constraints influencing management planning (environmental, social, political, etc.);

- some of the operational aspects of site management, for example:
 - how and what resources (human and financial) are used in the process,
 - the use of in-house heritage specialists or consultancy services.
 - how much public funding or other financial resources are available,
 - any gaps between official decision-making processes and what actually happens in reality;
- the consultative processes within the organization and with other organizations and/or with communities;
- the nature of the long-term decision making and programming decisions;
- any specific management plan for the site, including how it was created and how it stands in relation to other management practices in the country;
- any links between the organization's conservation and management of the site and other organizations or plans that may affect the site;
- any research and training components that are part of the decision-making process and how they are achieved.

Amra Šarančić Logo described the situation in the rural historic town of Blagaj (Bosnia-Herzegovina), which faced development pressures. She identified challenges, such as the loss of building traditions and the disappearance of traditional craftspeople, and a sense of place, as the town and, in particular, its riverfront developed an economy based on tourism. As a living town, the absence of a single organization with management responsibilities caused some problems. A general lack of awareness of heritage values meant tourism in Blagaj was not well managed or well connected to its heritage. Although there was strong community participation and connection to the heritage, it was important to ensure that benefits did not only go to a few private developers. As the town centre sought listing as a World Heritage site, hopes were placed in a management planning process that would create a shared vision for future development, including tourism, and identify tools for mitigating negative impacts and promoting sustainable solutions.

Sílvio Mendes Zancheti analysed the challenges facing the sixteenth-century Franciscan convent building in Olinda (Brazil), which housed two religious institutions. This sprawling complex was listed as a World Heritage site but had ongoing issues with finding resources for conservation and compatible uses that could generate new sources of income. A management plan drawn up in 2007 was the first of its type in Brazil and aimed at self-sufficient conservation after ten years. This chapter analyses the implementation of the plan and the adoption of management processes by the religious orders with support from heritage authorities. It offers a reflection on the way that owners of religious buildings struggle for sustainability when faced with increasing financial obligations

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to their heritage property, coupled with drastic reductions in numbers of members and support. The author noted how the diversification and intensification of activities in support of sustainability efforts may give rise to positive external effects on the local economy and on the social environment.

Valeria Sampaolo described the challenges of caring for the site of ancient Capua (Italy), which boasts, among numerous monuments, a Roman amphitheatre almost as large as the Colosseum. She illustrated the ongoing efforts of local heritage authorities as an example of how archaeological superintendencies operate within the national framework. The progressive and dramatic reduction of funding for heritage in Italy is described, including decreases in staffing and a lack of adequate funds for running costs. This led to changes in planning, whereby three-year plans for conservation, maintenance and research had to become flexible in responding to unforeseen circumstances that were more urgent than those identified at the time of the funding request. In addition, capital funding was being used to support conservation activities unable to be covered by the annual budget.

Gamini Wijesuriya looked at the experience at Kandy (Sri Lanka), where despite an evolving management system that was pushing to become more intersectorial, new approaches were needed after a bomb attack at the site. The Temple of the Tooth Relic is not just a World Heritage site but also an important place of Buddhist pilgrimage since the fifth century CE. Its restoration after the bombing was based on orders that plans should be approved by representatives of the Buddhist community rather than heritage authorities taking decisions alone. The approach taken was to become the basis of a 'living heritage' approach, which took into consideration the needs and values of the community using the site, not just those held by heritage specialists.

Abdullah Halawa described the situation at the site of Crac des Chevaliers, also known as Qala'at Al-Hisn (Syria), as it was before being damaged in the Syrian civil war. He used this example to explore institutional practices in Syria's Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums, which was a relatively large institution but struggled in areas such as coordination with stakeholders to manage heritage in a way that also addressed the needs of local residents.

Ashton Sinamai recounted the circumstances around the management plan drawn up for the archaeological site of Khami (Zimbabwe). On many fronts this was a new approach to conserving the site and tackling the challenges of its preservation. However, in the context of the political, economic and social difficulties facing the country, it ultimately failed to be fully implemented and thereby illustrates the degree to which heritage management depends on its contemporary context.

Theme 2: Management Practice

The second theme focused on the most practical aspects of day-to-day management. The issues discussed were related to the direct implementation of conservation activities as a result of plans and programming – in particular, practical issues faced at the implementation stage. Attention was paid to potential difficulties in working with other organizations and

communities, and in identifying any implications for the daily running of sites.

One area of particular interest under this theme was how partnerships were formed and managed on a daily basis. This included working with communities and specific partnerships for specific projects, but also collaboration with institutions or organizations from fields other than heritage.

Workshop prompts for Theme 2

In order to address this thematic area, the participants charted:

- resources used at the site and constraints influencing their use;
- who is responsible for planning and implementing projects/ activities;
- the kinds of management activities carried out;
- the legal and financial liabilities associated with the implementation of activities;
- how risk is distributed among parties involved;
- mechanisms linked to budgets, including their formulation, request, allocation and expenditure;
- contingency strategies, such as how financial programming and human resources cope with unforeseeable spending and additional activities;
- outsourced services and conservation activities;
- appraisal or monitoring measures to ensure sufficient quality control of an organization's activities;
- the challenges, shortcomings and benefits of the existing management practice for a site.

Souayibou Varissou offered an assessment of management practices at the Garden of Plants and Nature of Porto-Novo (Benin), a site which had been part of a sacred forest and later a colonial acclimatization garden. A partnership between the École du Patrimoine Africain and the Ministry of Agriculture laid the foundations for a management experiment when the garden was re-opened in 1999, with a mission to balance conservation, education and resource-generating activities.

The late Khun-Neay Khuon presented the case of Angkor Archaeological Park (Cambodia), where the challenges include managing an extensive archaeological area that attracts mass tourism but is also a living heritage site and home to more than 120 000 people. This latter fact meant that the heritage authority's mission in Angkor includes a sustainable development obligation. Management practice at Angkor meant implementing both a plan mostly focused on administrative, financial and natural resource management, and a heritage management framework focused on the conservation of the Outstanding Universal Value of this World Heritage property and on tourism management.

Francesco Sirano took the example of Teanum Sidicinum Archaeological Park (Italy) and charted the way management has evolved since the WORKSHOP STRUCTURE

mid-twentieth century. He noted the particular opportunities arising from a state-owned and state-run heritage place while also analysing the typical problems encountered. Sirano provided specific examples of the different management processes at Teano's ancient theatre and archaeological site compared to the museum. He identified many similar challenges with regard to ensuring the best use of capital funding and dealing with a lack of human resources, offering examples where creative problem solving was needed.

Valerie Magar looked at the Sierra de San Francisco, a mountain range in Mexico containing a large number of rock art sites. The cultural heritage is found within an area that was largely managed for its natural values, as it lies within Mexico's largest biosphere reserve. She looked at the way a participatory management planning process was implemented in practice, in particular with regard to visitor management, which was addressed to minimize negative impacts on the cultural and natural heritage. Capacity building with local community members allowed access to be provided when visitors were accompanied by local guides, with visible success in the first years of implementation. Sadly, a lack of official endorsement of the management plan, the first one developed in the country, meant that issues such as changing land use regulations, insufficient funding, infrastructure projects and tourism have put pressure on the fragile management system.

Theme 3: Long-Term Maintenance versus Project-Based Conservation

The third theme explored the challenges facing the long-term care of sites in different parts of the world. Maintenance has been considered an ongoing problem meriting greater consideration in the conservation world, as often little or no attention is paid to it. In many sites around the world, a one-off conservation or restoration project has proven easier to fund than a maintenance strategy.

Workshop prompts for Theme 3

Topics under this theme included maintenance plans, visitor management and interpretation issues, as well as aspects linked with sustainability. Participants looked at:

- strategies that cater for the maintenance of the sites in the long term;
- mechanisms that are available for the regular inspection or monitoring of the site;
- mechanisms to implement conservation or mitigation measures following those inspections;
- the allocation of resources to one-off localized conservation projects in the site and/or to site-wide rolling maintenance programmes;
- particular operational difficulties guaranteeing continuity and documentation in continuous site care (such as outsourcing problems, legislative limitations).

These issues were linked to matters such as the allocation of resources, staffing, institutional arrangements and outsourcing of various activities.

Another topic that fell under this theme was that of visitor management and interpretation, where participants explored:

- the importance placed by the heritage system on public access versus academic valorization of the site;
- visitor statistics and types of visitation (such as mass tourism, school groups, selective informed tourist, local community and so on);
- visitor management and interpretation strategies, their development and application at the site;
- the challenges and issues encountered in the implementation of the strategy.

Finally, an early discussion of the concept of sustainability took place at two different levels:

- Site specific. The first approach related to plans or programmes in place to ensure the sustainability of the site and the resources necessary for its management and long-term care (such as initiatives to reduce running costs, sourcing new forms of financial support, increasing the number of local interest groups contributing to site care, improving legislation to favour good outsourcing).
- Site in context. The second approach assumed that the site itself could contribute to the long-term sustainable development of neighbouring communities or regions where the site is located.

Jonathan Sweet explored the process of change that occurred at the Port Arthur Historic Site (Australia) after a mass shooting took place there in 1996. The tragedy at this former penal settlement led to a re-examination of conservation practice, which included the articulation of visitor management priorities and the adoption of a heritage interpretation plan. This process was controversial, and his paper discusses the contestation that occurred between competing visions for the rejuvenation of the site in the years that followed. It concludes that while professional conservation planning was critical for the conservation of heritage values, so were some of the compromises made for the purposes of visitor management and economic sustainability, and to an extent, at the expense of some local people's wishes.

Jean Laberge discussed a cultural landscape known as the Mount Royal Historic and Natural District (Canada), which faced enormous development pressures, lying as it does at the heart of Montreal. He described some key management tools, the Protection and Enhancement Plan and the Mount Royal Heritage Pact, which have required considerable stakeholder management in order to find a shared vision for the management and use of the heritage. He outlined the complexity of reaching such negotiated results among a multitude of public and private stakeholders.

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Patricia Meehan and Alejandra Alonso described conservation efforts at the Mayan archaeological site of Ek' Balam (Mexico). While funding from various sources supported a range of projects, continuous care was not guaranteed, and most maintenance was carried out within annual campaigns of university projects. The authors also describe increasing tourism pressures at the site, where more visitation has been encouraged to bring in additional financial resources. However, they note that this money was not being used to pay for regular maintenance but instead to attract more visitors, while the existing forms of mass tourism did not even contribute to local economic development. The paper concludes with a call for more participatory approaches to management that can contribute to conservation and maintenance programmes.

Larry Cruz laid out the challenges of conserving the Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery Historical Landmark (Philippines). The existing management system funded project-based activities but did not have a budget to allocate to ongoing maintenance needs. Despite annual budget fluctuations, which affected works programming, the heritage authority tried new ways of meeting conservation needs, such as outsourcing restoration projects. The heritage authority also had to respond to the fact that the site was still very much in use, with local people regularly visiting graves.

Cross-Cutting Case Study: Herculaneum

As the workshop was hosted at the archaeological site of Herculaneum (Italy), which became a shared in-depth study referred to by all participants in discussion, this case study explored all three of the themes addressed in the workshop. In this extended contribution the authors, Paola Pesaresi, Valentina Puglisi and Jane Thompson, offer a complete overview of the management reality at that time, on multiple levels, beginning with the national heritage management system for archaeological sites in Italy before focusing in on the particular situation at Herculaneum, where the local heritage authority responsible for the sites in the Vesuvian area has been given special autonomy from the national system. The paper then charts the development and impact of a temporary reinforcement of the management system created at Herculaneum in response to the extremely serious conservation conditions, a public-private partnership known as the Herculaneum Conservation Project (HCP). Also discussed are the approaches adopted by HCP, first in response to the emergency situation at the site in the early twenty-first century and then its evolution into a programmed maintenance campaign.

Theme 1

Planning for Management



The Historic Urban Area of Blagaj Bosnia and Herzegovina

Amra Šarančić Logo

lagaj is a small town located in the south of Bosnia and Herzegovina, just 10 km from Mostar's Old Bridge area. The historic urban area of Blagaj constitutes a unique natural and urban-rural ensemble (fig. 1). The area is special for the diversity of its aboveground and underground hydrography: the source of the Buna River is an impressive example of an underground karst river, and its spring is one of the largest in Europe. The region is also known for the diversity of its flora and is home to a number of endemic species. The historical development of the Blagaj region and its socio-political transformation can be traced continuously from prehistory to the present day. Blagaj is one of the most distinctive urban-rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, different from other similar areas owing to its complex, disjunctive urban layout, and the location of the medieval Stjepan grad (old fortress). The historic urban area of Blagaj is of great importance, not only to Bosnia and Herzegovina but also internationally, and the site has been included in the national Tentative World Heritage List since 2008.1

An Overview of the Site and Its Challenges

Today the town of Blagaj has a population of around 2 500 permanent residents plus a further 1 000 temporary residents who spend spring and summer in the area. About 100 000 national and international tourists visit the town annually, and this number is increasing slowly every year. The historic urban area of Blagaj (fig. 2) covers an area of approximately 8,58 km² and includes archaeological sites (several caves with prehistoric finds, and the Stjepan grad), sites of natural beauty (the source of the Buna River, and impressive cliffs), and historic buildings and architectural complexes dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries (religious buildings, residential houses, a bridge, *han* [inn], and *hamam* [bath building]).²

In the period after the 1992–1995 war, unplanned development and an increase in tourism led to inappropriate interventions in the historic area and traffic congestion (compounded by inadequate parking facilities). Blagaj's urban layout still survives, with its *mahalas* (residential quarters) and the *čaršija* (market), but a certain number of residential buildings of significant architectural value were destroyed or abandoned, and many commercial buildings that contribute to the value of the town centre are in

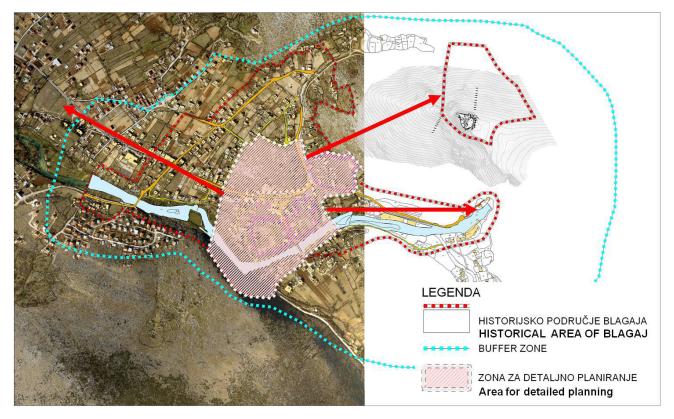


Figure 1 Map of the wider area around Blagaj. (Commission to Preserve National Monuments)

a state of neglect or simply abandoned. Of properties surveyed, in 76 per cent of cases where properties have been built on existing sites, these have used modern designs and materials. Seven per cent of the properties surveyed are vacant and in poor structural condition, and 3 per cent are only partly fit for use and require remedial works or are under construction.

The key challenges that face the historic urban area of Blagaj today can be summarized as follows:

• *Design approaches*. There is a presently a lack of respect for, and understanding of, traditional architectural expressions, forms and materials when constructing new buildings with modern

Figure 2 Map of the historical urban area of Blagaj showing the distribution of built structures (white) and open spaces (grey). Individual national monuments are in purple. As can be seen from the map, Blagaj is characterized by narrow streets, the longitudinal principal axis of the settlement runs along the river and there are small individual houses with yards. (Commission to Preserve National Monuments)



BLAGAJ | ŠARANČIĆ



Figure 3a–c Blagaj Fort (a), tekke (b), Velagić house (c). (Photos: Amel Emrić, Commission to Preserve National Monuments)





materials and construction techniques (e.g. changes in façades, shapes and roof coverings).

- Decline in traditional practices and activities and increase in private development. The slow disappearance of the čaršija is accompanied by the disappearance of craft activities and the traditional economy. This has been exacerbated by the sudden and uncontrolled expansion of cafés and restaurants outside of the traditional commercial area and close to the source of the river and the *tekke* (Dervish monastery), an area that was known for its peacefulness and spiritual qualities.
- *Traffic management*. The urban core of Blagaj and its historic centre suffer from traffic congestion and a shortage of proper parking facilities.
- *Tourism*. Blagaj, with all its rich history and heritage, is not properly presented to tourists. In addition, income from

- tourism is very low in comparison to the number of visitors. Entrance fees are not charged, except to enter the *tekke*; any income generated, for example in restaurants, stays within the private sector.
- Local awareness. Among the inhabitants of Blagaj, even among tourist guides, there is a lack of perception of Blagaj as a historic urban area with numerous cultural and natural heritage sites.
- Site management. There is no organization responsible for the management of the overall site, nor is there a management plan in place. (A plan was drafted by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments in 2008 but has not passed all the necessary procedures to be implemented.) Only two sites the *tekke* and part of the Velagić family residential complex have an established management structure, albeit a basic one. In both cases private organizations are responsible for the presentation of the sites.

These challenges have come about through an absence of planning processes and documentation, poor management, lack of maintenance and a shortage of funds. Establishing a development vision and applying appropriate management tools could address these issues, and mitigate the negative impacts of development within the historic area. Blagaj has huge potential for developing tourism and for contributing to the sustainable development of the wider region, and its natural assets and cultural heritage offer opportunities for study and research (fig. 3). In recognition of this potential, cultural heritage specialist Mirela Mulalić Handan of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments (BIH) writes:

The fundamental aim of management should be to preserve the outstanding universal value of Blagaj for future generations. This could be achieved by conservation to safeguard its physical protection against deterioration and other changes to the protected area and properties, interventions designed to enhance the visual character of the surroundings, and activities designed to mitigate or eliminate negative environmental impacts. Management should also focus on improved presentation and interpretation of its cultural and natural assets to enable visitors to understand them more fully, and on laying the groundwork for the integration of Blagaj's heritage into development, particularly tourism development. The management of the historic area of Blagaj should achieve a balance between heritage conservation and development needs. Research should be encouraged, thus generating information that would help to improve the management and appreciation of the universal value of Blagaj. (Mulalić Handan 2010)

Site Protection and Management

Protection of the site

The historic urban area of Blagaj with all its individual monuments has been protected by legislation since the introduction of legal protection for heritage monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, shortly after World War II.

Since the 1950s, aspects of Blagaj's heritage have come under the protection of legislation:

- The Stjepan grad fortress, the *tekke* and its *turbe* (mausoleum) and *musafirhana* (guest house) in Blagaj, the Careva mosque, the Karadoz-beg bridge and the Kolaković house: these monuments were placed under state protection between 1952 and 1962 (the relevant law was developed by the former heritage protection authority, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the Peoples' Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina).
- The source of the Buna River is protected by a ruling of the Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Mostar (no. 744/54, dated 17 June 1954).
- The urban and rural ensemble of Blagaj has been designated a Category I monument (of national importance), as have individual monuments including the Careva mosque, the *tekke*, the Karadoz-beg bridge and Stjepan grad fortress; Category II designation (of regional importance) has been given to the complex of the Kolaković house and the Velagićevina complex. These designations have been made under the 2002 Regional Plan for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.³
- Several properties in Blagaj are listed in the Spatial Plan for the Mostar municipality, which was drawn up in 1980 for the planning period up to 2000 and included a section entitled "Historic Areas and the Built Heritage".
- The historic urban area of Blagaj was designated a national monument in July 2004 by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, and a further decision was applied to individual monuments or groups of buildings within the historic urban area of Blagaj, defining the boundaries of the protected areas, individual buildings and groups of buildings, areas of high townscape value, and natural features.⁴ The Commission prescribed three levels of protection, with corresponding measures.

Today the most important item of legislation for Blagaj is the decision to designate the historic urban area as a national monument, adopted by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments in July 2004.⁵ The decision defines

- the boundaries of the national monument (protected area) and the boundaries of the buffer zone;
- the protection measures applied in the protected area as well as in the buffer zone;
- the institutions responsible for the legal protection of the national monument, along with their responsibilities and obligations.

Decisions of the Commission are final and binding, and are implemented under the terms of the Law on the Implementation of Decisions of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, which provides national monuments with the highest level of protection. All executive and area development planning acts that are not in accordance with the provisions of the decision are revoked. In accordance with the decision, the Law on the Implementation of Decisions of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments and other relevant laws in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina,⁶ regarding protection measures, obligations, constraints and management structures, assign the following responsibilities to ensure protection of the site:

The Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is responsible for

- ensuring and providing the legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary to protect, conserve, display and rehabilitate the national monument;
- ensuring that a programme for the ongoing protection of the historic centre of Blagaj is drawn up, on the basis of which a detailed protection plan for individual ensembles within the protected area shall be drawn up;
- providing the resources needed to draw up and implement the necessary executive regional planning documentation for the historic urban area of Blagaj.

The Ministry of Spatial Planning (Federalno ministarstvo prostornog uređenja) of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is responsible for implementing the protection measures prescribed by law and for issuing approvals and permits for all works and construction in the protected area, on the basis of planning and technical documents approved by the authorized specialist institution.

The Institute for the Protection of Monuments, part of the Federal Ministry for Culture and Sport, is involved in the issuing of approvals for interventions in the protected areas or sites of national monuments, in that it verifies whether the conditions in the technical documentation have been met. The Institute is also responsible for professional supervision and implementation of projects or parts of projects funded by the Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Local authorities responsible for town planning and cadastral affairs are informed about the decisions designating national monuments so that they can implement the measures prescribed. Similarly, the municipal court is notified about decisions, for registration in the Land Register.

The Federal Inspection Authority, which undertakes planning and environmental inspections, is responsible for the inspection and supervision of activities being carried out in the area, for the condition of the properties in the protected area and for taking the protection measures prescribed by law.

The City of Mostar is responsible for the supervision and control of activities on site, through its own departments and the Federal Inspection Authority. The city is required to submit all its plans and documents relating to the protected sites of monuments designated by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments. The city authority is also required to refrain from all activities that would be detrimental to a monument and to cooperate with the Commission to Preserve National Monuments and other institutions in the implementation of the Commission's decisions.

In the area of the national monument, only research works, conservation and restoration works are permitted, including those designed to display the monument, with the approval of the federal ministry responsible for spatial planning and under the expert supervision of the heritage protection authority of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the buffer zone around the site only interventions that conform to the existing proportions and local features may be allowed.

Site management

As outlined above, there are several institutions that have a legal responsibility for the protection of the historical urban area of Blagaj. These institutions are responsible for issuing the permits for all project designs, works and the supervision of works, which include conservation, restoration, archaeological excavations and research, and also for building new structures. Although Blagaj is protected by law and there is a legal framework for its protection, legislation alone cannot guarantee the preservation of heritage where the use, management and maintenance of heritage properties is not proper; it is only one of the tools of protection, providing legal protection against short-term private interests. Blagaj, a living town as well as a heritage site, does not have an institution responsible for the management of the historical urban area. This means that there is no day-to-day management of the site, no management of the site in general and no adequate monitoring system.

At present only the local community has any real involvement in the management of Blagaj's heritage. Local residents, mainly young, enthusiastic people, have formed various non-governmental organizations. Although they are able to exercise considerable influence on the decision-makers for the site – primarily the local government of the City of Mostar – and they have a great desire and determination to protect and save their local area, these young people are unable to prevent the destruction of the site. The local community is strongly attached to its cultural and natural heritage and expresses its commitment through participation in protection activities. Public awareness of the fragility of the heritage and the proper way of managing it, however, is low. There is also considerable pressure from private developers to exploit the potential of Blagaj's natural and cultural heritage in order to make a quick profit. This is a serious threat: both cultural and natural heritage are exposed to exploitation for unsustainable tourism based around a concept of having a drink and a meal by the river with a 'nice view of something old'. In an attempt to tackle this, the Commission has initiated several activities designed to help the local community and to protect and preserve one of Bosnia and Herzegovina's most interesting and important urban areas. All of these activities focus on raising public awareness of the significance and values of the site, increasing the general public's knowledge of proper, sustainable management, and creating management tools focusing on the protection, proper use and presentation of the site.

Change and Control

The historic urban area of Blagaj is today considered one of the most endangered historic urban areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Included on

Figure 4 Restaurants illegally constructed near the *tekke*. (Photo: Commission to Preserve National Monuments)



the List of Monuments at Risk of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Blagaj is vulnerable to illegal construction that is taking place in the very heart of the area (fig. 4). Its greatest risk, however, is the absence of any management of the site or an institution formally responsible for the site of Blagaj at a local level, despite its inclusion on the national Tentative World Heritage List.

All works carried out in the historic urban area of Blagaj by heritage protection institutions and/or financed by the institutions of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be, and are, carried out in accordance with the Public Procurement Law. When works are carried out in the historic urban area of Blagaj, project documentation is drawn up at a high level, by the firms certified by the Federal Ministry of Spatial Planning and authorized by the same ministry, following the recommendation of the relevant heritage protection institution (either a federal or state-level institution). Unfortunately, in reality, even this is not always the case, especially when works are carried out by private owners. Even though Blagaj is recognized as a national monument, a number of properties have been built without the required ministry approval. For as long as illegal building is tolerated, the values of the monuments and the integrity of the historic area of Blagaj, along with the potential for its inscription on the World Heritage List, are at risk.

To address this, the Commission to Preserve National Monuments developed a project entitled "Support for the Tourist Development of Blagaj through Sustainable Management of the Natural, Historical and Cultural Heritage of the Area – Creation of a Management Plan". This project aimed to promote sustainable development for the site and the ongoing protection of its heritage. A significant outcome has been the creation of a management plan for the historic centre of Blagaj; and it is hoped that conservation and enhancement of heritage (both built and natural) will take place through its implementation. It is also hoped that by integrating heritage tourism in a proper and controlled manner, public access and public interest in heritage will increase. At the time of writing, there are two key steps that need to be

taken in order to effect significant change in the way in which the site of Blagaj is managed:

- the adoption of the management plan by the responsible institutions;
- a commitment by these institutions to implement the management plan.

The management plan

The management of the protected area of Blagaj should be based on the principles and standards prescribed by international conventions and charters, the recommendations of which are designed to improve heritage protection and conservation processes. As we have seen above, the preservation of cultural properties is included, to varying degrees, within activities carried out at various levels of government. The drafting of the Management Plan for the Historic Area of Blagaj (Commission 2008a, 2008b) was led by the Commission to Preserve National Monuments working with specialists, the local community, heritage protection institutions and the non-governmental sector - and supported financially by the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI, Spanish Agency for International Cooperation). The plan is a strategic document that sets out goals, management guidelines and action plans, and was developed using existing specialist studies and documents, supplemented by additional research and investigation, and in consultation with specialists and the local community. The plan was drawn up in 2008 with a strategy and proposed activities for a five- to ten-year period and much longer-term general aims.7

The purpose of drafting the management plan was to determine the conditions for the preservation of the area's universal values, not only by preserving the physical condition of the historic area from deterioration and change but also by enhancing the visual character of the townscape and surroundings; managing and mitigating environmental impacts; preserving cultural values and enhancing their interpretation and understanding by visitors; and setting out a sustainable approach to developing tourism. The findings of surveys and research were used to draw up an intervention plan and a preliminary technical assessment for each individual monument. The protection measures prescribed by the decisions designating Blagaj's national monuments were then incorporated into the intervention plan, which establishes the guidance for how repair and remedial works, conservation, restoration, rehabilitation and other interventions designed to safeguard and preserve the monuments should be carried out.

The management plan highlights the need to develop a maintenance plan and a monitoring plan. It also identifies that there is a need to plan, manage and monitor tourism operations to ensure their long-term sustainability; to enrich what is on offer to tourists; to reduce or eliminate negative pressures from tourism on certain sites; and to enable future visitors to enjoy Blagaj's assets. To help achieve this, a good proportion of the profits arising from tourism should be directed to the conservation and maintenance of buildings in the historic area. In addition, local residents should be consulted on activities to develop tourism, be given full rights of participation, and also have access to funding and training that may enable them to take advantage of opportunities offered by tourism (Mulalić Handan 2010).

The management plan is yet to be adopted. In the meantime, on the basis of conclusions drawn during survey and fieldwork (working with the local community), and depending on the on-site situation, the following steps to improve current processes could be feasible within the existing planning procedures:

First, set up a coordination body or a cooperation network of representatives from:

- the institutions responsible for heritage protection (at all levels of government responsible for heritage protection and conservation within their particular jurisdiction);
- all other cultural, scientific, academic and educational institutions:
- the local community (Blagaj residents, private sector representatives, private owners, religious communities, non-governmental organizations and the municipality);
- the tourism board and agencies.

This coordination body could, according to the nature of the problems and potential solutions under discussion, input into the decisionmaking process for conservation/restoration works (based on priorities and sustainability) and for tourism development (for example, the opening of museums, planning of itineraries, proper use of tourism income, etc.).

Second, strengthen relationships with the Stari Grad Agency, which was established to implement the Management Plan for the World Heritage Site of Mostar. It is an agency with experience and staff trained in the management of a World Heritage site situated just 10 km from Blagaj and could provide regular monitoring on site. The Stari Grad Agency could be given the task of:

- coordinating the various institutions involved in the cooperation network;
- monitoring and reporting on the physical condition of the properties and activities being carried out in the protected area;
- drafting and implementing annual work plans in consultation with other institutions;
- carrying out other activities related to the implementation of the Blagaj management plan.

The state's responsibility for the management of the agency should be increased in light of its duty to safeguard the historic area of Blagaj as a potential World Heritage site by implementing the World Heritage Convention.

Conclusion

Blagaj is facing the risk of the destruction of its built heritage and landscape, and the disappearance of characteristics of the site and its values is already happening. Although at local-community level numerous NGOs have been established to work towards the protection and promotion of cultural and natural heritage, the absence of a management plan, and therefore any formal management structure and oversight, is being exploited by those who just want to make a quick profit, without any respect for or consideration of the needs of Blagaj's historic and cultural assets. The adoption of the management plan and the creation of a proper mechanism to implement it must be a priority. To end, the observations of Mirela Mulalić Handan:

The management of the historic area of Blagaj must benefit the monument by means of proper protection and interventions, the maintenance of the property, and its use in line with the historical context in a way that will ensure the welfare of the community, public access, investment in maintenance, and the creation of heritage funds. Management of this kind can be achieved through cooperation between the public and private sectors. . . . Management tools must help to conserve the physical structure, spiritual values and appropriate use of space, buildings and amenities in a way that will enhance the identity of Blagaj as an area of world importance, as well as contributing to sustainable tourism development. The cultural and natural heritage of Blagaj is seen as a source of economic development. If development programmes are implemented with respect for the value of the heritage and concern for longterm sustainable development, they can help to achieve the goals of a strategy designed to reach a balance between development and conservation. The implementation of such a strategy depends on legislation, the institutional framework, appropriate measures, agreements and information. . . . Management tools should constantly evolve, be combined in various ways, and applied in a manner appropriate to the desired goals. Among the factors affecting the choice of tools are policy, social relationships, the institutional framework, and the available funds.

The Management Plan for the historic area of Blagaj is a strategic document, designed to determine the conditions for safeguarding the value of the area, the conservation of its physical condition, the enhancement of the visual character of the townscape and surroundings, the management of environmental impacts and the mitigation of negative impacts, and the better presentation and interpretation of its cultural and natural values, and to set guidelines for sustainable tourism development (Mulalić Handan 2010).

Postscript

In 2012 the Federal Ministry of Spatial Planning commissioned a ten-year regulatory plan for Blagaj. In 2013 the first step in preparing the plan was completed – a base document describing the urban layout with detailed records of current conditions – and this was adopted by the relevant federal governmental bodies. However, although the process of preparing and designing the document then continued, the regulatory plan for Blagaj has not yet been finalized, so it has not been adopted by the relevant authorities or applied. Similarly, the management plan for Blagaj was never adopted and, therefore, not enacted.

Over the last several years, numerous projects on heritage properties have been implemented. Conservation and restoration works were carried out on the medieval Stjepan grad fortress, on some religious buildings and a few residential houses. Projects for restoring the riverbed and improving pedestrian paths were also implemented, with all works supervised by the relevant heritage institutions. However, as the site has not been managed holistically, these discrete interventions did not manage to improve the overall situation.

Tourism pressure and the lack of management of Blagaj as a historic urban area has deepened existing problems. Excessive tourism in the most vulnerable heritage areas has led in turn to increasing numbers of restaurants and souvenir shops, most of them without the necessary permits and without appropriate use of the historic buildings they are located within. This is all endangering Blagaj's authenticity and integrity. The *čaršija*, the historic market, continues to deteriorate due to abandonment and lack of maintenance.

The Commission to Preserve National Monuments is now launching procedures in order to set up new protection measurements for the site. In addition, meetings are being organized between the relevant institutions at all levels in order to ensure that problems related to the regulatory plan, the management plan and site management in general are overcome.

Biography

Amra Šarančić Logo is an architect with expertise in architectural and cultural heritage. Since 2003 she has worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina's Commission to Preserve National Monuments as an architect associate for Ensembles, Historical, Urban and Cultural Landscapes. In 2007/2008, within one of the Commission's projects (Support for the Tourist Development of Blagaj through Sustainable Management of the Natural, Historical and Cultural Heritage of the Area – Production of the Management Plan), Šarančić Logo worked on all phases regarding preparation and production of the Management Plan for Blagaj.

Contact details

Maršala Tita 9a 71 000 Sarajevo Bosnia and Herzegovina Email: amra.s.logo@kons.gov.ba

Notes

- 1. This brief historic overview and description of the site is based on Commission (2005).
- 2. See http://www.statistika.ba/?show=12&id=11410.
- 3. The urban-rural area comprises the historic core of Blagaj with the *tekke*, *hamam*, residential buildings and the bridge. Urban-rural areas are defined as having more urban and less rural character areas that, at certain points in their history, presented sites of urban character and were cultural and

- historical centres in their region. Category I marks heritage of national importance, and Blagaj was registered as such.
- 4. The individual monuments and features are the historic building of the Karadoz-bey *hamam*; the historic structure of the Karadoz-bey bridge; the natural and architectural ensemble of the *tekke*; the site and remains of the architectural ensemble of the Kolaković house; the architectural ensemble of the Carevan or Sultan Suleyman mosque with *harem* and *mekteb*; the natural and architectural ensemble of the Velagić family's residential complex (Velagićevina); the historic site of the Old Blagaj Fort; the archaeological site of Zelenapećina (the Green Cave), which is a prehistoric cave settlement; the architectural ensemble of the Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity; and the architectural ensemble of the Serbian Orthodox Church of St Basil of Ostrog.
- 5. Pursuant to Article V, paragraph 4, Annex 8 of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Article 39, paragraph 1 of the Rules of Procedure of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, the Commission to Preserve National Monuments designated the historic urban area of Blagaj as a national monument at a session held 4–10 July 2004 (Official Gazette of BiH no. 42/06).
- 6. The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of two political entities that make up the country of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Blagaj is situated within the Federation, and therefore its laws are applied.
- 7. Information presented in the management plan is taken from the narrative final report on the project (Commission 2008b).

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Introducing Conservation Management: The Case of the Franciscan Site of Olinda Brazil

Sílvio Mendes Zancheti

he Franciscan site of Olinda is a magnificent example of convent architecture and an outstanding illustration of the Franciscan school of architecture in Brazil. It is located in the historic centre of Olinda (figs. 1–3), a World Heritage centre since 1982. It was the first Franciscan convent to be established in Brazil (1585), and in 1938 it was included in the first list of sites of the Brazilian National Register of Historic and Artistic Properties.

The site comprises a large building that is owned and used by two different institutions: the Convent of Our Lady of Snows and the Venerable Third Order of Saint Francis of Olinda. Both institutions have practised religious activities since the end of the sixteenth century and are associated with educational and social contributions to the community.

The building is over three floors, occupying more than $6\,000\,\mathrm{m}^2$. The whole site covers more than $28\,000\,\mathrm{m}^2$. Many of its 50-plus rooms are of artistic, historical and architectural value. Its setting in the urban landscape is important, as are the large sets of decorated tiles and painted ceilings. Its construction started at the end of the sixteenth century, but its main architectural and artistic features date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (figs. 4–5). It is the most visited site in Olinda, with more than 5 000 visitors per month, half of these being tourists and the other half groups of students from schools within Olinda and nearby Recife.

Nowadays, the state of conservation of the site is not completely satisfactory. The size of the building and the number of works of art require substantial and consistently available resources to maintain them. The owners have introduced new features, such as providing space and facilities for weddings, funerals, receptions, social events and business conferences. However, the revenues generated are not enough to cover the cost of the basic maintenance. In spite of the large size of the total built area, new social and educational activities require more space than is currently available, owing to the fragility of the works of art in the existing rooms.

Since 2007 the site has had a conservation management plan to guide interventions and maintenance of the building (Zancheti *et al.* 2007). The plan comprises three main parts: (1) a development plan of the site; (2) a conservation and maintenance plan; and (3) a management and funding plan. This plan was the first of this type to be drawn up in Brazil. It has

Figure 1 Location of Olinda and Recife within Brazil. (United Nations, Map No. 3977)



been implemented and its central feature is the management component, which establishes a process to make conservation a self-sufficient activity within a period of ten years. This case study analyses the implementation process of the plan and, especially, how management has been introduced by the friars and the brothers of the Convent and the Third Order, with the help of institutions devoted to the promotion of heritage conservation (Zancheti *et al.* 2009a, 2009b).

The Change in the Conservation Context

To understand the conservation process of the Franciscan property it is important to explain the heritage management of the site at two different periods of time. The first period began in 1938, when the property was included in the National Heritage List, and lasted until the mid-1990s. During this time, the institutional framework for controlling the conservation of the property was relatively simple. The Convent and the Third Order, as the owners of the properties, are legally responsible for the conservation work, and each owner used to follow their own independent decision-making process. The Institute of National Artistic and Historic Heritage (IPHAN), the Brazilian institution for the protection of national heritage, was the main funding source for restoration works to each property. The Municipality of Olinda also had a mandate for monitoring and

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Figure 2 Location of the Franciscan site and other protected monuments within the World Heritage Site of Olinda. (Photo: Municipality of Olinda)

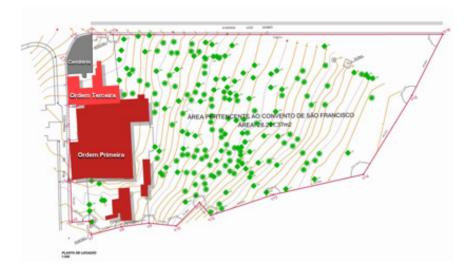


Figure 3 Location of the institutions: Third Order Cemetery (in grey), Third Order (in red), Franciscan Convent (in brown). (Center of Advanced Studies in Integrated Conservation)

controlling conservation actions at the site, since it was responsible for enforcing the building codes and the law regarding the specific occupation and use of land of the historical centre of Olinda. As the properties are listed as national heritage, IPHAN had the real power for deciding what to do, how to do it and when to do it in relation to the conservation and restoration requirements of the property. Ultimately, the owners themselves do not take any initiative to undertake proper conservation of the site. They simply assume the responsibilities of maintaining the activities of basic cleaning and carrying out day-to-day repairs.

The second period, which started in the latter half of the 1990s and still continues today, is characterized by the emergence of new groups, especially private actors, in the arena of the promotion of cultural activities,

Figure 4 View of the Franciscan site in the 1970s. (Photo: Institute of National Artistic and Historic Heritage)



including the conservation of cultural property. According to national law, funds from national taxes can be used by private enterprises to finance the promotion of cultural activities and the preservation of cultural property.¹ In addition, the national government began to finance conservation and restoration work at listed properties. This was done through competitive tenders organized within regional plans for promoting tourism and the preservation of cultural property within urban heritage areas, for example the Brazilian Heritage Towns included in the World Heritage List.

This shift in the system of heritage management has been a big challenge for the institutions involved in the conservation of the Franciscan site of Olinda. The municipality continues to be the main actor responsible for controlling the conservation of the historic centre of Olinda, but it is now also responsible for a number of tasks that previously fell to IPHAN; depending on the scale of the intervention, the municipality has to send projects to IPHAN for evaluation. Most conservation/restoration projects come under IPHAN's remit. Larger projects, mainly those which impact on public spaces, have to be analysed by the Conservation Council of Olinda, which is in charge of taking decisions on those cases that fall outside the scope of the law on land use in the historic centre. IPHAN is entitled to carry out conservation and repair work when there are unquestionable threats to the safety of the building or to the integrity of special features, such as works of art. IPHAN can also perform

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Figure 5 Aerial view of the Franciscan site. (Photo: Municipality of Olinda)

some maintenance work if the owners of properties do not have enough resources, but this is very rarely done.

The Convent and the Third Order continue to manage the property on a day-to-day basis but have had to introduce some planning for mediumand long-term tasks, especially those related to the development of the site and restoration and major projects that require a large budget. Their revenue is only enough to cover the day-to-day costs for administration of the properties and to solve minor problems (for example, cleaning, painting and substituting small construction elements), which leads to more complex problems being postponed. In the earlier period (1938 to the mid-1990s), this would give rise to a cyclical process of general restoration at the site every 10 or 20 years, financed and carried out directly by IPHAN. In the later period, this is no longer possible because of the financial restrictions imposed on IPHAN, and so the conservation responsibilities have passed to the owners. In order to find extra income for major works, the owners have to ask for donations or submit applications to the national government's funding system and, consequently, to negotiate with private actors for the transfer of exempted taxes. This requires the institutions to have strong management and communication capabilities.

Management Challenges in the New Context

Certainly, financing has become one of the main management challenges for conserving the Franciscan site. However, the lack of technical tools and specialized personnel continues to be an important factor too. From a technical point of view, the absence of monitoring is critical; although carried out on a day-to-day basis, it is done by the employees who clean the buildings and there is no systematic recording of problems. Moreover, neither IPHAN nor the municipality have regular monitoring procedures. These institutions only inspect the buildings when there are evident and serious risks to the integrity of the site. In these cases, IPHAN tends to assume the responsibility for solving the problem with its own resources or in cooperation with other institutions.

More critical is the absence of conservation standards and regulations based on codes of ethics (guidelines or legal structures) in which doctrinal affiliations, concepts and the principles underpinning actions are clearly stated. All interventions proposed in the sites are analysed by IPHAN on an ad hoc basis. This procedure generates continuous conflict between the owners and the regulatory institutions because the owners cannot maintain a permanent team of conservation specialists to prepare projects or to oversee the conservation work. They rely on temporarily contracted specialists for projects and contractors for works. This creates a communication problem as there are no normative documents to guide the interpretation and actions of both sides. Furthermore, the situation contributes to mistrust between the stakeholders as, in general, it prompts the owners to follow illegal procedures that bypass regulations. It is a situation aided and abetted by the absence of monitoring and inspection capabilities within IPHAN and the municipality.

One serious consequence of this relationship of conflict between stakeholders, associated with the fact that financial decisions are not taken in consultation with the group directly involved with conservation procedures, is that conservation decisions and actions are limited to the short or medium term. For the organizations involved, it is very risky to carry out long-term projects owing to the uncertainty attached to the way in which the works will evolve after decisions are taken. This rule applies to both the municipality and the owners because their decisions are driven by the financial restrictions on projects. The themes and field of action of projects derive from central government programmes and plans, or donors, and it is very common for these institutions to insist that the project must be completed within one and two years, owing to their own financial programming. Some central government programmes, such as the Monumenta-IDB, which is financed by an international development bank, accept medium-term projects (four to five years in duration). The projects that tend to be implemented are those with a well-defined financial component and guaranteed flow of resources.

In the mid-1990s, the non-coordination of decision-making between the owners themselves, the lack of effective communication between the owners and the regulating institutions, and the difficulty of government funding led to the Franciscan site falling into a very poor state of conservation. In 2004, the site was included in the list of the 100 Most Endangered Sites by the World Monuments Watch. In 2006 the World Monuments Fund, with the support of American Express, donated funds to draw up a conservation and management plan for the Franciscan site.

The Conservation Management Plan

The plan was completed in 2007. It comprised three main components:

Development of the site and new uses. The first component was
a plan for enlarging the built area of the site and to change the
uses of the Convent and the Third Order. One of the proposed
sources of revenue was the renting out of some of the rooms for

public events (the convent lacks a single large room), to accommodate between 250 and 300 seated people, and facilities, such as a kitchen, to support such activities. In addition, the plan proposed new uses for the building's 50-plus rooms in order to maximize the space available for visits, meetings and educational activities, which are the activities that can generate rental income for the Franciscan community. All the traditional religious uses have been maintained and the new activities made compatible with the existing ones.

- Conservation and maintenance. The second component was a
 proper conservation plan, which included an inspection and
 maintenance programme and set out terms of reference for
 preservation and restoration projects for the building and its
 integrated artistic features.
- Management and funding. The third component was a management plan for coordinating decisions with regard to funding, investment in and maintenance of the building and to communicating with the community. It was based on a new institution formed by the Convent and the Third Order, which would be responsible for administering a conservation fund devoted to supporting conservation activities, especially the maintenance of the site. The fund would receive revenues from new activities introduced into the site, as well as donations and transfers from public and private institutions and individuals.

The plan was drawn up taking into consideration an evaluation of the site's significance. In spite of the importance of the Franciscan site for the cultural heritage of Brazil, up until the moment of preparing the plan there was no statement of the site's significance that could guide the development of intervention plans and projects. The analysis and the statement of significance were prepared using new methodologies for assessing cultural values and in consultation with experts, public officials, residents and the Franciscan community (Torre 2002). The plan was drawn up by the Center of Advanced Studies in Integrated Conservation (CECI), with the active participation of the members of the Convent and the Third Order, and reflects the objectives, expectations and foreseen limitations of both institutions. The development of the plan was essential for convincing the owners that a more cooperative system was needed through which these players, at least, would negotiate and plan their actions. The plan has been implemented since 2008.

Learning How to Manage a Management Plan

The most challenging part of the Franciscan plan is the management component. In northeastern Brazil, where the site is located, there is a strong tradition of individualism and mistrust in cooperative work among institutions. A clear example of this tradition is the Franciscan site, where the owners of the institutions have cohabited the same building for more than 400 years and have never organized joint work to run and maintain their magnificent site.

The plan was a catalyst for a new situation. Over the period 2007–2008 there was some coordination of maintenance decisions subsequent to the

completion of the conservation and management plan of the Franciscan site. The plan suggested the organization of a management institution formed by the two owners with the participation of the municipality and IPHAN. The owners created a common conservation fund and are sharing decisions on very important subjects such as the promotion of new activities and the maintenance of the building. This coordination was important for the development of the conservation work in the Third Order, which was the part of the building in the worst state of conservation. Since 2008, CECI, with the financial support of the World Monuments Fund, has been able to change the electrical fittings of that part of the building and restore important religious and artistic spaces of the Third Order: the Sacristy, the Novice Chapel and the altarpiece of the Saint Roque Chapel.

The management plan was also the tool that introduced conservation concepts and ethical principles as part of the owners' decision-making process. This was as a result of their attempt to understand and follow the schedule and the conservation guidelines provided by the plan. The owners have asked for specialized recommendations after the completion of the conservation and management plan of the site. They were keen to know the opinion of the CECI team of specialists and also hired CECI to design projects and plans for the conservation of some other Franciscan sites in northeastern Brazil. On the other hand, they still are very sceptical with regard to the participation of other players, such as IPHAN and the municipality, in their decision-making process. Friars and brothers hold lengthy debates when discussing their projects and the implementation of the plan. They are used to following a traditional and established way of administering their properties, and any change must be discussed and experimented for a long time before it is adopted. However, this process is not easily extended beyond the Franciscan community.

Conclusions

Sustainability is a major issue for the Franciscan community. They manage a large set of heritage properties scattered over northeastern Brazil, and this means they face increasing financial costs. Due to the drastic reduction in the number of their members, all properties are underused. The strategy of the Convent and the Third Order to adapt themselves to this new context is to look for alternative uses for their convents that may be carried out in conjunction with traditional religious activities. The friars and the brothers understand that their properties are culturally very important. However, they think that their resources are better used when fulfilling their mission, that is, the evangelization of the poor.

The conservation and management plan introduced a new vision regarding the way in which the friars and brothers conceive management. They are trying to develop long-term planning activities, especially those related to the future use of their properties and associated revenues. Their strategy is to generate sufficient revenues in each property to maintain the site in good condition. Following this line, they believe that restoration and other major interventions would have to be paid for from

extra-budgetary resources (special projects and donations). This strategy leads to extending the area of the properties open to visitors. Tourists and students are the main targets of this strategy in the areas open to visitors. There is the risk that although this strategy may lead to the renting of areas of the properties for large amounts of money, it could result in activities that are not compatible with conservation.

In spite of the risks associated with the sustainability strategy, there are important benefits for the maintenance practices of the sites and for the urban areas around them. The diversification and intensification of activities may give rise to positive external effects on the local economy and on the social environment. The members of the Franciscan community are aware of these effects and have asked to be identified and assessed in the plans for new uses of their properties. This way of managing the Franciscan properties is very new, and therefore it is impossible to establish whether there is a clear inclination at work here, but certainly there are signs that a target-oriented form of management has been pursued by the institutions.

Postscript

Since 2008 the management of the conservation of the Franciscan site of Olinda has changed little. The main problems presented in the case study are still present, especially those that require monitoring, continued building works and substantial resources.

The relationship and communication between the agents involved in the conservation process, mainly site owners and public regulatory agencies, improved significantly after the conservation plan was adopted.

The positive side of the process was that the plan has made it possible for interventions over the last ten years to maximize the resources used in conservation to improve the economic performance of the site as a whole. Building works have been carried out, such as maintenance of the roofs of buildings, the implementation of a new area for reception of visitors, visitation routes and installation of a better auditorium for social events. These improvements have been responsible for keeping the site the best known and most visited heritage site in Olinda.

A negative result occurred because of the lack of resources for the restoration of integrated goods of great artistic value, such as altarpieces and painted linings. The increasing resources generated by the new management arrangement are not sufficient to cover the costs of these types of works. The management of the site has, however, been successful in negotiating with the Federal Government to carry out important structural works, such as the restoration of the façades and the renovation of the square of Cross (Cruzeiro) that had suffered a destructive archaeological intervention. The national economic crisis of recent years has contributed greatly to the reduction in the availability of additional resources for major works of restoration and conservation of artistic integrated goods.

Finally, it can be said that, currently, the Franciscan site of Olinda is the best managed site in the city and the only one that uses some kind of permanent conservation management tool, in this case the plan. After ten

years, however, the plan is now in need of an update to enable management to reach a new level of efficacy.

Biography

Sílvio Mendes Zancheti is former Full Professor at the Federal University of Pernambuco and Visiting Professor at the Mackenzie Presbyterian University (Brazil). He was a Getty Conservation Scholar and General Director of the Center of Advanced Studies in Integrated Conservation (CECI). He has published widely on urban conservation, urban planning, urban history and architectural restoration and was general editor of *City & Time*. He provides consultancy internationally and has worked frequently with ICCROM. Zancheti directed the Conservation Management Plan of the Saint Francis Convent in Olinda and the Rehabilitation Plan of the Historic City Center of Recife.

Contact details

Av. Bernardo Vieira de Melo 3481, apt 90 154410-010 J. dos Guarapes, PE Brazil Email: smzancheti@gmail.com

Note

1. Legislation on Tax Incentives for Cultural Projects: Law 8.313 of 23 December 1991.

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Planning and Implementation Challenges Faced by Local Archaeological Heritage Authorities: The Case of Santa Maria Capua Vetere Italy

Valeria Sampaolo

he modern town of Santa Maria Capua Vetere lies on top of the site of ancient Capua, which was the most important town in ancient Italy after Rome, with an even earlier pre-Roman history as an Etruscan settlement. Even though it was razed to the ground in the tenth century, the town is still home to the ruins of an amphitheatre that is almost as large as the Colosseum (fig. 1). In 1826, the amphitheatre was saved from being totally stripped of its large limestone blocks, thanks to an edict issued by the Bourbon king Francis I that forbid stone to be removed from the site (ancient building materials were often reused from the medieval period onwards). The local archaeological office also dates back to that period, and until 1991 it oversaw the entire province of Caserta. It is not by chance that this office, which the author managed for 16 years between 1993 and 2009, was among the first to be established during the reign of the Bourbon kings.

Until 2008 the archaeological superintendency was responsible for safe-guarding and enhancing the archaeological heritage of the Italian provinces of Naples and Caserta, including the area under the management of the Santa Maria Capua Vetere office. Some of the activities and work carried out at Santa Maria Capua Vetere will be discussed below so as to provide some concrete examples of how all the ordinary superintendencies³ operate within the framework of national legislation.

Italian Heritage Management at a Local Level: The Superintendencies

The superintendencies are local branches of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali (Italian Ministry of Culture) and have an institutional mandate for safeguarding, enhancing and managing heritage, with an increasingly broader aim of promoting access to heritage. The ordinary superintendencies, each headed by a superintendent, receive 'ordinary' funding from the Ministry of Culture on the basis of three-year plans for the maintenance of the buildings, monuments and/or archaeological

Figure 1 Aerial view of the site during restoration of the southeast section. (Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Province di Napoli e Caserta)



areas in their care and for investing in activities, such as new excavation or research, 'extraordinary' maintenance of monuments and/or purchasing materials, etc. Each superintendent submits his or her three-year plan to the regional director, who, after having agreed to the priorities with the superintendents, forwards a single comprehensive request to the ministry.

The local public officers (archaeologists) and technical staff (architects, engineers and surveyors) propose to the superintendent the interventions that they consider to be a priority, outlining the reasoning behind such proposals. However, it is ultimately the superintendent who decides how the funding is divided up once it is assigned. Given a progressive and dramatic reduction of funding for heritage in Italy, in recent years planning has been organized in 'macro categories' (for example, "Urgent excavation and restoration in the province of..." or "Maintenance of the surveillance systems in the sites of..."). These more general categories aim to allow for some flexibility in responding to new and unforeseen priorities that are more urgent than those identified at the time of the funding request.

Indeed, a persistent lack of response to requests for specific interventions has led to these works being grouped together under generic headings, which can include the restoration of a wall, the detachment of a fresco, the excavation of a tomb, emergency works, etc. However, the kinds of projects more typically funded are related to the implementation of health and safety laws for employees and visitors, and for alarm systems. In 2007 when emergency works had to be organized to save a tomb with a painted chamber, a request for funding was submitted under Article 147, Law 554 of 1999, which regulates public works and considers funding requests of up to €200 000 in the case of imminent danger to heritage. Having obtained authorization from the general secretary of the ministry, the works were carried out and the sum of money spent was inserted into the programming for 2008.

Italian Legislation

Italian legislation on the protection, enhancement and management of cultural heritage stems from the Constitution of the Italian Republic,

which in Article 9 states, "The Republic promotes the development of culture and scientific and technical research. It safeguards the nation's historic and artistic landscape and heritage." We will therefore start with state legislation, currently known as the so-called *Codice Urbani* (Law 42 of 2004, and subsequent revisions and integrations included in Law 62 of 2008). This law is the result of extensive experience of heritage protection that originates from the legislation of the various kingdoms preceding the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century. In order to protect cultural heritage these kingdoms prohibited exports of cultural assets and even cited their 'public usefulness' (D'Alconzo 1999).

The *Codice Urbani* is divided into five sections:

- i. General provisions
- ii. Cultural heritage
- iii. Cultural landscapes
- iv. Sanctions
- v. Provisional regulations, abrogation and implementation of legislation

Each of these parts is, in turn, subdivided into chapters and articles. The second section on cultural heritage is divided into two chapters: (1) protection, and (2) usage and enhancement. These are the specific areas of activities undertaken by the superintendencies, which are ever more committed to connecting the public to their cultural heritage.

The *Codice Urbani* has reordered and organized the extensive existing legislation in response to changes to Chapter 5 of the Constitution, which aims to give a more active role to Italy's regional, provincial and town councils. Nevertheless, while calling for the participation of other territorial institutions in the protection and enhancement of cultural heritage, a distinction between their roles has been kept (this is not based on the cultural heritage or its importance, but on the basis of responsibilities). Therefore, the state is responsible for protecting heritage, and the regional councils take care of its enhancement (see below). This has created a division between these activities, and an attempt to overcome it was made with the revisions to Articles 112–115 by Law 62 of 2008.

In addition to national legislation there is regional legislation, and the latter carries additional weight thanks to the fact that it includes regulations regarding implementation. However, the legal situation is not the same in each region. Unlike some areas that have been legislating since the 1970s (Tuscany, Umbria, Emilia Romagna, Lombardy) and some autonomous regional councils (such as Sicily and Trentino-Alto Adige), in many regions, especially in the south of Italy, provisions have been made only in the last few years for the management of local museums and the documentation of moveable heritage in particular. This is certainly true of the Campania Regional Council, which oversees Santa Maria Capua Vetere, as well as Herculaneum.

The regional councils (each region has one) have passed legislation related to Territorial Landscape Plans (*piani territoriali paesistici*, or PTP), which can be considered as being parallel and generally 'supportive', as they interact primarily with the third section of the *Codice Urbani* dedicated

to cultural landscapes. The Campania Regional Council, for example, issued the legal basis for its own Territorial Landscape Plans only at the end of 2004. This will be implemented through specific legislation drawn up by the five provincial councils that make up the regional council, each of which works in a different way and, above all, according to different timescales.⁵ Finally, even the town councils have their own building regulations, the General Regulatory Plans (piani regolatori generali, or PRG), which may address - but do not always do so - the presence of cultural heritage in their territory. In this case Santa Maria Capua Vetere is exemplary. Since 1982 a legal requirement of the town councils' General Regulatory Plans is that the archaeological superintendency will give its expert opinion before allowing any building concession. The superintendency contributes through the actions of staff in its local offices, which for the Caserta province are located at Alife, Teano, Mondragone and Sessa Aurunca, Calvi Risorta, and in the central Caserta area, Santa Maria Capua Vetere and Maddaloni.6

Enhancement and Conservation

Until 2001, the year of reform to Chapter 5 of the Constitution, only the state, through the various superintendencies, carried out heritage conservation work to guarantee the enjoyment of heritage, in order to also fulfil its role as a tool for "spiritual enrichment and elevation". The *Codice Urbani* has introduced the concept of 'enhancement' or "promoting knowledge of heritage", which also involves the territorial institutions (regional, provincial and town councils), subject to agreement with the owner of the heritage. For archaeological heritage, in most cases, the state is the owner, and so it is the responsibility of the superintendencies to conserve, manage and enhance it (this can now also include private participation: Articles 112–115, Law 42 of 2004) particularly when carrying out "strategic plans for cultural development and programmes" on the basis of agreements stipulated with other territorial public institutions.

With regard to the conservation of archaeological sites, which is the first of the major problems related to use and enhancement, the distinction needs to be made between what has been public property for a long time and chance discoveries. This latter case occurs frequently in centres of great archaeological interest (such as Pozzuoli, Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Teano, Alife and Sorrento, just to give some local examples among the very many archaeological sites in the Campania region) where the modern city has been built on top of the ancient one (partly absorbing it but also conserving it). Given that it is impossible for the state to expropriate and manage everything that is found, the owners of land where archaeology is discovered are encouraged to leave the heritage visible within new buildings that are to be constructed. This has been possible thanks to the efforts of superintendencies that have tried for years to make the local community more aware of its heritage.

This has had positive results on more than one occasion, where owners have even shown willingness to modify the initial project, to avoid creating underground spaces and to open periodically to enable visits to the archaeological area. In cases where structures take up a large part of the

land there may also be a voluntary donation of immovable heritage by the owner to the state, which then takes on responsibility for its maintenance. For example, in 2007, in partnership with the local town council, a decision was taken to rebury a cistern dating to the fifth century BC. The cistern had been left uncovered since its discovery in 1992, whilst awaiting completion of the excavation, and the reburial was subsequently decided upon so as to prevent its destruction from exposure to the elements.

In the case of areas or sites such as the Capua amphitheatre and the *mithraeum* (small temple to Mithras), which have been open for decades – the Museum of Ancient Capua and the Museum of the Gladiators were added between 1995 and 2002 – and are visited annually by more than 30 000 members of the public, the appropriate local superintendency annually presents a programme of conservation interventions to the regional superintendency. The regional superintendency, in turn, forwards the request to the Budget and Programming Department (Bilancio e Programmazione) of the Ministry of Culture, where the scope for funding is governed by the previsions given in the government's Economic and Financial Previsions Document (*Documento di Previsione Economica e Finanziaria*).

All archaeological sites require, for their maintenance and management, at least two different types of budget categories: one for conservation and one for running costs. The first budget, which should be at least €50 000, covers, for example, restoration interventions on walls or on wall and floor decorations. The second, which should be at least a further €50 000, covers the costs of lighting, visitor route maintenance, vegetation management, alarm systems, etc., which are constant ongoing expenses. Even if the delivery of this second category may be outsourced to a third party, the first category, which guarantees the conservation of heritage, should not be outsourced and should continue to be the responsibility of the state. The conditional tense is used here because the gap between what is needed and what is actually provided has become too large to overcome. This is particularly serious for sites that are not considered to be 'big attractions'. In terms of day-to-day maintenance, the shortage of internal personnel, particularly workers and technicians, which is a result of dozens of employees entering into retirement more or less simultaneously, makes it impossible to ensure the daily cleaning of areas, hedgeand grass-cutting and so on. The absence of resources to cover these costs prevents these works being tendered out to specialized companies. When one considers that in 2006 and 2007 the province of Caserta literally did not receive a single cent from the ministry to maintain its archaeological sites, one can begin to understand the reality of the situation in which the site has been operating.

One example is the *mithraeum* of Santa Maria Capua Vetere, which is one of the oldest of this type of painted temple. As the temple is underground, it is subject to intense variations in humidity, so in 1993 the author, as head of the site, requested a conditions assessment of the paintings from specialists of the then Istituto Centrale di Restauro (Central Restoration Institute in Rome).⁷ Fortunately, they found that the plasters were stable and well attached to the walls, so they advised against works to dry out the structure but suggested that the surfaces should be cleaned in order to remove moulds and fungi. The superintendency, having received a proposal from the

Figure 2 An ambulatory of the amphitheatre before restoration (Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Province di Napoli e Caserta)



Santa Maria Capua Vetere office, made a funding request for the cleaning work that would be carried out by internal conservator-restorers. This funding was never received for the *mithraeum*, nor has funding been provided to substitute the lighting system with a more modern one, which would, ideally, include 'cooler' lights, dimmers and protection against humidity.

The Capua amphitheatre (the second largest in the world after the Colosseum in Rome) needed a complete restoration of its structure and its facings (fig. 2). In 2000, funding was obtained that allowed works on three of the cunei (seating sections) and an evaluation of the resources needed for a complete restoration of the structure and its brick facing. The issue of restoration of the limestone elements was not dealt with due to the absence of a specific study on the materials, their decay and the causes of their flaking, which according to some researchers (archaeologists, not chemists or physicists) was due to fire damage. When deciding which works to finance with funds from the Campania Regional Council's Regional Operative Programme (Programmi Operativi Regionali, or POR), the superintendency initially proposed two conservation interventions on the monument, in order to complete one half of the building. However, the then town council representatives preferred to invest more heavily in the creation of an Urban Park-City of History and therefore only the conservation of the southeast area of the monument was funded. The redefinition of the territorial responsibilities of the superintendencies that is presently under way - uniting the provinces of Caserta and Benevento but without providing offices or a management budget or addressing serious administrative shortages - has meant that the funding has not yet been requested for carrying out the second phase of these works, even though the results of the first phase have been satisfactory.

Site Management

Carrying out projects within the Regional Operative Programme for the Campania region for 2000–2006 has, in fact, allowed conservation and

enhancement to be carried out in areas that are less well known and visited than the popular coastal sites in the Campania region. In particular, superintendency works have led the way in the Caserta area, even forming the basis for interventions carried out by local civic administrations, which have delivered very mixed results. This has, unfortunately, revealed some internal organizational and technical weaknesses that are not always overcome by political intervention (as town council administrators would have hoped) since the Integrated Territorial Plans (*piani integrati territoriali*, or PIT) have very complex mechanisms and their implementation is rigidly monitored.

There is an intention that funding given for works will lead to the heritage being effectively used, and therefore the owner responsible must submit a programming document (piano di gestione) that shows how this will be achieved. In this way, even monuments and sites that until now have not been enhanced (accessible only through occasional openings on request) are encouraged to identify partners with whom they can collaborate to facilitate and guarantee the opening and the maintenance of visitable areas. Among these are national and local voluntary associations (for example, ArcheoClub, archaeological groups, cultural associations) that voluntarily give their assistance to keep small sites open, to clean them periodically and to organize events that help raise awareness (such as guided tours, concerts, exhibitions). In the case of large monuments, specific conventions are drawn up with town councils for the maintenance of green areas, giving day-to-day management of the site in concession for a certain number of days a year. Management issues related to services such as ticket offices, book shops, cafes, publishing and so on will be resolved by outsourcing to third parties through European Union tender processes, which are already prepared by the regional superintendency, the body through which the Ministry of Culture creates relations with local superintendencies (for those superintendencies that are not 'special' like Naples/Pompeii, Rome or the museum districts).

Planning

Any planning is done by a very small number of personnel, usually at local branch level, where there are several monuments or archaeological areas that need maintenance and enhancement activities. These personnel are:

- one archaeologist;
- one architect (who covers several offices);
- one head technician:
- one assistant technician.

Internal personnel are relied on also for planning activities, as it is not possible to pay external consultants adequately. It has been possible to recruit external assistance only to accelerate the most obviously administrative tasks covered by the so-called 'Support to the RUP' (responsible unico procedimento, i.e. the person responsible for the project), and for the site health and safety officer. Similarly, external support was sought for the preparation of the piano di gestione, and this was sourced either within the regional superintendency or under guidance from the town council, which leads the Ancient Capua Integrated Territorial Project. It

should be noted that internal personnel do not have specific training for programming and management (particularly with regards to financial issues). In recent years professional development courses have been organized both by the Ministry of Culture and by external service providers. However, these have tended to deal with 'ideal' situations, whereas the reality is always more complex, and in moments of difficulty it is hard to find someone who can give effective advice.

The external consultants who work for the superintendencies are principally the archaeologists who are called on to give daily assistance to excavations (the actual digging is carried out by specialist workers who are supervised by the archaeologist). The situation varies a great deal according to the type and extent of the works as the expenses are covered by the client (whether it be the heritage authority or, in the case of rescue archaeology, the private owner/developer). Aside from extreme situations (such as the works to upgrade the Naples metro system - where, for months, groups of three archaeologists at a time worked three shifts, including a night shift - or the high-speed rail link where they worked in teams of 15-20 people), on a private building site there is usually a single archaeologist who also completes the graphic and photographic documentation. In the case of excavations programmed by the superintendency and financed because of their special interest - therefore being more demanding - the archaeologist is supported by a surveyor, who is usually an architect. However, the role of both professionals is limited to the length of the project and the writing up of the excavation results, without participation in later management phases.

Partnerships with foreign institutes

There are areas that are less well known to tourists but are not without interest for researchers, and there are even a number of foreign institutes active in the region (the German Archaeological Institute works at Teano to study the theatre, and the British School at Rome works, again, at Teano and at Mondragone for thermo-magnetic surveys). However, there is little engagement with the local community in some areas, and there is not much response from local businesses to explicit requests for sponsorship of heritage events and works. As is well known, even if someone is willing to finance the publication of a catalogue or an exhibition poster, or to purchase a display case, no one is interested in funding ordinary works such as repairs to the water system or locks, replacing light bulbs, etc.

Management practices

The difficulties of managing monuments and archaeological areas do not prevent one from considering enhancement initiatives that follow a coherent project, such as the creation of a 'stone theatre cultural district'. Within a 30-km radius between Santa Maria Capua Vetere and Teano there are four large ancient buildings used for entertainment (the Capua amphitheatre, the Cales theatre, the Teano theatre, the Sessa Aurunca theatre) that could be used throughout the year for cultural and sporting events, etc. The association CapuAntica Festival promoted the creation of a special area among the town councils and the superintendency, and an agreement was signed in 2004. However, no institution has been found

that can finance the project in such a way to ensure its ability to function autonomously, nor was there more than momentary interest in the subject expressed locally. One of the difficulties faced is the discontinuity of dialogue with the local institutions, influenced by the political situation that changes according to the local election results. There is a lack of a sense of ownership of cultural heritage, both that which the town councils manage, as well as, more understandably, that managed by the state.

The positive aspect of state management, in fact, is that it is independent of the local situation. State employees apply the law, which is the same for the whole country and, at least with regard to the responsibility of heritage protection, this should not change in the foreseeable future. Protection means essentially recovery, excavation and conservation, however – actions that require funding in order to be carried out properly. The state has so far provided this funding (being aware of the returns gained from visitors to museums and archaeological areas, but not concentrating solely on this); however, in order to obtain resources from now on, it is necessary first of all to understand who will be the 'manager' of the heritage and what possibilities will exist for using it. The importance of, and the scientific interest in, an archaeological discovery does not necessarily correspond with the needs of presenting it to the general public.

Conclusions

What still seems to be lacking is an understanding, by most people, of the meaning of cultural heritage – and archaeological heritage in particular – as something that contributes to define our collective identity, a perception of cultural heritage as the starting point for our current way of life and something which must be considered a living part of the city, not just as a heap of stones, interesting for only a few people. Some positive signs of growth in this sense have been seen through the 'adoption' initiatives for some sites by schools, particularly middle schools, which is a promising indication for the future conservation of a heritage that is important not only to Italy but to the history of European culture.

Postscript

In 2014 the Council of Ministers issued Decree 171, which led to the reform of the Ministry of Culture with a radical restructuring of its superintendency offices. This involved several steps: (1) all the local superintendencies for Architecture and Artistic and Historic Property were brought together with those for Landscape and Fine Arts; (2) some archaeological superintendencies were reorganized, including that for the Campania region;⁸ (3) local museums were separated from superintendencies, with the latter being left responsible only for safeguarding heritage; (4) responsibility for enhancement activities and public presentation was handed over to *poli museali* (groupings of museums and sites within an area), and these now manage museum collections, archaeological areas, historic sites, etc.; (5) a first set of 20 major cultural museums and sites were given autonomous management.

Biography

Valeria Sampaolo was Site Director for Santa Maria Capua Vetere archaeological area on behalf of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Province di Napoli e Caserta for 16 years (1993–2009). After this she went to the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, where she was Chief Conservator until 2018.

Contact details

Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli Piazza Museo, 19 80135 Naples Italy Email: sampava53@gmail.com

Notes

- 1. For more information on the history of Capua, see De Caro (2012). In addition, the series of *Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, which are annually published by the Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia, regularly includes new research and discoveries from the Capua area.
- 2. For more information on heritage management in this period, see D'Alconzo (1999) and Barrella (2003).
- 3. As opposed to the special superintendencies, which have financial autonomy over the income from ticket sales and can manage their own budget.
- 4. For more on the Codice Urbani, see Settis (2006).
- 5. To date, these Territorial Landscape Plans have not been finalized.
- 6. Originally the superintendency operated for the provinces of Naples and Caserta, then for Benevento and Caserta, and now for the Campania region.
- 7. Now called the Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro.
- 8. The Campania superintendency did not, however, include the special heritage authority for Pompeii and the other Vesuvian sites which remained autonomous. For more information, see Pesaresi *et al.* in this publication.

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Experience from KandySri Lanka

Gamini Wijesuriya

n the recent past, ICCROM has made an attempt to define management systems as follows:

A heritage management system is a framework, often permanent, made up of three important elements: a mandate (usually legal) defines the reasons for its existence, an institution gives form to its organizational needs and the manipulation of resources (human, financial and intellectual) makes it operative. Together they facilitate the planning, implementation and monitoring of actions, usually in relation to a single cultural property or a group, to deliver outputs and outcomes which guarantee the conservation and management of each cultural property and its associated values in a sustainable way. (Wijesuriya *et al.* 2013)

Sri Lanka inherited its heritage management system as a legacy of British colonial rule, which began in the mid-nineteenth century (Wijesuriya 2003). It has developed strong legislation, retained a central government-controlled institution with permanent staff, and regular funds are allocated through the annual national budget. This is a strong and well-developed model that exists for the management of heritage in this part of South Asia. It has also evolved over a period of 120 years to cater to the ever-growing demands of the heritage sector. The purpose of this chapter is to examine some of the key characteristics and the changes that have occurred within the heritage management system of Sri Lanka. This will be presented by using a major heritage site of the country, the Sacred City of Kandy, as a case study and illustrating how changes were made to address the growing demands of heritage-related issues.

Kandy, a World Heritage site, is located in the central hills of Sri Lanka. The site contains archaeological ruins as well as standing buildings and forms a part of a dynamic modern city. Its dominant feature is the Temple of the Tooth Relic and the remnants of the palace complex of the last Sri Lankan dynasty (fig. 1). The sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha is one of the most sacred objects worshipped by the Buddhists. The temple is associated with numerous traditions, rituals and practices. For instance, the procession held annually since the arrival of the relic in the country in the fifth century is considered to be one of the most elegant cultural festivals in this part of the world. Kandy was the last capital of the country before Sri Lanka became a British colony in 1815. The site was inscribed in the World Heritage List in 1988. It is regarded as one of the most beautiful places in the country, located at an elevation of about 2 000 feet above sea level, and with an artificial lake sitting in the middle of the city.

Figure 1 The Temple of the Tooth Relic is one of Sri Lanka's most significant religious places, and a World Heritage property. (Photo: Gamini Wijesuriya)



The city has its recent origin in about the fourteenth century, but it was established as the national capital in the sixteenth century, becoming the seat for several of the last Sri Lankan kings before being destroyed by the western colonial powers and finally abandoned as the capital of the country in 1815, when British rule established Colombo as its main administrative centre. It had been the tradition of the Sri Lankan kings to build a special structure near their palaces to house the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha ever since the relic arrived in Sri Lanka from India in the fourth century AD. Although the kings have ceased to exist, the Temple of the Tooth Relic in Kandy remains a lively place of worship under the guardianship of Buddhist monks and patronage of the government.

This case study will illustrate the expansion of the way in which people and professionals in Sri Lanka and the wider world have perceived the heritage of Kandy over the last 120 years, and the challenges of its conservation and management at different stages. Looking at the original heritage management system, the paper will examine its application and the changes made to address various issues and challenges.

The Original Management System

Institution

The first British colonial rule established the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon in 1890, similar to its counterpart in India, with a view to recording archaeological ruins throughout the country. The Archaeological Survey of Ceylon later became the Department of Archaeology as part of the government administrative system and to date continues to function as the principal agency responsible for the overall management of the country's heritage.

Legislation

The activities of the Department are empowered by the Antiquities Ordinance of Sri Lanka, which has its origins in 1900 but took its current

form in 1940, with further revision in 1956 and 1998. The ordinance provides for the listing, investigation and conservation of heritage properties located on government land, as well as those in private hands.

Resources

The Department is run by a permanent cadre of staff of different classifications, ranging from the professional to technical to crafts, that amounts to about 1 200 people. They are all 'public servants' within the public administration domain of the country. In addition, the Department can hire temporary staff for any specific work. All conservation and maintenance work is carried out by the permanent staff, with very little work being outsourced in the early stages. Funds for salaries for the staff and for conservation work come directly from the central government through its annual budget. Intellectual resources required for the implementation come from its staff, who will have gained their training before joining the Department, through study programmes (both national and international) during their employment, and through the many years of experience accumulated within the Department.

What follows are two quotations from the principles followed by the Department in its restoration work as far back as the period 1945–1947:

Restoration of ancient shrines... has to be carried out without hurting the religious susceptibilities of the people... that intervention by the Department does not affect their vested interests and traditional rights... (Paranavitana 1945)

It has to be kept in mind that the proper restoration of an ancient monument is a work of a highly specialized nature, requiring in the person who carries it out a thorough knowledge of the evolution of art, architecture and the culture that produced it and a feeling therefore, often to be required by a lifetime devoted to it. (Paranavitana 1947)

Planning, implementation and monitoring

The approach to planning for conservation and management, implementation of activities, and quality control was largely based on the Western heritage conservation model (fabric or material based), with the support of locally developed techniques and tools. These were handled by the specialists of the Department, generally based on the annual budget allocations and in relation to government planning cycles. Government administrative and auditing mechanisms helped to control issues relating to financial and human resources. The public viewed the conservation and management of heritage as a government endeavour and had little or no involvement in the conservation decision-making process in the early days, although certain community-driven efforts were supported by the system, particularly with regard to the restoration of religious buildings. The entire management system was a conventional government-centred regime. It was a system with its own legal, institutional and resource base, and the staff of the institution carried out planning, implementation and monitoring activities with the intention of protecting heritage. The foreign staff that had headed the Department since its inception was replaced by a local staff and the country gained its independence in 1948,

although it wasn't until the mid-1980s that the fundamental framework of the system began to change, which will be illustrated below.

Application of the System and Its Changes

Evolution

One can observe four distinct periods of conservation in Sri Lanka that led to many changes (Wijesuriya 1993):

- Exploratory period (pre-1910)
- Consolidatory period (1910–1940)
- Explanatory period I (1940–1960)
- Explanatory period II (1960–1990 and onwards)

This sequence illustrates how the Department has progressed from mere documentation of monuments at the start, through consolidation of ruins to the restoration of living religious monuments, while embracing international standards and nationally developed practices. This amounts to a major intellectual resource base containing a wide variety of aspects, including some of the conservation principles and such prominent personalities as Roland Silva, who was the president of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) for nine years (1990–1999). Silva had been the head of the conservation branch of the Department of Archaeology of Sri Lanka since 1960, before becoming the head of the Department in 1983.

Explanatory period II is the period in which international attention was drawn to Sri Lanka, and vice versa. Two key reasons can be attributed to this: (1) the launch of the UNESCO campaign for the safeguarding of the world's cultural heritage (the movement that started with the Nubia campaign in 1959) known as the UNESCO–Sri Lanka Cultural Triangle project (1981–1999); and (2) the election of Roland Silva as the president of ICOMOS. The influence of the momentum generated during this period is still (at the time of writing this paper) dominating the heritage sector in Sri Lanka. The UNESCO–Sri Lanka Cultural Triangle project was planned and implemented by local experts, using the experience accumulated in the country over a century, and further reference will be made to this below.

Kandy as a 'monument' and a 'site'

The practice of considering Kandy as a monument or a site resulted from measures started during the Consolidatory period, followed by the adoption of the Antiquities Ordinance of Sri Lanka in 1940. Based on the definitions provided by the Antiquities Ordinance, the heritage of Kandy was viewed as a protected monument (the temple complex, which is in the hands of the monks and therefore privately owned) and archaeological reserves (some built structures being archaeological remains, which are on government lands). The difference between the two categories is that the former was retained as private property but the owners are required to consult the Department for any form of intervention within the premises; whereas the responsibility of conservation and management of the latter category was entirely vested within the Department. The key stakeholders

in the temple complex are the Buddhist community, represented by the two high priests of the two main Buddhist sects in the country and a lay guardian who is elected for a term of ten years by the community representatives. The remains in the archaeological reserve are conserved and managed by the Department of Archaeology, which acts as the sole stakeholder.

Kandy as a heritage site

During Explanatory period II, heritage began to be viewed beyond its material manifestations and thus Kandy became considered 'heritage'. This was also triggered by changes in post-independence mentality (Sri Lanka became independent from British rule in 1948) and the sacred significance of the site. Furthermore, in-depth studies, interpretation and provision of facilities to visitors, both local and international, were considered important. The professional community of archaeologists, architects and others in associated fields also felt that they should be given the opportunity to engage in heritage management issues at the same time. It was with this vision that Sri Lanka decided to join the UNESCO campaign for safeguarding world cultural heritage in the early 1980s, as mentioned above.

The new initiative was known as the Cultural Triangle project and included six major heritage sites in the country that up until then had been managed by the Department of Archaeology. The intention of the project was to start an accelerated conservation effort with the broader participation of the professional community in Sri Lanka (in addition to those in the Department), with additional resources and with the help of the international community. Kandy was one of the six sites identified within this project as having a holistic approach to understanding, conserving and presenting the site to the public, while recognizing its context, religious significance and urban character.

This initiative, however, introduced new institutional and resource issues that were beyond the means of the existing system to handle. Although the project was started by the Department, the organizational framework that was in place was not able to provide the flexibility required for planning, outsourcing or hiring staff other than those already within the Department; or to attract, secure and deploy external funding. A 'supplementary mechanism' was therefore required to support and implement the project. It was for this purpose that the Central Cultural Fund (CCF) was created, through legislation passed by parliament. The new institution was headed by the prime minister, who could provide a means of constant dialogue with the country's political system. The CCF was also empowered with the task of raising funds and spending them directly on heritage management, and had the flexibility to outsource specialist roles to experts across the international community. This supported an expansion of the entire resource base (human, financial and intellectual) for heritage management in the country to a considerable extent. Indeed, the former director-general of UNESCO regarded the arrangement as: "A model of efficiency, with clear line of authority, rapid decision-making mechanism and excellent coordination of fieldwork at all six sites" (Silva 1999).

Some of the salient features added to the heritage management system were planning for conservation with a multidisciplinary team; decisions

taken at site level; annual monitoring and peer review by a team of local and international specialists. This was due to a sharp increase in the number of stakeholders, who included UNESCO, which brought the international community; the entire political machinery (with CCF being chaired by the prime minister); the monk community; local administration; academics (owing to involvement with the universities taking part in the programme); and so on.

Kandy as a sacred place

The engagement of the Cultural Triangle project was enhanced by the fact that Kandy is the most sacred place for the Buddhist community in Sri Lanka. An annual procession, which draws over one million people, is held in the full-moon month of Esala (July–August), according to the traditional Sinhalese calendar. As a result, there were constant demands to highlight or pay special attention to the religious significance of Kandy in all activities. Increasing numbers of pilgrims and associated festivals and practices also demanded more facilities, requiring infrastructure and urban development since the site is located in the middle of a dynamic city. This drive was also supported by the political machinery of the country at all times. Maintaining a balance between conservation needs and development needs was a challenging task.

What was required was an 'integrated approach' to planning, but the existing system did not have sufficient legislative power or the tools to approach it in this way. Sri Lanka had successfully used a tool known as Sacred Area Planning Schemes for the conservation and management of large archaeological sites, which, in the case of several sites, are also sacred places. It was therefore decided to adopt the same tool for Kandy. The most crucial technique in applying this approach is to use a different 'legislative provision', which exists nationally in order to facilitate the planning and development of a larger geographical area. The aim of this is to not only enable conservation and management of sacred elements but also promote sustainable development and provision for infrastructure development. The Urban Development law (the town planning law was used in other places) was used to facilitate the preparation of an integrated planning scheme and to bring a larger section of stakeholders into the process, while maintaining the underpinning theme of heritage conservation and management. This was supplemented by the activities brought in by the Cultural Triangle project in terms of human and financial resources, and wider consultative processes to engage all relevant stakeholders in conservation.

Kandy as a World Heritage site

In 1988, the sacred city of Kandy was declared a World Heritage site under criteria (iv) and (vi). The geographical area of the World Heritage site extended beyond the sacred site limits and became a part of the living city, thus having greater influence on the local community. With a view to protecting its Outstanding Universal Value, the existing system of management had to be further strengthened, and a local solution for planning and managing the site was developed.

As in the case of many World Heritage nominations, the Sacred City of Kandy was put forward at a time when the nomination process had not yet evolved to the extent that we see it today. There was no consultative process, and the nomination dossier was prepared by the heritage community, which had the advantage of working with the Cultural Triangle project and generating interaction with many stakeholders, including the international community. In 1990, however, the architect of the Cultural Triangle project, Roland Silva, became president of ICOMOS. Silva had already injected many novel ideas, including larger stakeholder consultations to heritage conservation, into the activities of the Cultural Triangle and led the development of such tools as the sacred area schemes. Silva's leadership added another management mechanism to ensure the safeguarding of the sacred city and World Heritage site combined: the establishment of a special World Heritage management system for Kandy, which brought all relevant stakeholders under one umbrella. It was to be chaired by the elected mayor of the city, with the vice chair held by the leader of the opposition. This is still in progress and great success stories have emerged in terms of involving multiple relevant stakeholders, including local communities, and protecting the city, all whilst facilitating its sacred and day-to-day functions. In fact, the implementation of this function has led to a re-evaluation of the adequacy of existing legal and management tools, and a comprehensive management plan for the World Heritage site was drafted with contribution from all stakeholders and sectors. While many aspects of the early management system led by the Antiquities Ordinance do continue to function, these later activities have helped to improve coordination between sectors and increased the amount of resources available.

A Special Conservation Project in Kandy

As already mentioned, the most significant and iconic building complex of the Kandy World Heritage site is the Temple of the Tooth Relic. The middle of the complex contains the original structure, built in the seventeenth century, which is surrounded by buildings added at different times. It is very much connected to the contemporary life of the Buddhist community and considered to be a symbol of Sri Lankan identity – before the colonial occupation in the 1815, it was believed that whoever owned the Tooth Relic would be king of the country.

In 1998 the temple was bombed by a terrorist group, which was carrying out a war against the government and demanding a separate state for the Tamil ethnic minority (fig. 2). Immediately after the attack the restoration of the temple became a priority for the government. The existing management system, with all its improved aspects, was still not sufficient, however, to deal with the situation at a pace expected by the community in general, and the religious community in particular; these groups wanted the restoration to commence and be completed immediately. Planning for the restoration and the renovation of the building itself had to be done as quickly as possible to enable the community to continue to engage in religious activities. Pressure was also being applied to political leaders to ensure that the temple was brought back to its original condition. Some of the existing bureaucratic procedures could have delayed the provision of funds and materials necessary for restoration.

Figure 2 In 1998 the Temple of the Tooth Relic was bombed, with major damage to both the structure and its decorative features. (Photo: Gamini Wijesuriya)



On this basis, a Presidential Task Force was established under the powers vested through the presidency to facilitate the smooth and speedy recovery of the damaged heritage. This is the most powerful tool available in the country that can be used to respond to such an event. Due to its national importance, the task force was chaired by former president Chandrika Kumaranatunga Bandaranaike herself, who was in power at that time.

The task force brought all concerned stakeholders into discussions, and the Department was assigned the task of restoring the buildings (fig. 3). The conservation decision-making process for restoring the temple then, however, took a dramatic turn. Under normal circumstances the Department specialists would have followed the conventional approach and prepared restoration plans and implemented the activities, but this top-down, expert-driven approach to the restoration had to be completely revisited when the president ordered that all conservation decisions should be subject to approval by the two chief Buddhist monks in charge of the temple as well as the lay guardian elected by the public institutions and community groups in the region. This provided the opportunity to widen out dialogue with the communities and to understand better their needs, concerns and the way they perceived heritage, leading to the adoption of a bottom-up approach to conservation decision-making (Wijesuriya 2000, 2007).

Conclusions

The heritage management system that was created under the colonial public administrative system served at the time for which it was established. With the changing needs of the heritage sector, however, the system needed improvements to facilitate more effective conservation and better management of heritage. These improvements varied across such solutions as drawing on existing secondary systems, and developing legal and institutional frameworks and human resource capacity. These then enabled improvements to be made to the planning processes by enlarging the stakeholder spectrum in relation to public consultation. In the

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Figure 3a–b The restoration of the Temple of the Tooth Relic, following bomb damage, raised questions of who should lead the heritage processes. (Photos: Gamini Wijesuriya)

process, new tools, methods and the intellectual base for conservation and management of heritage were also expanded or enlarged. The importance of obtaining political support has also been a key factor. The final result has been a management system improved across all its constituent parts, as set out above.

Postscript

The paper was written in 2008 and based on the situation that existed at that time. Certain changes have occurred since then, but its fundamental message remains unchanged.

Biography

After graduating in architecture, Gamini Wijesuriya obtained Masters degrees from Carnegie-Mellon (USA) and York (UK) universities and a Ph.D. from Leiden University in the Netherlands. In the period 1983–1999, he was Director of Conservation of the Department of Archaeology of Sri Lanka, and from 2001 to 2004 he served as Principal Regional Scientist of the Department of Conservation of New Zealand. Between 2005 and 2017, Wijesuriya was Project Manager of the Sites Unit of ICCROM, in Rome, where he acted as the Deputy Coordinator for World Heritage activities. During his tenure, he organized many training courses, including "Conservation of Built Heritage" and "People-Centred Approaches to Conservation of Nature and Culture". He has published extensively.

Contact details

239/2 Hill Street Dehiwala Sri Lanka Email: gwijesuriya@hotmail.com

Note

1. Criteria (iv): to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history. Criteria (vi): to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. See https://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf.

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Crac des Chevaliers – Qala'at Al-Hisn: Current Management and Proposed Action Plan Syria

Abdullah Halawa

by the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM) in Syria at Crac des Chevaliers, a castle that was inscribed as a World Heritage site in 2006 together with the fortress Qal'at Salah el-Din. The paper explores the existing legislative framework, as well as the administrative management capacity, and will attempt, in conclusion, to identify existing management challenges and suggest ways to approach them.

Crac des Chevaliers and Qal'at Salah el-Din comprise one of five sites in Syria inscribed on the World Heritage List, the other four being the Ancient City of Damascus; the Ancient City of Aleppo; the site of Palmyra; and the Ancient City of Bosra. Syria also has 13 sites on the Tentative List, to be nominated in the coming years, and many more on the national list. The number and diversity of heritage sites on the national list is growing quickly, making it difficult to manage such a rich heritage. Although DGAM is a relatively large institution, in many cases it lacks the coordination with stakeholders that is needed to achieve successful site management. The case study will focus on management practices relating to Crac des Chevaliers, in reference to the management system proposed within the World Heritage nomination. Crac des Chevaliers demonstrates challenges that are common in heritage management practices throughout the country, as well as issues specific to its context. Such challenges pertain mainly to issues of divided ownership, a shortage of knowledge in traditional building techniques and materials, restoration policies and urban development.

This paper is based on the author's position as a member of staff within DGAM for nine years. While the articles of the Antiquities Law and DGAM decisions and other decrees are well documented and relatively easy to reference, other facts and statistics are difficult to source owing to a lack of literature on institutional practices.

The History of the Site

Crac des Chevaliers (fig. 1) is one of the most famous medieval castles in the Levant. Located halfway between the Mediterranean coast and the city of Homs, on the southern limits of Mount Al-Ansariyeh, the castle



Figure 1 Crac des Chevaliers and the surrounding area, 2004. (Photo: Abdullah Halawa)

was built around the beginning of the eleventh century CE to guard the passage between the interior and the coast of Syria (fig. 2). The strategic importance of this route resulted in a series of battles between Frankish and Muslim armies over the years (fig. 3). As a small keep on top of the hill, the ownership of the castle was transferred several times, sometimes by negotiation but mostly by force. During the first third of the eleventh century, the site was occupied by a small camp built by the prince of Homs for his Kurdish troops; thus, the site was known in the Arabic chronicles as the Fort of the Kurds (*Hisn Al-Akrad*). The name was then transferred to the Franks (*Crat*) from the Arabic word (*Krad*) meaning 'the Kurds' (Walid al-Jallad and Tlas 1989).

Figure 2 Map of Syria showing the locations of Crac des Chevaliers and Qala'at Salah el-Din. (Google Maps)

The Franks initially took hold of the castle during the First Crusade in 1099 but abandoned it to continue their march to Jerusalem. In 1110 Raymond de Saint-Gilles was able to retake the castle, transferring it two





years later to the Frankish governor of Tripoli. However, defending a site of such strategic importance required considerable funding and a highly organized corps, which existed only in religious military orders. In 1142 the castle was thus given to the Hospitallers (Order of Saint John), who were believed to be able to defend it and protect the Frankish kingdoms in the Levant from the continuous raids of the Muslims. Indeed, the Hospitallers succeeded in defending the castle for more than a century. During this long period the castle underwent several improvements as the Hospitallers applied sophisticated defence techniques that were developed by both Muslim and Christian armies (figs. 4–7). The Hospitallers themselves also launched attacks from Crac des Chevaliers, which was a well-situated base for raids against the Muslim's inland territories.

Owing to its formidable defences, the great Ayyubid sultan Salah ad-Din decided not to besiege the castle during his campaign in 1188. Crac des Chevaliers was only conquered a century later by the Mamluk sultan Baybars. During a month-long siege, Baybars was keen not to destroy the castle because of its strategic importance. After taking the castle, the sultan started a fortification campaign of his own, not only restoring the parts destroyed by siege weapons and other deteriorated areas but also adding new state-of-the-art defence features (fig. 8). The Mamluks used the castle exactly as it had been used by the Franks, as a base for raids, this time into the remaining Frankish-controlled lands. After the reign of the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn and the end of the Frankish threat in the Levant, the castle's importance slowly waned. Residents from the nearby village of Al-Hisn moved to live in the castle during the nineteenth century, but these were later evacuated by the French mandate to Syria (1923–1946).

Crac des Chevaliers is a living example of a "Widespread fabric of cultural development trends reaching out in space and time.... The period

Figure 3 Crac des Chevaliers and the surrounding territory. (Google Mans)

Figure 4 Crac des Chavaliers, part of the entrance passage. (Photo: Abdullah Halawa)

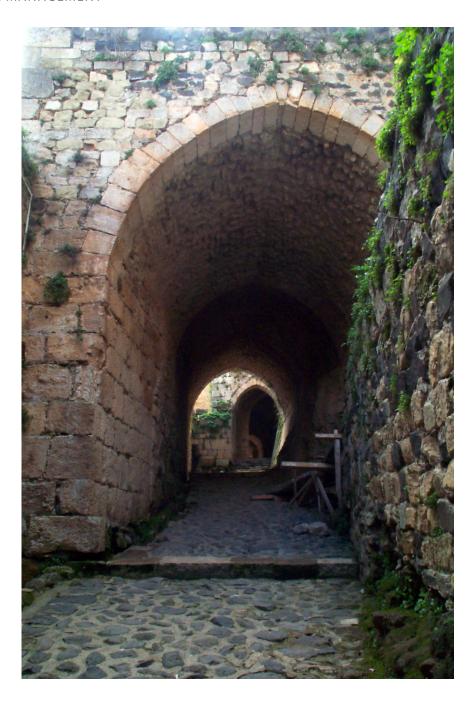


Figure 5 Crac des Chevaliers, view from the south. (Photo: Abdullah Halawa)



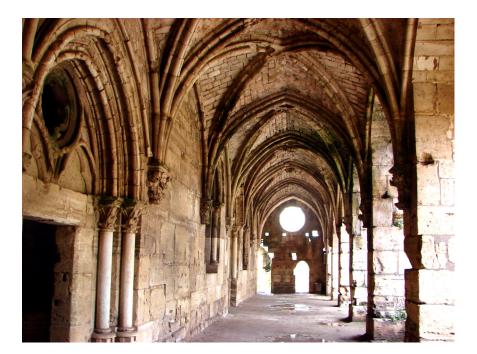


Figure 6 Crac des Chevaliers, entrance to the knights' hall. (Photo: Abdullah Halawa)

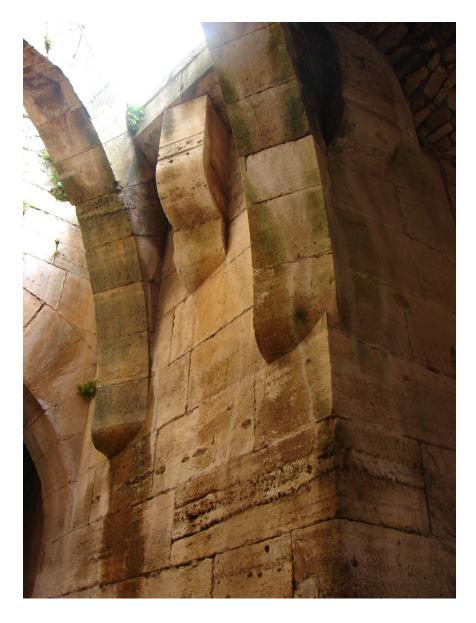


Figure 7 Crac des Chevaliers, building techniques and craftsmanship. (Photo: Abdullah Halawa)

Visitors	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993
From Syria	27 129	28 920	23 662	18 309	21 744	19 851	26 231	27 918	72 009	78 294	53 380
From other Arab nations	2 157	1 661	2 105	5 594	4 655	2 793	6 410	0	_	-	_
From other foreign nations	18 664	25 727	47 037	80 085	74 434	66 734	59 560	59 071	_	_	_
University students	10 030	15 157	10 087	12 355	7 671	5 051	6 149	11 165	5 140	6 250	6 937
School students	28 120	43 356	43 310	46 343	40 666	29 723	27 092	34 486	29 795	46 649	47 616
TOTAL	86 100	114 821	126 201	162 686	149 170	124 152	125 442	132 640	106 944	131 193	107 933

Table 1 Number of visitors between 1993 and 2003. (Source: DGAM Archive)

Figure 8 Crac des Chevaliers, showing the Mamluk sultan Baybars's reconstruction of the front tower, which bears his emblem and an inscription to commemorate the event. (Photo: Abdullah Halawa)



of hostile clashes between East and West that is conventionally identified with these citadels was also a period of most fertile cultural encounters" (Bianca 2007: 9). This was acknowledged by the World Heritage Committee as one of the criteria for the site's inscription on the World Heritage List in 2006.¹

Legislative and Administrative Framework

Under Syrian law, the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM) is the governmental body responsible for the conservation of

cultural heritage properties. Critical decisions are assigned to a Council of Archaeology, which is headed by the Minister of Culture and includes high ranking decision-makers from other institutions as the Council finds necessary (for example, the Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Tourism, governorates, etc.). As Syrian heritage has been an important source of national income, its exploitation for tourism was a priority for governments over the first decade of the twenty-first century. DGAM management plans, however, do not consider the economic potential of the site. Therefore, the Ministry of Tourism became a significant partner in cultural property management and has made considerable effort to provide various sites with necessary services and to increase visibility with a series of improvements to promotion policies.

Another important partner in the management process is the Ministry of Local Administration (MLA), the executive body through which DGAM can remove illegal construction in heritage sites and/or their buffer zones. The MLA, however, has its own interest in including heritage sites in development plans. For example, the governorate of Homs was planning to create a natural park with a tourist cable car service in the Crac des Chevaliers buffer zone, but to meet the World Heritage inscription requirements in respecting the site's integrity, the Syrian government abandoned this plan.

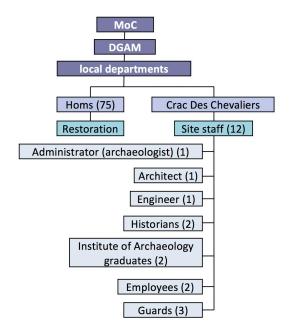
The significance of the site is reflected in the number of tourists that visit every year, even before it gained World Heritage status (Table 1). This represents an important economic value for the Ministry of Tourism and the governorate.²

Management of the site and activities that take place there is not, however, coordinated across the different stakeholders. Each stakeholder group attempts to apply its own vision for the site where it can, and overall coordination of these activities, which could bring greater benefit to the site, is lacking. For example, following the World Heritage inscription, the Homs governorate organized an annual festival (the Qal'at Al-Hisn Festival) for which an open-air theatre was built in the buffer zone with the castle as a backdrop. If such activities were coordinated with other stakeholders, especially DGAM, issues of integrity and buffer zone protection would be discussed in greater depth and solutions would be found to address these considerations while still using the site to generate income.

Prior to inscription on the World Heritage List, the site was administered from the local office at Al-Hisn, while restoration, rehabilitation or other projects were managed in close collaboration between the central restoration office in Damascus and the Homs department. All critical decisions were taken in central DGAM offices in Damascus, and although the DGAM office based in the castle was intended to take responsibility for all projects on the site, it had to rely on the Homs office, owing to a lack of local expertise (fig. 9).

Following the World Heritage inscription, a new management mechanism was introduced at the central level, although with the same staff members. While the internal organizational structure of DGAM is clear enough, the vagueness of heritage law, which does not clearly define the responsibilities of the local and central offices and does not envisage

Figure 9 Organizational diagram showing site staff members at Crac des Chevaliers in 2006. (DGAM Archive)



cooperation with other stakeholders, may be a reason why management mechanisms applied so far have not been as effective as hoped for. In the World Heritage nomination, the proposed management system had to be based in Damascus because of DGAM's centralized form of administration and because the nomination included two sites in two different governorates. Nevertheless, there were two options for this system that were, in fact, intended to be implemented as consecutive stages: the new department should have been initially responsible for these two sites only; while at a later stage, its role should have been made broader to include all five World Heritage sites in Syria. In 2007, however, DGAM decided to create a new directorate in charge of the management of all nationally listed sites, based in Damascus with local branches in DGAM regional offices.

This should have been the final stage in the creation of the management system; however, it was not possible for DGAM to continue through all the planned stages owing to administrative and legal difficulties. The newly adopted management mechanism was not as successful as it had been hoped, and the challenges faced by the management directorate include limited professional capacity; a large number of sites; overlapping responsibilities with DGAM local offices; and lack of cooperation with other stakeholders, following the Antiquities Law provisions (Article 2). Nevertheless, there is an ongoing effort to modify the heritage law (Decree no. 222, 1963), and regarding the relationship between DGAM and other partners, the new directorate is very active in encouraging communication and the exchange of ideas.

A new agreement was signed in early 2009 between DGAM and the Ministry of Tourism, giving the Ministry of Tourism considerable control over site management activities undertaken by DGAM.³ In practice, according to this agreement, DGAM follows the Ministry of Culture with regard to administration, but the Ministry of Tourism should approve DGAM strategies before they are implemented. This agreement is intended as a tool to achieve communication between the two

institutions, although DGAM's preferred form of communication would have been through the Ministry of Culture as an equal entity.

As the DGAM structure is centralized, the management practices at Crac des Chevaliers follow an up-down structure, hindering its capacity to address the specific needs of the site. Each local office represents the structure at the central level, and its responsibility is to carry out the programme of works decided in Damascus. There is no local management branch in Crac des Chevaliers, owing to a shortage of funds and staff, and the central directorate is overloaded with no prospect of increasing its staff capacity. Even after the creation of the new directorate, the view of site needs is limited to needs as perceived by DGAM. Although the approach of the management directorate towards the site is based on its values, the value assessment process considers only DGAM views, which resonates precisely with the Antiquities Law:

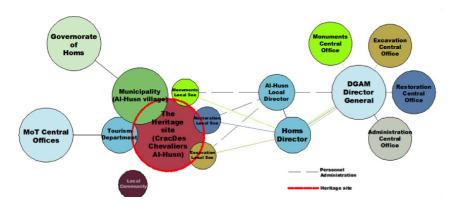
Article two. Antiquity authorities in the Syrian Arab Republic are charged with protecting antiquities; and they solely determine the antique character of historical buildings, archaeological sites and all related monuments that should be registered as antiquities. Registration means State acknowledges historical, artistic, or national significance of a monument, and State commitment to preserve, protect, research and use it in accordance with these Law provisions. What is meant by the term 'antiquities authorities' in this Law is the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums. (Syrian Arab Republic 1963)

This provision of the law gives DGAM a strong legislative tool to act without considering stakeholders. Even though the law is being reviewed, this revision is also being undertaken by DGAM alone, and it can be assumed that no major alteration will be taken on this article. Thus, heritage valuation will continue to consider only the heritage/historic significance of the castle: "Values in heritage conservation have traditionally been treated in one of two ways: a) one kind of value predominates and blots out consideration of others; or b) values are treated as a black box, with all aspects of heritage value collapsed into significance" (Mason 2002: 8).

During the French mandate, Crac des Chevaliers, along with a few other sites, was given more attention by the French, probably due to its representativeness of the period of Crusades in the Levant. Following independence, the young administration viewed itself in the eyes of the colonizer in a 'Eurocentric' approach (Ashcroft *et al.* 2007). This approach was also adopted in cultural heritage conservation; the new heritage authorities continued to focus on sites regarded as significant during the mandate, also because of their good state of conservation, while other types of heritage were neglected without assessing their national significance.⁴ This was slowly negated between the late 1970s and the end of the 1990s, when DGAM started to apply different evaluation criteria according to national priorities.

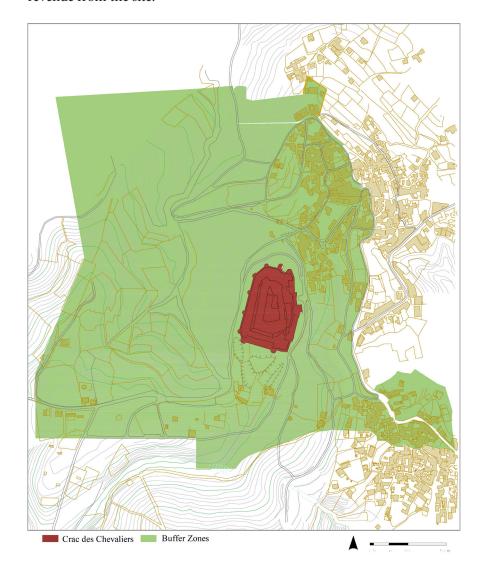
Fig. 10 illustrates the relationships between main stakeholders at the site. Communication with DGAM only happens if heritage law prohibits a stakeholder's planned intervention. Only rarely is communication related to proactive project coordination.

Figure 10 The relationships between main stakeholders at the Crac des Chevaliers. (DGAM Archive)



As DGAM "solely determines the antique character" of things (Heritage Law 1964, Article 2), the adopted approach towards the local community is to educate people on the site's heritage values and significance. This approach resulted in a lack of trust in DGAM, especially because of the fact that the local DGAM office reverts to Damascus on all matters related to community needs, such as building permits, permits for economic activity near the Crac or permits to use the Crac for social or commercial activities. As large parts of the nearby village of Al-Hisn are contained in the buffer zone (fig. 11), the direct impact of the management system is more severe building codes and reduced opportunities for revenue from the site.

Figure 11 Crac des Chevaliers and the site's buffer zone, 2007. (DGAM Archive)



Management Challenges at Crac des Chevaliers

The opportunities presented by this World Heritage site are seen differently by stakeholders, and, as the site is the responsibility of DGAM, the management directorate has a number of challenges to tackle. These challenges can be categorized according to their urgency as follows:

Immediate challenges

As tourism is one of the most important national priorities, it is essential to address the tourist needs on site. At the moment, the site lacks the following:

- a visitor centre;
- trained guides;
- site presentation, guide panels and a clear visitor route that considers the safety of the visitors;
- tourist facilities and services such as a gift shop or outlets of locally produced tourist souvenirs (such services can be an opportunity for the local community and represent one of the main areas where they should be involved);
- eventually a tourist route that connects the castle to other nearby castles such as Margat Castle (the castles were originally linked with each other in a defensive structure).

Mid-term challenges

Other challenges may require a relatively longer time to be addressed, or may be less pressing. These include:

- Devising a risk preparedness plan for the site. This is considered a mid-term challenge in Crac des Chevaliers because there are no major threats at the moment.
- Initiating research on the site's history and significance and linking it with similar sites.⁵
- Shifting DGAM's approach from educating the local community to working with community members and updating periodically the statement of significance for the site as viewed by the community. This could also be an important indicator of the efficiency of site management.

Long-term challenges

The site is connected to the nearby Saint George Monastery via natural woodland. The monastery is inscribed on the national cultural heritage list, and the Ministry of Agriculture protects the natural woodland. Providing overall protection to the whole area would help in the management system and bring further significant aspects to the forefront. The long-term challenges include:

 identifying existing development plans for the expansion of the nearby village of Al-Hisn and working with the Ministry of Local Administration and other stakeholders to respect the Outstanding Universal Value of the site while providing the community with the opportunities represented by the site's World Heritage status;

- working with the Ministry of Tourism and other stakeholders to devise a touristic plan for the site;
- working with the Ministry of Tourism and other stakeholders to reorganize the Hisn Festival in a way that respects the site's buffer zone and tourist plan for Crac des Chevaliers;
- coordinating with the Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Awqaf to have an overall protection plan for the site, nearby monastery and the natural woodland stretching between them.

Conclusion

It is evident that the management system applied by DGAM so far is not addressing the emerging needs of the community. As a result, DGAM is struggling to conserve the site as it is and does not have the chance to manage this development proactively, for many reasons. Moreover, addressing the above-mentioned challenges would require DGAM to commit a considerable part of its resources to only one site. However, heritage management is a process through which all stakeholders need to be in communication, and newly identified parties included in the discussion. In order to activate this dialogue, an action plan should be presented and discussed. In fact, addressing the challenges should not be the goal; the goal should be to have all stakeholders represented in a constructive and proactive discussion where values are acknowledged and prioritized. Benefits of sharing decisions with stakeholders could include securing additional funds for agreed projects, generating feedback on the effectiveness of the management system, and building up a recognition of the site's Outstanding Universal Values among all stakeholders. In order for such a management mechanism to be initiated, however, authority of site staff should be increased so that they have sufficient autonomy to tackle day-to-day issues.⁶ Shifting heritage management practice from one that authorizes DGAM solely to determine heritage values to another that places importance on dialogue with stakeholders is not an easy undertaking, and it is safe to assume that it will be a long process. However, the success of small initiatives within this framework will gradually inform future heritage management decisions of the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums.

Postscript

There have been significant changes to the site since the writing of this case study. New legislation was introduced in 2012 that was meant to reduce, perhaps eventually abandon, the centralized form of administration. This would have facilitated stakeholders' cooperation in management systems for cultural heritage; however, this decree was still being assessed when the current conflict in Syria began, and its hasty introduction may have been intended as a way of illustrating the will of the government to empower the people. The scope of this decree is still not clear. In 2013, all World Heritage sites in Syria were put on the List of World Heritage in Danger because of the conflict. In 2014, Crac des Chevaliers was retaken by government forces after a battle using modern weaponry, and reports of an explosion in the castle were received. There was damage to the castle,

not only as a result of fighting but also vandalism and possibly looting; the Gothic architectural (non-structural) elements shown in fig. 6 were dismantled and removed from the site. DGAM started a plan of intervention to restore the castle to its former shape; UNESCO representatives, however, expressed concerns over rushed project design and implementation. Another result of the conflict is that potential income from tourism is no longer a major impetus to the decision-making process around conservation activities. There is another force at play, however, that the conflict has served to galvanize: following the loss of iconic heritage sites due to direct targeting by Islamic fundamentalists, increasing numbers of Syrians have come to identify themselves with their heritage. Conservation of cultural heritage is now linked to the well-being of the community as a whole, and this is a pressing impetus that will guide the management strategies of heritage sites away from the pre-conflict inertia.

Biography

After graduating from the Damascus School of Architecture in 2000, Abdullah Halawa worked with the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM) in Syria. In collaboration with colleagues, he worked on many projects including the preparation of Crac des Chevaliers and Salah El-Din Citadel World Heritage nomination; the assessment of damage to Syrian cultural heritage from the First Gulf War (reporting to the United Nations); the architectural conservation and adaptive reuse of several spaces in Damascus Citadel, such as the visitors' centre, mosaics gallery and the space known as the throne hall; and a number of projects in Palmyra, Apamea, Russafah, Bosra, Mari, Misherfeh, Margat citadel, Amrit and Ugarit. Abdullah received his MA in Managing Archaeological Sites from University College London in 2011 and since then has been working as a Project Coordinator for Built Heritage and Higher Education at ICCROM's Regional Conservation Centre in Sharjah, United Arab Emirates.

Contact details

ICCROM-ATHAR Regional Conservation Centre in Sharjah PO Box 48777 Sharjah U.A.E.

Email: abh@iccrom.org

Notes

- 1. The Ancient Villages of Northern Syria were not yet inscribed when this case study was originally written. The site (Crac des Chevaliers and Qal'at Salah El-Din) was inscribed on the World Heritage List under criteria (ii–iv).
- 2. The number of visitors peaks in 2000, probably due to the Ministry of Tourism's promotional policies. It reduced afterwards owing to political instability in the region.
- 3. The Ministry of Local Administration is also mentioned in the agreement as the executive body responsible for preparing the infrastructure for certain sites identified by the Ministry of Tourism and DGAM.

- 4. This is even more evident in other sites, such as the World Heritage site of Bosra where for years DGAM followed the value assessment inherited from the French, leading to the enhancement of classical monuments only, and thus destroying the vernacular urban structure and pushing inhabitants to leave the site.
- Foreign excavation teams are carrying out research activities but DGAM does not have a research programme to study cultural heritage; this is usually done to address specific needs.
- 6. New municipal laws were introduced recently that may address this issue; however, the effectiveness of these new laws cannot be examined within the current conflict situation.

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Conserving an Un-inherited Site: Managing and Preserving the Khami World Heritage Site Zimbabwe

Ashton Sinamai

Culture site in southern Africa, after Great Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe Culture sites are monumental drystone-walled sites that marked the beginning of stratified societies in southern Africa from the ninth century CE to the middle of the nineteenth century. There are over 350 of these sites in southern Africa, mostly in Zimbabwe, Botswana, South Africa and Mozambique, and were formerly capital cities and towns and villages. The majority of these sites have freestanding drystone walls, especially those that are chronologically linked to Great Zimbabwe. Khami-phase sites (1450–1830) are lavishly decorated drystone platforms on top of which houses were constructed. Many of these site types are national monuments in such countries as Zimbabwe, Botswana, South Africa and Mozambique, and three of these sites are on the World Heritage List.¹

Mapungubwe, which is the earliest of these sites, lies close to the border between South Africa and Zimbabwe. The largest of these sites, however, is Great Zimbabwe, near the present-day town of Masvingo. Khami, which was built from the 1450s after the collapse of Great Zimbabwe, marks a departure from free-standing architecture to highly decorated stone platforms. The architecture of Khami is composed of revetment and retaining walls that created platforms on which houses were constructed. The surrounding natural landscape was very influential in fostering changes to the Zimbabwe Culture architecture that is seen at Khami. Although the architecture at the site was highly influenced by the environment and the Karanga/Kalanga culture, there were no hard and fast rules in designing structures. How a wall or a platform was built largely depended on its immediate environment, as well as its intended use. Boulders were incorporated into the platforms to support the filling so that it would not exert too much lateral pressure on the outer retaining walls.

Khami, which covers over 6 km², was declared a national monument in 1937 through the Historic Monuments and Relics Act of 1934 and inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1986. The site has eight major buildings in drystone, with the Hill Complex (the king's residence) being the most spectacular (fig. 1). The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) is a parastatal organization with legal authority over the site and is responsible for its conservation and management through the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo. The Natural History Museum thus has responsibility for presenting the site to the general public and to educational institutions. The site received about

Figure 1 Hill Complex, Khami World Heritage site seen from the air. (Photo: E. Gauss, 2014)



35 000 visitors per year before the Khami Dam was polluted by sewage from the City of Bulawayo's uncompleted Southern Areas Sewage Treatment plant (SAST) 2 km upriver. In 1996 this plant was spewing sewage and other chemicals into the river, not only affecting the vegetation and wildlife but also spreading a terrible smell in the environs of the site. This stench drove visitors away, and, in combination with the country's political and economic problems since 1999, the annual number of visitors has been reduced to 3 000 visitors, most of whom are students from local schools.

According to the NMMZ's National Monuments List, Khami is the second most important cultural heritage site in Zimbabwe. Even though it is the second largest Zimbabwe Culture site and displays architectural features that show major innovations with respect to the architecture at Great Zimbabwe, this has not determined priorities in its conservation and management. When it was nominated for World Heritage status, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) lamented the deterioration at the site that was largely due to neglect. Vegetation had been allowed to grow over walls, with the result that many of these had collapsed and had not been restored (Delgado Rodrigues and Manuelshagen 1987). The site deteriorated further when a dam that had been built in the late 1920s to provide water for the nearby city of Bulawayo became a sewage dam, causing the local area to smell as mentioned above. This neglect and pollution led to the site being placed on the World Monuments Fund's Watch List for 100 Most Endangered Sites in 1996. It was this wake-up call that led to the formulation of a management plan for the site and the author's appointment to the site as project manager. The management plan (supported by a donation from American Express) was drawn up with the help of ICOMOS through the Archaeology Unit of the University of Zimbabwe.

Management Issues at Khami

Khami was first protected by the Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance of 1902 (Ndoro 2005). This ordinance was intended to protect KHAMI | SINAMAI 7



Figure 2 The Precipice Ruin at Khami with its foundations under water, a result of the construction of the Khami Dam in 1929. (Photo: A. Sinamai)

all archaeological sites from treasure hunters who were known to have been ransacking drystone monuments such as Khami for gold artefacts. The ordinance was not very effective as it did not create an organization to look after the sites, which were mostly watched over by the police, who had other more pressing issues than looking after heritage. As there was no organization to run these sites, residents from the newly established city of Bulawayo visited Khami unaccompanied and caused most of the problems experienced today, through illicit digging for artefacts, as well as climbing on walls. Khami did not have a custodian and St Claire Wallace, the custodian at Great Zimbabwe, had to travel 240 km to carry out maintenance of the site on an occasional basis. It was Wallace who cleared the overgrown vegetation from the stone walls. The site had multiple ownership at the time: one section belonged to a cattle farm; another was owned by the City of Bulawayo, which had its waterworks just across the river from the Hill Complex; and the rest of the monument was state property. Management of the site was affected by a lack of coordination, potentially inherent in such cases of multiple ownership. The Bulawayo City Council even made its decision to build the dam in the part of the site that it owned, which inundated an area of the site including the Precipice Ruin, the foundations of which are now under water (fig. 2). As a result, this wall, which is over 70 m in length and had already begun to collapse before the dam was constructed, has collapsed further in a number of places as its foundations slip into the water (NMMZ 1998). The deterioration is exacerbated by the activities of fishermen who use the collapsed gaps in the wall to get closer to the water.

In 1934, new legislation was enacted that led to the Historical Monuments Act (Ndoro 2005). The act created an organization that had responsibility for protecting all the important archaeological, palaeontological and historical sites in Zimbabwe. Important sites were listed as national monuments, and Khami, as one of the largest sites in Zimbabwe, was listed as National Monument No. 3, after Victoria Falls and Great Zimbabwe. The status of national monument did not change the way the site was managed however, with the first curator of the site not being appointed until 1948. In addition, the curator put in post was more interested in the archaeology of the site than its conservation. Thus there were no conservation programmes for the site, and restoration was only carried

out when walls collapsed. In fact, the curator was so infuriated by these collapses, which seemed to occur every rainy season, that he decided to use cement to repair the most troublesome of these drystone walls, thus affecting the authenticity of the remains. He worked at the site until he retired in the late 1960s, and his diaries provide a lot of information about the behaviour of the walls (Robinson 1948–1969).

The legislation was changed in 1972 when the National Museum and the Historic Monuments Commission were combined to form the National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe, with responsibility for managing all heritage sites and institutions in Zimbabwe. The National Museum and Monuments Act of Rhodesia2 was changed again, cosmetically, in 1980 and 1999 and continues to be in effect with regard to the protection and management of heritage sites today (Chiwaura 2005). Legislation, however, has not been enforced in the management of Khami, which was neglected for a very long time. When the liberation war began in the mid-1970s, the site was abandoned with only a few inspections being carried out. After independence the site came under the care of the Natural History Museum, which itself was now under an organization created in 1972 to manage museums and cultural heritage sites (as part of the NMMZ). The Natural History Museum created an archaeology department to manage and conserve all heritage sites in the western part of Zimbabwe. The site was inspected by staff from the museum, located 22 km away, and looked after by custodians whose duty was only to collect revenue from the few visitors who came to the site. This was the arrangement that led to the serious neglect that ICOMOS observed when they carried out their inspection for the nomination of the site in 1986 (Delgado Rodrigues and Manuelshagen 1987).

For these reasons, the presentation of Khami as a World Heritage property remained undeveloped, in comparison to Great Zimbabwe. Khami had a small site museum with a few artefacts from the site. (Most of the other artefacts were at the Natural History Museum and the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences.) It was also not well marketed, but this at least was to the site's advantage as it meant fewer visitors; this minimized the potential for the sorts of problems and challenges that can be created for sites with large numbers of visitors. Many of the visitors came from the nearby city of Bulawayo.

Boundaries for the site were not well established, as some parts of the World Heritage property fell outside the managed estate. Some sections of the site were in private hands within adjoining farmland, as well as within Bulawayo municipal land. These areas were affected by several factors: most farms close to Khami are cattle farms, and stock grazed within the archaeological area and dislodged face block from the walls as they walked on the structures. On one farm, a stone-built platform was dismantled in order to construct church buildings. One wall at the Vlei Ruin was even dismantled to allow a boundary fence to pass through. There were no established use areas, and cars could be parked on archaeologically sensitive parts of the site. In fact, in one of the car parks, the campsite and toilets were all built in archaeologically sensitive areas. The site was also not a priority for a Natural History Museum whose core business was in natural sciences and not the humanities. There was thus very little

concern for the site from museum management, except as a source of revenue. Inspections at the site were haphazard, and while they often highlighted the problems at the site, they were never acted upon.

The staff at the sites included two custodians who collected ticket sales with very little knowledge of conservation issues. The site was thus most of the time overwhelmed by vegetation, which in turn caused further collapses at the site. Most of these collapses were never restored as there was no documentation that conservators could rely on to guide them in their reconstruction. The Hill Complex in particular suffered from these collapses as some of its walls retained huge amounts of earth and stone. These collapses often fell onto other walls, and by 1990 it seemed that few walls were still standing at all, as most had been covered by collapse. The city of Bulawayo was also expanding very quickly in this period, and some of its suburbs were only 5 km away from the site. In fact, Khami is now included in the city's planning boundaries, and the area around Khami is earmarked for low-cost housing (City of Bulawayo 1996). Much of this development planning was done by the town council without any consultation with NMMZ, the institution managing Khami, which reflects the council's general continued disinterest in local heritage.

The World Heritage property of Khami is also a good case study of a 'forgotten place'. It is a site that does not feature in local and national narratives, and this makes it difficult for NMMZ to engage government or communities in its preservation. Communities do not claim it, and the state has not used it as a resource for telling the story of the past. The legal protection that it has from the NMMZ Act (1999) in itself does not place it at the centre of shared memory, which is often crucial in preserving the past. It is this 'mental abandonment' that makes Khami un-inherited and that, in turn, makes it difficult to preserve as a heritage location. A site such as Khami may be recognized as a national monument and as a World Heritage site, but unless such status is of some use to the preferred national or local narrative, the site will not feature in cultural histories or tourism itineraries designed by the state. For local communities, a site that contributes to their identity is much more valued even if it doesn't attract hordes of tourists or the attention of the whole nation or world. For a site to become iconic it has to have relevance to contemporary societies, and Khami fails in this regard.

The Management Plan 1999-2004

The management plan was designed for the period 1999 to 2004 and was intended to control development around the site, as well as outlining the problems that the site was experiencing. It also prioritized specific projects for the conservation of the site, including restoration of almost all the platforms, with major projects focusing on the Hill Complex and the Precipice Ruin. Other projects looked at improving infrastructure; these included building a new museum, a conservation centre, staff housing, camping facilities for visitors and fencing to improve site security (NMMZ 1998). The management plan also had a research plan that was specifically targeted towards improving the interpretation of the site.

All these projects were to cost over US\$890 000, much of which was supposed to be provided by the government, with the rest coming from donors. The Khami Development Fund was created so that all funds from the government and donors would be used only for the conservation and development of Khami.

The implementation of the management plan started in 1999 with the appointment of a project manager and other conservation staff. Many of the new staff at Khami had been transferred from the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage site, where advances in the conservation of drystone sites had been made. However, the NMMZ did not recruit all the required staff, and of the 15 recommended in the management plan, only six of the various competencies were provided. The major reason for this was the absence of budgetary support for salaries, which was supposed to come from the government. The Government of Zimbabwe funded the construction of three houses for staff and the World Heritage Council funded the purchase of a vehicle for use at the site. Part of the funding from the World Monuments Watch was also used to fence the site, as well as purchasing equipment needed for conservation activities.

The first restoration project was carried out in 1999 at the Hill Complex and was funded by the government and donors including the French Embassy (which had a cultural agreement with the Natural History Museum), UNESCO and the Chantier Histoire et Architecture Médiévale (CHAM), a French volunteer organization with a focus on restoration of monuments. This project was unique in that it allowed students from different parts of the world to participate in the restoration projects at the site. The initial project was so successful that it was agreed between the partners that the project should continue with students in archaeology and architecture, history and tourism from France and other African countries. With funding from the French and German embassies, UNESCO and the NMMZ, the restoration work continued until 2006 (fig. 3). When the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe worsened after 2006, no work could be carried out at Khami. There was a huge staff turnover, and inflation eroded the Khami Development Fund, which had been established by the government to fund restorations and development at the site. Generally, heritage became less of a priority for a government

Figure 3a–b The Hill Complex before and after restoration. (Photos: A. Sinamai)





under national and international pressure to reform and subject to severe international sanctions.³

Conservation was probably the only successful part of the management plan as NMMZ ran out of funds to complete other elements of the project. A large proportion of funding for the development of the site was supposed to come from the government through the Public Sector Investment Programme, but the programme was discontinued for cultural heritage sites and instead targeted towards politically visible projects that would bring in votes. Donors also removed their support for a government that was becoming a pariah state, with many directing their funding to poverty-related issues. By 2003 the Khami Development Fund was exhausted as the national economy deteriorated further and foreign relations with donor countries worsened. The sewerage problem in the Khami River got worse as the project that was meant to rectify it came to a halt. The Bulawayo City Council, which had received a grant from the World Bank for this project, could not complete it as the grant was withdrawn, and visitors stayed away.

As mentioned above, Khami is not viewed nationally as a 'narrative resource' and does not feed into the local or national storyline in the way that Great Zimbabwe does. As a result, the government is not obliged to set aside funds as it does for Great Zimbabwe, and there is little concern about the state of conservation of the site from the local communities. Great Zimbabwe is regarded as a 'premier national monument' because it supports the national storyline and gave the country its post-colonial name. Khami, on the other hand, has failed to arouse any emotions in Matabeleland and the nation at large. Though it is linked to the Karanga/ Kalanga like Great Zimbabwe, it is in a province now occupied by people whose identity is now Ndebele. It is not representative of the Ndebele culture and therefore plays second fiddle to sites of Ndebele origin such as Old Bulawayo (a Ndebele capital from the 1860s) or the religious sites in the Matobo Cultural Landscape close by. With the ethnic clashes of the 1980s still fresh in people's minds, the government is forced to make an effort to portray the nation as inclusive. There are, therefore, appearement projects that may get more support from the government so that cultural heritage is seen to be representative of all groups. Old Bulawayo was one such site that received more funding than Khami until the economic crisis. The site was reconstructed and a museum built at a time that Khami, a World Heritage site, was struggling to source funding for conservation and the construction of a site museum.

The management plan also had unrealistic objectives, which proved difficult to achieve. There were 17 conservation projects to be carried out over five years. One of the projects at the Hill Complex, which was supposed to be completed in a year, took three years to complete. The architecture of the Hill Complex proved to be much more complicated than expected, and this slowed down the restoration work. Other projects were not technically feasible. For example, restoring the Precipice Ruin from its foundations was impossible as much of the wall was under polluted water from the sewage plant upstream.

There was a lack of consultation when the management plan was drafted. The management plan was outsourced to the Archaeology Unit of the University of Zimbabwe. As consultants, they had to draw up a comprehensive document, but they did not look at the funding possibilities for the projects they proposed. One feels that a small manageable management plan would have sufficed for Khami. Only 30 per cent of the proposed conservation projects, 10 per cent of the development projects and 10 per cent of the research projects have been implemented. Even without the political and economic problems that Zimbabwe has experienced over the past decade, it would have been difficult to implement all the projects proposed in this management plan in the time allocated.

The management plan also suffered from being a cut-and-paste solution from experiences at Great Zimbabwe. It was supposed to create similar conditions to those at Great Zimbabwe, which has had a conservation and development programme since the early 1980s. The social and physical setting of Khami, however, was not taken into consideration when the plan was drawn up. Great Zimbabwe is in a rural setting, where people regard it as sacred and therefore respect it. Khami, on the other hand, is in a dry environment and peri-urban setting. The urban population, under pressure from economic and social problems, saw the estate in which the site is located as a resource to be exploited. Poaching of wildlife and wood gathering is common at Khami, and this has resulted in the degradation of the environment. Local farmers facing less rain as a result of climate change sometimes see the Khami estate as unused grazing land for their cattle. These problems were a direct result of breakdown of communication between the managers at Khami and communities living nearby. There was generally a lack of consultation at grassroots level shown by the disconnection of the urban population, as well as of some workers at the site.

The management plan was also not sensitive to the local administration in the NMMZ's Western Region. The NMMZ has five divisions represented by regions, which have a specific research thrust with an ancillary Archaeology Department. Khami sits under the remit of the Western Region, the research focus of which is in the natural sciences, and management oversight comes via the archaeology department based at the museum. The promotion of Khami through its own management plan was done by the management of the Natural History Museum, who were of the opinion that the site would eventually become autonomous and result in loss of revenue to the museum. There were also concerns that Khami would be the flagship project of the region, which could result in a reduction of funding for the core business of the museum.

Conclusions

Management plans depend on a variety of factors. Many fail largely because of lack of funding, but they are also weakened by the economic and political environments in which the sites are found. Furthermore, management plans fail when they do not include communities in the decision-making processes for the site. A variety of factors have led to Khami becoming un-inherited, and this has made it difficult to involve both government and local communities in its preservation. The economic, political and social problems brought in by the Zimbabwean

government's land redistribution also resulted in a shift in foreign policy, leading to donors sponsoring fewer cultural projects and focusing instead on social problems. As diplomatic relations with Western countries deteriorated, less donor funding was channelled towards cultural heritage projects. Donors also found it difficult to take part in a project like Khami when people were facing insurmountable economic and social difficulties due to the crisis. During this so-called lost decade, the government also changed its priorities to focus on these social problems resulting in less funding being budgeted for heritage. For example, the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe's budget of 2009 was less than 1 per cent of its government grant in 1995. At Khami the result was that all conservation projects stopped, and some projects in the management plan remained unimplemented.

The political and economic crisis also affected the human resources of the NMMZ. Most of the experienced archaeologists and heritage managers left the country, with the remainder holding administrative posts. The universities, which previously also provided experienced consultants in heritage management for NMMZ, also suffered from this brain drain. Khami has suffered even more from this phenomenon, losing an archaeologist and a stonemason who was considered the most experienced in southern Africa. The case of the Khami World Heritage site shows that management plans operate within the context of broader economic and social environments, and the failure of these environments can also result in the failure of any implementation plan, no matter how good it may be.

The management plan, though, did have a positive effect on the management of Khami. For the first time since the declaration of the site as a national monument in 1934, it had a conservation plan for the archaeological remains and the environment within the estate. It also forced the government and NMMZ to recognize the problems that the site was experiencing. Though there has been a lull in major conservation projects, the plan will provide a starting point once the political and economic situation improves. While some of the major problems have been solved, Khami is still under serious threat from the lack of conservation staff, lack of resources, a general disinterest in its history from the nation and the community, and the general economic problems that Zimbabwe faces today.

Postscript

Though conservation projects have continued at Khami, the major problems of a shortage of skilled labour and inadequate infrastructure have continued to dog the site. The landscape at Khami is still ill-defined, and aspects of its intangible heritage are poorly conserved. The Khami River, a major feature of this landscape, is still polluted, which affects the experience of visitors to the site. The initial management plan had proposed for a new museum accompanied by a new marketing plan to bring more visitors to the site. With Zimbabwe still experiencing economic problems, funding for these projects has not been forthcoming, and the numbers of visitors to the site have actually gone down significantly. The economic problems have also increased poaching within the estate, and 90 per cent

of the fencing around the site has been stolen. Accompanying these problems is also the withdrawal of donors, citing economic problems. A second management plan was developed to run from 2013 to 2017, and this has continued with restoration of stone walls while focusing on marketing the site through the involvement of all stakeholders. This has resulted in the revamping of the site museum and little else. Funding a management plan without government or donor support for a World Heritage property that receives very few visitors and that generates insignificant funding is impracticable.

Biography

Dr Ashton Sinamai is an archaeologist and heritage management professional. He worked for the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe from 1994 to 2004, first as an Archaeologist at the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage site and later as Archaeologist and Project Manager at the Khami World Heritage site. He has led international conservation efforts in Africa and been closely involved with ICCROM/AFRICA 2009 projects in Botswana, Kenya, Namibia, Sudan and Zimbabwe. He has also worked as the Chief Curator of the National Museums of Namibia and has published extensively on archaeology, heritage management and critical heritage studies. He was a Marie Curie Experienced Researcher at the University of York (United Kingdom) from 2015 to 2017. Currently, he is a Heritage Advisor for Rio Tinto in Perth, Australia and an Honorary Associate in the Department of Archaeology at La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Contact details

La Trobe University Melbourne, Victoria 3086 Australia

Email: Asinamai@ltu.edu.au

Notes

- 1. Great Zimbabwe and Khami in Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe in South Africa.
- 2. National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia Act 1972, Chapter 313.
- 3. Restoration work only resumed in 2012, mainly with support from donor organizations and embassies.

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Theme 2

Management Practice



Management Practices in the Garden of Plants and Nature of Porto-Novo Benin

Souayibou Varissou

he discussion on management practices at heritage sites is fundamental to assess the efficiency of established systems. In Africa, a large variety of management practices exist, regulated by a diversity of legal frameworks, ranking from state-based to private systems (Negri 1995: 13). The ownership of the heritage property is indeed a key influence in defining the management practices and generating new dynamisms (Godonou 2005; Adande 2005). At the same time, since the end of the twentieth century, a number of capacity-building institutions, generally hosted by or linked to universities, are playing a greater role in training heritage practitioners and assisting national organizations. Some of them have international scope, such as the School of African Heritage (Ecole du Patrimoine Africain, or EPA) in Benin and the Centre for Heritage Development in Africa (CHDA) in Kenya respectively for French- and English-speaking countries. Furthermore, there have been a number of capacity-building programmes mainly in the field of cultural heritage and coordinated by ICCROM, such as Prevention in Museums in Africa (PREMA) in the 1990s, followed by the AFRICA 2009 Programme for heritage sites covering the period 1999-2009.1

The management environment in the Republic of Benin has been impacted by a number of institutional reforms since 1990, when the National Conference opened up the so-called 'democratic area' with a multipartite system and increased freedom of expression. One of the consequences of the new deal was a general liberalization of the economy and an inclination for the reduction of public expenditure, which meant *ipso facto* a reduction in the support provided to the development of private initiatives. The Garden of Plants and Nature (Jardin des Plantes et de la Nature, hereafter JPN), located in the heart of Porto-Novo, the capital city of Benin, was created as an innovative experience in the new environment at regional and national levels. The conception and running of its management system has benefitted from the participation of multiple actors.

From Sacred Forest to Urban Garden

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the site was part of the sacred residential forest of the *migan*, the minister of religious and judicial

affairs in the kingdom of Porto-Novo. The forest was a ritual and political decision-making place. The users would celebrate voodoo gods, learn endogenous practices and engage in dialogue with natural resources, mainly plants. The forest was also used for rituals aiming to reinforce the stability of the kingdom. There were trees including *Milicia excelsa* and *Cola gigantea*, under which ritual events were held with the aim, for instance, to reconcile dignitaries who had quarrelled or to send human messengers to the ancestors (Ogou *et al.* 2009).

The sacred forest gave birth to the colonial acclimatization garden in 1905. Exogenous species were then imported, and African students in agriculture were trained on the three sites making up the garden, totalling 7.2 hectares. It was a well-known garden in the French colonial empire in West Africa. The garden contained precious species, some of them being unique on the African continent. The garden also provided many places with plants from its own nurseries. Unfortunately, that role decreased following the country's independence in 1960, with fewer resources allocated by the government, particularly after 1980. As a result, the garden was abandoned without a clear management strategy. In addition, there were fewer qualified staff members. Owing to the lack of maintenance the garden was reduced to bush, and collections were threatened by the growth of uncontrolled grass. The loss of valuable species combined with a lack of development vision within the Ministry of Agriculture (the owner of the site) characterized the historic grove as an abandoned garden, and it seemed that it had almost been 'planned' to disappear definitively as a cultural landscape. The garden lost one of its sites, which was used for parliament buildings and was reduced to only 3.4 hectares, with a busy road separating the two remaining sites. These sites were renamed the Plants Museum (site 1) and the Relaxation Park (site 2) (fig. 1).

In an attempt to find suitable ways to stop the decline of the garden, the JPN was initiated as a programme under the institutional leadership of the EPA in November 1998. The EPA signed an Agreement Protocol with the Ministry of Agriculture upon which the EPA recruited a site curator mandated to coordinate the operational transformation of the botanical garden into a nature museum by:

- conserving the garden in its urban context and enriching its biological resources in a way to better reflect the national biodiversity (*preservation objective*);
- improving the experience and conditions for users, developing educational and cultural programmes based on the JPN collection and other related cultural landscapes (*mediation objective*);
- developing resource-generating activities with a view to self-finance the operation of the JPN (*sustainability objective*).

The first stage of restoration work was supported by ICCROM and the French Agency for Development (Agence Française de Développement, or AFD), as well as the City Council of Porto-Novo. The project was conducted using a heritage sustainability approach based on multiple partnerships and involving the beneficiaries (Dugast 2002). The management system and practices were led by the above strategic objectives.

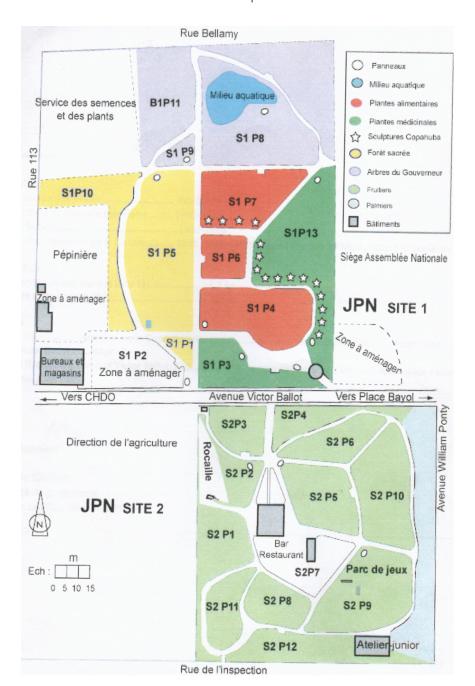


Figure 1 Plan of the Jardin des Plantes et de la Nature (Garden of Plants and Nature). (Souayibou

Management System and Strategy

In most African countries with Latin legal traditions there are good reasons to encourage private museums that are completely out of government control, as the centralization inherited from colonial systems "paralyses the freedom to act; it also retrieves the possibility to use for the benefit of the museum, financial income from initiatives taken by professionals" (Des Portes 1995: vi). As soon as it was launched as the Jardin des Plantes et de la Nature on 22 January 1999, the garden introduced a new era in its institutional development. Using a partnership approach based on the representation of key stakeholders in various structures, the management strategy introduced new areas of interest and growth. The garden stopped being simply an entity depending exclusively on the Ministry of Agriculture of Benin. For the first time, a consultative mechanism to assess actions and make decisions was created, increasing the availability

of various experts and institutions for the development of the JPN. Three organs with complementary missions (the board, the Scientific Council and the management team) were created through the Agreement Protocol and, later on, a fourth entity, the association of Friends of the JPN. The mission and actions of each unit reflected the vitality of JPN's operation.

The board, as the strategic decision-making body, was responsible for the orientation and evaluation of activities. It would meet twice a year to assess and approve the activity reports (technical and financial) submitted by the management team. The board consisted of five ordinary members, comprising two representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture as the owner of the site, one from EPA, one from the Beninese Committee of the International Council of Museums (COBICOM) and one from the Municipality of Porto-Novo. The chair of the board was the Director of Agriculture. The board members, particularly EPA, committed through the Agreement Protocol to provide necessary support for the site's operation during an initial two-year period (1999-2000). For example, electricity and water were paid for by the Ministry of Agriculture, and salaries were provided by the EPA with an implicit continuation of support if needed. The board members themselves had no financial remuneration. In practice, all members were motivated and quite active during the meetings, except COBICOM, which faced a number of functional challenges.

The Scientific Council's role was to discuss and validate the reports written by the management team before these documents were submitted to the board. The Scientific Council also had a monitoring role for the whole organization and when needed could advise on the development of project proposals and any operational or educational tools. The Scientific Council was made up of five regular members covering the following areas of expertise: two naturalists (a botanist and a ranger), one of whom was chosen as the chairperson; a specialist in education; a museum specialist; and a project manager. The Scientific Council would meet as needed, usually before board meetings. Individual council members were also involved in various projects and meetings depending on their area of expertise. The Scientific Council members received no payment for their contribution. In practice, all of them were quite active, particularly the botanist (a lecturer at the University of Abomey-Calavi, Benin), who was of great assistance in enriching and updating the nomenclature of the site's collection in 2005.

The management team was responsible for the day-to-day operation of the site. All activities and project proposals were conceived and led by the management team, whose number was not fixed because it depended on existing resources and funds raised. Only members of the management team were staff members and granted a salary. The team was coordinated by a curator hired by EPA on the basis of academic background and professional experience. The curator was responsible for the overall preservation and development of the site. The curator set up his team and established roles within each section. In 2005 a team of 14 staff members was operating in three sections: the plants museum, the bar-restaurant (fig. 2) and the plant nursery.² This approach led to a planning process that included:

 A weekly meeting that brought together the heads of sections to check any emergencies, significant requests and other trends that they needed to be aware of. Most of the time this was a



Figure 2 The bar/restaurant under the shade of the trees. (Photo: Franck Komlan Ogou)

quick meeting where forthcoming appointments were discussed for all departments (e.g. visits, functions, meetings, etc.).

- A monthly team meeting held on the first Monday of the month (Monday being the weekly closing day of the garden). During the meeting and on the basis of the information in the daily registers,3 each head of section presented the results of their section in terms of activities, numbers of site visitors and customers, and financial performance. The monthly meeting was a key tool for internal management. Not only did it help the whole team to discuss their own results, but it also helped to determine new targets for the following month. Without a doubt, this participatory approach was a powerful means of motivation as it helped everyone to assess the work of each section and discuss achievements and challenges. In fact, it was a practical approach to establishing co-responsibility, whereby each team member had a role to play in achieving the overall balance of the system. Most of the time general failures were related to marketing and welcoming skills, and plant monitoring.
- Internal audits at six-monthly intervals were undertaken by the curator to check and update the performance and challenges of the site with regard to conservation, mediation, marketing, professionals, etc.⁴ The internal audits helped in drawing up the reports submitted every six months to the Scientific Council and to the board. Sometimes, one or more Scientific Council members were involved in the preparation work. Depending on the outcomes of the mid-term internal review, the annual work plan and budget could be readjusted and the subsequent report presented to the board for approval.

Sources of Income

When considering the mission of the garden, it is clear that its management requires a combination of entrepreneurial venture and project

approach. The dynamic between the three functional sections (bar/restaurant, museum and nursery) reflected that need. While the bar/restaurant, and to a certain extent the plant nursery, had no choice but to succeed in doing business in order to generate income, the museum was busy promoting a project approach to increase income and to be able to carry out the conservation and mediation work. For instance, in 2002 a significant contribution was provided by the participants of the AFRICA 2009 Programme. At the request of the curator, the JPN was identified as a case study with regional interest during a course on the management of cultural immovable heritage in sub-Saharan Africa. The exercise involved key stakeholders in developing a three-year management plan, which highlighted some weaknesses in the legal framework, conservation and visibility/legibility of the site. The exercise was undertaken during a period that corresponded with an institutional crisis, characterized by the suspension of grants by some strategic partners and internal dysfunctions. In 2005, the action plan was partly implemented thanks to internal effort but also with the contribution of various partners, such as AFRICA 2009, which provided financial and technical assistance in 2005 for a projet situé (field project) on legibility. In addition to developing panels and updating the plant inventory, the field project helped to publish a visitor brochure in 2008.

As shown in the table below, the bar/restaurant is the main generator of resources in-house, with its higher customer numbers. In contrast to the harsh urban environment surrounding it, JPN provides a place of leisure for customers to enjoy a cool beer under the shade of trees providentially provided by the gods and generous nature! The statistics below give an example of the in-house resources and results of JPN in 2005 (Tables 1–3).

Although this is a heritage site, the visitor/customer statistics for 2005 revealed a predominance of customers visiting the bar/restaurant, which

Table 1 Bar/restaurant customers in 2005.

	Jan-March	April-June	July-Sept	Oct-Dec	Total
Locals	2 749	2 706	2 381	2 613	9 449
Foreigners	824	622	706	1 389	3 541
Total	3 573	3 328	3 087	4 002	12 990

Table 2 Museum visitors in 2005.

	Jan-March	April-June	July-Sept	Oct-Dec	Total
Guided visitors	240	144	374	369	1 127
Free visitors	173	142	180	371	866
Pedagogic visitors	829	1073	25	674	2 601
Total	1 242	1 359	579	1 414	4 594

Table 3 Plant nursery customers in 2005.

	Jan-March	April-June	July-Sept	Oct-Dec	Total
Locals	102	134	116	45	397
Foreigners	94	107	112	36	349
Total	196	241	228	81	746

served 12 990 customers (71 per cent) out of a total of a recorded 18 330 people coming to the garden as a whole. The second most frequented section is the museum, with 4 594 visitors (25 per cent). The trend has been constant since 2000 when the bar/restaurant was created. Although attendance recorded by the museum seems low in general, the number of customers appears fairly high in comparison with other national museums and sites in Porto-Novo where the number of visitors averages around 3 500 per annum. A significant decrease in museum visitors can be noted during the period July–September, and in nursery customers during the fourth quarter. This can be explained respectively by the period of school holidays and the end of the rainy season. When analysing the financial results, the resources generated through internal activities have a trend similar to the site visitor/customer numbers. Indeed, in the same year, the financial performance per section is as described below.

Financial results from 2005 (Table 4) revealed that the bar/restaurant was the highest income generating section (79 per cent of total income), as well as being the most expensive (with 71 per cent of total expenditure) and had a net benefit of over 10 per cent. The plant nursery also registered interesting results. The other sections achieved a negative performance, which could be considered unsurprising as their focus is on non-profit activities. However, these administrative, conservation and educational aspects are, in fact, the aspects that legitimize and facilitate the whole venture. It is these non-profit activities that enable people to experience and enjoy the garden and, hopefully, provide sustainability in terms of use, collections and management. The direct subsidy for administration (US\$3 550) was given mainly by the municipality of Porto-Novo as an annual grant to JPN.

Another consequence of the shortage of resources was the obligation for many staff members to take on a variety of different roles on the site. For instance, the daily maintenance of the garden was undertaken by gardeners who were also involved in the plant nursery. The curator played, simultaneously, the roles of supervisor and administrator, museum guide and internal trainer. So, without jeopardizing their reliability, the financial results in the table above can used as a tool to understand the balances and to highlight the complementary relations between various components of the historic garden of Porto-Novo.

Figure 3a-b Visits to the garden by high school inspectors and by school students. (Photos: Franck Komlan Ogou)



(a)



(b)

Table 4 Financial results per section (\$US).

	Administration	Museum	Bar/	Plant	Total
			restaurant	nursery	
Income	3 550	4 057	40 059	3 043	50 709
Expenditure	5 963	6 957	35 280	1 491	49 691
Balance	-2 413	-2 900	4 779	1 552	1 018

Reflecting on the sustainability strategies of the Palace Museum and the House of Wonders in Zanzibar, Abdul Sheriff highlighted similar challenges faced there, in spite of strong support from the President of the Republic of Tanzania and various grants from the European Union and the French and Omani governments, among others:

We are trying to use the opportunity not only to set up the museum, which may be easier at the present time with internal and external support, but also to develop means by which they can sustain themselves. For this reason, we have proposed the setting up of a trust fund in which our gate collection would act as seed money to attract contributions from national and international sources. We were able to persuade the President and the more tight-fisted Ministry of Finance to let us retain the gate collections. (Sheriff 2000: 163)

This example shows that the need to set up management practices, which will ensure sustainability of heritage places, is not an isolated concern in Africa, and that attempts to establish suitable management systems raise several issues.

Issues Regarding Management Practices at Jardin des Plantes et de la Nature

At JPN, different resources have been mobilized to ensure sustainable management of the site. The primary resources are the collections themselves that are the most attractive features of the garden (fig. 4). Owing to the age and diversity of the plants, the collection reflects a genuine ecosystem, using custodian and exogenous attributes. A general inventory carried out in 2005 revealed that the JPN was host to 218 ligneous and ornamental species organized in various zones (e.g. sacred forest, medicinal, aromatic and condiment, aquatic ecosystem, etc.). There was also a variety of wildlife species, in particular a population of squirrels (Funisciurus anerythrus) and monkeys (Cercopithecus mona) (fig. 5). Several brochures were published to pay tribute to the wealth of the environmental and cultural landscapes of the capital city of Benin (Varissou 2001). The ecosystem and the subsequent collections are the fundamental matrices for all activities and projects implemented on the site.

Equally important is the quality of the expertise involved at various levels of site development, which includes both temporary and permanent staff. The first management plan, for instance, was developed as a site exercise in 2002, by participants (heritage professionals) of the AFRICA 2009 Programme's three-month regional course on management planning. The JPN also welcomed academic trainees, working mainly in site preservation and mediation. The permanent staff are recruited and allocated



Figure 4 Historic tree in the Jardin des Plantes et de la Nature. (Photo: Franck Komlan Ogou)



Figure 5 The garden is home to a population of monkeys. (Photo: Franck Komlan Ogou)

to the different sections of the organization. Given the need to sustain the garden and pay monthly salaries to all staff members (including the curator) using internal incomes mainly based on sales, it was a challenge to guarantee sufficient income every month. This uncertainty was reinforced by the absence of savings substantial enough to provide for more than one month of activity. The staff would raise concerns from time to time about insufficient levels of salary and poor working conditions, for which the curator was not able to find appropriate solutions. Another difficulty was faced in attempting to consolidate the autonomy of each section in terms of income and skills, with the aim of improving quality in delivery. It was essential to implement a level of coordination sufficiently efficient to reach JPN's objective of being self-financing. The above ultimately put an incredible pressure on the daily work of the management team as there was often competition between the need to generate more income and the need to ensure the required conservation/mediation work.

Another resource management aspect was drawn from the Agreement Protocol of 1998, where it was stated that "all staff contracts are managed by EPA". It was also stipulated that most of the costs incurred during the two-year pilot phase of JPN (1999-2000) would be paid by various partners, particularly EPA for staff salaries. That clause was implemented gradually and in such a way that, by 2002, the JPN could make provision for its annual costs, including the staff remuneration. Even though during challenging times, mainly due to insufficient sales, money for the salaries of a few staff (for example, the curator) would be temporarily unavailable, or EPA would have to come to the rescue, staff members adopted a common-sense approach and worked hard towards the achievement of the shared monthly obligations. Such a type of self-financing management approach, without shared long-term perspective, however, provoked some confusion in the management framework. For instance, some workers considered the director of EPA to be their employer (i.e. the authority they reported to). As a result, the authority of the curator on site was somewhat eroded. In addition, the management realities led to a need for urgent action in certain situations; for example, sometimes the curator recruited staff for the bar/restaurant before reporting to the director of the EPA. Such situations have been conflict generators and highlighted issues of partnership management in JPN.

Indeed, although the primary facilitator of partnerships was the curator because of his presence on site, the variety of views expressed among the key partners of JPN created some strategic divergences. This is one aspect that impacted negatively on the daily management practices of JPN, including in terms of conservation, sales and human resources. After the pilot phase (1999–2000), various consultations raised the need to strengthen institutional capacity with a view to enhancing opportunities to raise funds and develop new partnerships. The issue of clarifying the status of the JPN and strengthening its autonomy came as a condition for sustainability. After a situational analysis, and having explored the legal frameworks in Benin, it was advised to opt for Public Establishment of Scientific and Cultural Interest status, which would best accommodate and reinforce the current situation. According to Vincent Negri, an

expert in cultural heritage legislation, a public establishment is a concept articulated "around three principles: the dependence from government or a decentralized entity, the development of activity of general interest and the attribution of public moral person characteristics" (Negri 1995: 26). In that spirit, the association Friends of JPN was created in 2002 to research and support new partnerships.

Concern about JPN's formal status was brought before the board several times, where divergent views were expressed. For instance, the partner who initiated the programme was of the view that the JPN did not need more autonomy and could continue to use the institutional facility of EPA or of the Ministry of Agriculture to raise funds. The Ministry of Agriculture (the owner of the site on behalf of the Government of Benin) did not disclose its view, but a few months later, in 2004, it initiated a parallel nursery project for growing laurel and nutmeg on the same site, under the supervision of a retired staff member. That project was, in fact, a private initiative of the new director of agriculture, who recognized the high potential of these products to generate immediate revenue. Consequently, the monitoring activities on the site were affected because of the presence of two different authority bodies operating on the same property. Although the chairperson of the JPN Board was in his post until 2006, he did not call for a board meeting to discuss that critical issue.

Conclusions

This assessment of management practices at the JPN has been a reflective exercise for the author and helped to shed new light on the amazing transformation of an abandoned site that gained new interest once some of its functions were rehabilitated. The JPN has indeed been an experimental initiative to evaluate to what extent an African heritage institution can combine conservation, mediation and business targets to ensure sustainability. From the experience gained over the period 1998-2008, it is clear that for sustainability, a heritage site must go beyond the administrative management system and must innovate, in terms of mediation and business, in a planned and coherent manner. The experience confirmed that "[t]he protection of heritage requires putting together various skills including in site management and planning as well as technical skills" (Rakotomamonjy 2009: 37-38). It is also essential to set up an efficient monitoring system. In particular, the regular recording of visitor/customer numbers and financial flux provided accurate data to make decisions when needed. The customer-based approach will certainly create pressure to provide quality products, as well as engaging the whole staff in the daily operation of the site. Once a clear perception of co-responsibility is spread sufficiently throughout the team, a sense of entrepreneurial dynamism can support a sustainable use of the heritage. Finally, one cannot minimize the issue of formal status of a heritage site, which ultimately can destroy all efforts if not properly addressed when setting up the institutional foundations. With the right foundation, management practices cannot then be separated from their management framework, including the periodic review of their implementation.

Postscript

Many significant changes have occurred at the site in terms of its management since 2008. At strategic level, the partnership agreement was updated by the board in 2014 with, among other changes, the City Council of Porto-Novo being one of the signatories. Unfortunately, the document has not yet been signed by all partners. That situation, which reflects a weakening of the partnership framework, may partly explain why the last board meeting organized was in 2015. The changes in leadership and areas of interest especially at the city council and at the Ministry of Agriculture (the chairperson of the board) have provoked a decrease in level of commitment. For instance, for many years, the city council was unable fulfill its annual financial pledge amounting to about US\$2 000. One can also regret the lack of consistency in approach from one director of agriculture to another, for instance in a commitment to partsubsidizing electricity power to JPN.

At a business level, the launch of new leisure places in the areas surrounding JPN has created more competition to attract customers. Even though recent statistics of visitor numbers and financial accounts have not been made available, the management team admitted that increased pressure has hampered their capacity to meet all operational costs. As a mitigation mechanism, EPA has committed to cover both managers' salaries directly, thereby enabling operations to continue.

Twenty years after the signature of the founding agreement of JPN, one can commend the management practices that are still led by the initial vision and spirit of self-financing. In spite of the development crisis, the garden has gained in maturity and visibility. It has also consolidated its status as a multipurpose city garden, gradually gaining weight as a historic, educational and touristic place. Isn't this actually the best marketing positioning for its sustainability?

Biography

Souayibou Varissou has extensive experience in archaeology and heritage resource management in Africa. As site manager he spent eight years at the Garden of Plants and Nature of Porto-Novo (Benin), an abandoned urban landscape whose values and attributes were rehabilitated. Since 2000 Varissou has been involved in the management of various programmes, including AFRICA 2009 and a National Programme for Cultural Development (European Union Delegation in Benin). He has been at the African World Heritage Fund (based in South Africa) since 2009.

Contact details

Souayibou Varissou Acting Executive Director African World Heritage Fund 1258 Lever Road Headway Hill, Midr and 1685 South Africa

Email: souayibouv@awhf.net; svarissou@gmail.com

Notes

- 1. Further information is available at www.iccrom.org/news/iccrom-and-africa.
- 2. In addition to the curator, the staffing for each section was as follows: six for the bar/restaurant, three for the plant nursery, three for the museum and two for administrative work.
- 3. There were two series of registers, respectively recording visitor/customer numbers and sales. The visitor/customer register was organized in categories. For instance, the customers of the museum were ranked under guided/free visits into local, national and foreign visitors and then into tourists and learners for local and national. The rationale is different for the bar/restaurant where the concept of customers was predominant around repeat customers and newcomers.
- 4. Because of the lack of qualified staff and the emergency mode of running the customers during the day, the half-yearly assessment was usually undertaken solely by the curator who would discuss the outcomes with the chair of the Scientific Council. However, the result would be presented to the team for input and discussion.
- 5. However, a significant increase of museum visitors from primary and secondary schools has been observed since 2010. This came from the fact that the garden was officially included as teaching site for biology and geography classes. Dozens of school groups, led by their teachers, weekly use the garden for their field classes in the natural sciences (fig. 3).

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Angkor World Heritage Site and Its Management Practices Cambodia

Khuon Khun-Neay

he term *Angkor* derives from the Sanskrit word *nagara*, which means 'capital city' and is used to refer to the Khmer empire that stretched across much of mainland Southeast Asia between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, as well as being the name of its capital city that was located north of Siem Reap, Cambodia (fig. 1). At the height of the empire the city of Angkor was populated by nearly a million people. Here, the Khmer rulers constructed vast systems of waterworks and grand temples, and their military, economic and cultural dominance held sway over the area that is now modern Cambodia, as well as much of Thailand, southern Vietnam and Laos (fig. 2). Most of the grand temples built represent the pinnacle of ancient Khmer architecture, art and civilization. The Angkor Wat Temple (fig. 3), which was built in the twelfth century, is the symbol of the Khmer Nation, and its central towers figure today on the Cambodian national flag.

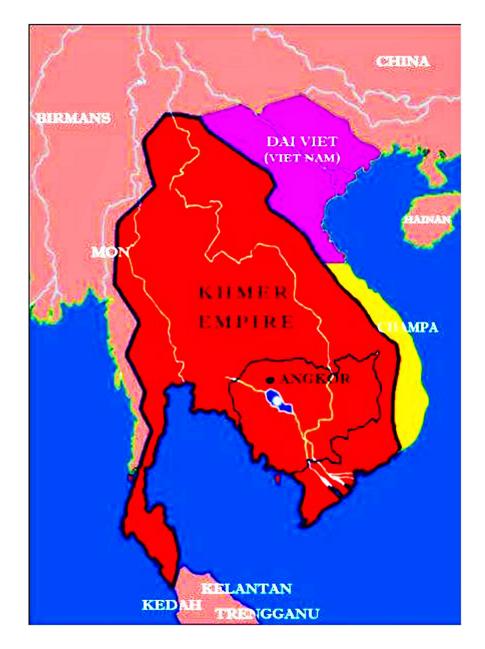
Angkor Archaeological Park: A World Heritage Property

The Angkor Archaeological Park is home to the magnificent Khmer temple ruins of Angkor, including Angkor Wat, Bayon and dozens of other main ancient temples of the ancient Khmer empire. The features of the site's Outstanding Universal Value include not only temples but also secular buildings, city walls, roads, water management systems and pottery production sites, as well as other religious sites. The Angkor park comprises some 40 000 hectares of protected zones (fig. 4) and a population of more than 120 000 people, in 112 villages, live within the park today. These local communities continue to practise ancestral customs and traditions, making the park a living heritage site. In 1989, following years of preparation on the part of the Cambodian authorities and in collaboration with the international community, H. M. Norodom Sihanouk, the ruler of Cambodia at that time, appealed to UNESCO for assistance in the protection of Angkor, and in December 1992 Angkor was inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. The site was later removed from the List in 2004. The Angkor Archaeological Park is one of the largest sites on the World Heritage List, and one of the most important archaeological sites in Southeast Asia.

The Values of Angkor

The Living with Heritage project, conducted by the Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap (APSARA) (described in greater detail below), and the University of

Figure 1 The Khmer empire during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. (National Museum, Phnom Penh, Cambodia)



Sydney, along with other partners, is a multi-disciplinary research effort to identify the heritage values of the Angkor site and the threats that they face. Through extensive consultation and the participation of local communities and stakeholders the project has established that the values of Angkor cover a much wider spectrum than those previously assessed and acknowledged in the World Heritage inscription. The World Heritage Committee had noted Angkor's unique artistic and technical achievements as a testament to a past civilization and tended to concentrate on the larger and more obvious tangible features, such as the temple structures and water management systems. The ongoing Living with Heritage project research, however, has helped to identify important significant scientific, symbolic and social (intangible) values, in addition to the historic and aesthetic values with which they are interlinked.

The concept of Angkor as a living heritage site emerged more than ten years ago. There is ample evidence of the continuity of Khmer traditions and beliefs, and vibrant connections between the residents who ANGKOR | KHUON



Figure 2 The location of Angkor today within Cambodia and in the context of Southeast Asia. (APSARA Authority)



Figure 3 Angkor Wat Temple, the symbol of the Khmer Nation. (Photo: APSARA Authority)

live within the park and the ancient remains of Angkor. For many local Khmers, Angkor is a sacred landscape. For many other contemporary Cambodians, Angkor's continuing symbolization of Khmer culture is a major value. Researchers on the Living with Heritage project have identified the Angkor region as home to more than 100 000 Khmers who not only make an invaluable contribution to the sustainable management of the region but also through their traditions and religious practices actually enhance the heritage significance of the Angkor cultural landscape. These values have long been understood and recognized by the Khmer community, and indeed by academics and researchers, but they have not been given due recognition within the formal management framework of a World Heritage site.

Increasing recognition of these 'living' values now raises a number of implications for the continued conservation of the site. In the past, emphasis has been on the conservation of the undoubtedly magnificent buildings, which draw visitors from all over the world. The fact that local communities, embodying the more recently recognized intangible values, continue to live and carry out their daily activities across this vast site has been overlooked. Greater awareness of this fact and closer work with the community is required to ensure their protection.

Management Challenges

The number of international visitors has increased tremendously in just five years, from 50 000 in 2002 to 1 100 000 in 2007. At the same time, domestic tourism has experienced similar growth, reaching approximately 500 000 visitors in 2007. This can be attributed to the greater political stability and security throughout the country, and the fact that Cambodians themselves have been rediscovering Angkor as a place of pilgrimage.

This increase in visitor numbers presents a series of challenges for the site that need to be addressed to ensure that the multiple values contained within the site of Angkor are safeguarded:

- Tourists are not aware of the contemporary spiritual significance of Angkor and therefore sometimes behave inappropriately.
- Tourists do not have sufficient access to contemporary Khmer culture and traditions to enable them to understand linkages and the importance of the community in the continuing significance of Angkor.
- The needs of tourists and their overwhelming presence can create a situation in which traditional life ways and practices are disrupted and links with ancient Angkor weakened.
- By and large, tourism revenue (which is very significant, as will be explained below) does not flow back into the local community, where standards of living are poor, and creates little benefit from the mass tourism at the site.

The challenges, and opportunities, presented by the increase in tourism to the area, along with the recognized need to safeguard the living values within the park, require careful and thoughtful management.

In addition to the challenges presented by tourism, APSARA faces a number of key operational challenges, in particular:

- A shortage of human resources created by difficulties in recruiting professional staff members, particularly architects and engineers, because salaries are too low in comparison with the private sector. Across all staff categories, there is no increase in salaries nor means to provide incentive to remain in posts; even after six or seven years salaries stay the same. Some people prefer to leave the job.
- As the annual budget to APSARA is provided by central government, it is hard to secure additional required funding for projects on an ad hoc basis. Budget restrictions often cause delays in project implementation.
- Working with the community is a new practice for APSARA, and there is a shortage of specialists with the required communication skills.
- The cooperation between APSARA and local administrative authorities is not very strong, especially with regard to land use regulations and construction in the protected zones.

Management of the Angkor Site

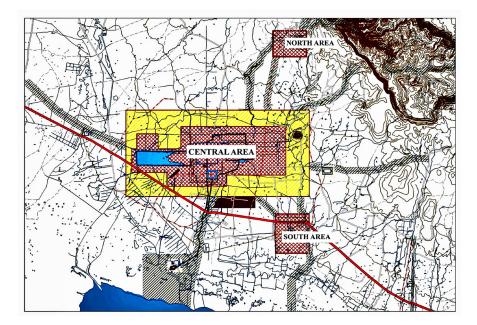
The Angkor Management Plan was established in 2007, with the assistance of the Government of New Zealand. The document focuses mainly on administrative, financial and natural resource management. Alongside this, a wider-reaching document, the Heritage Management Framework, is being created with financial assistance from the Australian government, in collaboration with the World Heritage Centre and APSARA. The focus of this plan is twofold: the sustainability of the Outstanding Universal Value of the property and proper management of tourism.

The International Coordinating Committee for Safeguarding and Development of the Historic Site of Angkor (ICC)

The ICC was created in December 1993 by the international community and UNESCO, three months after the Tokyo Intergovernmental Conference on Safeguarding and Developing Angkor. The committee is a political body in which all of the participating countries and international organizations are represented at a diplomatic level. It is co-chaired by France and Japan, and UNESCO acts as secretariat. The function of the ICC is stated as follows: "The international mechanism for coordination of assistance to the extended by different countries and organizations. It ensures the consistency of the different projects, and defines, when necessary, technical and financial standards and all the attention of the concerned parties when required." The committee convenes regularly, twice a year, enabling it to follow up consistently on all the operations being carried out on the site.

In January 1997 the ICC created a technical arm, the Ad Hoc Group of Experts, in order to be able to draw on higher calibre, objective expertise. When required to, at the request of the ICC co-chairs, this group is set up to:

Figure 4 Angkor protected zones cover 40 000 hectares – red: core zone; yellow: buffer zone. (APSARA Authority)



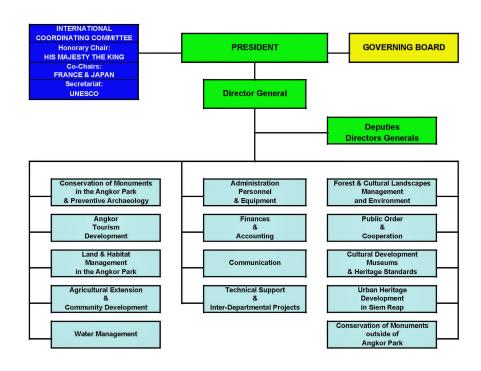
- evaluate the scientific and technical aspects of project proposals submitted to the ICC;
- investigate technical issues relating to the Angkor site and its monuments;
- give advice on any matter within its purview that the co-chairs may from time to time submit to it.

The Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap/Angkor (APSARA)

The Royal Government of Cambodia created APSARA in February 1995 (fig. 5). Its purpose is to be in charge of research, protection and sustainability of the Angkor site's cultural heritage, as well as urban and tourism

Figure 5 The organizational structure of the APSARA Authority. (APSARA Authority)

APSARA NATIONAL AUTHORITY



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development. It works closely with the ICC. APSARA is governed by a board, chaired by the government minister in charge of the Ministers' Council, who also becomes the board's president. The APSARA directorgeneral looks after its daily operations, assisted by a number of deputies. Since being established, the organizational structure has been modified to enable the authority to adapt to new situations. The first modification was made in June 2004 following a decision made at the Paris Intergovernmental Conference for the Safeguarding and Sustainable Development of Angkor (November 2003) that APSARA's mission would be expanded to include sustainable development, alongside its primary mission of conservation. This restructure consisted mainly in the creation of three new departments to cope with sustainable activities: the Department of Water and Forestry; the Department of Demography and Development; and the Second Department of Monuments and Archaeology (which deals with land use and relations with the local communities).

A second, further, restructuring took place in June 2008, splitting the Department of Water and Forestry into two separate bodies: the Department of Water Management and the Department of Forest, Cultural Landscape and Environment Management. The Department of Tourism Development was also split into two separate components: the Department of Tourism Development and the Department of Cultural Development, Museums and Heritage Standards. Finally, the Second Department of Monuments and Archaeology changed its name to become the Department of Land and Habitat Management, to reflect its real mandate. APSARA now has 14 departments and a staff of 2 399 people, including 1 012 temple guards/workers and 323 professionals from diverse sectors (archaeologists, architects, agricultural, hydrological engineers, IT specialists, tourism specialists, etc.).

APSARA's overall budget for 2007 was US\$9.5 million, which included salaries, administration fees, maintenance and improvement of infrastructure at the site and in the city of Siem Reap. This budget is provided from central government, which may also authorize additional budget for specific projects upon request; this varies from year to year. It should be noted that the costs for major conservation works carried out by foreign teams are not included in this budget. Usually nations and international organizations make their contribution as funds-in-trust, which are implemented jointly by APSARA and UNESCO. Ticket sale operations were contracted out in May 1999, via a concession arrangement, to a Cambodian private operator, who pays royalties directly to the government.

It should be noted that the Government of Cambodia has tasked APSARA with the management of a number of other historic sites located outside of the Angkor protected park, such as Kbal Spean, Beng Mealea, Koh Ker and Chau Srey Vibol. A new Department of Monuments Conservation outside the Angkor Park was created accordingly.

Safeguarding and Conservation Programme

The international community has maintained its firm commitment to the Cambodian authorities to provide funding for monument protection,

Figure 6 Stone monument conservation work. (Photo: APSARA Authority)



restoration, preservation and presentation programmes. Ten different countries took on 14 principal monuments, making Angkor the biggest archaeological work site in operation in the world (fig. 6). The teams involved were all guided by three key principles:

- i. to treat each monument as an integral part of an overall monument site or complex;
- ii. to study each monument in its archaeological, historical, environmental and cultural context, as well as in the perspective of showcasing it in the future;
- iii. to involve national professionals and technicians in the operations and see to the gradual transfer of knowledge and skills.

In 2004, the 28th session of the World Heritage Committee, held in Suzhou (China), considered the substantial progress made in Angkor and decided to remove the site from the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger.

Sustainable Development Programme

As described above, Angkor is a living site, a vast landscape composed of forests, villages and rice paddies that is home to a population numbering in the tens of thousands (fig. 7). These people constitute a 'soul' that

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is expressed through religious and traditional beliefs, customs and ceremonies, and must not be overlooked in the tourism development equation. Should they ever disappear, the *genius loci* of Angkor would be gone, namely the subtle chemistry that exists between habitats, monuments and green spaces, and adds so much charm and interest to the site.

The need to address this was recognized, and in 2007 the ICC established a new ad hoc group of experts for sustainable development to provide guidance and to coordinate activities in this area.

In the sphere of sustainable development, APSARA has established park management policies as follows:

- It is important that the residents within the park, and indeed all stakeholder groups, are aware, informed and educated in order to be able to take an active part in any decision-making process.
- Participation in this case is two-way, namely not only in terms of decision-making and management but also in benefitting from the economic returns of tourism.
- The management strategies are designed to indicate to the major stakeholders (including the local community) the future directions they should take and the types of actions and initiatives that are necessary in order to manage tourism successfully, in order to achieve sustainable development and to maximize the long-term benefits of tourism for the community.
- In the case of new development projects, a project steering committee to include not only the experts but also representatives of the villagers and Buddhist monks as well as representatives from the provincial and local authorities must be established (fig. 8).

Conclusions

As we have seen, the conservation and development of the Angkor Archaeological Park is a vast and complex task in terms of the number

Figure 7a–b Traditional local village practices. (Photos: APSARA Authority)



(a)



(b)

Figure 8 Members of the local community actively participated in stakeholder meetings. (Photo: APSARA Authority)



and range of issues at play. Nevertheless, the Cambodian government and APSARA have a firm commitment to maintaining the park as a living heritage site. Great effort has been made to consult with all stakeholders (including government agencies, international and national organizations, the tourism sector, visitors, site management and the local community), in order to:

- preserve heritage values and the spirit of the place;
- manage tourism successfully in a sustainable manner;
- maximize the long-term direct socio-economic benefits of tourism for the community and surrounding region.

This, of course, leaves Cambodia with some tremendous challenges. Sustainable development programmes are being instigated alongside the conservation work and many on-the-ground projects strengthen the living heritage aspect of the site, thereby ensuring that local community members are not left out and are increasingly able to participate in decision-making. Human resources, skills and budget, however, are insufficient. Fortunately for Angkor, the international community continues to provide support and works closely with APSARA. UNESCO and associate organizations (such as the World Heritage Committee, ICCROM, ICOM and ICOMOS) continue to offer guidance and help. At the same time, the APSARA National Authority is continually gaining more experience through technical knowledge transfer and capacity building of all kinds. This includes supporting staff members to travel overseas to study on MA and PhD programmes, and thus build and consolidate the skills that are needed for the successful management of the Angkor Archaeological Park.

Biography

Khun-Neay Khuon (1942–2017) was an architect and urban planner. He was dean of the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning at the Royal University of Fine Arts (RUFA) in Phnom Penh (1968–1975) and

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director general of the Ministry of Culture in Cambodia in 1975. Between 2004 and 2008 he was director of the Monuments and Archaeology Department No. 2 of the National Authority for the Conservation and the Management of Angkor (APSARA) and in 2008 became deputy director-general of APSARA. He was a member of ICOM and presented many papers internationally on the management of the World Heritage sites.

Note

1. See www.unesco.org/new/en/phnompenh/culture/tangible-heritage/icc-angkor/.

Management Strategies and Practice at Teanum Sidicinum Archaeological Park Italy

Francesco Sirano

eano is situated in Italy's Campania region, inland on the slopes of the prehistoric Roccamonfina volcano, which became dormant 15 000 years ago (fig. 1) (Avanzini et al. 2008; Mietto et al. 2003: 133; Santello et al. 2008). It is a typical Mediterranean landscape enjoying all the advantages of the secondary effects of the volcano: fertile land, rich mineral waters and geological resources (pozzolana, tuff and trachyte) that have been used since ancient times for building and engineering works. Ancient literary sources describe Teano as one of the most important settlements in northern Campania and outline the main phases in its history: a major settlement of the Sidicini people (an Italic tribe); a city allied with Rome; a colony under the Roman emperor Augustus; a bishopric by the beginning of the fourth century CE; a Longobard gastald in the ninth century; and a county entrusted to one of the most important families of the Kingdom of Naples (Sirano 2009a). The modern unified state of Italy was born in Teano when, on 26 October 1860, King Victor Emanuel of Savoy met General Giuseppe Garibaldi there as he handed over the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. As can be seen, Teano has a very long history, and many different facets and periods of it have been of interest to scholars and the public alike.

Teano's archaeological fame is due to the extraordinary excavation results that came from the campaigns carried out by the archaeological superintendency from the beginning of the twentieth century and which gained great momentum between the 1960s and the early 1980s (Johannowsky 1963; Morel 1998). These campaigns uncovered a huge amount of archaeology and the site was brought to the attention of the national and European academic community, largely for the first time. Two periods are particularly significant in the history of this fairly 'new' archaeological site and are explored in particular detail in this chapter:

- The first Etruscan exhibition in Campania was held in Teano in 1963 and a project was launched to create a museum dedicated exclusively to the material culture of the extraordinary Sidicini people, an Oscan tribe who were culturally and politically different from the neighbouring Aurunci and Samnite tribes (Sirano 2011a). Works for the museum building started in 1979–1980, but it was not to be inaugurated until 2001 (fig. 2) (Sirano 2007).
- The first excavation campaign at the ancient theatre (1960) demonstrated quite how remarkable it is, both in terms of its

Figure 1 Map of the Campania region in antiquity, showing the main settlements including Teano. (Ex-Soprintendenza Archeologia Campania)



Figure 2 View of the Archaeological Museum of Teanum Sidicinum. (Photo: Ex-Soprintendenza Archeologia Campania, O. Fabozzi)



complex architectural phases and the degree to which its structure and fittings are preserved, making it a singular case in Italy (Sirano 2009b). The theatre site was finally opened to the public in June 2009.

This paper uses the case study of Teano to illustrate the typical problems and opportunities present in managing public-owned and public-run archaeological heritage of national importance in Italy. Many of them, as the 2008 workshop confirmed, are realities faced by archaeological site managers in

many other countries worldwide, who thus thus can benefit from consolidation of networks to share experiences and, above all, remedies.

The Management Environment

Before describing Teano as a case study, two brief premises need to be established. First, it should be noted that Italian state-run archaeological sites and museums are grouped within areas (defined largely by administrative criteria) and managed by local offices, known as superintendencies.1 The superintendencies are local branches of the Ministry of Culture with very broad remits; they do not just ensure the running of cultural properties but also safeguard cultural heritage. In Italy these two activities are interconnected. However, for the purpose of this case study, the point that needs understanding is that planning and management for the superintendencies take place in their head office, while there will be a range of other sites and museums located throughout their area of responsibility. Theoretically, from a management perspective, this model offers many advantages in terms of efficiency, economy, and the ability to build up experience within the local context and to produce proposals that respond to it, on a scale that is bigger than any individual site. In fact, it is worth noting the important role that the superintendencies have played in raising awareness of conservation and promoting appreciation of heritage, adopting the same standards right across the country, despite enormous difficulties. On the other hand, the centralized structure of the superintendencies and its hierarchical organization, including the hierarchy of scientific staff, lead to the same group of public officials involved in planning (archaeologists, architects and technical officers) always having to shoulder a very heavy workload. This has obvious consequences for the accuracy of projects and their capacity to find innovative solutions. In almost all cases, those staff members in charge of management also undertake planning roles. Moreover, the very nature of this organizational structure does not permit flexible responses to management problems at those individual sites and properties that are insufficient in scale or visitor numbers to gain autonomy.² The concept of responsibility itself, which will be discussed below, is far removed from the management concept of 'accountability' (Zan 2003: 31-35, 112-114). In this hierarchical administrative context, the concept of responsibility is instead understood to be the fulfilment of a role when discharging legal obligations or its opposite, namely neglect or even criminal negligence.

Efforts to achieve high standards of quality; to promote creativity, innovation or originality; or to find tailored solutions for each site exist only according to the open-mindedness of the individual director and public officials in charge. They are not in any way facilitated by the internal processes of the superintendencies and, instead, are often penalized by generational inertia and by a misunderstood egalitarian concern with the division of tasks and compensation that lowers the quality of work.

In more general terms it should also be understood that, alongside the superintendencies, a range of other organizations have worked and continue to work with cultural heritage. These promote conservation, extraordinary maintenance and management, both with an official mandate to

carry out specific tasks in exceptional circumstances (for example, the Civil Protection or the Public Works Superintendency) and in the role of direct owner or steward of moveable and immovable heritage (e.g. town, provincial and regional councils, the Catholic Church).

The second premise is attached to the circumstances related to the writing of this case study: the workshop at Herculaneum underlined the fundamental need to find new ways of structuring our thinking with regard to planning works and management. New ways of thinking about planning procedures, financial issues and communication can only increase the range of tools available to specialized technical staff managing particular heritage resources. Yet in Italy that same specialist has to deal with longterm political and administrative trends that tend to provide funding for so-called investment spending, to the detriment of funding for dayto-day management. Public expenditure for cultural heritage management in Italy has undergone, and continues to undergo, such pressure that a good part of the energy of superintendents and public officials is wasted on trying to guarantee the most basic services (cleaning of sites and offices, gardening, lighting, protection/surveillance of heritage, telephone lines, office maintenance, etc.). It is not uncommon that these services are only provided thanks to ad hoc interventions and not within the national long-term planning budget - a mechanism that, for cultural heritage, has become totally unreliable.

This, then, is the background to the following observations on two specific initiatives aimed at transforming and enhancing the archaeological park of ancient Teanum Sidicinum.

Significant Capital Projects to Enhance the Archaeological Park

Considering the very close historical, topographical and museological ties between the ancient theatre and the museum at Teano, and as they are managed by the same heritage authority, these two elements have been considered the focal points around which an archaeological park project has been planned in recent years. Not surprisingly, these two features have been the main target for the injection of capital investment to transform Teano as a visitor attraction over time. The two interrelated 'projects' that emerge can be analysed as a series of fairly distinct phases.

For the museum, the following phases took place:

i. 1963–1971. Excavations by Werner Johannowsky helped garner local public support for the creation of a site museum.³ The decision was taken to build a museum near the amphitheatre, in a location considered to be immediately outside the ancient city. After the area was expropriated (the paperwork related to this is held in the superintendency archive), initial construction works were carried out, only for the project to be subsequently abandoned. This was probably because significant archaeological remains were found, which were only recorded in detail in 2004–2007 (Nava 2006: 601–602; 2007: 797–798).

ii. 1980–2001. The mayor of Teano, Luigi Maione, and the archaeological superintendent, Fausto Zevi, decided to house the future museum in a historic building known as the Loggione e Cavallerizza, located in the historic centre of town. The building is owned by the town council and was given in concession to the superintendency for 99 years. The restoration and fitting out of the museum was carried out by the superintendency; the town council instead furnished the offices and lecture hall (Cercato 1987; Guglielmo 1987; Sirano 2007: 11–15).

The theatre has seen three phases of activity:

- i. *Excavations 1960–1963*. Directed by Werner Johannowsky (fig. 3) (Johannowsky 1963: 152–159). Funding was obtained from the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno (Southern Italy Development Fund). There were parallel excavations in the local area, at the main urban sanctuary in the Loreto neighbourhood and other ancient buildings (baths and an underground nymphaeum) in the Trinità neighbourhood. There is no evidence of an archaeological park project at that time, but a Ministerial decree declared the theatre to be of archaeological interest, and partial expropriation of the land was started. In addition, planning regulations for the modern town of Teano (dating to the 1980s) regarded the ancient theatre as the only archaeological feature in the area, establishing a 50 m buffer zone around it.
- ii. *Excavations* 1983–1985. Directed by Luigia Melillo (Pozzi Paolini 1986: 563–565; 1991: 350). Excavation at the theatre uncovered half of the seating area (*cavea*) and some of the sculptural decoration from the stage building (*scaenae frons*). The area subject to protection was increased, and more land was bought for the site.⁶ A wall was built around the archaeological area.
- iii. Excavations 1998–2009. Directed by Gabriella Gasperetti (1998) and Francesco Sirano (1999–2009). Three successive projects were carried out following a precise plan.⁷ The official documents talk about an archaeological park and the ancient theatre is seen as the heart of this park (fig. 4). Excavation



Figure 3 Werner Johannowsky at the excavation of the ancient theatre of Teanum Sidicinum in the early 1960s. (Photo: Ex-Soprintendenza Archeologia Campania)

Figure 4 View of the ancient theatre of Teanum Sidicinum from the south, during the final phases of works. (Photo: Francesco Sirano)



of the theatre's seating area was completed and most of the collapsed stage building was investigated. The discovery of more than 150 large architectural blocks and columns from the stage building meant that it could be potentially reconstructed, increasing future cultural tourism to the theatre. Public land was extended to over two hectares and the area under protection was completed by extending it to the shrine built at the top of the theatre.⁸

Assessing Results of the Capital Projects

As can be seen, works have been taken forward over a long period of time (40 years for the museum and 50 for the theatre) within a series of projects that ranged in scale between €50 000 and €1.5 million (issues related to funding sources will be discussed below). The question could be raised as to whether it is possible to look back and identify coherent approaches to sustainability and continuity in administrative, scientific, conservation and economic terms throughout the long journey that led to the museum and theatre being opened to the public.

First, continuity might be seen in the inertia, the mere administrative continuity of the heritage management system. In the context of the second premise made above, this should not be taken for granted and is not a banal observation. The administrative stability of the superintendency – even with the succession of managers and technical staff, organizational changes, staff transfers and changes in the composition of available human resources – has been the single context within which everything has been done. The slow rate of works has been followed by four generations of archaeologists and technical staff who have continued the work of their predecessors, with more sophisticated methods and more significant resources. Within this journey the amount of intellectual resources has been inversely proportional to the quality of the work undertaken.

In the case of the theatre, excavation has slowly uncovered the monument, documenting it with ever greater detail and precision. Similarly the conservation projects, though very different from each other in terms of sensitivity and attention to legibility and reversibility, have allowed the monument to be preserved in a state that is fairly close to that of its discovery (with the exception of the painted wall plasters, whose damage can be seen when comparing the current state to archive photos). There have also been overlaps between conservation works carried out at different times, such as the work undertaken in 2008 to clad the steps across the entire lower seating area in limestone when, in order to achieve a single aesthetic approach, half of the restoration work from 1986 was covered up.

Site presentation is comparatively new and was implemented through two initiatives carried out in quick succession that proved to be the turning point in terms of the quantity and quality of information for visitors, providing up-to-date academic understanding of Teano and its conservation, as well as information about future activities (fig. 5).⁹

In the case of the museum, although the material for display had been selected in the 1980s and an exhibition strategy had already been defined (contexts rather than individual objects), museological thinking had evolved over time and led to additional content and display revisions that provided a more satisfying result than foreseen in the original project. For example, remains of a large Roman building were found during works for the creation of underground storage space (it was probably a *domus* built on Hellenistic fortifications/terracing and partly used as the foundations of the medieval building). This discovery not only led to the project being changed but also highlighted how the museum building itself was a palimpsest of Teano's history.

The creation, in 1986, of a wooden model on a scale of 1:1 of an intermediate floor (according to the project this was a self-supporting metal structure above the vault of the exhibition space), which would have allowed the display area to be doubled, demonstrated beyond any doubt that it would have seriously damaged the conservation and overall appearance



UN CANTIERE MEDIEVALE NEL TEATRO



architertunici studivisti per tipi (colormo, capitelli, urchitervi), di trasporto e di lavorazzione, dove i marrii colorni verinono traffinite preputari per il rindilizzo, mentre in numri bianchi e le statue verinuno ridorii in piecoli pezzi per essese pol branciari in una calcana.

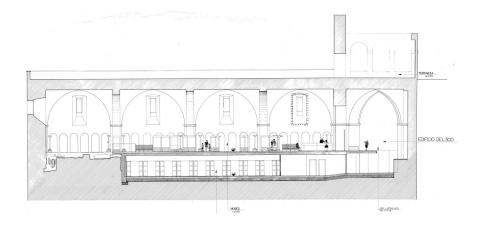
La Calce

La costruzione di una formace di calce era semplice ed conomica: si secursua nel terreno una boca profonda de la si doctora di piere resistenti a calce.

Il funzionamento richiedeva però un grande consumo di legas in quanto la contran della calce varievia a fasco de consumento di para in quanto la contran della calce varievia a fasco de consumento di para in quanto la contran della calce varievia a fasco de tenere de consumento de presente de consumento de presente de diferente de fasco della calce varievia a fasco de tenere de consumento de presente de diferente de fasco della calce varievia a fasco della calce varievia della calce varievia della calce varievia a fasco della calce varievia della calce va

Figure 5 Example of an information panel in the ancient theatre. (MIRABILIA Srl on behalf of the Superintendency of Naples and Pompeii)

Figure 6 Technical drawing from the executive project for the Museum of Teanum Sidicinum. (Paolo Cercato and Enrico Guglielmo)



of the medieval building, whose spaces would be reduced to simply housing archaeological material, instead of playing a part in the story told by the museum (fig. 6). Consequently a nearly complete display of grave goods from various necropoleis was abandoned, as was a planned display of votive offerings, in favour of a smaller but more effective display from the key contexts. This allowed the museum to become coherent in terms of its layout and museography: it now reflects perfectly the sense of place and is architecturally suitable for displaying archaeological material and enabling high quality visits.¹⁰

There are also clear benefits for the conservation of the heritage. It would have been difficult to restore the newly excavated archaeology if it were not included within plans for a museum display, and the historic Loggione building, after restoration and adaptive re-use, is now enjoying ongoing maintenance and greater understanding of its architectural phases.

The long-/medium-term dynamics that have been a feature of the projects at Teano obviously also bring disadvantages in terms of management and economic sustainability. In fact, for many years site management coincided with archaeological research and conservation; it was 'an introspective' activity that took place within the superintendency's role of safeguarding heritage. From 1960 to the opening of the sites to the public, there were only four exhibitions/public events to share the results of the work, of which only one was on permanent display (the exhibition *From the Sidicini to the Romans: The Orto Ceraso Necropolis*).¹¹

No management plan was foreseen, and successive individual projects aimed at achieving certain key results (e.g. opening the museum to the public), but their achievement was tied only to the amount of available funding without any other factors, such as completion times, management methods and conditions, being taken into consideration. This is, in the author's opinion, the key to better understanding not only the very long time frames in which everything took place but also a series of operational and management problems that came to light after the properties were opened to the public.

For example, heating of the museum building was planned at a time when energy costs did not particularly impact on management, and the heating system was divided into large sections fed by a single heater. However, such a large amount of fuel would have been needed to ensure adequate temperatures in the enormous display rooms that as soon as the museum was opened in 2001 it was decided not to turn the heating on. In addition,

although laying the pipes under the floor ensured optimal aesthetic results, it made it necessary to take up and re-lay areas of paving each time maintenance or repairs needed to be carried out; the cost was so great as to be another reason for not using the heating.

The security system was set up on the basis of very rigid criteria, and even today the burglar alarm must still be turned on and off for the entire Loggione building, including the office area, at the same time. One large problem that became immediately obvious after the museum's opening was a lack of staff. While it would have been difficult to predict the number of staff needed for the ancient theatre, as the archaeological park has progressively grown over time, this was not the case for the museum. The spaces were organized and distributed without taking into account the progressive decrease in the number of custodians and the consequences that this would have on usage. The main entrance to the museum involves visitors entering through a grand series of medieval arches two levels up from street level, which forms the museum atrium. An imposing gate closes the street entrance, while a second set of gates and wooden doors further close the entrance from the vaulted atrium to the exhibition spaces. The main entrance is about 10 m lower than the room used by the custodians and housing the central alarm system and CCTV, which is located in the upper part of the Loggione building. The original project envisaged that security would be dealt with in a separate and unconnected area of the building to the public spaces. One group of custodians would oversee the exhibition spaces, while another would provide aroundthe-clock surveillance in the control room. This physical separation between the museum's entrance area and the control room was based on security criteria: in the case of an attempted robbery in the exhibition area, the control room staff would be free to deal with the situation without being at physical risk.

However, it is clear that this system was set up at a time when there were generous numbers of staff and when it was unimaginable that the Ministry would almost entirely halt the renewal rate of its staff for economic and political reasons. So nearly two years after its inauguration, our day-today management reality is one with a chronic shortage of staff and where the main entrance to the museum is sometimes closed and a sign asks visitors to enter via the staff entrance in the office area. In this way full staffing of the control room is guaranteed and efficient handover can take place during shift changes. The occasional closure of the main entrance is unplanned insofar as it takes place when there is an unexpected staff absence due to ill health or for other unforeseen reasons. However, it has had a very negative impact on the public perception of the museum, in particular by local residents. Even if signage indicates that the museum is open, there could not be a worse first impression for visitors. To overcome this problem, flexible criteria have had to be adopted, based on understanding seasonal variations in visitor numbers, the use of new technologies, the interaction between these and the human resources, and, last but not least, on traditional common sense.12

Another interesting issue relates to parallels in the development of the modern town of Teano since the Second World War and the changes over time of the project for the archaeological park of ancient Teanum Sidicinum. Proposals for the archaeological park have become ever more

complex, more sophisticated and geographically more ambitious due to the urban expansion of modern Teano beyond its medieval walls and towards the area of the ancient town. If a 50 m buffer zone around the ancient theatre was considered sufficient in 1976, the amount of building that took place after the 1980 earthquake, even in the area near to the theatre, required a plan for an archaeological park on an urban scale. Proposals were needed that focused in particular on reliable protection not only for the archaeology of the district but also the rich historic, monumental, landscape and natural resources of the town (Balasco 1995a, 1995b; Gasperetti 1995; Balasco and Gasperetti 1999).

The Processes of Carrying Out Capital Projects

The following four sections explore how projects are planned, implemented, monitored and evaluated.

Planning and funding sources for superintendency projects

The activities carried out at Teano over the last 40 years have received two types of public funding: routine funding for safeguarding and enhancing heritage from the Ministry for Culture, and funding from the European Community and the Italian State.

The Ministry of Culture entrusts planning within a region to its relevant Regional Directorate, which gathers proposals and projects every year for its three-yearly cycles of public works, for the annual list of public works and for spending Lottery funding, and passes them up to the Ministry for funding approval.¹³ The regional directorates play another important role as the single commissioning body for all works on cultural heritage. With regard to European Union funding, recent constitutional reforms have assigned significant autonomy to each Italian Regional Council for planning how to invest European Union resources.

For the Campania Regional Council, local planning has to correspond to precise areas of action as defined by evolving criteria that correspond to strategic objectives, for example, the planning of 2000–2006 Regional Operative Programme (POR) funds, ¹⁴ within which heritage projects were considered a priority and districts connected by shared historic/archaeological/geographical characteristics were identified. ¹⁵ For the planning underway for the 2007–2013 POR funding, the region has been subdivided into Territorial Development Systems (identified on the basis of the Regional Territorial Plan), which have been given the task of drawing up a Strategic Enhancement Plan for Cultural Heritage in order to create a network of cultural assets in the region. ¹⁶

Coming back to the case of Teano, routine funding from the Ministry of Culture has been used not just for excavation and restoration but also for the restoration and fitting out of the Teanum Sidicinum Museum. Data is available from 1976 onwards.¹¹ In total €15.7 million has been spent (fig. 7). For the Teano Museum the expenditure is €7.2 million.

The second type of funding, received from the European Union and the Italian state, has become available more recently and has been used for the following projects:

Funds by sources, in €

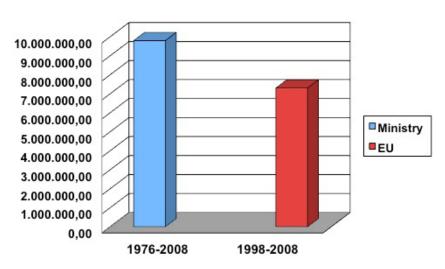


Figure 7 Histogram of funding divided by source (state and European Union funds). (Francesco Sirano)

- The ancient theatre of Teanum Sidicinum. European Union funding (POP-FESR, 1996–1998): €750 000; Lottery funding (Large theatres of Campania project, 2002–2004): €2.5 million; European funding (POR-PIT Ancient Capua 2000–2006): €1.5 million. Enlargement of the archaeological park and re-routing of the road south of the theatre, works by Teano Town Council: European funds (POR-PIT Ancient Capua): €300 000.
- *Museum*. POP-FESR funding, 1996–1998: €1.5 million; CIPE: €450 000.
- Area of the former Town Antiquarium. Works by Teano Town Council, European funding (POR-PIT Ancient Capua): €300 000.¹⁸

Finalizing superintendency project proposals: administrative and budget issues

With regard to projects at Teano, these have been entirely carried out by the superintendency with its own technical and scientific staff and with the support of external consultants both for planning (such as architect Paolo Cercato for the museum) and for specific works (administrative and security assistance) and scientific activities (involving archaeologists, architects, conservator-restorers).

The central role in most recent projects is the *responsabile unico del procedimento* (RUP, the individual responsible for coordinating a project), as is required by public works law and who by law must be a senior member of staff.¹⁹ This is a key figure both in the planning and the works phases. However, in the heritage sector the RUP's autonomy has its limitations within the superintendency hierarchy, as the only person who can sign contracts and sign off expenditure is the superintendent. Consequently, the superintendent has considerable influence in planning decisions as well as in procedural decisions. This radically limits the responsibility of the RUP, in the sense that they can only partially be held to the levels of accountability found in good management practice.

With a decree by the Regional Director, a Planning Group is nominated, made up of at least one scientific member of staff, a registered architect

and other technical staff specialized in areas relevant to the project and administrative staff. As a rule, the RUP is the local area archaeologist; the planner will then carry out the role of Director of Works. Often the same individuals will play various roles in many different projects.

On the basis of current public works law,²⁰ rather than submit all three stages of planning (preliminary, definitive, executive) in order to release funding for heritage projects and archaeological excavation, only the definitive project needs to be submitted along with specifications and the outline of the tender contract. When drawing up a budget, normally a first general estimate of project costs is sent either to the Ministry or, in the case of European Union funding, to the Regional Council. Funding is allotted either on the basis of a preliminary project, or, as happens ever more frequently, on the basis of an executive project. The budget for the executive project will then need to be calculated. For all public works, the simplest amount to calculate is that for site health and safety. Usually this is based on tables, fixed price lists and on previous experience and corresponds to about 3 per cent to 5 per cent of the total budget.

The budget for works is more complicated. Firstly, it is essential that members of the Planning Group collaborate. It is important that there is at least one person with a number of years of experience in the specific area of planning works on heritage, as there is a direct link between the quality of the project and understanding of the site. An absence of the latter is all too common in weaker heritage projects. It would be all too easy and ungenerous to lay the blame on staff with insufficient academic training; rather it is the fault of a general lack of long-term planning of projects that allow progress to be made over time towards the final aim. Furthermore, it should be noted that archaeological research cannot always predict what will be discovered: in reality, unexpected discoveries often demand modifications to a project so as to respond to the reality found on site. In these cases, contract variations are prepared to introduce changes to the planned interventions mid-works.

When drawing up a budget there are some fixed costs included in all projects. The main ones are:

- *Health and safety.* These are fixed costs and are not subject to reduction: they come to about 3–5 per cent of the total.
- Works costs. Usually in archaeology these come in two categories: excavation and conservation. There are two ways of costing this type of work: by man-hour or by quantity (amount excavated, built, etc.), which is calculated by square or cubic metres according to the work in question. There are reference tables with updated prices for both these typologies issued by the relevant associations (e.g. for manpower and rental, the Naples Association of Building Constructors [ACEN] issues price updates every two months; for works by quantity the price is adopted by the Campania Regional Council with intermittent updates [2002, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009]). The decision to choose one or another type of calculation is fundamental not only when drawing up a good budget but particularly for the subsequent calculation and monitoring of expenditure over time and works payments.

• Sums available to the administration. These are used to pay value-added tax (10 per cent to 20 per cent according to whether it is restoration or other work), a reserve (about 1 per cent), contingencies (5–10 per cent) and general and technical expenses (12 per cent according to an agreement with the Campania Regional Council for the correct use of European funds). This latter type of expense includes external consultants, documentation, institutional communications and small acquisitions of goods and services.

• Sums for expropriation. These are governed by the rules for expenditure of European funding (1260/99 and 1655/00) which usually correspond to 10 per cent of the works sum.

It was fortunate that the project completed with European Union funds from the POR programme Agenda 2000 had been preceded by two other projects on the same site. This allowed the project to be well calibrated with objectives and, in particular, in respect of the amount of the funding. In fact, in comparison to the original request made by the superintendency, which was for a total of $\mathfrak{e}5$ million for two projects of excavation, restoration and presentation of the theatre site, the steering committee for the PIT and the Campania Regional Council only allocated $\mathfrak{e}1.5$ million.

The main aim of the project was to open the site to the public, allowing the best possible understanding of the theatre/shrine complex's layout and architecture. On the basis of previous experience, it was decided to define the project according to the following priorities (fig. 8):

- a. Restoration of the seating area, which was totally excavated during the 2002–2004 excavations. This was particularly urgent because the seating area was in a serious state of decay.
- b. Further excavation in two areas: the stage pit and the area of the presumed shrine at the top of the theatre.
- c. Site presentation and site arrangement, including the display of all the architectural elements from the stage building and the creation of a visitor route around the site.

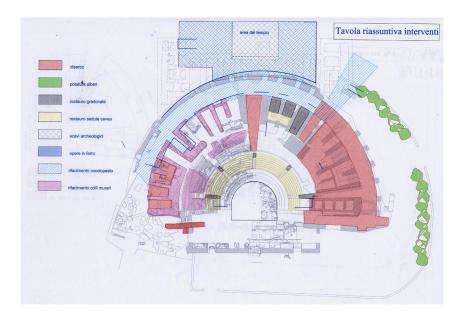


Figure 8 Example of changes introduced to the project ACISANTEA 004. (Francesca Casule and Raffaele Donnarumma)





Figure 9a-b The seating area of the theatre during restoration works. (Photos: Francesca Casule)

d. Completion of graphic documentation. This was divided into: (i) detailed architectural survey of the whole building because while there were already two surveys they varied in quality and precision and needed to be unified at the higher standard for use in restoration work; (ii) completion of the survey of the architectural elements from the stage building and a graphic proposal of its anastylosis. This was very important for the subsequent project of partial or total reconstruction of the stage building.

With regard to point (a), the restoration of the seating area was planned not only with conservation in mind but also to facilitate visits and events. The seating area was divided into two operative areas: lower and upper. In the lower area (*proedria/ima cavea* and part of the *media cavea*) as many of the steps as possible were reversibly reconstructed on the basis of academic research. The steps were clad with a light-coloured limestone to make seating more comfortable. For the western section, all the steps were reconstructed for interpretive purposes. In the upper area (the *media/summa cavea*) a sacrificial layer was planned, which suggested the cement core of the structure, from which all the steps had been removed in the medieval period. Although this paper is not the place for a detailed discussion of technical issues, it should be noted that all this was carried out respecting conservation charters, the most recent of which was the 2004 Syracuse Charter (fig. 9) (La Manna and Lentini 2006: 416–438; Casule 2011).

With regard to point (b) above, the project foresaw the removal of the collapsed part of the stage building and more extensive excavation at the top of the seating area. However, the complexity of excavations in the stage pit made it necessary to delay at first and then cancel this. Excavation, therefore, focused on the top of the seating area. Here the base of a sizeable shrine was found at deeper levels than had been imagined, and it was necessary to invest greater resources for its completion. The organization of the archaeological area included the creation of evacuation routes.

For this reason, steps were restored in the seating area, as well as some internal stairways within the *ambulacra*. A crane was used for transporting blocks that had been found in various places around the archaeological area, and a platform had to be built for this in an area of site behind the stage building. In order to calculate the costs of this transportation, architect Francesca Casule, Director of Works, invented her own system where the blocks were divided into groups according to size and weight. The movement of each group was calculated generously on the basis of weight rather than time or on the equipment to be used, leaving those decisions to the contractor. This led to an optimal compromise between the needs of the administration to keep costs down and ensuring that the operation was economically viable.

Graphic documentation cannot usually be inserted as a works cost; in fact, it is usually included as a service. However, when the survey costs were calculated in this case, they would have gone over the limit established by law for direct selection procedures for outsourced services, and it would also have used up a large part of the budget allowed for specialist consultancy of this type. Moreover, among other specialist consultancy required, on-site assistance from at least two archaeologists on a daily basis was needed; otherwise the entire responsibility for the project would have fallen on the shoulders of the public officer who had the role of RUP, and who was the only public archaeologist responsible for an area of approximately 800 km³. Based on experience and an evaluation of the in-house human resources available to the superintendency, it also emerged that a technical survey could not be carried out by internal staff. At the same time, it was clear that a survey of the architectural features of the stage building and an initial graphic proposal for their replacement on site required highly skilled professionals with a very specific skill set. For this reason, an agreement was signed with the German Archaeological Institute of Rome,²¹ which foresaw a forfeit payment to cover expenses and specialists for this task (fig. 10). Both the survey²² and scientific assistance²³ (including finds management and their documentation) should have been considered an integral part of the works, particularly in a case such as this, which included the philological restoration and presentation of the site to the public. For this reason it was decided

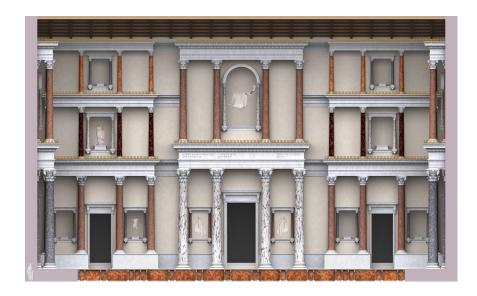


Figure 10 Rendering from the 3D model of the theatre's stage building based on the survey of the main architectural elements. (Heinz Jurgen Beste, German Archaeological Institute at Rome/Superintendency of Naples and Pompeii)

to calculate the cost of all outsourced scientific activities and to define these line items as clearly and precisely as possible within the works budget. The overall cost of these activities weighed heavily on the total sum of $\mathfrak{c}300\,000$.

From the project to practice: superintendency outsourcing of works

To carry out this project, the superintendency, which does not have either in-house workers or suitable equipment, outsourced both the works and the scientific assistance. It should be noted that it was not possible to divide the funding provided into two separate tenders, so the entire project was put out to tender in a single block, with every possible specification regarding the qualification of the specialist consultants and the requirements of the documentation.

The Planning Group then transformed into the Direction of Works, with the additional support of a Health and Safety Officer for the works phase and an assistant to the RUP, a professional expert in the administrative management of heritage projects who helped the RUP carry out administrative tasks and provided consultancy on the administrative decisions. ²⁴ The superintendency retained the Direction of Works, coordinating both scientific and administrative aspects, as required by public works law. ²⁵ Works were monitored daily with regard to progress made, the workers present and any possible issues arising, by two technical assistants and a site inspector, who were superintendency personnel.

Technical and financial issues related to the project were brought together in tender specifications, which is the document that forms the basis on which companies prepare their tender proposals. Outsourced works are based on European legislation, and a public tender was called. The award criterion for outsourced works was the economically most advantageous tender. Specialist companies for specific categories of works bid in this type of tender process, either through open tendering or on request depending on the value of the works.

Following the tender process and the signing of a contract, the operative phase begins. The three fundamental problems on a worksite are:

- i. Genuine respect for health and safety legislation. Following an unfortunate series of accidents on worksites in Italy, very severe legislation has been passed, but a lack of monitoring leads to it being systematically ignored. Health and safety should be a responsibility taken on by the employer in particular, in our case, the contractor, who should have every interest to ensure the best working conditions for their workers. But, in reality, overseeing a public worksite is left to the Director of Works through the Health and Safety Officer.
- ii. Respecting works programming. This is one of the most delicate points because, along with delays caused by adverse weather conditions or by site organizational problems, new archaeological discoveries or new circumstances that occur between the planning phase and the beginning of works often oblige changes to be introduced to the planned interventions.

The preparation of such changes can become very complex due to new discoveries. Modified projects have consequences not only for the type of works but also for programming and for this reason the law requires that the contractor accepts the new works package and new prices. When necessary, works can be suspended with a suspension notice and are then started again with the preparation of a new notice of resumption of work. The Teano project underwent changes to the planned interventions, but this did not affect programming, and works were concluded properly within the deadline given by the Campania Regional Council and within the timeframe for financial reporting to the European Union.²⁸

iii. Quality of workers and materials. It is fundamental that there is an expert site supervisor constantly present to oversee a team of well-trained and experienced workers, particularly when dealing with architectural restoration. Another very important issue is related to the scientific personnel who, in the case in question, needed to be at a high level and with significant experience of ancient theatres.

Monitoring worksites and payments

Monitoring works happens in two ways: external and internal monitoring. External monitoring involves:

- i. *Financial and administrative monitoring*. Regular communications to the commissioning authority and to the Campania Regional Council are obligatory.
- ii. Integrated Territorial Plan. In addition, a steering committee brings together all the institutions involved in the Integrated Territorial Plan (PIT). It is operative both in the early phases when funds are distributed and in the later implementation phases to monitor works programming in particular. This committee also looks after the obligatory management plan of works sent to the European Union at the end of the works.
- iii. *Monitoring by inspectors and unions*. As for all public works, the works inspectorate and unions can carry out site visits and inspections to ensure that health and safety and employment law are being respected.

Internal monitoring happens in four ways:

- The Director of Works and the Scientific Director are involved in technical and scientific monitoring of the restoration, excavation and planning decisions.
- ii. Legal employment of workers, checks that equipment meets regulations and the organization of the worksite are covered under the health and safety category. This was particularly important at Teano when the large marble blocks were transported suspended in the air from a crane over a public road that separated the two state-owned areas. Another important moment for health and safety was during the summer events that take place in the theatre; in 2007, areas for use by the public

- and actors were separated off from the rest of the worksite. The Health and Safety Officer was involved in this issue.
- iii. Assistants and Site Inspectors are involved in monitoring administrative and budget issues related to the presence of workers, the amount of work carried out, and the supply and use of materials.
- iv. A commission of three experts is nominated by the RUP to manage inspections during and after works. In the case of Teano, this involved two architects and an archaeologist.²⁹ This commission carries out site visits and monitors the work carried out, in particular respect for the project and methodology laid out in the contract. They can also suggest changes, express opinions and, in the case of serious anomalies, they warn the Authority for Overseeing Public Works. This commission also carried out the final inspection at the end of work. While the first three types of monitoring are more or less daily, this fourth level takes place only two or three times during the project.

With regard to payments, funding is sent by the Regional Council to the public authority that tenders out the works, which, in our case, was the superintendency. Payments were made on the basis of progress made, as laid out in the tender contract and agreed with the contractor.³⁰ With regard to cash flow, it should be noted that the triangular relationship between the European Union, the Regional Council (in our case that of Campania) and the beneficiary (the superintendency) has had difficult moments when payments were delayed for reasons not related to the funding. In 2007, due to budget limits set for the Italian national budget that the Regional Council had to respect, for more than six months they did not distribute any funding, creating panic among contractors and causing delays.

The Park, Its Potential Impact on the Local Economy and New Forms of Local Support

The Teano projects were relatively coherent in terms of methodology and objectives. These objectives can be summed up in a simple phrase: to open up the heritage to the public. How this should happen has been planned to weigh economically as little as possible on the management system. The preparation of a management plan has brought about much improvement and the adoption of good practices.

When moving from theory to practice, it should be clear how difficult it is to think about management as a single monolithic programme in the context of Italy and, in particular, in the context of a region as rich in cultural heritage as the Campania Region. While there are day-to-day management responsibilities that are related to an individual site, a much larger area needs to be taken into consideration for communication, promotion, site presentation, cultural uses and mid- to long-term management. Thinking needs to encompass cultural or economic districts, or a region.

It is worth specifying that among state-run sites in the Campania Region, with the exception of the National Archaeological Museum, the Naples

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museum network and the archaeological site of Pompeii, none are autonomously managed, and that includes their publicity and human resources. In addition, given that there are so many cultural heritage sites of great importance and worth visiting, only a cultural route or network of sites could make their management theoretically sustainable. This makes it even more important to involve other stakeholders in the areas of management and enhancement. The case of Teano is, in this sense, only one of dozens of possible examples. The shortage of custodians and technical/scientific staff is only going to get dramatically worse over the next ten years. If the continual Ministry funding cuts for basic site running are added to this picture, there is an extremely uncertain future for the so-called minor sites and monuments.

One option could be an agreement among local institutions, in our case with Teano town council. However, to be sustainable these agreements would need to be placed within a global framework that could tackle the inescapable staffing problems, including training, recruitment, roles and time management. They would also need to avoid the risk of a reduction in the quality of services that would certainly happen if there was an obligatory handover to local authorities simply because the State was unable to manage directly the heritage currently in its care. For this second reason, the Ministry has provided the Museum of Teano with a service charter, required by regional legislation even for local museums. This document is the first concrete step towards a clear statement of the minimum standards that need to be guaranteed within proper property management. Despite its many defects and lack of organization, the superintendency ensures a certain level of quality and experience that a town council could only achieve following at least a decade of consistent commitment. During this period of collaboration between the superintendency and the local authorities, both parties must be cooperative and reliable.

In this context, in 2008 a memorandum of understanding was signed for the creation of an urban archaeological park by the Ministry's Regional Directorate and Teano town council. This document of intent defines the shared context within which future projects can be incorporated, with attached plans that outline places of archaeological interest within the town council's area of responsibility. Among various joint projects for restoration, excavation and enhancement, a preliminary project was delivered for a Park of the Decumanus of ancient Teanum Sidicinum in December 2009. This project included enclosures on promotional initiatives, research on visitor satisfaction and hopes for the development of local tourism.

An important challenge is that of making local residents, in particular local businesses in the tourism and hospitality sector, understand that the museum and ancient theatre are resources. There are already data to show this: for example, the thousands of people who come to the sites for events such as Teano Jazz, Stone Theatres, Ancient Flavours, Wine Festival, Teano by Night. It would be good to help local residents to appreciate their local heritage more, connecting cultural values with economic benefits and encouraging new ideas. This requires a shared road map based on small simple actions. For example, at Teano there are many restaurants and farm stays; none of these has a poster or offers promotional

material on the museum. The town council, the Pro Loco (a local association for promoting the local area) and the local chamber of commerce could work with local businesses to create a unique sense of place for Teano that defines it from other areas of the Campania region. A first basic agreement could simply cover forms of simple promotion and publicity, although these activities need to be associated with criteria for how this will be done and the results to be achieved. More complex actions could then be planned and the business community involved in making the area ever richer and more interesting, situated within a cultural route of places to visit. The only practical approach is to take small steps forward – but this could take us a very long way.

Postscript

In 2014 the structure of the Ministry of Culture fundamentally changed (Prime Minister's Decree 171 of 29 August 2014), and again in 2016 (Ministry of Culture Decree of 23 January 2016) and lastly in 2019 and 2021 (Prime Minister's Decrees of 2 December 2019 and 23 June 2021). A clear distinction was established between the activities relating to heritage protection, carried out by the superintendencies (in our case known as the Archeological Superintendencies), and activities relating to the promotion and management of museums and archaeological parks, undertaken by regional museum authorities. Following the 2016 Decree, a new system of superintendencies was created, based on smaller territorial competences, which deal with the archaeological, architectural and landscape heritage. (Also in 2016, the law relating to public tenders was changed, with Articles 145 to 151 of Decree 50 [18 April 2016] dedicated to cultural heritage.) The theatre and the Museum of Teano are now managed by the regional museum authority of Campania. A new feature of the structure is also characterized by the re-defined position of Museum Director, a role that now has scientific and organizational autonomy, although not in economic or financial matters. Each museum is expected to operate a series of core functions: leadership; curation and management of collections; learning, teaching and research; marketing and fundraising; visitor services and outreach; public relations; financial administration and management of human resources; management of facilities and installations; and health and safety. All museums are required to adopt a charter and put together an annual budget and expenditure report. Forty-four institutions that are considered to be the most important museums in Italy have been granted complete autonomy, led by an executive director, a board of directors, a scientific committee and a board of auditors. At the time of writing, the directors of the museums have been appointed, but as yet there are no indications as to how the organizational functions will be implemented either from an economic or human resource point of view. While on the one hand this spotlight on the museums and directors can be considered very positive, on the other the separation of the museums from the superintendencies and their activities in research and protection of cultural heritage within the area is of great concern. The museums of Italy have come about as a result of the efforts by the superintendencies to safeguard and enhance the areas they oversee. The coming years will see us engaged in efforts to refashion the cultural proposal for museums

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and for research and protection of archaeological heritage as called for in Article 9 of the Constitution of the Italian Republic.

Acknowledgements

I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of Werner Johannowsky, who died in 2010. Thanks are due to the superintendents who gave me responsibility for the Teano project, from Stefano De Caro (who has launched this and many other important works for ancient Campania) to Fausto Zevi, Valeria Sampaolo, Maria Luisa Nava, Mario Pagano and Pietro Giovanni Guzzo. A very warm thanks to all those colleagues who contributed to the project; for the theatre they include Francesca Casule, Heinz-Jürgen Beste, Raffaele Donnarumma, Domenico Pelliccia, Carmine Russo; and for the museum, together with the late Paolo Cercato, colleagues include Gabriella Gasperetti, Enrico Guglielmo, Eva Nardella and many others who cannot be listed here but whose work is a credit to the superintendency. At the theatre, external consultants also made important contributions; many thanks to Alfredo Balasco, Virginia Davino and Rosaria Sirleto. I am also grateful to the Comune di Teano, to the principals and directors of all the schools, associations and Pro Loco; I would like to thank them for their stimulating enthusiasm and participation.

Biography

Dr Francesco Sirano is a specialist in Greek and Roman archaeology. He was Director of the site of Teano in Italy between 1999 and 2014, and of the sites of Santa Maria Capua Vetere (ancient Capua) 2011–2014, Cuma and Baiae 2016. He is currently Director of the Herculaneum Archaeological Park (since April 2017). In addition he is involved in the Grande Progetto Pompei, an initiative launched by the Italian government in 2012 to secure and improve access to the site of Pompeii. Dr Sirano also teaches as Professor of Archaeology in France.

Contact details

Parco Archeologico di Ercolano Corso Resina 80056 Ercolano (NA) Italy

Email: francesco.sirano@cultura.gov.it

Notes

- 1. The most recent organization of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali (Ministry of Culture) when this paper was originally presented was set out in Law 91 of 2 July 2009, which was a development of Law 233 of 26 November 2007 (modified on 18 June 2008). See Miele (2003); Zoppi (2007): 31–58; Cagiano de Azevedo and Geremia Nucci (2008): 98–99; Sciullo (2009a).
- 2. It is worth mentioning the experiments with autonomy that began with the Archaeological Superintendency of Pompeii (Law 352 of 10 August 1997; see the chapter by Pesaresi *et al.* in this volume) and then applied to other autonomous superintendencies (for their organizational regulations see

Decree of 10 July 2008; see also the list in Presidential Decree 91/09, Article 6.3 (Special archaeological superintendencies for Naples and Pompeii and for Rome); 7.3 (Special superintendencies for historic, artistic and ethno-anthropological heritage and the museum networks of Venice, Naples, Rome and Florence); for the foundations, see, for example, Presidential Decree 91/09, Article 8.4 (MAXXI Foundation [National Museum of Twenty First Century Art]). On their management, there is an extensive bibliography, although almost always on legal issues. For the autonomous superintendencies, see Zan (2003): 92–95; Castelli and Leon (2008): 79–80; Guzzo (2003; 2006; 2007). For the foundations, see Foà (2003); Nardella (2003); Zan (2003): 111–127; Castelli and Leon (2008): 84–86; Forte (2009); Sciullo (2009b). Key publications that have come out on this subject since this paper include Cecchi (2011), Erbani (2015), Guzzo (2011; 2012).

- 3. A museum had been previously suggested in the early twentieth century. See Della Corte (1929); Zarone (2001).
- Worksites were managed by the Teano town council. See Johannowsky (1963): 160, n6.
- 5. Ministerial Decree of 11 November 1965.
- 6. Ministerial Decree of 20 December 1989.
- 7. Gioco del Lotto (national lottery) funding "Grandi Teatri della Campania settentrionale 2001-2002" (Ministerial Decree 23 March 2001, Law 662/96, Article 3.83); European Union: POP FESR funding 1996; Agenda 2000–2006, POR Campania funding, PIT "Antica Capua", ACISANTEA004 project. See De Caro and Miele (2001): 528–529; Sirano *et al.* (2002); Sirano and Beste (2005); Nava (2007): 796–797; Sirano (2009b): 5–22.
- 8. Ministerial Decree by the Regional Director 118 of 14 February 2003.
- 9. The concluding interventions of the POR-PIT Antica Capua ACISANTEA004 project of spring 2009 (site panels with English translation; security and evacuation plans and signage, leaflets and a brochure). 'The Teanum Sidicinum theatre: from antiquity to the Piedigrotta festival' project by the Campania Regional Council, the Regional Directorate for Culture (site panels with English translation, leaflets in Italian, English and German, academic publication), 4 September–31 December 2009. See Sirano (2011b).
- 10. Although the Teano museum is not really a site museum, this typology provided a useful comparison with, for example: the Archaeological Museum of Palestrina in the Palazzo Barberini that stands on the remains of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia; the Antiquarium of the Canopus at Hadrian's Villa that is housed in the Casina Braschi, which reuses an ancient pavilion of the villa; and the notable example of the Crypta Balbi in Rome, even though Teano's *Loggione e Cavallerizza* building is on a monumental scale that is perhaps more similar to the historic buildings housing the museums at Segni, Cori and Tarquinia.
- 11. For 1963: Mostra sugli Etruschi in Campania (Cronaca in Studi Etruschi XXXII, 1963, p. 245); 1988: Scavo, restauro e valorizzazione del teatro romano: incontro pubblico, visita al cantiere, Teatro romano, Località Grotte 12 Dicembre 1988, [S.n.t.], leaflet by the Superintendency Archeologica delle province di Napoli e Caserta e del Comune di Teano; 1995: Mostra, Da Sidicini a Romani, la necropoli di Orto Ceraso a Teano mostra di materiali archeologici dai nuovi scavi: Museo Archeologico, Loggione di Teano (Naples, X-Press, 1995); 1998: Il teatro di Teanum Sidicinum.
- 12. For example, the use of motion sensors and video surveillance allows security staff to be reduced and facilitates their work. Equally, the fact that the visitor numbers peak in October–November and March–May means that staffing can be organized efficiently around these times.
- 13. As described in presidential decrees 233 of 26 November 2007 and 91 of 2 July 2009.
- 14. Programmi operativi regionali, which are regional operative programmes.
- 15. Planning for the 2000–2006 funds identified Integrated Territorial Projects, and they were given names such as "Ancient Capua", "Domitia Coast", "Trebulani Mountains", "Ancient Clanis".

16. Resolution of the Regional Council of Campania no. 1747 of 20 November 2009.

- 17. These figures have been converted into euros, taking into consideration the average value of inflation over the decade.
- 18. Fondo europeo di sviluppo regionale (FESR, European Regional Development Fund); Progetti Integrati Territoriali (PIT, Integrated Territorial Projects); Programmi Operativi Regionali (POR, Regional Operative Programme); Comitato Interministeriale per la Programmazione Economica (CIPE, Interministerial Committee for Economic Planning); t/k (POP).
- Law 241/1990; Law 109/1994 and later amendments; Decree 163/2006, Article 10.
- 20. Decree 163/2006, Articles 95, 203 point 3.
- 21. An agreement was signed by the superintendency (Maria Luisa Nava) and the German Archaeological Institute (Dieter Mertens). Heinz-Jürgen Beste led the project for the German Institute and should be thanked for his genuine collaboration.
- 22. The surveys were carried out by Alfredo Balasco with assistance from Laura Bourellis.
- 23. Excavation was overseen by Virginia Davino and Rosaria Sirleto in collaboration with Paola Iannaccone.
- 24. Director of Works: Francesca Casule; Health and Safety Officer: Pasquale Nugnes; Assistant to the RUP: Saverio Giasi; Site Assistants: Raffaele Donnarumma, Domenico Pelliccia and Carmine Russo.
- 25. I would like to mention and thank Lisa Rapone, Tonino Coppola and Raffaele Martinelli for their precise and important work.
- 26. This type of procedure foresees that companies present a bid composed of:
 - *Technical proposal*. This is divided into sections: equipment available; manpower; proposals and strategies to achieve project aims; specialist human resources.
 - *Economic proposal*. This contains the estimated cost proposal for the works made by the potential contractor.
 - The tender commission, after thoroughly checking the complex documentation requested, scores each item in the proposal and the company with the highest total number of points is awarded the contract. Points are calculated according to very precise criteria given in public works law, using very complex formulas, not just a simple mathematical sum.
- 27. It is possible in the case of works made up of excavation and conservation that the companies create a temporary consortium in order to carry out the project.
- 28. Should deadlines not be met for reasons unrelated to the public administration, the contractor can request an extension if it is justifiable. In any case, once the deadline for the end of works has been reached, works that have actually been carried out are calculated and paid up to that point, while everything that has not been completed is subject to a penalty (by law this penalty cannot be more than 10 per cent of the total amount of the works). Where the administration requires it and there are strong grounds for requiring changes, the law foresees the preparation of a reduced project, but it should not contradict the spirit or the financial breakdown of the original project, so as not to compromise any future continuation of the project.
- 29. The Commission for Teano was made up of Giuliana Tocco (then Archaeological Superintendent for the Provinces of Salerno, Avellino and Benevento) and architects Maddalena Marselli and Francesco Canestrini, respectively of the Soprintendenza Speciale di Napoli e Pompei and the Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici di Caserta e Benevento.
- 30. It is very important for regular progress to be made because according to law if a certain percentage of the total works costs is unspent, the Regional Council will not make the various payments that guarantee cash flow. It should also be noted that this includes payments for the scientific personnel who, in this case, had signed agreements and contracts with the contractor.

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Managing Rock Art Sites in the Sierra de San Francisco, Baja California Sur

Valerie Magar

t the heart of the Baja California peninsula, in northwestern Mexico, lies a mountain range, deeply cut by steep canyons (fig. 1). The Sierra de San Francisco, as this mountain range is known, contains an extraordinary number of rock art sites, principally featuring paintings located on the back walls of shelters in the lower parts of the canyons (figs. 2–4). Although relatively little is known of the indigenous groups who once inhabited the region, and of their relationship with the rock art, the sites of the Sierra de San Francisco gained their fame due to the exceptional quality of the painting, which is remarkable for the large size of the animal and human figures, the vast number of sites (more than 250 sites have been recorded) and their apparent good state of conservation.

The paintings were initially reported by Jesuit missionaries in the mid-eighteenth century, some years after their arrival and settlement in Baja California. At the time, the area was inhabited by Cochimí groups, hunter-gatherers whose semi-nomadic life was severely truncated both by the new lifestyle voluntarily imposed by the Jesuits and by the disastrous effects of European diseases, which decimated entire native populations in the peninsula. Numerous mysteries still surround these 'giant murals'. When interrogated by the Jesuits on the nature of the paintings, the Cochimís denied any link with them, claiming they had been painted in the distant past by a race of giants, a theory encouraged by the slightly larger-than-life size of the many of the figures and by their position, sometimes quite high on the back wall of shelters or on cliff walls (see fig. 3).

The interest in these paintings continued with time but the number of expeditions was always limited by the inaccessibility of the canyons, due to their rugged topography and, more importantly, to the inhospitable desert environment. Most areas are only accessible by foot or on pack animals (mules and donkeys). The isolation and nearly island-like nature of the Sierra de San Francisco allowed the development of very specific habitats, where a large number of endemic species developed.¹

The Sierra de San Francisco and Its Surroundings

Given its very special nature and its many valuable assets, the Sierra de San Francisco and the surrounding area have been further explored in the last decades, and protection for the area has been sought by the



Figure 1a-b Location of the Sierra de San Francisco in northwest Mexico. (Valerie Magar)

Figure 2 Rock art from Cueva del Ratón. (Photo: Valerie Magar)

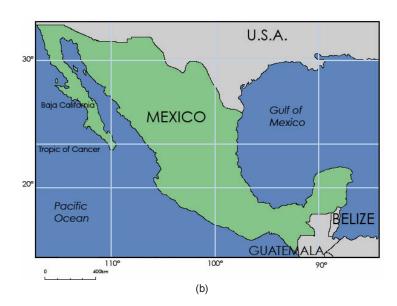




Figure 3 Rock art from Cueva Pintada. (Photo: Valerie Magar)





Figure 4 Detail of painted deer from Cueva de La Soledad. (Photo: Valerie Magar)



Figure 5 View of the Sierra de San Francisco. (Photo: Valerie Magar)

Mexican government. Initial protection came for the natural heritage with the creation of a vast reserve protected by federal law. The Vizcaíno Biosphere Reserve, created in 1988, covers 2 546 790 hectares, making it the largest in Mexico and one of the largest in Latin America. The Sierra de San Francisco is entirely located within the reserve, with a total area of 183 956 hectares (fig. 5).

The population density within the sierra is extremely low, with less than three inhabitants per square kilometre. There are two small villages within the sierra, San Francisco de la Sierra and Santa Martha, which are accessible via two winding dirt roads. However, most inhabitants of the sierra live in ranches in the lower parts of the canyons, closer to water sources. These ranches are relatively isolated, accessible only on foot or by mule. The main source of income in this extremely poor region is based on the production of dairy products from goats, which the ranchers sell in nearby towns. The people now living in this part of the peninsula are descendants of migrants who arrived in the peninsula during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As such, they have no link with the rock art tradition and for many years felt no

connection with it. Until the early 1990s, within the Sierra de San Francisco, 60 per cent of the land was state-owned, 20 per cent was communal lands and the remainder was in private ownership.

The protection of the Biosphere Reserve is the responsibility of the Secretaría del Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales (SEMARNAT, or the Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources). In spite of the fact that the Sierra de San Francisco has not been declared an archaeological site, the individual rock art sites (and all archaeological and palaeontological heritage) are automatically protected through the Federal Law on Artistic, Historical and Archaeological Monuments and Sites (1972), which regulates the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH). INAH is the governmental institution responsible for all archaeological heritage in Mexico, both movable and immovable. More will be explained about INAH's structure and activities later in this case study.

A Changing Scenario: World Heritage Inscription

In the early 1990s, proposals were made to inscribe the area of El Vizcaíno as a mixed cultural and natural World Heritage site. However, the recommendations from the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee were to submit separate cultural and natural nominations. Two separate sites were therefore inscribed in 1993, one cultural site, the Rock Paintings of the Sierra de San Francisco, and one natural site, the Whale Sanctuary of El Vizcaíno (a series of large bays which are important reproduction and wintering sites for the grey whale and other endangered or protected marine species).

The site of the Rock Paintings of the Sierra de San Francisco was inscribed under criteria (i) and (iii):²

- to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.

At the time of the inscription, various issues were considered to be either an existing or potentially immediate threat for the sites, or possible constraints for their conservation. Whilst the inscription in the World Heritage list was seen as an opportunity to increase the awareness of the importance of the sites and of the need to develop proactive measures for their conservation, the increased visibility of the sites could also become a problem if there was no preparation for it. Other threats and constraints came from the nature, setting and context of the sites:

- *Tourism*. As witnessed in a number of other World Heritage sites, there would undoubtedly be an increase in the number of visitors following the inscription on UNESCO's list.
- *Social*. The lack of connection between the local communities and the rock art was a serious concern.
- *Economic*. The reduced economic opportunities in the region, added to the very low income of the sierra's inhabitants, were already creating strong pressures.
- Environmental. In spite of its harshness and apparent roughness, the environment of the Sierra de San Francisco is an

- extremely fragile one. Any change in the use of the landscape (including new paths) can leave visible marks for a long time.
- Geographic. The extreme isolation of the area has always been a
 characteristic of the sierra and has always marked the pattern and
 modes of human settlements. The same isolation has also played
 a role in the good conservation of the rock art sites and other
 archaeological remains. However, the remoteness and inaccessibility of the area also poses logistical problems for all administrative communication and for all research or conservation projects.
- Legal. Although the rock art is de facto protected by federal law, the lack of an official declaration or inscription as an archaeological site poses some administrative problems for its protection. Recruiting staff and assigning a regular budget for an unrecognized site can be problematic. No entrance fee was therefore charged for many years, given this vague status. This has changed now, and in the last couple of years a fee has been charged to enter, as well as a fee to use cameras. The double or triple protection status of the area, recognized as a Biosphere Reserve a part of which is declared a natural World Heritage site, and another part of which is declared a cultural World Heritage site should have meant a good interaction between the different agencies responsible for each of these facets of the site.
- *Administrative*. Another concern and potential threat for the sites was the status of land ownership.
- *Scientific.* The area was still relatively poorly known in 1993, with much archaeological knowledge still to be gained from thorough explorations.
- *Political*. At the time of the inscription there was much less interest for the rock art sites than for other potential for tourism in the region. There has also been a general trend to focus on (and therefore carry more budget for) the monumental archaeological sites in central and southern Mexico. Among all rock art sites, the Sierra de San Francisco has received more attention from INAH than other sites in northern Mexico. However, given that it is seen as a fairly remote and inaccessible site, the support is far from being continuous or systematic.
- Conservation. One of the concerns at the moment of the inscription in the World Heritage list was the relatively little knowledge on the actual state of conservation of the rock art sites. While most of them seemed to be in good condition, with large painted areas and apparently bright colours in the paintings, little was known about the mechanisms of decay or their rate of action (Magar and Davila 2004). At the time, no direct dating existed for the sites, therefore offering little possibility to evaluate the site's stability.

Management Planning for the Sierra de San Francisco

Within this context, a serious need for management became evident. Planning was required along three main lines of action (Gutiérrez *et al.* 1996; Stanley Price 1995, 1996):

- Archaeology. Focusing both on research and documentation of the archaeological sites within the Sierra de San Francisco in order to build a corpus of data, which would hopefully allow a better understanding of this region. Within the research, direct dating of both archaeological materials and paint samples from the rock art was seen as an important element.
- Conservation. Focusing on diagnosis, research and monitoring of selected sites.
- *Visitor management*. Planning a strategy to receive larger numbers of visitors and defining the carrying capacity of the area.

In 1993 no archaeological site in Mexico had a specific management plan. For a long time, all planning was made at a central level, within INAH's offices in Mexico City. Since its creation in 1939, INAH has had the same mandate: to guarantee the research, preservation, protection and promotion of the prehistoric, archaeological, anthropological, historical and palaeontological heritage in Mexico.

The current structure of INAH includes a Technical Secretariat, which defines the main policies and trends. The tasks are distributed among seven National Coordination Offices and 31 Regional Centres throughout the country. Policies and decision-making tend to be extremely centralized, although some efforts have been made in recent years to decentralize the activities. INAH is responsible for over 110 000 historical monuments, over 45 000 archaeological sites, 187 of which are open to the public, and around 121 museums, nationwide. This vast heritage receives around 20 million visitors per year, of which 59 per cent goes to archaeological sites, 39 per cent to museums and 2 per cent to historic monuments. Only two of the archaeological sites – Teotihuacán and Monte Albán, in central and southern Mexico respectively – have managed to obtain the autonomy of the resources generated within the site. All other sites must return the income from entrance fees and a few other small services or charges, such as fees for video inside sites, to the central Ministry of Finance.³

INAH's entire staff is composed of around 7 400 employees, of which 824 are heritage professionals and approximately 120 are conservation professionals (for both movable and immovable heritage). The total annual budget, in recent years, is around €20 million, of which only an extremely small percentage goes to conservation or management of sites.

In terms of the three lines of action described above, two were tackled with specific projects. A series of mid-term archaeology projects were directed by archaeologist Maria de la Luz Gutiérrez from INAH, the main focus of these being to document and locate as many sites as possible. These projects began in the early 1980s and continued well into 2002 (Gutiérrez and Hyland 2002). In 2003 the results from around 50 samples of rock art for dating analysis were also produced, revealing dates indicating that the painting tradition may have started some 5 500 years ago (Watchman *et al.* 2002: 948).

Another mid-term project focused on conservation was launched in 1994 and developed until 1996 by the Getty Conservation Institute in collaboration with INAH and Amisud, a non-governmental organization from Baja California. Based on a pilot project at the site of El Ratón, their aim

was to investigate the condition of the rock art in order to try to design policies for their long-term conservation. The project included documenting and analysing the deterioration at El Ratón. A major aim for these two projects was to develop a management plan for the Sierra de San Francisco, with a special emphasis on visitor management.

The Management Plan

In order to develop the management plan, staff members from INAH, the Getty Conservation Institute and Amisud discussed and developed a strategy. The favoured approach was a participatory one, in which, based on a short document prepared by these three actors, all stakeholders would be invited to participate and discuss all proposals linked to the management of the Sierra de San Francisco. That short document included initial statements on the significance and values of the Sierra, and of the potential threats and opportunities to be considered. A meeting was organized at the end of 1994, including representatives from the two local villages in the Sierra, INAH, SEMARNAT, local and regional government agencies, tourism agencies (both Mexican and foreign, especially from the USA, from which most of the visitors came), universities, the Getty Conservation Institute and Amisud.

An intensive two-day meeting was essentially dedicated to offering all stakeholders who were present an opportunity to express their views on the need for a management plan and of the situation of the sierra at that time. This included discussions on a wide variety of topics, sometimes not immediately linked with the objectives of the meeting but which were essential to solve what otherwise may have become large problems of communication and trust between all the actors involved. At the end of the meeting, a series of measures and policies were agreed, including regulations for the research activities inside the Sierra de San Francisco, and for visitors. Of interest was the decision to define levels of access to different sites, keeping in mind both the visitor experience and the protection of the sites. The concern here was not only for the rock art but mostly for all the archaeological evidence, which had not been recorded or explored in most of the sites and which was readily available very close to the soil surface.

Visitor Management

Four levels of access to the sites were devised, from those few sites accessible by car in the vicinity of the two villages in the sierra to the sites on the canyons, accessible on pack animals. Seven sites were equipped with wooden platforms for visitors to be able to walk on the sites without disrupting any archaeological evidence (fig. 6). These would be the sites where most visitors would be encouraged to go. For visitors wanting to see more sites, possibilities were also left open; with the requirement that groups be accompanied by a local custodian in addition to the local guides (all inhabitants from the Sierra de San Francisco). A reservation system was also devised, again keeping in mind both the offer of a good service for visitors – so that all guides would have the required pack animal upon the

Figure 6 Wooden platforms at the site of Las Flechas. (Photo: Valerie Magar)



groups' arrival – and the conservation of the sites (to avoid overcrowding the canyons, which could lead to erosion of the landscape). A limit on the number of visitors at any one time in the canyons was established, in consideration of all stakeholders' points of view. In order to implement this system, a reservation centre was established in San Ignacio, the nearest town to the Sierra de San Francisco, situated along the only asphalted road on the peninsula. Four custodians were hired to work on this reservation centre, as well as making rounds around the Sierra. These would also be the same guides who would accompany groups wanting to visit sites that had not been set up for visitors.

Regulations for the guides were also discussed and decided during this meeting, with the definition of fees for guides and for the rental of mules and donkeys. A series of training courses were also defined for the guides and custodians, including information on archaeology of Baja California, first aid measures, English language and low-impact guided visits. By the end of the meeting, all participants had acquired a series of commitments, which would need to be fulfilled in the following months if any success was to be achieved with the planning. These commitments included aspects such as road works to maintain both dirt roads leading into the Sierra (local villagers would offer their services in carrying out repairs in return for packages of food products offered by the local government). The universities offered to send veterinarians to check the health of the pack animals and provide support for a breeding programme. INAH and Amisud would be responsible for creating the reservation centre and for providing short-wave radios to allow communication with the villagers related to visitor reservations and arrivals. Some of the local and foreign travel operators offered to provide training for the local guides on ways to minimize the impact of visitors. INAH would also provide training for the local guides and custodians on history and archaeology. All commitments were kept within six months of the meeting. The director of the archaeological project was named as manager of the Sierra de San Francisco within the plan. Finally, an agreement was established to have annual review meetings of the management plans, in which modifications could be made to the original design, based on acquired experience.

All these measures were quite timely. Before 1993, the Sierra de San Francisco received less than 100 visitors per year. Between 1994 and 1997 there was a rapid increase in the number of visitors, which has stabilized at around 2 000 per year since 1999. Although the numbers may seem relatively low compared to other sites mentioned in the other chapters, the increase is actually enormous for a setting such as the Sierra de San Francisco and for such a fragile environment.

Implementation of the Management Plan and New Threats to the Area

The first years of the implementation of the management plan were quite successful. Review meetings were planned and made on an annual or biannual basis, although the number of stakeholders at the meetings significantly reduced every year. However, new threats have started developing around the area since the second half of the 1990s. On one hand, land ownership legislation changed in 1996 with the new liberal policies in Mexico. Regulations on the use of land, which had existed since the beginning of the century (following the Mexican Revolution), were radically changed. What used to be communal lands representing an area of about 20 per cent, which for decades had been communal land for rural use, could now be sold. This shifted the interest in the Sierra de San Francisco. Although INAH staff members were present during the planning, development, discussion and agreement of the management process, the actual plan was never formally recognized by the central INAH authorities. They knew of its existence and allowed its development but no concrete actions were undertaken to actually acknowledge it. Archaeologist María de la Luz Gutiérrez was never formally recognized or appointed as manager of the Sierra, even if in practice she did assume this role and its responsibilities.

This lack of official recognition turned the plan into something slightly under the official radar: something which was allowed to exist but which received no evident sign of support. The most obvious lack of support was reflected in the budget allocated to the sierra, with increasingly insufficient resources for maintenance and monitoring. In 2009 special funding was allocated by INAH to World Heritage sites in Mexico, through a National Archaeological Fund. This allowed major maintenance of all seven sites, which were in serious need of it. Regarding the four custodians hired for the Sierra, whose salaries come from the annual budget, there has been some resistance over the last years to continue their contracts, even though their work has always been excellent.

Support at a regional level was also very variable. For a long time, the Sierra de San Francisco was seen as an area of minor tourist interest and with little development potential. Pressure from new tourism developments came recently, with new projects to develop harbours and golf courses along the Sea of Cortés (a project called Proyecto Mar de Cortés). These developments consider the rock art as a valuable asset to include in the range of options for visitors but that they should be made accessible via roads suitable for vehicles and not by pack animals. Large economic and political pressures exist to promote these tourism developments, with resulting pressure to remove the existing management system. Since 2006, new roads were being planned and built on the sierra, which would render any

control on the access to the sites almost impossible. Fortunately, thanks to the intervention of the agencies working at the Biosphere Reserve and the National Commission for Protected Natural Areas (CONAMP), most of the road projects were cancelled and only two roads were opened.

Analysis and Final Considerations

The case study of the Sierra de San Francisco represents an oddity when compared to other case studies in the International Workshop on Heritage Site Management Practices, mainly because of its less welldefined nature and the lack of officially appointed staff. The management process and the plan that derived from it in 1994 can be considered to be a positive experience. A participatory approach had never been attempted within INAH, where top-down, centralized decision-making was more common. The system was allowed to develop and work with little or no support, which was an asset as it allowed the system to operate for nearly ten years with satisfactory results. A more rigid structure, imposed from the central offices with little understanding of the local context, would have very likely have produced very different results, probably with less positive impacts. However, the lack of official support also made the system much more fragile. Activities have been carried out with minimal and erratic funds, and the commitment and interest of the site manager, the custodians and the guides have been essential. That fragility can now also be considered a weakness; when faced with new pressures and strong economic and political interests, the system seems not to be able to cope.

The lack of actual cooperation between INAH and SEMARNAT has also been a weak point, not only for missed opportunities to combine the use of scarce resources but also, and more importantly, for providing a combined front against inadequate political and development pressures. Participatory management can be a sustainable way to manage sites, including those located in remote regions and over large areas such as those in the Sierra de San Francisco, but strong foundations for legal protection (and its enforcement) and for institutional support are required. The existing threats with new developments in the area are a major concern for the preservation of the values and significance of this World Heritage site, and for the balance of the Biosphere Reserve.

Postscript

No significant changes have taken place at the site since 2008. The management plan is still in place and continues to be reviewed periodically by INAH and local stakeholders. The threats to the site also continue, with strong pressures for development of tourism infrastructure. This has led to the paving of the road leading to the Sierra de San Francisco, which has increased traffic in the region. There are also new threats to the region posed by climate change, with a shift in the path of hurricanes during the summer. The hurricanes, which used to hit southern parts of Mexico, are now directly affecting the Baja California peninsula. The increase in rain will have an impact, in the medium and long term, on the conservation of the rock art sites of the Sierra de San Francisco.

Biography

Valerie Magar holds a BA in Conservation of Movable Heritage and an MA and PhD in Archaeology. From 1993 to 2004 she worked as a senior conservator at the Coordinación Nacional de Conservación del Patrimonio Cultural (CNCPC-INAH) in Mexico. She then worked at ICCROM between 2004 and 2010 as a conservation specialist, dealing mainly with the conservation of archaeological heritage. At the end of 2010 she returned to CNCPC-INAH as a senior conservator, where she was National Coordinator between 2013 and 2016. In 2018, she returned to ICCROM, where she is currently Manager of the Programmes Unit.

Contact details

ICCROM Via di San Michele 13 00153, Rome Italy Email: vm@iccrom.org

Notes

- 1. For more information, see Crosby (1997); Gutiérrez and Hyland (2002); Magar (2003).
- 2. See http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/.
- 3. See the chapter by Meehan and Alonso in this volume.
- 4. Then called Secretaría de Desarrollo Social (SEDESOL, or the Ministry of Social Development.

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Theme 3

Long-Term Maintenance versus ProjectBased Conservation



Change after Tragedy: Visitor Management and Heritage Interpretation at Port Arthur Historic Site Australia

Jonathan Sweet

his paper is a case study exploring the process of change that occurred at a prominent cultural heritage site following a tragic event that took place in 1996. This event forced a re-examination of conservation practice at the Port Arthur Historic Site and led to the development of a new strategy for site presentation. This included the articulation of visitor management priorities and the adoption of a heritage interpretation plan. This process was controversial, and this paper discusses the contestation that occurred between competing visions for the rejuvenation of the site in the years following the tragedy. It concludes that while professional conservation planning was critical for the conservation of heritage values, so were some compromises that were made for the purposes of visitor management and economic sustainability, and, to an extent, at the expense of some local people. The case study firstly introduces the history of the site and the operational legislative framework and then goes on to discuss the process of change that occurred following the murder of 35 people by a lone gunman on 28 April 1996.¹

Brief Historical Overview

The Port Arthur Historic Site (fig. 1) is located in the far south of Tasmania, an island state within the federated political system of Australia. It is in a remote geographical location, about one hour by car from Hobart, the largest city on the island. The history of this place is too expansive to tell on this occasion, but an introduction is necessary to gain some understanding of the changes that have occurred on the site over a period of at least 200 years of occupancy. This provides an insight into the heritage significance of the place that is further discussed below.

For this summary I drew upon the information that was provided to general visitors. The following points (with some editing and additions) are those made by a recent visitor orientation booklet, which prioritizes the site's history as a penal settlement, a township and a tourism destination:

Port Arthur was established in 1830 as a convict timber station to produce material for government projects. It became a prison settlement for male convicts and was intended to provide severe punishment for repeat offenders.

Figure 1 Aerial view of Port Arthur Historic Site. (Photo: PAHSMA)



- By 1840 there were 2 000 convicts and staff located at Port Arthur. It was a major industrial settlement producing a range of things. Convict transportation from Britain stopped in 1853, and this accelerated a decline in the number of convicts.
- The settlement closed in 1877 after about 12 000 sentences had been served there. In the following decades some buildings were removed or gutted by fire. Others were sold off, and a township developed. In 1884 the name was changed to Carnarvon, "In an effort to wipe out the 'convict stain'".
- Several buildings became hotels and guesthouses and a tourist industry developed. The name Port Arthur was resumed in 1927.
- The government began to acquire town lots for their historic value, and the whole site was passed to the National Parks and Wildlife Service in 1970.
- In 1987 the Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority was established, and it is responsible for the administration and maintenance of the site.²
- In 2008 visitor numbers are approaching 300 000 per year.

In addition, it is pertinent that the geographically complex site covers 40 hectares and includes 81 buildings that represent aspects of this history. These include buildings such as the Penitentiary, the Separate Prison, the Church and many residences (figs. 2–4).

Governance Frameworks

At the time of the incident, which is discussed below, Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority (PAHSMA) was mandated through an act of the Tasmanian Government. The statutory obligations of the Authority



Figure 2 The Guard Tower and surrounds. (Photo: PAHSMA)



Figure 3 The Penitentiary with Hospital and Asylum in the distance. (Photo: PAHSMA)



Figure 4 Visitor guide map, Port Arthur Historic Site. (PAHSMA)

were derived from the Port Arthur Historic Site Management Act, 1987 (amended 1989). Section 7 of the Act details the key responsibilities of the Authority:

- 1.1 The functions of the Authority are, on behalf of the Crown, to occupy and provide for the care, control management, maintenance, and improvement of, the subject land.
- 1.2 In the performance of its functions and exercise of its powers, the Authority shall:
 - i. ensure the preservation and maintenance of the historic site as an example of a major British convict settlement and penal institution of the nineteenth century;
 - ii. coordinate archaeological activities of the historic site;
 - iii. promote an understanding of the historic and archaeological importance of the historic site;
 - iv. consistently with the Management Plan, promote the historic site as a tourist destination;
 - v. provide adequate facilities for visitor use;
 - vi. use its best endeavours to secure financial assistance, by way of grants, sponsorship, and other means, for carrying out of its functions;
 - vii. conduct its affairs with a view to becoming commercially viable as soon as practicable.

Notable is the tone of the Act that refers to promoting historical understanding and historical and archaeological importance. Both the concept of heritage significance and the concept of heritage interpretation, which incorporate an emphasis on visitor experience and learning, appear to be absent. In this respect the legislation had not kept pace with professional heritage ideals. Furthermore, it also required the managers to see the site as a tourist destination and to seek financial assistance and become commercially viable. This was further emphasized as the site was defined in law as a commercial operation responsible to the Government Business Enterprises Act, 1995. This mandated the appointment of a Board of Directors that reported to a government minister and required that affairs be conducted according to sound business practice and as a Government Business Enterprise. The imbedding of a commercial imperative in the legislative framework was controversial and the source of some tension. After the tragic incident in 1996, it was reported in an official enquiry that general opinion considered the designation to have been an error of judgement, as "[t]he Board's focus has been directed away from heritage and conservation issues, becoming more interested in commercial viability" (Doyle 1997: 1). This suggests that the unification of the goals of tourism and heritage conservation was unresolved and that the potential of heritage conservation management to bolster the business of tourism was poorly understood in Tasmania at the time.

In 2008, the Tasmanian Government is considering a proposal for an extension of the Port Arthur Historic Site heritage listing. The terminology is being updated, and the revision incorporates new information about the history and significance of the site that has come to light since the original registration in March 1998.

The existing entry in the Tasmanian Heritage Register includes:

- the main penal settlement at Mason Cove, including the Dockyards Precinct and buffers of native forest between the settlement and surrounding freehold land;
- the Point Puer boys prison;
- the narrow connecting coastal strip between the Mason Cove Settlement and Point Puer, incorporating Brick Point;
- the Isle of the Dead;
- the land parcel containing the Garden Point Caravan Park.

It is proposed that the amended entry will be renamed Port Arthur Penal Settlement and that the boundary will be extended to take in the sea and sea floor of Mason Cove and Carnarvon Bay. This boundary adjustment aims to protect maritime archaeological material and includes provision for restrictions on diving and anchorage in the area (Heritage Tasmania 2008).

In addition to its local significance, the site also has national significance. In 2007 Port Arthur Historic Site was added to the Australian National Heritage List, and this has applied another official layer of legislation to the governance framework. Furthermore, it is one of the six convict sites in Tasmania that was included in the Australian Government's Australian Convict Sites nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage List in January 2008. At the time of writing, the World Heritage Committee had referred this nomination for further research.

Tasmania, Heritage Tourism and the Tragic Incident

Tasmania is a relatively poor region of Australia. It has little industry and manufacturing, and much of its income is derived from agriculture or the exploitation of its natural resources, such as forestry. In the 1970s, environmentalists conducted anti-logging campaigns to promote the preservation of ancient forests. The heightened public awareness this created and the intervention of the Australian Government ultimately resulted in the inscription of tracts of pristine wilderness as UNESCO World Heritage. This elevated the economic potential of tourism but was also seen to threaten traditional livelihoods derived from forestry, and the preservation of natural heritage remains a tense issue that divides the community. Many local people and businesses remain suspicious of heritage planning of any sort.

Nevertheless, Tasmania is also a valued cultural landscape where the remnants of early European colonization and more longstanding Aboriginal heritage values can be appreciated; this cultural heritage has been relevant to the process through which Australia has defined some aspects of national identity. Perhaps no other Australian heritage site is more evocative of the politics of the colonial experience than Port Arthur, and, as Brine (2008) has discussed, this has been historically reinforced through influential literature. As a consequence the site has been a ghoulish visitor attraction since it closed as a penitentiary in the nineteenth century.

At the time of the incident in 1996, tourism in Tasmania was described as "a major income earner", and Port Arthur Historic Site was recognized as by far "the major tourist location" (Paul 1997: 2). The convict story is attractive to Australian domestic tourists because it is deeply imbedded in their education. For example, when I was a school student in Melbourne in the 1970s, I was taken by airplane and bus on an official excursion to Port Arthur. Owing to the remote location of the site, access can be time consuming (as in the case of my visit), and many tourists visit for an entire day or stay overnight. For most of the twentieth century, fascinated visitors, almost resembling pilgrims, were drawn to the smoky atmosphere of a historic seaside village in a secluded picturesque valley, where people lived and worked among the ruins of a British penal settlement. In the 1990s it was a lively place where roads, pathways and tracks were seamlessly integrated into the surrounding district. There was an active community centred on the town hall, and local people and visitors regularly used the village amenities, including the churches, hotels, cafes and the sports field. Local people also operated commercial concessions. It was at the same time a recognized heritage site where a range of conservation activities took place (Egloff 1986).

After the Tasmanian government assumed ownership of it in 1970, the site continued to evolve organically in a state of duality, part historic attraction and part community hub. Thus, on the day of the incident in 1996 everything was routine, and approximately 800 people were spread throughout the buildings, gardens and cafes. As on many other Sunday afternoons none of these workers or visitors had any reason to fear for their safety. This changed, however, when for no apparent reason a lone gunman shot and killed 35 people and injured a further 21 people during the course of the day. The majority of these victims were random recreational tourists: 25 were visiting from other Australian states and 2 were visiting from Malaysia. The other victims resided in Tasmania. These people were a memorable fraction of the 210 000 day visitors and 55 000 overnight visitors that Port Arthur Historic Site had received (on average annually) in the previous years (Coombs 1997: 39).

Perhaps we are more accustomed to seeing shocking media reports of similar events that have occurred in schools or shopping centres far away in another country. Beyond the fact that this was a place where people congregated, there is little in the historical record to explain the behaviour of the killer. This may be a unique occurrence of mass murder at a cultural heritage site, described at the time as the world's worst single-person massacre. The enormity of the event was not lost on the Australian community at large, who were emotionally touched, and it set in train a process of analysis and reform, including the immediate enactment of more stringent gun control laws.

Naturally, many of the staff and visitors who survived were traumatized by their experiences, and there was much grieving that continued for many years afterwards. In the wake of the trauma, deep wounds were opened in the community. With respect to cultural heritage management, this entangled complex relationships between the site managers and a wide range of stakeholders that included local people and heritage organizations and professionals. Furthermore, the notoriety of incident also

attracted the interest of others further afield. As the Chief Executive of Port Arthur Historic Site reported in the 1997 Annual Report:

In June 1996 we started to see the full effects of the tragedy on the community and the site. As Port Arthur grew in significance both nationally and internationally, the number of stakeholders and the degree to which they wanted to be involved in the future direction of the site, increased dramatically. While this was not in itself neither good nor bad for the Authority, it did necessitate a change in the management style as external pressure and demands altered. (Coombs 1998: 9)

In order to make the Authority's position clear on the recovery process, it published a brochure for the public that acknowledged the expressions of support it had received. It stated, "There has been overwhelming interest in, and support for, the Historic Site and it staff since the tragedy. This has helped immensely." The brochure included information about the sentencing of the murderer (which included 35 life sentences) and also the process of Recovery and Moving Forward. Fairly quickly the issue of commemoration and memorial emerged and was openly talked about. This brochure addressed the question of whether or not to preserve particular elements of the site where the activities of the day were most evident. This was particularly relevant to the cafe where the gunman had started shooting. It was reported that this had been "partially demolished in direct response to the distress which the presence of the closed-up building was causing site staff". On the question of the long-term preservation of the remnants of the café, it stated, "Community feelings are divided" (PASHMA n.d.b).

In the investigation that followed, the events of that day were documented in the testimonies of witnesses – visitors and workers – and the forensic expertise of police and other emergency service professionals. Further to this, the analysis that followed the incident was conducted in a number of ways. A symposium was held the following year, where the experiences of emergency services workers, who had been involved in the events of the day, were presented and analysed. This was organized by the Tasmania State Disaster Committee and Emergency Management Australia, an Australian Government specialist agency. The resulting publication contains a collection of very detailed and insightful reports documenting the emergency response process (Port Arthur Seminar 1997). Secondly, an official enquiry was conducted into 'matters affecting the Port Arthur Historic Site' and was published in 1997. This investigation was thorough, and the report was uncompromising. For example, Special Commissioner Doyle wrote:

The Board of Management have been severely criticised for the lack of overall security at the site. With the Authority encouraging an annual visitation of tourists of about 250 000 people per annum, responsibility for the development, adoption, and management of professional security systems, evacuation procedure, communication, and general emergency strategies was essential... The Board had then, and has now, an on-going Duty of Care. (Doyle 1997: 4)

The incident exposed the need for comprehensive risk management and disaster planning at a popular heritage site that was very isolated. In this case, it was a lesson learned far too late that tourism at Port Arthur, which had grown organically over many decades, had become a more complex management issue. This underscored the need to address complacency in visitor management and to ensure the safety of visitors at heritage sites more broadly. Perfect safety records are important, and perhaps idealistic. Nevertheless, it is clear that if people do not believe that they can relax in safety, they will not visit and feelings of vulnerability will lessen their ability to learn about the significance of the place, which after all ought to be the main motivation for heritage conservation.

When this disaster struck at the heart of cultural heritage practice in Australia, it changed a cultural heritage site forever. After the incident the site was closed for approximately a year and the more broadly felt depressive effects of this incident touched the whole Tasmanian community. When I visited the Port Arthur the following winter, there was little sign of tourism and I was the sole occupant of a nearby guesthouse.³ The complete collapse of the tourism industry, on which many local businesses depended, was evident, and this had forced the Tasmanian Government to act quickly to develop a strategy to address the problem. At the time a range of views were expressed concerning the revival pathway. Some local people who had economic or cultural attachments to the site felt that it should continue as a living, working village encompassing their own intangible heritage values. In the wake of the tragedy this appeared to be a very naïve position, particularly given the pressure from governments to address visitor safety issues. From another perspective, heritage professionals pressed for the realignment of priorities to assert the primacy of tangible heritage values rather than commercial activity. To local people this seemed overly purist and dismissive of their interests, and in some cases disrespectful of their longstanding generational ties to the land. To a degree both of these positions compromised authenticity: the first would inevitably diminish the effectiveness of heritage conservation and interpretation practices, while the second denied the full extent of the historic and social evolution of the place.

In any case, momentum had already developed for a different model, which was a demarcated and properly managed heritage site. This led to a decision by the Authority to accelerate the construction of a visitor centre at the entrance to the site, which it envisaged would symbolize the beginning of a new approach to visitor management and help to re-establish a positive market profile through addressing some safety concerns. Nevertheless, organizations representing professional practice - ICOMOS, the National Trust and Port Arthur Watch – had questioned the apparent lack of comprehensive planning and the effect that development would have on the heritage values of the site. Their concerns were heard by the Australian Heritage Commission, the Australian Government agency that was responsible for administering a substantial financial grant for the redevelopment project. To the Australian and Tasmanian governments, and some heritage professionals, the imposition of heritage management principles now seemed to offer the best means of balancing the tensions between conservation, visitor management issues and long-term economic sustainability, which was in part dependent on reclaiming the trust of the public.

In 1997 it was therefore stipulated by an official enquiry into the management of Port Arthur Historic Site that the Authority was required to "finalise a full conservation study and plan for the site" with "such a study to embrace the visitors' centre development and its associated buildings, works and services" before any development work could proceed (Doyle 1997: 9). Following this, a conservation plan (discussed below) was commissioned in 1998. Nevertheless, the momentum was with the need to re-open the site as quickly as possible, and although the conservation plan had not been completed, work on the design and construction of a visitor centre and associated amenities continued. Controversially, it opened three years after the incident, in March 1999; a year before the conservation plan was finalized (fig. 5). In the spirit of disaster recovery, the architect received a local architectural design award.⁴

This rapid development path required the imposition of new amenities that changed the character of the site, and this attracted criticism from local people. It was, for example, feared that the visitor centre, which would provide a regulated entrance to the site, would be a blight on the surrounding landscape and interfere with the picturesque historic vistas. Its development seemed to symbolize for the detractors the imposition of a modern corporatized approach to management and the possibility that Port Arthur would be reduced to another homogenized tourist attraction with little economic benefit flowing to local people. Apart from the visitor centre, the most prominent intervention was the erection of an accompanying perimeter fence that restricted unauthorized entry to what had previously been regarded as a village. This barrier made it difficult for the community to access a church and a sporting oval that they were accustomed to using regularly. The community vocalized their concerns: in 2002, when my colleagues and I undertook community consultation at the site for a project funded by the Australian Research Council, local representatives were demonstratively angry, one asserting that local people had been insulted (Logan and Sweet 2002).

Nevertheless, more positively, the review process that subsequently emerged from this disaster also provided an opportunity to address



Figure 5 Entrance to the Visitor Centre. (Photo: PAHSMA)

broader issues of visitor experience and to align these with the development of a conservation management plan. This included thinking about a more theoretically informed programme for heritage interpretation, which incorporated learning programmes designed for different kinds of visitors. It is important to emphasize that this, too, responded in part to another lesson learned from the disaster, in reinforcing the need to be more knowing of the way people behaved while undertaking recreational heritage tourism. For example, one longstanding representation of colonial Australia is as a harsh and hostile frontier, and this has been romanticized in the exploits of outlaws and convicts. For some visitors this has normalized the expectation of theatrical events such as staged shootouts that you might see at an historic theme park. In the aftermath of the event at Port Arthur it was reported that when the gunshots started, some visitors were in a state of 'disbelief' and that "they thought it was a re-enactment" of an historic event (Coombs 1997: 39). Devastatingly, some curious people moved towards the sound of the gunshots. This was recorded on visitor home videos that were later reviewed by the police (Port Arthur Seminar 1997: 6).

Integrated Planning: Conservation and Interpretation for Visitors

In the years directly after the tragedy, the professional heritage lobby was able to convince the government that at the centre of the revitalization strategy there ought to be a properly prepared conservation management plan. This aligned with the growing opinion in government and conservation circles that Port Arthur ought to be recognized as a national monument. In the event, the development of the conservation plan was undertaken by heritage consultants in association with the Port Arthur Authority and was funded in part by the Australian Government under the National Estates Grants Program. It was completed four years after the incident, in 2000. The aim of this plan was "to provide an integrated multi-disciplinary framework for the future management of the heritage resources at Port Arthur" (Godden Mackay Context 2000: 1:1). This is a very comprehensive document that in its creation and structure closely follows the principles and methodology of the Burra Charter, which is promoted by the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Australia (Australia ICOMOS 1999). The government's insistence on the development of this plan underscored the ascendency of the heritage profession in the heritage planning and decision-making process in Australia at the time.

The conservation plan at Port Arthur adhered to the dictum that understanding heritage significance ought to come first and involve community consultation, and that this ought to be followed by the development of policy and a management plan. In this scheme it was intended that more or less everything concerning conservation and interpretation in the plan then stemmed from and referred to these defined values. It was stated that the planning process involved "[a]n extensive interactive program of consultation with PAHSMA staff, stakeholders and the wider community . . . to ensure that the views of interested people form part of the significance assessment and the conservation policy of the place" (Godden Mackay Context 2000: 1:2).

The plan that was produced includes significance assessments of the built forms, archaeological features, movable cultural heritage and Aboriginal sites. It also identifies the associated historical values; the aesthetic, creative and technical values; the scientific values; and the social values that were embodied in the heritage elements of the site. These are arranged according to the criteria designated in the Burra Charter, which are briefly outlined here:

- 1. *Historic values*. The place has heritage value because of its importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's or Tasmania's natural or cultural history.
- 2. Scientific or research values. The place has heritage value because of its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's and Tasmania's natural or cultural history.
- 3. Aesthetic values. The place has heritage value because of its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group. These relate to sensory perception (i.e. consideration of form, scale, colour, texture, material, smell or sound).
- 4. *Technical values*. The place has heritage value because of its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period.
- 5. *Social values*. The place has heritage value because of its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.
- Special association values. The place has heritage value because
 of its special association with the life or works of a person, or
 group of persons, of importance in Australia's or Tasmania's
 natural or cultural history.
- 7. *Indigenous values*. The place has heritage value because of its importance as part of Indigenous tradition.
- 8. *Rarity.* The place has heritage value because of the place's possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Tasmania's and Australia's natural or cultural history.
- 9. *Representativeness*. The place has heritage value because of its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of natural or cultural places.

To follow the application of this framework into the articulation of the heritage values of Port Arthur, it is useful to give an example of one major category of heritage significance. This example is a summary of the criteria of the Historic Values. The short significance statements that are included here were the result of research and comparative analysis undertaken by the consultants and draw upon events and characteristics from the 200-year history of the site, including the tragedy in 1996. Collectively, they indicate that there was an effort to argue the case that Port Arthur had local, national and international heritage significance:

- Port Arthur is an exceptional example of the nineteenth-century European strategy of using the forced labour of convicts to establish global empires.
- Port Arthur demonstrates to a high degree the adaptation of the nineteenth-century British penal system to Australian

- conditions. This regime ensured that men would be punished and reformed.
- Port Arthur was an industrial establishment, which engaged in large-scale manufacture of a wide range of material and goods for both government and private markets.
- A number of Port Arthur's institutions pioneered new aspects of British and American nineteenth-century penal and social ideas and practice: the Point Puer establishment, the Dockyard, the Separate Prison, the Paupers' Depot and the Lunatic Asylum all demonstrate important innovations in attitude and practice.
- After closure in 1877 the site became the cradle and exemplar
 of Tasmanian tourism and of heritage tourism and management at a national level.
- The Soldiers' Memorial Avenue, established in 1919, and the buildings associated with the Carnarvon period are of local significance.
- The tragedy of 28 April 1996 led to changes in Australia's gun laws.

Of particular interest to this case study are the articles in the plan concerning the use of the site by visitors, where the authors attempted to diffuse the tension between heritage conservation and visitor management, and the potential for the economic sustainability of the site.⁵ The following are *some* of the principles and articles included in the conservation plan:

Use

- The primary use of the Port Arthur site is as a conserved national monument which is available and promoted to visitors.
- Use of the site elements for commercial purposes may occur where these purposes are not in conflict with the significance of the site, the significance of the element concerned or with the site interpretation. Physical alterations to significant fabric must not occur simply to suit commercial activities.

Visitors

- A primary objective of visitor management will be interpretation of the history and significance of the site.
- Non-essential visitor facilities, attractions or activities, which will have a negative impact on the cultural significance, character and feeling of Port Arthur will be avoided.

Interpretation

- Interpretation of the Port Arthur Historic Site will be undertaken in accordance with the interpretation plan (the 1996 interpretation plan requires revision in the light of this conservation plan).
- Selection of themes and messages to be interpreted on site will have primary regards to the significance of the site.
- Interpretation programmes and initiatives will be undertaken in a manner which minimizes impact on the fabric of significant elements.

- Interpretation will extend to historic activities, structures and landscapes and will, where possible, focus on real historic elements. The introduction of new, purpose-built elements will be minimized.
- All works undertaken on site (involving both cultural fabric and infrastructure) should be consistent with the broad aim of interpreting significance.

The development of the conservation management plan followed the methodology promoted by the Burra Charter closely, incorporating a systematic research process. It clearly asserted that the maintenance of the heritage integrity of the site is of paramount importance. And, as if directly responding to pre-disaster priorities, it insisted that all commercial activities are subordinate and subject to strict control, that all visitor management is integrated with interpretation, and that all interpretation is focused on explaining the heritage significance. In the case of the historical heritage values, for example, those defined above are to be given priority. In this way the plan provided a new model for the integration of conservation and tourism at a site of national significance. In addition, the plan certainly provided clarity and direction for the role of interpretive programmes. Nevertheless, as a colleague and I have argued elsewhere, there is a danger that a high degree of articulation can also reinforce a narrow ideological position and inhibit a discussion of alternative or additional heritage values (Long and Sweet 2006).

Interpretation: The Visitor Centre and Other Elements

The Burra Charter (Article 1.17) states, "Interpretation means all the ways of presenting the cultural significance of a place. This includes a combination of the treatment of the fabric (e.g. maintenance, restoration, reconstruction); the use of activities at the place; and the use of introduced explanatory material."

While this was hardly comprehensive it provided the broad rationale for the role of interpretation at Port Arthur, but the interpretation plan also went much further than this. In some respects it represented the idea that the management of the Port Arthur Historic Site believed that a visitor-centred approach supported the economic sustainability of the site and ought to be a major priority.

The interpretation plan was developed in addition to the conservation management plan, which asserted the objective of maintaining the heritage integrity of the site. It contained some very pointed articles that were intended to discourage any additional development of the kind represented by the visitor centre (including the stipulation that "the introduction of new, purpose-built elements will be minimised"). To some people the concept of a modern visitor centre stretched the intent of the idea of introduced explanatory material. It was nevertheless clear that throughout the revitalization process the adoption of the idea had remained a key pillar of the approach to the management of visitors. As in the case of many museums or attractions, such a facility was seen as the principal public entrance to the site and an effective means of controlling visitors. It served as an introductory space for mediating their initial experiences.

After tourists arrive by car or bus, the building provides an orientation area that caters to the immediate physical and psychological requirements of visitors. It is the place where tickets can be purchased and programme information can be accessed. There are cafes, toilets and a shop and children can run around and let off steam – all this before exploring the heritage elements of the site (figs. 6–7).

The conservation plan included some key principles that were later reflected in the on-site interpretation. These included the design of the activities available in the visitor centre and in the interpretation gallery and other programmes. A member of staff produced an unusually well-considered, comprehensive and effectively structured interpretation plan in 2001. The author Julia Clark wrote at the time: "Good interpretation is based on a detailed knowledge of the needs and desires of our

Figure 6 The Museum at Port Arthur Historic Site. (Photo: PAHSMA)



Figure 7 Visitor Centre banner promoting The *Lottery of Life* installation, incorporating playing cards linked to stories of convicts. (Photo: PAHSMA)



many audiences, a sophisticated understanding of the significance of the site and sound communication skills" (Clark 2008: 6). The interpretation plan reflected this position. Embedded in it was a strategy that placed a high priority on the types of visitor experiences that were respectful of the heritage functions and values of the site, but which were also entertaining and attuned to diversity within the audience (figs. 8–9). This drew upon contemporary theory about the ways in which different kinds of visitors learnt at heritage sites and in museums, directly referencing the influential writings of Freeman Tilden, Sam Ham, Howard Gardner and George Hein.



Figure 8 Public performance of *The Man Who Threw a Stone at the King*, in the Separate Prison, 2002. (Photo: PAHSMA)



Figure 9 Public performance of *A Convict's Tour to Hell*, in the Penitentiary, 2002. (Photo: PAHSMA)

The plan also responded to audience research concerning the kinds of activities visitors wanted to see and do. Visitor surveys had identified: interpretive priorities that included the need to provide better orientation to the site and its choices; the need to provide a 'customised' menu of events through an electronic information board, brochures and advertisements; the need to coordinate the stages of information so that 'layers' are added as visitors progress into the site; the need to add specialized tours to suit different interests and capabilities; the need to provide more for children and families throughout the site; and the need to consider visitor expressions of regret for the events of 1996. Thus the plan aimed to be responsive to visitor feedback and evaluation, where the suggestions were appropriate to the ethos of the organization.

In response to research, a series of aims and desirable outcomes for heritage interpretation of the site were articulated. These are clearly influenced by both the specific aims of heritage conservation at Port Arthur and an appreciation of the needs and expectations of visitors, and are quoted here:

We will aim to communicate the following to our visitors:

- the significance of Port Arthur;
- an outline of Port Arthur's history, structured around important thematic messages;
- a connection between that history and the present;
- the practice and purpose of conservation here.

Interpretation will seek to provide:

- at least one experience that caters for each visitor's special interest;
- a meaningful experience for parents/carers to share with their children;
- an opportunity for visitors to extend their knowledge and understanding of Tasmania's and Australia's history and heritage.

These aims established ambitious targets, but the application of learning theory to the issue of visitor engagement was inspirational. At Port Arthur the visitor centre delivers the first level of heritage interpretation. It contains an interpretation gallery that, through a variety of means, introduces visitors to the history and heritage significance of the site, preparing them for what they will see when they begin to explore the site either with a guide or on their own. It includes an illustrated timeline, displays, exhibition material and a range of activities that are designed to engage adults and children in a variety of ways that help to connect the past with the present. For example, the ticket of entry to the site includes an identity card that is based on the life of a real person who had lived at Port Arthur. Visitors can follow the life of their person, convict, soldier or governor, learning factual information about their life and through this journey often begin to empathize with their subject's experiences.

In other activities, children can engage physically with convict punishment through the tactile experience of trying to move about wearing leg-irons. While these activities may seem to veer towards the inauthentic representation of the past evident in amusement parks – stretching

the relationship between designated heritage values and ways of learning – a visitor survey, conducted in 2002, reported that the interpretation gallery was mentioned as one of the most popular activities available, and almost two-thirds of the respondents said that it "added to their experience by helping them to understand the convict way of life" (EMRS 2002: 1–2). This approach to visitor engagement is also beneficial to conservation, as it helps to re-orient visitor expectations and focus behaviour in a way that is appropriate to a heritage site. It also means that the remnant-built heritage elements of the site may require less interpretive interventions to explain their significance, thus not further compromising their integrity.

As the initial phase of recovery and reorientation was drawing to an end in 2002, visitor research was undertaken to help assess the progress of the visitor management strategy and the new interpretation. For most visitors the most enjoyable activity at Port Arthur Historic Site was "wandering around the site", in an unstructured and self-guided manner (EMRS 2002: 1). This was desirable because self-guided individuals were able to make their own choices and engage with the significance of the place through a range of different experiences at their own pace. Typically, roaming visitors can engage with evocative ruins that suggest the most intolerable forms of incarceration but are paradoxically situated in vistas that are reminiscent of Romantic landscapes. They can read welldesigned interpretation signs on the technical aspects of the built heritage and they can explore a range of buildings that display archaeological material (often domestic nineteenth-century ceramics), that demonstrate original interiors, or are enhanced with the personal stories of ghostly historical figures narrated through audio-visual technology (fig. 10). As a result of this range of interpretive methods, the visitor surveys undertaken in 2002 indicated that people were starting to appreciate that Port Arthur was foremost a heritage site and that for over 50 per cent of visitors, "the restoration and accompanying attempts to present the history professionally" had surpassed their expectations (EMRS 2002: 1).

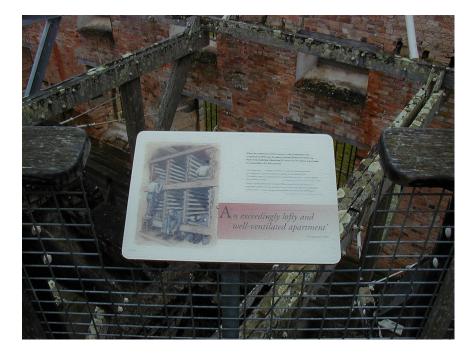


Figure 10 Interpretive signage in the Penitentiary, 1999. (Photo: PAHSMA)

Conclusion

After the incident in 1996, the strategy to revitalize Port Arthur Historic Site was developed in a highly charged emotional atmosphere in which a range of stakeholders voiced their concerns. These included governments, local people and heritage professionals. This has therefore been a case study of a process of change under unusual circumstances. It has discussed some of the tensions that were evident in the differing perspectives of stakeholders, and it has explored the fine balance between heritage conservation and visitor management issues, and the process through which these issues were negotiated. In particular, this discussion concludes that while professional conservation planning was critical to the process of revitalization, so were some major compromises that were made on behalf of visitor management and economic sustainability, and to an extent, at the expense of some local people. At the end of this process, Port Arthur Historic Site had become a more clearly defined, professionally managed cultural heritage site that was helping visitors to appreciate its heritage values, and it had begun to regain the confidence of consumers; it is unfortunate that the catalyst for this realignment was an unexpected tragedy.

Postscript

In 2010 the Port Arthur Historic Site was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List along with other convict settlement sites in Australia. The citation includes 11 different sites. In April 2016 a memorial service was led by the Prime Minister of Australia to mark the 20th anniversary of the massacre. In the year 2016–2017 there were 336 499 visitors, and in December 2017 a new, enlarged visitor centre was completed.

Biography

Dr Jonathan Sweet is a consultant for cultural heritage and museum development projects based in Melbourne, Australia. Recently he was an advisor for the Kelabit Highlands Community Museum Development Project in Sarawak, Malaysia, and he is currently the Project Manager for the re-interpretation of the Beechworth Historic Courthouse in regional Victoria. For many years, he was a researcher and teacher of cultural heritage studies at Deakin University, Australia. He was a Chief Investigator on an Australian Research Council project (LPO209274) that included Port Arthur as a primary case study. He has been a member of the ICOM Australia National Committee and has served as the Chairperson of Blue Shield Australia. He has worked with UNESCO and ICCROM in Asia on a range of projects and received an ICOM Award for International Relations for his collaborative work.

Contact details

Email: jonathansweet99@gmail.com

Notes

- 1. The Australian Research Council supported this research.
- 2. See PAHSMA (n.d.a). This small booklet is provided to visitors free of charge and was acquired in 2003.
- 3. At the time the author worked at the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston, in northern Tasmania.
- 4. See Semaphore (1999). The architectural practice was Philp Lighton Architects (Director Tim Penny). The Australian Institute of Architects (Tasmania) bestowed the Public Buildings Award.
- 5. Godden Mackay Context (2000) volume 1: 76-78.

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Mount Royal Historic and Natural District Canada

Jean Laberge

ocated in the heart of the island of Montreal, Mount Royal Historic and Natural District (MRHND) is a provincially protected precinct located in the central and most densely populated part of the city of Montreal (fig. 1). Despite its urban location it is the site of the city's main park, Mount Royal Park, as well as two other important parks – Summit Circle and Jeanne-Mance Park – and two major cemeteries. The district is topographically shaped by three peaks: the Cross hill (232 m), Outremont hill (211 m) and Westmount hill (201 m). At these heights it should really be referred to as a group of modest hills, but its significance for the people of Montreal prompted them to call it a 'mountain'.

MRHND is a cultural landscape of tremendous symbolic value for Montrealers: it stands in the middle of the city; it provides a vivid background to the downtown silhouette; and it is the landmark of the city's visual identity, with comforting greenery and impressive buildings all around its perimeter (including Mount Royal Cross [fig. 2], the University of Montreal and Saint Joseph's Oratory).

Mount Royal also has a strong historical value given that it was initially inhabited by Canada's First Nations and has witnessed the city's entire history, from the founding of Ville-Marie in 1642 by France, to the assumption of British authority in the mid-eighteenth century, to the modern metropolis it has become. Mount Royal also retains an ecological value by providing a green space in a large dense city, maintaining a geological system and important biodiversity, as well as being the habitat of important fauna and flora. However, this much cherished area presents significant issues, mainly related to opposing dynamics: long-standing institutions are leaving the district while the spectacular views that the park provides increase the land's market value and therefore put strong development pressures on this green part of the city.

The purpose of this case study is to explain the dynamics of these issues and to explain how they are addressed by the City of Montreal, mainly by the creation of the Table de concertation du Mont-Royal (TCMR),¹ the writing of the Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan and the ongoing participative actions of the TCMR in the management of the very complex ownership and stakeholder environment of the MRHND.

Historical Background of the District

The territory of the present heritage site of Mount Royal has been known and used for millennia. The Native American occupation was probably

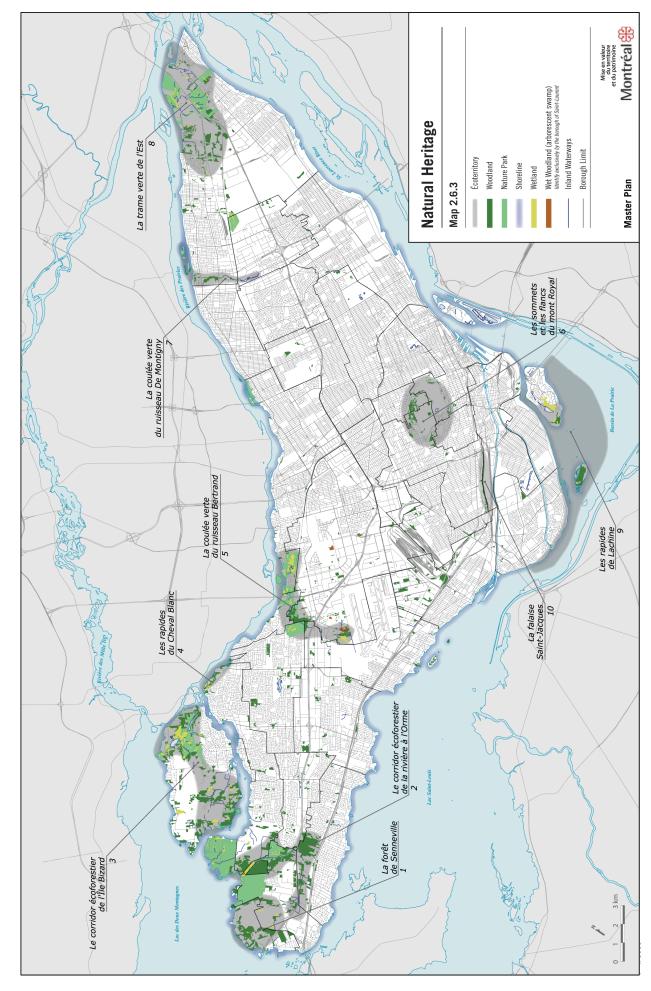


Figure 1 Map of Montreal's Natural Heritage, including Mount Royal Park (no. 6). (Ville de Montréal 2004: chap. 2.6)



Figure 2 Mount Royal seen from Jeanne-Mance Park, with the Cross atop the hill and the monument to Georges Étienne Cartier in the foreground. (Photo: Jean Laberge)

there 4 000 or 5 000 years ago. In 1663, the Sulpician priests became *Seigneurs* of the island of Montreal. They established their *domaine* at the foot of the mountain, which became the heart of Montreal's agricultural space. From 1780 to 1840 its rural landscape was transformed by the emergence of village centres and the development of seasonal resorts.

During the next three decades, the area gradually became the richest neighbourhood in Canada, known as the Golden Square Mile. In the nineteenth century, the city started to depend on Mount Royal for its water supply, and a series of water reservoirs were dug and built around the mountain, including the McTavish Reservoir (1852–1856). It was also at this time that various institutions were beginning to choose the mountain to establish or expand their operations, such the Royal Victoria and Hôtel-Dieu hospitals. A growing concern about health issues caused the relocation of cemeteries away from populated areas. Mont-Royal (Protestant), Notre-Dame-des-Neiges (Catholic), and the Jewish Shaerith Israel (Sephardic) and Shaar Hashomayim (Ashkenazi) cemeteries were all built on the north side of Mount Royal between 1852 and 1863.

In 1870, the expanding process of urbanization began to threaten the mountain's vegetation. To preserve its green coverage, Montreal City Council purchased a large area of the territory in 1872 and hired land-scape architect Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) to design the Parc du Mont-Royal. Created between 1874 and 1877, the park was inaugurated in 1876. This gesture by the city council was the first regulation to protect a heritage landscape in the province of Quebec. Between 1880 and 1930, the role of the slopes of the mountain as a location for a range of institutions began to be consolidated. McGill University, for example, built new houses here, and the Royal Victoria Hospital and Shriners Hospital were inaugurated in 1893 and in 1925, respectively, on the northern slopes. Collège Jean-de-Brébeuf was erected in 1928 and construction on Saint Joseph's Oratory started in 1922. The district also hosts major memorials, including the George-Étienne Cartier Monument (1919) and the Cross (1924).

During this period, the mountain was a favourite place for popular activities; it was traversed by snowshoers during the winter and used for

military exercises, exhibitions and various gatherings. However, between 1930 and 1980 Mount Royal became completely surrounded by the urban fabric. The expansion of institutions also continued, especially with the completion of the original buildings of the University of Montreal (1943). The 1980s brought controversial projects, too, as the mountain became coveted by developers for its unique location opportunities, and some projects were challenged by citizen groups devoted to the protection of heritage. The main groups are Les amis de la montagne, created in 1982, and the Centre de la montagne, founded in 1987. The heritage protection of Mount Royal evolved from the designation of Heritage Site by the City of Montreal in 1987, and the MRHND was finally declared by the Quebec government in 2005. The name of the MRHND has since changed officially under the province's new law on cultural heritage, in 2012, and it is now called the Site patrimonial déclaré du Mont-Royal.

Official General Statement of Significance

Although it was written after four years of TCMR meetings and the writing of the Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan, it is important to mention the content of the Statement of Significance (*valeurs patrimoniales*) developed by the Quebec Provincial Ministry of Culture and Communication and published in 2009. The statement establishes three families of values for the MRHND: Historic and Emblematic values, Landscape and Architectural values, and an Archaeological value.

The district is closely linked to the history of Montreal and the province of Quebec, since the time of Canada's First Nations, for whom the mountain had a spiritual value. The arrival of the first Europeans started with the French explorer Jacques-Cartier, who named it Mount Royal in 1535 to honour the King of France. Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve, founder of Ville-Marie – the original name of Montreal – planted a wooden cross on top of the mountain in 1643. The priests of Saint Sulpice, who became the Seigneurs of the island of Montreal in 1663, established their domain on the southwest flank of Mount Royal, which became the core of Montreal's agricultural territory. When Canada became British in 1760, Mount Royal started being a place of choice for rich estates and institutions in need of fresh air, in the trend of the hygienist and City Beautiful movements. Mount Royal Park was created in 1876 by the City of Montreal, which preserved the mountain from development, like many other urban hills. Today, the mountain symbolizes nature, prestige and spirituality, and commemorates many historic people and events.

As far as architecture and landscape go, Mount Royal has been a fertile terrain of creativity for many great designers. The most famous of them is certainly Frederick Law Olmsted, the American landscape architect who designed many great parks in the United Sates, the best known of them being New York City's Central Park. On Mount Royal, Olmsted chose to enhance the strong escarpment and natural beauties of the site. Many of the greatest Canadian architects also designed some of the most spectacular buildings of the city, striking for their location in the landscape and the quality of their construction in a remarkable diversity of styles. Finally, the archaeological value lies in the geological age of the site, in the

uniqueness of its hornfels quarry, from which old tools were made, and in probable ancient settlements established in the district.

Heritage Characteristics of the District

Mount Royal Historical and Natural District has a number of rich features that contribute to its heritage value, and being located within the MRHND automatically gives them a heritage status. They include:

- its mineral composition of hornfels and Utica shales;
- the famous cross atop the mountain that historically symbolizes the votive cross that Maisonneuve planted there in 1642 when he founded Montreal (then Ville-Marie);
- some commemorative and funeral sculptures as well as public works of art that represent an artistic value for Montrealers;
- a concentration of religious and educational institutions, including the former Mother House of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, the campuses of McGill University and Université de Montréal including the magnificent main building, designed by architect Ernest Cormier the old Philosophy College of the Sulpician priests, and Jean-de-Brébeuf and Notre Dame colleges;
- large hospital complexes including the Hôtel-Dieu, the Royal Victoria Hospital and the Shriners Hospital for Children;
- sacred spaces, including cemeteries and places of worship, such as Mount Royal Cemetery, Cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges, the Shaerith Israel Shaar Hashomayim cemetery, the synagogue Temple Emanu-El cemetery inside the boundaries of the Mont-Royal Cemetery and Saint Joseph's Oratory;
- parks and recreational facilities, including Mount Royal Park originally landscaped by Frederick Law Olmsted – Summit Park in Westmount, and the smaller Jeanne-Mance, Rutherford and Jean-Brillant parks;
- examples of resort architecture from the nineteenth century, in particular Hosea Ballou Smith House and Villa Terra Nova;
- examples of bourgeois architecture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as Albert-Furness and Duggan mansions, the Ravenscrag villa and Rupert townhouses, the former houses of Charles G. Greenshields, John Wilson McConnell, Aldéric Joseph Raymond, and architect Ernest Cormier;
- the Trafalgar condominium and Gleneagles luxury apartments;
- engineering works, including the McTavish water reservoir and the train tunnel that passes through the mountain;
- the road network, the Camillien-Houde and Remembrance Roads, the *chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges* evoking the seigniorial land system from the French regime (1642–1760), and various pedestrian paths and flights of steps;
- the views to and from Mount Royal;
- its topography and diversity of natural and semi-natural environments composed of a rich variety of trees, shrubs and herbaceous plants, and home to many animal species;
- rocky escarpments exposing interesting geological phenomena;

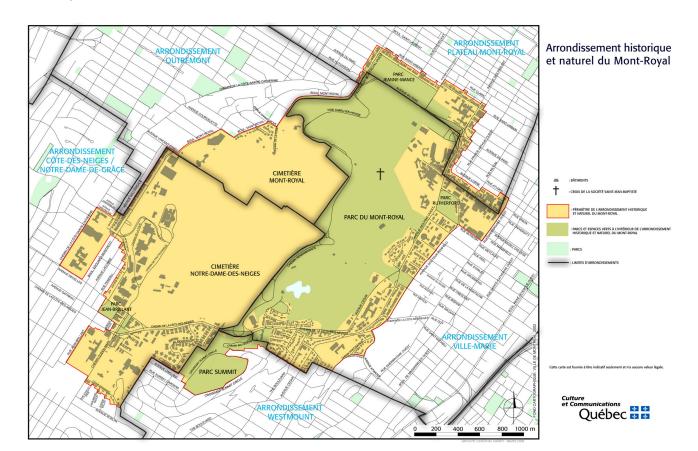
 prehistoric archaeological mining sites, First Nation domestic and burial sites and burials, as well as some evidence of *euro-québécois* agricultural activity.²

Ownership and Political Context for the Management of the District

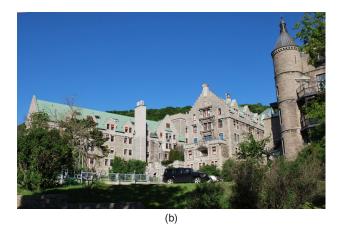
Montreal is a city of 2 million inhabitants, proud of its role as metropolis of the province of Quebec. The MRHND 750-hectare territory (fig. 3) is visited yearly by 3.4 million people, many of those being Montrealers – including the author of this case study – who visit the site several times a year, in all seasons. To give further detail, the provincial government of Quebec has the legal responsibility of applying the decree that created the MRHND in 2005. That includes the creation of a general Statement of Significance (*valeurs patrimoniales*), which was written in 2009.³ The government is responsible for monitoring all interventions on its territory, whether construction, the planning of a street or a path, or a simple tree planting. Official authorization from the Ministry of Culture and Communication is required before any building permit is issued and thus before any actual work starts on the site. The government does not own any part of the MRHND.

Figure 3 Official map of the Mount Royal Historic and Natural District, 2005. (Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine)

The City of Montreal owns, and is therefore responsible for the management of, Mount Royal and Jeanne-Mance parks, situated within its territory. Similarly, the City of Westmount is responsible for Summit Park, the third municipally owned park located in the MRHND. As already mentioned, some large institutions (universities, hospitals, religious















communities) own properties within the historic district (fig. 4). These institutions have a very fine collection of buildings, but none of their buildings are officially recognized individually as 'historic' buildings; rather it is their concentration on the slopes of the mountain that creates their value. The MRHND also includes a number of large and valuable historical private residential properties.

The owners – cities, institutions, individuals – of the various different areas are responsible for the management of their respective parts. All of them, when they plan buildings, additions, repairs and demolition, or planting or landscaping on their property, have to apply for permits from either the City of Westmount or one of the four relevant boroughs of the City of Montreal. The permits cannot be issued by these municipal

Figure 4a–f Some buildings of the institutions located within the Mount Royal Historic and Natural District:
(a) Saint Joseph's Oratory; (b) Royal Victoria Hospital; (c) Allan Memorial Institute (former residence of Hugh Allan); (d) Notre-Dame-des-Neiges cemetery; (e) Pierre Mercure Concert Hall; (f) University of Montreal. (Photos: Jean Laberge)

administrations until they receive authorization from the provincial government. In addition to being the authority that issues the permits for construction or transformation through its boroughs, the City of Montreal has two main units responsible for the management and care of the MRHND: the Bureau du Mont-Royal (BMR, or Mount Royal Bureau) and the Direction des grands parcs et du verdissement (DGPV, or Large Parks and Greenery Directorate), which is responsible for Mount Royal Park as well as other large parks.

The Bureau du Mont-Royal has only three in-house employees but has been coordinating the activities of the TCMR and the writing of the Mount Royal Protection and Management Plan, which sets out the management principles to be followed by the different proprietors located within the site (Ville de Montréal 2009a). The Bureau du Mont-Royal also hires various consultants to conduct a range of studies on the territory. The budgets of the Bureau du Mont-Royal and of the Direction des grands parcs et du verdissement are not known in detail but are combined into the overall Service du développement culturel, de la qualité du milieu de vie et de la diversité ethnoculturelle (SDCQMVDE, or the Cultural Development, Quality of Life and Cultural Diversity Service) budget of Can\$6.7 million. The SDCQMVDE carries out projects annually to the sum of about Can\$1 million.

Many of the sports and recreation activities are organized by partner organizations of the City of Montreal in the protection, conservation and enhancement of Mount Royal. By far the most important of these non-governmental organizations is Les amis de la montagne,⁴ which has four permanent staff and an annual budget of Can\$1.5 million, of which 55 per cent comes from private donors, with the rest financed by three levels of government: federal, provincial and municipal.

Management Issues

The main management issue for the conservation of the values of the MRHND is the conflict of values and needs of the various stakeholders – owners, citizens, interest groups – in an ever-changing environment, at a time when religious institutions are declining, the needs for more sophisticated medical care for an ageing population increase, and preservation of nature and the environment is becoming a strong collective consideration (Ville de Montreal 2009b). Those issues can be grouped into property development issues and coordination issues.

Property development issues

Mount Royal, with its topography and the spectacular views it offers, has great land value and is highly desirable to wealthy potential private or corporate owners who are ready to spend huge amounts of money to take advantage of these qualities. Any piece of land that becomes available is immediately very desirable. Religious communities, which were once very wealthy and populous in Quebec, have experienced a dramatic reduction of members, and as a result large former religious estates on Mount Royal are becoming available for sale. These are being bought by ambitious

developers, motivated by the market potential of the sites. Many management challenges are being faced, not so much in the city-owned park areas but on the outer edges of the mountain area, where the financial needs of pauperized religious communities are facing the hunger of developers eager to exploit the development potential of these lands.

Coordination issues

Such a large, complex and multi-owned territory requires considerable coordination and brings up several key conservation issues, including the following:

- Natural habitats. The MRHND, being situated in the middle
 of the city, has abundant natural habitats, thanks to the large
 green area provided by the three parks, but they remain fragile.
- Built and landscaped environments. The fact that religious institutions mostly convents are gradually leaving the area because their populations are ageing and decreasing, plus the decision of the Quebec government to build two 'super hospitals' elsewhere, which will empty two major hospitals situated within the MRHND, causes significant concern about the future of the sites and buildings that are being abandoned. Some of these deserted sites have experienced such a change in the recent past. In some cases, development of these sites has increased density of the immediate built environment so much that green spaces have been lost. Additionally, some significant buildings, again through development, face the threat of demolition or of complete physical transformation.
- Landscaping. Many of the landscaped areas of the MRHND have been designed with great skill. That includes, first and foremost, Frederick Law Olmsted's road leading to the top of the mountain through various green pockets that he proposed in order to enhance the beauty of the route. However, these beautiful features require maintenance which has not always been constant and transformation to meet evolving needs. Such maintenance and the changes required are not always carried out according to the original concepts of their designers.
- Works of art. The MRHND contains many works of art and commemorative monuments notably in the three cemeteries of the district and others on the properties of various institutions and other owners including some by very well-known artists. These pieces of art are spread around the site, and some have been neglected and are severely decaying. Some have been removed or badly restored.
- *Cultural landscape*. The views to and from MRHND are of great interest. However, new constructions around the mountain, especially on the southern downtown side, are blocking some once picturesque views or interrupt the visual presence of the mountain from the city's approaches.
- *Presentation and interpretation*. Presentation and interpretation are key issues in order to create the appropriate conditions to protect and enhance Mount Royal on a long-term basis. Creating a sense of belonging within the city is very important,

and different approaches are necessary to address this most appropriately with the various different groups of users. Promotion, publicizing and awareness-building is necessary for four main populations: property owners; users of parks and other green spaces; school children, through educative outings focusing on ecology, sports and leisure; and tourists, who represent 13 per cent of Mount Royal Park users.

The Creation of the Bureau du Mont-Royal and the TCMR

The City of Montreal had already written a master plan for Mount Royal in 1992. It focused primarily on Mount Royal Park and included a series of works to be carried out for the conservation and enhancement of the park. After the municipal reorganization in 2002 and the creation of the MRHND by the Government of Quebec in 2005, the master plan had to be revised in order to cover not only the area of Mount Royal Park but all the other territories – institutions, cemeteries, residential areas – in a new, comprehensive management plan. The City of Montreal was appointed to prepare this plan, with significant contributions from various stakeholders, and created the Bureau du Mont-Royal to coordinate and organize the logistics of this unprecedented community participation. The Bureau du Mont-Royal created the Table de concertation du Mont-Royal and organized large biannual meetings that were held for almost three years (fig. 5).⁵

The composition of the Table de concertation du Mont-Royal

The TCMR brought together representatives of the various stakeholders, including the City of Montreal, institutions owning much of the land in the district, local non-profit organizations defending cultural and natural heritage, and the provincial Ministry of Culture and Communications, which is responsible for the application of the decree that created the MRHND. The TCMR met regularly from 2005 until the end of 2007 to identify objectives and issues and come to consensual solutions for

Figure 5 Table de concertation du Mont-Royal (TCMR) meeting held 17 June 2005. (Photo: Caroline Durocher / Ville de Montréal)



protecting and enhancing the MRHND. The debates were sometimes arduous, but they took into account most of the concerns, enabled a fruitful exchange of ideas and made consensus between the various stakeholders possible.

The guiding principles and the first actions of the TCMR

As a discussion framework, the TCMR first established common principles based on values that everybody agreed on: sustainability, conservation, accessibility and responsibility. The concrete actions resulted quite rapidly in two main actions, which were the writing of the Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan and the signing of the Mount Royal Pact with the large institutions that sat within the MRNHD.

The Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan

The recommendations of the TCMR where consensus had been reached and which pertained to the enhancement and protection of the mountain constituted the basis for the drawing up of the Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan by the city. Three main objectives were identified in the plan:

- protecting and enhancing Mount Royal;
- making the mountain an accessible and welcoming place;
- creating the appropriate conditions to protect and enhance Mount Royal.

The draft version of the Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan was submitted for public consultation in spring 2008, enabling all concerned citizens to be informed of its content and to take part in the definition of the overall vision and objectives for the mountain. The plan was then revised by the city, and the final version is now official and accessible on the Internet (Ville de Montreal 2009b).

The plan addresses various issues regarding the protection of the MRHND:

- Natural habitats. Protecting and enhancing Mount Royal's various features must be a priority, given their value in ecological, environmental and landscape terms. The resulting conservation plan is based on encouraging biodiversity and adding to biomass.
- Built and landscaped environments. Some archaeological research needs to be carried out with a focus on the interaction between the mountain's particular physical environment and the ways in which successive populations have taken ownership and transformed it, from prehistory through the different successive phases of its history. The planned approach to heritage buildings involves developing and applying the concept of the mountain's 'limited capacity', which is already considered to have been reached, to accommodate new construction, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to emphasize maintenance as a way of safeguarding its built heritage. As a municipal government organization, the city administrations of Montreal

- and Westmount are leaders in implementing the principle of the mountain's 'limited capacity'. The zoning by-laws of these administrations will be strengthened in order to ensure the conservation of existing significant buildings, to limit the heights of new buildings on the territory, and to restrict their footprints to what currently exists. That means that only the demolition of uninteresting buildings will be allowed, and that the buildings replacing them must have relatively the same footprint and height. That way, every existing green area will remain green.
- Landscaping. Protecting and enhancing the landscape of Mount Royal Historic and Natural District calls, first of all, for recognition of its importance, in particular in Mount Royal Park itself as one of Olmsted's masterpieces and its contribution to the overall value of Mount Royal. Next, comprehensive documentation of existing landscaping is needed in order to develop the appropriate measures for protecting and enhancing it where necessary.
- Works of art. The planned approach involves completing an inventory of works of art and commemorative monuments in the MRHND and preparing an action plan for protecting and enhancing them.
- Cultural landscape. Apart from the 20 views of interest mapped in the Protection and Enhancement Plan that were carefully integrated into the zoning by-laws of Montreal and Westmount, the planned approach involves preparing an overall description of Mount Royal's landscape. This is to better identify and understand its components in order to protect and enhance them in the longer term. An Atlas of Mount Royal Landscape has been realized and was published in August 2012 to fulfil this aim (Ville de Montréal 2012). The document is public and largely analyses the values of the mountain's landscape, representing a base for discussion with regards the management of change in the MRHND.
- Presentation and interpretation. The presentation and interpretation approach of Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan towards property owners of land within the MRHND, whether they are institutions or individuals, is:
 - to support their efforts to conserve and enhance the significant features of their properties through wide diffusion of the mountain's heritage components;
 - to offer them some expert advice on conservation of the significant elements on their land;
 - to support them in making their properties more accessible to the public;
 - to encourage the owners of institutional properties to develop a distinctive signage approach so as to highlight their points of interest.

For the users of the site, the objectives of the plan are:

- to make information about the mountain's significant components available by means of different communication tools;
- to support partner institutions and associations, such as Les amis de la montagne, in their educational and information activities concerning Mount Royal;

• to pursue information about certain behaviours which are putting a negative pressure on the conservation of the mountain (e.g. mountain biking, feeding squirrels, collecting plants and venturing off the paths).

For school children, the approach is to strengthen ties with the school network to build awareness among future adult users of the mountain. For tourists, the plan aims at making the mountain figure more prominently among Montreal's tourist attractions by continuing to develop new tools for that purpose and by developing indicators to measure the number of tourists visiting Mount Royal Park.

The Mount Royal Heritage Pact

In April 2007, on the basis of consensus reached by the TCMR, the mayor of Montreal challenged the 13 institutions located within the MRHND to make a voluntary commitment to actions on their properties to protect Mount Royal, and to include these in a signed Heritage Pact (fig. 6) (Ville de Montréal 2009b: 77–78). Once agreed upon, these commitments would be translated into amendments to the city's master plan, to the urban planning by-laws of the boroughs or into contractual commitments.

The property owned by these 13 institutions covers around 40 per cent of the territory of the MRHND. These landowners therefore become key stakeholders in the protection of the mountain. Among these properties lie two cemeteries - together covering half of the land occupied by the 13 institutions - two universities, three hospitals, two high school private colleges, one military site, and three religious properties, including the famous Saint Joseph's Oratory that crowns the mountain at its highest point. Among them, three main dynamics are becoming mid-term conservation issues. First of all, two hospitals are scheduled to move before 2017 from the MRHND to sites elsewhere in the city, which will leave the vacated buildings and sites unoccupied until new uses are found for them. Second, two of the religious institutions are experiencing a severe decrease in their populations and will be obliged to leave their MRHND properties for smaller and less care-demanding buildings and sites. Third, in contrast, the two universities sitting on both the southern and northern slopes of the mountain are expanding constantly as the level of education of Quebeckers and opening-up to foreign students increases. This phenomenon also has an impact on the high school colleges that correspondingly enlarge, albeit at a slower pace, their student populations.

The four other institutions – Saint Joseph's Oratory, Montreal General Hospital and the two cemeteries – have a more stable future to expect. That still makes 9 out of 13 institutions that are in a process of change putting pressure on their conservation issues. All 13 institutions that are committed to the Mount Royal Pact have a seat on the TCMR, which helped in challenging them to adopt commitments on actions on their properties. As a group, they are interested in give-and-take positions with the public administrations, the civil society groups and even between themselves. The pact includes between two and six commitments to specific action for each institution and a common will to prepare a conservation plan for all of them. This will begin with a Statement of Significance – which will



Map showing the location, sizes and commitments of the 13 institutions involved in the Mount Royal Pact (in blue). (Ville de Montréal 2009b: 78) Figure 6

be done with the help of the City of Montreal – a list of issues expected in the short, medium and long term, and conservation guidelines. The context of the TCMR really supported discussions and follow-up relating to the future of all these properties and made them possible. Without such a forum, the institutions would never have initiated such a dialogue.

Duties for Public-Owned Lands

While the institutions are linked by the Mount Royal Heritage Pact, for the public properties owned by the municipal or the federal governments, a set of management and regulatory tools were developed. These include the writing of parameters regarding the works of art, design principles for roads (inspired by their original design) and a specific maintenance strategy for the employees of the Department of Public Works who take care of these parks and properties. A specific management plan is, in that sense, considered for Mount Royal and Jeanne-Mance Parks, with a general approach for the other parks. The plan also encourages public participation, mainly through awareness building and education. It is actually a years-old tradition that during the Corvée du Mont-Royal, which takes place annually in the month of May – officially recognized as Mount Royal Month – the public is invited to take part in a large collective cleaning duty, which is also an occasion to celebrate the return of nice weather after the Canadian winter.

The Ongoing Role of the Table de concertation du Mont-Royal

Following the adoption of the Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan, the TCMR continued to meet twice a year as a forum and every two months in a restricted executive group, in order to follow the implementation of the plan and of the Mount Royal Heritage Pact. To support the implementation of the pact, the TCMR has mandated the Heritage Department of the City of Montreal to prepare Statements of Significance for the 13 institutional properties of the MRHND. The development of these Statements of Significance (énoncés d'intérêt patrimonial) follows the methodology developed by the Heritage Department.⁶ This proposes a collegiate, group-dynamic approach, including professionals from the city and the provincial Ministry of Culture and Communications, together with the institutional owner of the site in question, another institutional representative and a civil society group representative. The values evoked by the various participants are all included in the Statement of Significance and contribute to the richness of the official final text. The process really takes the form of a smaller table de concertation, but for a reduced group of a maximum of ten participants. As of September 2014, the city had completed the statements for Notre-Dame College and Royal Victoria Hospital and was working on the completion of the statement for the Hôtel-Dieu and the property of the Hospitalières of Saint-Joseph Nuns.

Conclusion

Mount Royal Historic and Natural District is a complex topographic, social, artistic, natural and economic asset of Montreal, which faces many

mid-term issues for its conservation and enhancement, as this case study has demonstrated. In such a complex and sensitive context, in terms of popular attachment and of the high level of expectation from various groups, strong leadership is required, but discussions and listening to the community are of crucial importance. For that reason, the creation and ongoing process of the TCMR is probably the best way to achieve good and realistic conservation and enhancement of the district. The TCMR helped to map out the Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan and the Mount Royal Pact, and it proved to be efficient in bringing together the considerations of a large group of stakeholders. The strong involvement of the City of Montreal in creating and administrating the TCMR is salutary for its existence and also guarantees that the institution will integrate Mount Royal conservation issues in all its actions, first and foremost by including them in the city's future version of its master plan.

On the other hand, such an approach is costly. These big biannual meetings require a lot of time to organize and arrange: large meeting spaces must be rented, along with the sophisticated technical equipment they require, catering for meeting participants, and so on. In the long run, though, it is the best way to protect and enhance such a valuable area for Montrealers and to ensure a remarkable management organization model, which could help other sites in the world. The qualities of the MRHND and the way it is managed are worth being more widely considered at sites around the world. The International Workshop on Heritage Site Management Practices held in October 2008 in Herculaneum (Italy) was an opportunity to share the various realities of some 17 site management cases from 12 different countries with multiple scales, legal realities, cultures and management philosophies. Many common issues emerged, and various approaches and levels of success were presented. Among these interesting issues, the Mount Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan is best compared with other conservation plans that were written and reported on by colleagues from Australia and Brazil: the Master Plan for the Franciscan Complex in Olinda (Brazil) undertaken in 2004, and the Port Arthur Historic Sites Statutory Management Plan (Australia) written in 2008.⁷

Comparison between these three sites shows us the following:

- Mount Royal is the largest site and has the most complicated ownership situation.
- The development of the three plans is somewhat similar, but they use different vocabularies.
- The titles of the plans show a large freedom of use of the vocabulary.
- Community participation is extensive in both the Port Arthur and Montreal cases, while discussion of the Olinda case seems to have stayed more between specialists and specific owners of the site
- For Montreal, the Statement of Significance was done by the Government of Quebec and not with consultation of citizens, as in the two other cases.
- The management objectives are more elaborate at Port Arthur and Olinda than in Montreal.
- The strategies are more managerial in Port Arthur and Montreal, and more technical in Olinda.

The Port Arthur and Olinda cases include fundraising, promotion and time scales. This is contrary to the Montreal case, which is more of a negotiation basis for multiple users than a specific managerial plan involving a single owner.

For Montreal, a lesson to learn from this comparison is that the assessment of values should be done with extensive consultation and a commitment to listening to the community. Such a Statement of Significance becomes very useful when decisions need to be taken or transformation projects have to be analysed. A management, conservation or protection plan must not remain superficial and must provide enough detail so as not to be subject to misinterpretation by its various stakeholders.

Postscript

Since 2008, Mount Royal is still a subject of great interest in Montreal. The provincial Government of Quebec changed the denomination of the site from Arrondissement historique et naturel du Mont-Royal to Site patrimonial du Mont-Royal in 2012, but this doesn't change the protection of the site. The TCMR continues to hold its large meetings every six months, addressing the issues of conservation and the different projects proposed for the territory. The current issues are, among others, emerald ash borer, a disease found in emerald trees that is slowly spreading throughout the Canada and obliges the City of Montreal to cut down many of the affected trees on Mount Royal. Also, there is a debate about cancelling the parkway through Mount Royal Park, which doesn't please the car owners who use this road as a shortcut every day. The mountain is always a sensitive subject, and the constant concern from the entire population of Montreal guarantees its long-term conservation. Finally, at its 50th meeting, held on 23 March 2018, the TCMR recommended that the City of Montreal continue to ask the Government of Canada to inscribe Mount Royal on the Canadian Tentative List of World Heritage sites, since it was not retained in the last update of the List in December 2017.8

Biography

Jean Laberge is an architect and specialist of Heritage Places Conservation and Management at the City of Montreal. He is an ICCROM graduate, gaining a Conservation of Built Heritage Certificate in 2007; he was a participant in the Heritage Site Management Practices workshop in Herculaneum, Italy, organized by the Herculaneum Centre and ICCROM in 2008.

Contact details

Division du patrimoine
Direction de la planification et de la mise en valeur du territoire
Service de l'urbanisme et de la mobilité
Ville de Montréal
303, rue Notre-Dame Est
Montréal (Québec) H2Y 3Y8
Canada
Email: ileberge@ville.montreel.ge.ge.

Email: jlaberge@ville.montreal.qc.ca

Notes

- 1. The Table de concertation du Mont-Royal is an organization specifically created by the City of Montreal to coordinate the various owners and stakeholders in their management actions. See (in French) http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=1676,2442769&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL.
- 2. These characteristics are listed in Répertoire du patrimoine culturel du Québec (2014).
- 3. At the time of the workshop, in 2008, there was no Statement of Significance. See the full text of the statement (in French) at http://www.patrimoine-culturel.gouv.qc.ca/rpcq/detail.do?methode=consulter&id=93313&type=bien#.U_oP8Pl5PQo.
- 4. See the web site of Les amis de la montagne at https://www.lemontroyal. qc.ca/en/home.
- 5. See the description of the Table de concertation du Mont Royal at http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=1676,2442769&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL.
- 6. Seethelinktothecity'svalueassessment(inFrench)athttp://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/page/patrimoine_urbain_fr/media/documents/evaluation_interet_patrimonial_lieu.pdf.
- 7. See chapters by Sweet and Mendes Zancheti in this volume.
- 8. All consensus from the TCMR can be consulted (in French) on the Bureau du Mont-Royal website at http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/EXT_BURMTROYAL_TC_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/REGISTRE-CONSENSUS-TCMR_23MARS2018.PDF.

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Conservation and Continuity: The Case of Ek' Balam Archaeological Site in Yucatán Mexico

Patricia Meehan and Alejandra Alonso

k' Balam is a Late Classic Period (700–1050 CE) Maya site, which has undergone research and excavation more recently than other Maya archaeological sites in the Yucatán Peninsula in Mexico. The site is open to the public, with visitor numbers increasing annually. Although it is not inscribed as a World Heritage site, nor is it listed as a National Archaeological Monuments Site, it has national property status and is managed by the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) which undertakes protection, conservation and enhancement of the site.¹ As such, the site is affected by international trends and national policies regarding the role of cultural heritage.

Conservation, interpretation, major maintenance and visitor management have been carried out effectively through a series of periodic projects since 1994, but unfortunately the continuity of such interventions is not guaranteed. Given the significance of the site and its actual state, it is appropriate to ensure that maintenance and conservation management is both participative and sustainable, through the development and implementation of specific plans and programmes. This case study will describe some aspects of the current management system, along with observations on its positive aspects and the constraints it faces. Comparisons with other case studies presented at the International Workshop on Heritage Site Management Practices held in Herculaneum will be made.

Location

Ek' Balam is located in the central northeastern part of the Yucatán Peninsula in southeast Mexico. It is in the municipality of Temozón, 180 km east of Mérida, the capital of Yucatán, and 30 km to the north of the city of Valladolid. Near the site (within the ancient city's settlement area) there are three Maya communities called Ek' Balam, Hunukú and Santa Rita (fig. 1). Ek' Balam is 180 km from Cancún and 120 km from Tulum (in between these two, the Riviera Maya is located).

Brief History of the Site

Ek' Balam in the Maya language means 'black jaguar' or 'morning star jaguar'. The site has evidence of occupation from the Late Preclassic

Figure 1 Location of Ek' Balam in the Yucatán Peninsula, Mexico. (Sergio Gaytán)



period (300 BCE to 350 CE) up until the Postclassic period (1000 to 1521), which ended with the date of the Spanish Conquest (Vargas and Castillo 1998: 403). During the Late Classic period (700 to 1050), Ek' Balam was one of the most important Maya cities of the eastern part of the Northern Maya Lowlands, when it reached its economic and cultural peak and when most of its visible features were built. Written history of Ek' Balam dates back to early colonial times. A description of the site dates to 1579, when King Philip II of Spain asked the viceroy of the New Spain to send detailed reports of all the corners of his domain. Juan Gutiérrez Picón, the land commissioner (encomedero) of Ek' Balam, narrates the story of its foundation by Coch Cal Balam, who came from the east and governed the city for 40 years.3 Gutiérrez Picón also gives information about succeeding rulers (De la Garza 1983: 127-140). Most of what is known today about the history of Ek' Balam has been extracted from the magnificent glyph corpus found in sculptures, mural paintings, reliefs, ceramics and other artefacts (fig. 2) (Lacadena 2005). These sources have revealed information referring to the eighth century - when Ek' Balam's most important governor, Ukit Kan L'ek Tok', founded the Talol dynasty - and demonstrated that this period saw the city at its cultural, religious, technical and economic peak (Vargas and Castillo 2005: 57).

The first historical and archaeological examination of Ek'Balam was undertaken by the French traveller and archaeologist Desiré Charnay, who visited the site in 1886, a period in which foreign antiquarians or pre-archaeologists began exploring and studying the region.

Recent Archaeological History

Following the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) and the First World War, archaeological research in Mexico, and especially in the Maya region,

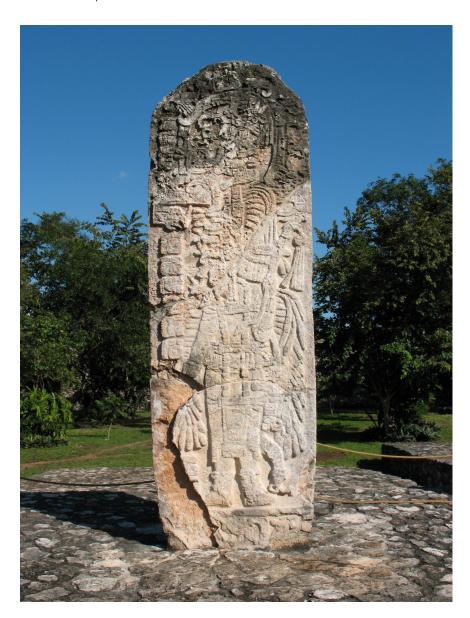


Figure 2 Stela 1 with iconographic and glyphic texts that speak of Ek' Balam's history. (Photo: Proyecto de Conservacion de la Zona Arqueologica de Ek Balam, CNCPC-INAH)

entered an 'institutional' period, following the two routes established by North American and Mexican institutions. Ek' Balam was not a focus for research at this time, though it was visited by specialists such as Silvannus G. Morley of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, who went to the site in 1928 (Ringle and Bey 1994: 1.1). Later, in the 1970s, Ian Graham and Eric Von Euw from Harvard University's Peabody Museum visited Ek' Balam while working on the Iconographic Corpus Project, but no substantial research was carried out at Ek' Balam, and the site remained absorbed by the surrounding vegetation. In 1929, after the revolution and the extension of land reform throughout the country, Ek' Balam was expropriated from private owners and handed to the communities of Hunukú and X'Kumil as community farming lands. They grew their crops around the structures and plazas and knew that these mounds were *múul*, artificial mountains possibly built by their ancestors, but they did not really acknowledge the meaning of them.

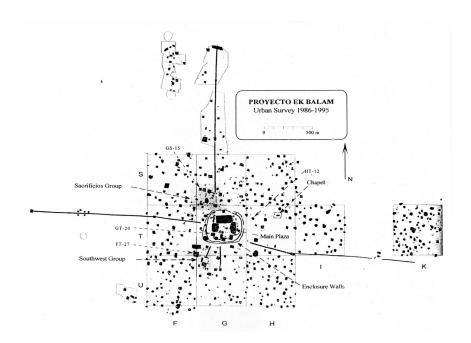
Formal archaeological research began in 1984 by William Ringle (Davidson College, USA) and George Bey (Willsap College, USA), as well as a Mexican team who carried out surveys, site delimitation, ethno-historic research and excavation of several buildings. The project

was sponsored by the National Geographic Society and the US National Science Foundation, and a series of field seasons took place until 1995. This project was based mostly on archaeological research and neither conservation nor maintenance were included in its scope. In 1994 the Yucatán office (Centro INAH Yucatán) of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH, the National Institute of Anthropology and History)⁴ launched the Research and Architectural Conservation Project, coordinated by Leticia Vargas. From 1994 to today (annually until 2001 and with erratic continuity since then), structures and plazas have been excavated, documented and restored, and the site made suitable for visits by the public. This project was in keeping with the Mexican institutional work done in the late twentieth century at national and regional level; namely the combination of research, conservation and site presentation for public visits. Additionally, in 1999 a project was created for the stabilization, conservation and restoration of the main decorative elements and structural fabric preserved in the site. The project, undertaken by INAH's Coordinación Nacional de Conservación del Patrimonio Cultural (CNCPC, the National Coordination of Conservation), began field seasons in 2001 and has had annual continuity since then (12 field seasons to date). These projects collaborate and work together, sharing conservation and maintenance decisions, and implementation of works.

Description of the Site

The archaeological site of Ek' Balam covers an area of around 12–15 km². The core of the site constitutes the ceremonial centre, where 17 out of 45 structures have been consolidated: ball courts, residential platforms, palaces and temples of monumental architecture. These are arranged in two courtyards, all surrounded by a low double wall. The contiguous extension is created mainly by a sequence of residential structures, platforms and simple housing. The area open to visitors is the ceremonial centre, which covers 1.25 km² (figs. 3–6).

Figure 3 The urban settlement survey zone of Ek' Balam. (Ringle and Bey 1995)



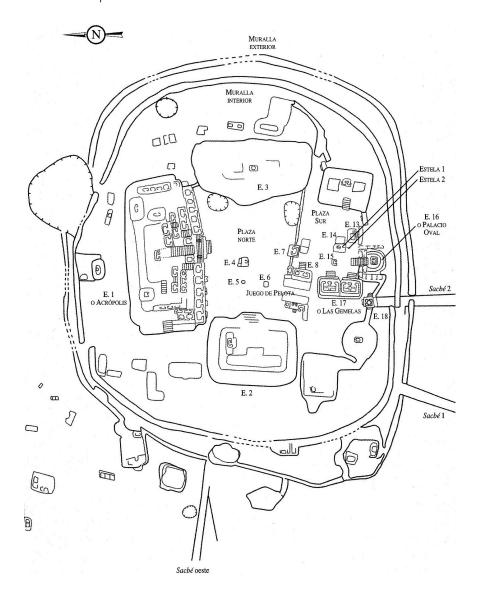


Figure 4 Map of Ek' Balam's ceremonial centre. (Vargas and Castillo 2005)

The ceremonial centre has five entrances and five roads (*sac b'e oobs*) that connect the centre with other groups of structures outside the walls. The South Plaza is formed by several structures; the most important ones being the entrance arch, the Oval Palace, the Twin Temples, Structure 10 and two stele. The ball court connects the South and North Plazas. The North Plaza is formed by a courtyard surrounded by three huge buildings. The main building is the Acropolis (facing south) and to the east and west are Structures 2 and 3, both huge in size and which have not been excavated. The Acropolis, which has been partially excavated, is 160 m long, 70 m wide and 31 m high. This building, formed of a five-storey platform and crowned by a temple, is of great complexity. It has many construction phases, different rooms and passages, water containers (*chultunes*), and the tomb of Ukit Kan L'ek Tok.

Important decorative elements are preserved in the site, including stucco reliefs, stone sculpture, stone decorated façades and mural painting, and a number of original architectural surfaces (wall plasters and stucco floors) are revealed in a number of buildings, especially in the Acropolis or Structure 1 (figs. 5–6).

The archaeological site of Ek' Balam is recognized nationally, regionally and institutionally as a site with cultural and natural significance. Today,

Figure 5 The public space of Ek' Balam, view from the Oval Palace to the South Plaza and at the end the North Plaza and the Acropolis. (Photo: Proyecto de Conservacion de la Zona Arqueologica de Ek Balam, CNCPC-INAH)



Figure 6 The Acropolis, located in the North Plaza where the largest number of decorative and covering elements are found. (Photo: Proyecto de Conservacion de la Zona Arqueologica de Ek Balam, CNCPC-INAH)



its contribution to the knowledge of the Maya culture, its monumental architecture and its diverse and unique decorative elements make it one of the major scientific research sites and tourist destinations in Yucatán.

Management System

Ek' Balam, like all archaeological, historical and paleontological heritage sites in Mexico, is considered national property by Constitutional Law (1917). It is under the care of INAH, which was established under law in 1939 (3 February 1939, reformed 13 January 1986). It is a Federal Government bureau, accountable to the Ministry of Public Education.⁶ Its responsibilities include historic and anthropological research,

conservation, restoration, protection, enhancement and dissemination of cultural heritage and of the activities within its competence. These functions are also dictated by the Law of Monuments and Archaeological, Artistic and Historic Sites of 1972 (6 May 1972, reformed 13 January 1986). INAH's policies adhere to national legislation and current plans such as the National Development Plan, the National Programme to Modernize Public Enterprises and the National Culture Plan. For every administrative cycle, INAH develops a General Programme to enhance research, protection, preservation, conservation, restoration and recovery of cultural heritage and promote training, capacity building, specialization and updating of human resources in the areas of conservation, restoration, museology, history and anthropology.

Ek' Balam is one of 39 084 registered archaeological sites in Mexico,⁷ of which 173 are open to the public. It was registered in 1986 within the Yucatán Archaeological Atlas Project (Vázquez Morlet *et al.* 1988: 72). Ek' Balam is not declared by presidential decree as a Monumental Archaeological Site – of which there are 46 in Mexico (e.g. Chichen Itzá in Yucatán, Teotihuacán in central Mexico and Edzná in Campeche) – nor is it inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List. Thus, INAH has a responsibility to procure legal and technical protection for the site and to conserve and preserve it as a national cultural heritage property *per se.*

Management Practices

Since Ek' Balam does not constitute an administrative unit within INAH, it does not have a site director to organize and manage the site. Instead, it is managed by two different authorities. One is the regional INAH office in Yucatán, which is responsible for management, legal and technical protection. This office depends on the Coordinación Nacional de Centros INAH (National Coordination of Regional INAH Offices). The second, the academic authority for the site, is the Coordinación Nacional de Arqueología (National Coordination of Archaeology), through the role of the archaeologist responsible for research, excavation and general conservation of the site (currently this is Leticia Vargas). The conservation of fabric and decorative elements is the responsibility of the CNCPC, through project coordination by Patricia Meehan and Alejandra Alonso.

In Mexico, planning and implementation of projects and management of archaeological sites is the responsibility of INAH, through its normative areas of obligation (the national coordination mentioned above). This is so even when resources come from external sources. Planning for the sites is carried out entirely by INAH staff. The quality, standards and relevancy of all archaeological research and conservation projects are controlled, as they must be approved by INAH's Council of Archaeology. Since 1994, INAH has had a Programme for Operation and Services for Archaeological Sites Open to the Public. Within this programme, aspects such as interpretative signage, landscape, access control and security, tourist information services and links with local communities are considered. Attempts to put management plans together for a number of archaeological sites have been launched, but lacking knowledge of the sites in actuality and with poor consultation of the communities

and stakeholders, these have been impractical and therefore impossible to implement.

Only two INAH operational plans have been put into practice in Mexico, one at the archaeological site of Monte Albán (Oaxaca) and the other at the Sierra de San Francisco in Baja California Sur.¹⁰ For the current administration, management plans are mainly a priority for the sites considered to be the most important in Mexico, and those listed on the World Heritage List. Ek' Balam has not yet developed management or operational plans that integrate and coordinate the isolated research and conservation plans, and no funds have been secured for such activities. Thus the Yucatán INAH office carried out an assessment of archaeological sites open to the public to evaluate their state of conservation, as well as their management and operation aspects, in order to implement maintenance projects and build infrastructure and services (as part of a national programme started in 2007). This assessment was completed recently in Ek' Balam and the visitor centre is being maintained.

Financial Resources

Ek' Balam does not have its own fixed income stream, and therefore it depends directly on INAH's Yucatán office for day-to-day maintenance and other needs.11 Usually resources do not come in as money but in kind, for example as cleaning supplies, fuel for the water pump, and lawnmowers, tools and equipment. The funds for these supplies are channelled from INAH's general operations budget and from the yearly Minor Maintenance of Archaeological Sites Project that is conducted by the INAH office in Yucatán. This project has a fixed budget that sees little or no variation from year to year in spite of the country's economic fluctuations. Ek' Balam receives income from entrance fees and a fee charged for using video cameras. However, these resources are not directly made use of at the site. They are transferred to INAH's general account, as are all of the funds self-generated by museums, monuments and archaeological sites (with the few exceptions of autonomous sites). The amounts charged for entrance fees are determined by the Secretary of Finance (ministry) and published in the Federation's Official Diary each year according to the Federal Law of Rights. Every month INAH hands these funds over to the Treasury and a percentage is re-allocated out to INAH a few months later. These resources return with fiscal restrictions on the acquisition of equipment as well as for the employment of human resources. The funds are generally used for all kinds of projects undertaken by INAH throughout Mexico, and their distribution is based partly on research and conservation needs and partly on political interests.

The current Research and Architectural Conservation Project and the Decorative Elements Conservation Project in Ek' Balam have both received funding from various sources. Public funds have come from: INAH through yearly project allocation; the Government of Yucatán through the Patronato de las Unidades de Servicios Culturales y Turísticos del Estado de Yucatán (CULTUR, or the Board for Cultural and Tourist Service Units of the State of Yucatán); the Secretaría de Desarrollo Social (SEDESOL, or the Ministry of Social Development); and the Secretaría

de Turismo (SECTUR, or the Ministry of Tourism). Private grants have been awarded by the Fomento Cultural Banamex (the cultural fund of the private bank Banamex). The Federal Law of Monuments 1972, Articles 2 and 7, and INAH's Organic Law 1939 give INAH the scope, and the responsibility, for establishing agreements with federal, municipal, local or private associations or individuals that enabled them to participate in the protection, conservation and promotion of cultural heritage (tangible and intangible). Therefore, INAH has established a number of formal agreements with different institutions, for example (among others) the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, or Indigenous National Institute (now the Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas, or National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples); the Board for Cultural and Tourist Service Units of the State of Yucatán; Ministry of Social Development; state governments; the National Autonomous University (UNAM); and even international organizations such as UNESCO and the World Monuments Fund. The results of these agreements and collaborations are varied.

Ek' Balam has benefitted mainly from agreements established with the Government of the State of Yucatán, whose Tourism Department created a Tourism Services Board in 1994 called CULTUR, the mission of which is to conserve and promote Yucatán's cultural heritage and tourist attractions for its sustainability and economic development. CULTUR builds and operates service areas at archaeological sites, charging extra fees for the use of these services, and this income is then reinvested in the sites for research, conservation, maintenance and promotion. The distribution of these funds does not necessarily follow a programme based on the conservation needs of the numerous archaeological sites in Yucatán; it is mostly based on discretionary and political decisions.

Funds that came from the Ministry of Social Development between 1999 and 2002 were earmarked for the employment of large numbers of local workers. In practice, however, the distribution of these funds was unbalanced as it created too great an administrative burden when weighed against the actual progress of activities. In 1995–1996, resources for major maintenance activities, and for installation of interpretative signage at a number of sites, including Ek' Balam, resulted from an agreement between INAH and the Ministry of Tourism¹² (each institution allocating 50 per cent of the financial resources required). These agreements have supported projects that have benefitted the site, but they have not catered for continued long-term care.

Human Resources

The permanent staff of Ek' Balam is made up of four custodians. One of these is the coordinator, and the link between the site and the INAH Office in Yucatán. There are also three guards who work shifts during the day and at night.

Both conservation projects operate under direct administration according to the contract of services but are managed by the institutional projects. The Research and Architectural Conservation Project is coordinated

and executed by two archaeologists from the INAH Office in Yucatán. Archaeologists or other specialized consultants and local workers are frequently recruited on a temporary basis. The Decorative Elements Conservation Project is coordinated by two conservators from the CNCPC and often other INAH permanent staff conservators participate in field seasons, as do conservation students and consultants. Local workers are also hired for technical assistance and maintenance work. The number of employees varies depending on the season's programmes and available resources.

Long-Term Maintenance of the Site

Day-to-day (or minor) maintenance is carried out by custodians and is limited to cleaning and clearing vegetation from plazas and visitor routes, as well as keeping service areas presentable. Daily maintenance is generally successful, as the site is clean and this helps to promote respect for the site among visitors. The main challenge in carrying out this work, however, is a shortage of staff to carry out all the maintenance work needed at the site, especially during the rainy season (when clearing vegetation must be done more frequently). This is primarily because the staff team is not at full capacity every day (each staff member has two days off a week) and has other responsibilities, which include attending to visitors and carrying out other activities on the site. Another constraint is the frequent delay of the arrival of supplies from the INAH office, which is located in Mérida (two hours away by car). This compromises the presentation and preservation of the site.

In practice, archaeologists (mainly) and conservators contribute to the ongoing maintenance responsibilities. Much of the site's major maintenance activity – clearing vegetation from extensive areas and monuments, as well as repairing shelters and other protective elements – is actually carried out under the umbrella of academic projects that take place annually (fig. 7). Fortunately these projects have had continuity, making the implementation of this work possible. From a broader perspective, however, this is a problem as resources that should be used for research, conservation and interpretation, are, instead, being used for the site's maintenance.

Ek' Balam's major maintenance programmes are annual projects. This schedule has been ongoing since 1994, and it has been more or less successful, although maintenance should not depend on conservation projects because there is no guarantee of continuity or resources for these projects. This is largely due to the absence of any maintenance policy within INAH, a situation mirrored also in the Italian, Philippine and Syrian heritage management systems that are presented elsewhere in this volume.¹³

In Mexico, as in the Philippines, the most common approach to conservation on archaeological sites is to undertake one-off interventions, which are not usually followed up by any maintenance programmes. Thus, on sites where deterioration factors (e.g. environmental) are dynamic, these interventions that were originally envisaged to be 'long term' end up being effective only in the medium to short term. Ek' Balam has had the

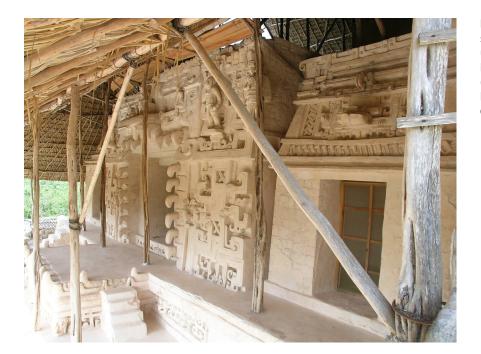


Figure 7 Decorated façade with stucco relief, located in the Acropolis, under a protective shelter. This façade is the main attraction of Ek' Balam. (Photo: Proyecto de Conservacion de la Zona Arqueologica de Ek Balam, CNCPC-INAH)

advantage of being able to ensure continuity in both site conservation projects that aim to reach a point in which maintenance will become sustainable. The Research and Architectural Conservation Project derives an important part of its yearly budget for conservation of structures, sacrificing on-site research activities. The Decorative Elements Conservation Project has very modest budgets but has been constant up to the time of writing. The continuation of both conservation projects has been beneficial as it has enabled periodical monitoring and the opportunity to apply research to improve project programmes.

One of the most significant constraints on the archaeological project is that in recent years the budget has been reduced to 60 per cent of what it was and, as a result, conservation programmes cannot be completed as planned. This means that, as time passes, more complex and costly interventions are required. The conservation-restoration (of fabric and decorative elements) programme has allowed interventions to be implemented in an annual field season that lasts, on average, two months. In some areas where long-term conservation has been effective, continuous conservation maintenance activities are now being practised. However, intense interventions must be repeatedly practised in certain areas due to the site's conservation constraints – environmental factors and unsolved deterioration causes – and as a result these interventions end up being medium- to short-term solutions. Complex and costly multidisciplinary interventions are needed to resolve the causes of the deterioration, but no resources have become available to implement these yet.

Visitor Management

Ek' Balam was opened to the public in 1986. The site is classed as a category C site for entrance fees, which means the lowest tier of ticket price.

Exemptions are given to senior citizens, children under 13, retired people, disabled persons, teachers and students. On Sundays no entrance fees are charged at all. In recent years, Ek' Balam has been targeted for development as a cultural tourism destination by the Federal Government, the Government of Yucatán, the State Tourism Department and a number of private organizations. This is also part of a national policy around cultural tourism in which heritage is viewed as an important economic resource. 14 The site is located in one of the most popular tourist circuits in Mexico – the Riviera Maya – with its 120 km stretch of hotels and resorts along the Caribbean, within the Yucatán Peninsula. This has given more weight to the economic enhancement of the site. The recent naming of Chichen Itzá (59 km away) as one of the New Wonders of the World has also increased tourism to the region considerably. A new road was built to reach Ek' Balam, and electric power was installed for the first time. The Government of Yucatán, through CULTUR, built a visitor centre in 2007, with the expectation that this would lead to a significant increase in tourism in the area.

Available statistics from the period 2002 to 2008 show that visitor numbers to the site are increasing considerably (Table 1). The number is still low compared to other archaeological sites in Mexico, due in part to poor transport infrastructure around the site making it difficult to reach. The only way to arrive at Ek' Balam is by bus, taxi, private or rented car, tourist coach or van; however, new services will facilitate access.

The type of tourism seen at Ek' Balam ranges from mass tourism to selective informed groups. As can be seen in Table 1, student numbers (national primary, secondary) have dropped in the last two years, but the number of national and foreign visitors has increased significantly. Thanks to observations made during conservation field seasons and to information acquired by custodians, we can see that predominant types vary according to specific seasons. In summer, national tourism prevails (national, regional and local), whereas in winter foreign tourists are more numerous. There is an important abundance of regional students who arrive in large groups on specific days during the autumn and spring months. Other regular visitors include groups from the Riviera Maya who visit Ek' Balam all year round on fixed days and at fixed times.

Ek' Balam lacks specific programmes or strategies for visitor management and social development at the site, as can be seen at the Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery in the Philippines and Crac des Chevaliers

Table 1 Visitor statistics from 2002 to 2008. (Source: INAH)

Year	National primary, secondary	National bachelor and professional	National	Foreign	Total	Percentage of visitors in Yucatán
2002	11 720	2 865	4 233	16 240	35 058	1.96%
2003	14 941	5 210	5 379	22 159	47 689	2.34%
2004	14 750	4 232	4 622	34 516	58 120	2.84%
2005	14 577	5 337	4 821	30 136	54 871	3.20%
2006	17 511	6 364	6 125	31 364	61 364	3.74%
2007	3 091	1 928	24 554	52 852	82 425	3.78%
2008	2 667	3 108	26 809	60 385	92 969	4.12%

in Syria.¹⁵ Nevertheless, for many years both conservation projects have strived to maintain a balance between academic initiatives and public access. In the 1990s, significant resources were allotted to research, excavation and consolidation of structures. Archaeologists then, and still today, have intuitively managed to make the site suitable for receiving visitors by restoring local vegetation, installing interpretative signage, establishing visitor routes and ensuring restricted areas, etc.

Site interpretation panels were installed in 1996 by the Research and Architectural Conservation Project. The panels were designed according to INAH's guidelines, and, based on the archaeological information available at that time, they offer a brief description of site significance, the history of the site, a description of the areas open to the public, and descriptions at each structure, written in Spanish, English and some also in Maya. None of the interpretative signage has been renewed since then (fig. 8). Although no specific information on the conservation projects is provided for visitors, local guides are constantly being updated on recent information and field season results, and they have become important partners for the interpretation and preservation of the site. Additionally, archaeologists and conservators have made significant efforts to integrate the local community members in different ways, for example through employment, training and enhancing their contribution to knowledge about traditional construction materials and techniques (figs. 9-10). A programme for visitor management that aims to contribute to the site's conservation has also been devised, and this is being implemented gradually, although still on a small scale. This has resulted in the local community taking a role in the management of their cultural heritage and a commitment from local people to conserve and enhance the site.

The main concern regarding an uncontrolled rise of tourism in Ek´ Balam is the conservation of both natural and cultural resources. The site is currently not prepared to receive large crowds, and tourism on a mass scale would even put the visitors themselves at risk. What is more,



Figure 8 An information panel is available for each structure. (Photo: Proyecto de Conservacion de la Zona Arqueologica de Ek Balam, CNCPC-INAH)

Figure 9 Maintenance of shelters carried out within conservation projects. (Photo: Proyecto de Conservacion de la Zona Arqueologica de Ek Balam, CNCPC-INAH)



Figure 10 Stucco-decorated bench and original plasters and stucco floors in Room 35 in the Acropolis. (Photo: Proyecto de Conservacion de la Zona Arqueologica de Ek Balam, CNCPC-INAH)



despite increased interest in Ek' Balam, this concern is not reflected in any ongoing commitment of resources for the site's protection, maintenance and conservation. The impact of these potential risks can be clearly seen in sites such as Crac des Chevaliers in Syria, ¹⁶ where, as a result of its nomination as a World Heritage site, tourism has increased at such a rate that the current management system is no longer capable of managing the day-to-day challenges of the site.

Sustainability

To a certain degree Ek' Balam's sustainability is guaranteed since its care is the responsibility of a public institution, although with such a limited

national budget for culture the site is not seen as a priority. Nowadays, national and institutional policies cause cultural heritage sites to rely mostly on tourism for financial sustainability. This is effective up to a certain point but too short-sighted if approaches are standardized and if there are no programmes based around the significance of sites. This is reflected in how the money is spent; no matter how much money is generated from the public use of cultural heritage sites there is no guarantee this money will be spent on management and maintenance. Priorities are usually set to attract more tourism through new excavations, opening new sites to the public and the conservation of showy decorative elements, rather than in undertaking regular maintenance activities.

Ek' Balam's surrounding community development is also linked to this cultural tourism policy. It is important to consider the potential effect of mass tourism on these local Maya communities, particularly in economic and cultural terms. Current policies for cultural tourism seek to generate local development but have not created programmes to enable this to happen successfully. To date, the increase in visitor interest in the site has been reflected in the improvement of roads, the extension of electrical lines and the availability of seasonal work. However, these activities are a long way from solving the economic problems that exist within the region. The 2005 census by the Consejo Nacional de Población (National Population Council) shows that the municipality of Temozón (within which Ek' Balam is sited) has a population of 14 008 and is one of the most economically deprived municipalities in the state (in a list of 106 muncipalities in Yucatán, Temozón was the twelfth most deprived). Inhabitants of the municipality are mostly Maya speakers; 51.33 per cent of the adults have not completed primary education; 52.36 per cent of the population do not have drainage systems and sanitary services; 81.88 per cent live on up to two minimum salaries; and there is a high level of migration (Consejo Nacional de Población 2005).

The nearby village of Ek' Balam still offers scarce services for tourists (three hotels and one Italian restaurant). The sale of local products and crafts is still quite low; there is a small craft shop in the site's parking lot where locally produced crafts are sold. Women from Ek' Balam weave hammocks and sell them to the few tourists who visit the town. Most of the tourists arriving on large coaches do not purchase local products and, therefore, the economic inflow into the region from tourism is still very low. Furthermore, speculation of the economic potential of the region has driven Mexican and foreign entrepreneurs to buy the lands surrounding the site from the local landowners for very little money. This 'development' will soon impact the environment and cultural resources if responsible plans are not formulated, as the site extends 12 to 15 km² around its core area. Additionally, quality of life for members of the local community will not improve, whether in terms of job prospects, economic possibilities or culturally, if they are not involved in the planning, decision-making and responsibilities regarding the use and conservation of the site. The site is, and could be, significant in many other ways to the Maya communities. Therefore, the challenge is to manage the possibilities of tourism to enhance the site's potential and promote the involvement of the communities. However, this may be extremely difficult due to the cultural and economic policies under Mexico's current government.

Another aspect that has not been addressed regarding the development of these communities is their potential for growth. The three local communities, in particular the village of Ek' Balam, are located inside the site boundaries. The potential impact of this growth must be planned in ecological and urban terms. There are currently no strategies similar to the one launched in Angkor Archaeological Park, Cambodia¹⁷ to stop the expansion of the villages and offer potential relocation alternatives.

Conclusions

Mexico's cultural heritage management system shares many similarities with other countries that were presented in case studies within the International Workshop at Herculaneum (i.e. the Philippines, Italy, Syria and Lebanon) regarding legal frameworks, and management practices through public institutions. INAH was created in the 1930s within a nationalist policy, which saw cultural heritage as a means of creating a national identity among citizens, linking culture and education, as we see also in the case of Syria. Throughout many decades an enormous and complex organism was created which responded effectively to political needs. INAH has played a fundamental role in the construction of cultural identity, enhancing cultural heritage throughout research, conservation, protection, access, interpretation, presentation and promotion. Archaeological and conservation interventions are controlled and regulated through an academic network around the country.

Even though INAH has regional offices all over the country that have some independence, it is basically a centralized, hierarchical institution in which decision-making is mostly top-down. Throughout the decades, INAH's responsibilities have grown considerably due to the enormous quantity and quality of archaeological, historical and cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) that the country possesses. As a result, procedures that had some logic in the past now delay implementation of work, because of institutional inflexibility and overly bureaucratic administrative procedures. Additional constraints of the system are the restriction of resources and the shortage of qualified staff to handle the heavy workloads. This can also be seen in other national heritage management structures, including in Italy, Lebanon, Philippines, Syria, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Thus, INAH is a living institution embedded in the country's political system and is highly influenced by trends and policies. It is now undergoing a phase of transformation and adaptation in response to contemporary discourse and national needs. An example of this is that, nowadays, cultural identity and education are no longer considered a priority, whereas pressure to raise tourism and economic values over academic and social values is increasingly stronger. So priorities are focused on attracting public access but with only a short-term view – leaving management, maintenance, quality of interpretation, wider participation and sustainability out of the picture. In Ek' Balam, archaeological and conservation projects have been able to meet many of these responsibilities and carry them out successfully. Thus it is necessary to have a broader institutional participation and commitment, as academic projects are only one part of the system and not the decision-making parties.

Owing to the site's current state and the potential for transformation, now is a good moment to activate the design and implementation of operational systems and processes that will ensure its sustainability. Many things must be done, but perhaps the most important step is to carry out an assessment and evaluation of the significance of the site, establishing a basis for the development of interpretation strategies, management and conservation practices. This requires participation of all stakeholders and local community members. We especially emphasize the community members, as they are the direct heirs and descendants of Ek' Balam (figs. 11–12). In Mexican sites such as Ek' Balam – in some aspects similar to Port Arthur, Australia – site interpretation has relied more on buildings and relics for understanding, reconstructing and interpretating the ancient Maya who built and lived in these cities, rather than acknowledging the living Maya community and seeking to integrate the knowledge that it possesses. Indigenous communities in Mexico are so deprived that



Figure 11 Participation of a local community member in the conservation of decorative elements in Ek' Balam. (Photo: Proyecto de Conservacion de la Zona Arqueologica de Ek Balam, CNCPC-INAH)

Figure 12 An extraordinary number of national visitors came to Ek' Balam for a religious ceremony in November 2008. Similar ceremonies are common in Ek' Balam and other Mayan sites in Mexico. They are carried out by esoteric or new religious groups, which give value to the ancestral knowledge of the Maya or to the energy of ancient sacred places. (Photo: Proyecto de Conservacion de la Zona Arqueologica de Ek Balam, CNCPC-INAH)



they often do not acknowledge their affiliation to this heritage themselves: the risk of acculturation is high if their heritage has no greater meaning than raising their economic standards. Angkor's Sustainable Development Programme has been successful in involving local communities in all phases of site management, community-based development and implementation phases. This programme is most inspiring for Ek' Balam.

Postscript

The Research and Architectural Conservation Project and the Decorative Elements Conservation Project in Ek' Balam have continued since 2001 to the present day. For many years the site did not have a site director to organize and manage maintenance activities, until 2016 when Ms Pilar Ricardi was appointed to the post by INAH. The responsibilities of the site director are mostly focused on the coordination of the maintenance programme for general areas and the management of tourist facilities. The site's conservation project was coordinated by Alejandra Alonso and Patricia Meehan between 2001 and 2009. Since 2010 Alejandra Alonso has been responsible for programming and directing conservation activities and research applied to conservation. Although the initial source of funding for this project came from a private (bank) trust, federal funding has been provided since 2004 and continues to be allocated on an annual basis. The number of site guards has increased to seven people, but only three of these still work both day and night shifts. The conservation project is coordinated by one conservator from Cultural Heritage National Conservation Coordination (CNCPC) and a variable number of hired conservators participate each year, based on the activities programmed and budget available. Over the last six years, a temporal work maintenance programme at the site has been implemented by the local and federal government as part of a national initiative to improve employment opportunities for local people, and to keep archaeological sites presentable for tourism. Visitor numbers to the site have increased 20 times over during the period from 2001 to 2017; however, the conservation budget has diminished by 30 per cent during the last five years. Tourist facilities (ground transportation) and infrastructure (accommodation and security) have also expanded and increased in the area, allowing for more visitors every year, though the creation and implementation of visitor management programmes remains pending. Community involvement in site conservation has been part of the conservation project, but this is still in the very early stages of development. Most recently, in 2022, a significant milestone has been reached with the finalizing of a new management operational plan for Ek' Balam. This plan has been prepared by a multidisciplinary committee and will be implemented in due course.

Biographies

Patricia Meehan is a Senior Conservator for the Cultural Heritage National Conservation Coordination (CNCPC) of Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH). She is a conservation consultant for plasters, stucco reliefs and mural paintings in archaeological buildings and historical monuments and has participated in national and international archaeological projects. She co-coordinated the Conservation Project of the Archaeological Site of Ek' Balam, Yucatán from 2001 to 2009 and coordinates the Mural Painting Conservation Project on the East Coast of Quintana Roo in Mexico (2011–2018).

Contact details

Coordinación Nacional de Conservación del Patrimonio Cultural–INAH Ex-Convento de Churubusco. Xicoténcatl y general Anaya S/N, Col. San Diego Churubusco

México D.F., C.P. 04120

Mexico

Email: abarlovento.patricia@gmail.com

Alejandra Alonso is a Senior Conservator at Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH). She has conducted the conservation project, research and outreach programmes at Ek' Balam archaeological site since 2001 and has extensive experience in plasters, stucco reliefs and mural paintings. She has 20 years' experience in conservation work and research on multiple archaeological materials at different archaeological sites: Templo Mayor, Tajín, Kohunlich, Dzibanche, Ichmul, Xuenkal and Copán.

Contact details

Coordinación Nacional de Conservación del Patrimonio Cultural- INAH Ex-Convento de Churubusco. Xicoténcatl y general Anaya S/N, Col. San Diego Churubusco

México D.F., C.P. 04120

Mexico

Email: ale.alonso.olvera@gmail.com

Notes

1. The National Institute of Anthropology and History will be described later in this chapter.

- 2. This name was given after the founder of the city Coch Cal Balam, who will be mentioned later (Vargas and Castillo 2006: 195).
- 3. Gutiérrez Picón does not give a date for this foundation. Vargas and Castillo argue whether he meant the first settlers or the arrival of Ukit Kan Le'k, the first governor of the Talol Dynasty. Archaeological data give evidence of the first settlements in the Middle Preclassic period (700–200 BCE), and the Talol dynasty began around the year 770 CE. Vargas and Castillo (2006: 193–199) are more inclined to believe Gutiérrez Picón was talking about the splendour of the city, therefore meaning the beginning of the Talol dynasty.
- 4. More on INAH is described in the section titled Management System below.
- 5 Ringle and Bey (1995) calculated this extension in the 1980s, while recent surveys done by Vargas and Castillo have shown that the city might have extended a few kilometres more around the core of the city (Vargas, personal communication, 2008).
- 6. Federal government bureaus have specific mandates according to their functions. They were created in the 1970s–1980s to simplify and make mandates more efficient. They do not have their own juridical responsibilities or patrimony. The ministry or federal office upon which they are dependent assigns resources annually.
- 7. The Public Register of Archaeological and Historical Monuments was created by Law of 1972, Article 21.
- 8. INAH has delegations or offices in each state of the country that represents the Institute. The National Coordination of Regional INAH Offices regulates these offices, coordinates annual planning and sees that they meet INAH policies and regulations. The Centro INAH Yucatán is one of these regional offices.
- 9. The Council of Archaeology is an advisory committee for the General Director that assesses and evaluates all archaeological projects undertaken in Mexico and monitors their results. It is made up of 11 members, designated by INAH's General Director.
- 10. See Magar in this volume.
- 11. Before 2000 the archaeological project absorbed all maintenance costs, including day-to-day maintenance.
- 12. This agreement derived from a more general one that integrated various institutions to promote sustainable tourism and social development.
- 13. See case studies in this volume by Cruz, Halawa, Pesaresi *et al.*, Sampaolo and Sirano.
- 14. The Ministry of Tourism has created regional programmes such as the 'Maya World Programme' to develop cultural tourism. It aims to coordinate efforts to enhance long-term use of natural and cultural resources guaranteeing social and economic sustainability. This is mostly based on generating employment for locals; as such, cultural heritage is considered alongside beaches, resorts and other nature attractions (Secretaría de Turismo 2009). The Tourism Federal Law gives this sector the functions of protection, preservation and enhancement of cultural heritage, which may overlap with INAH's responsibilities if these are not well regulated.
- 15. See Cruz and Halawa in this volume.
- 16. See Halawa in this volume.
- 17. See Khuon in this volume.

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Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery Historical Landmark

Philippines

Larry Cruz

he Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery is a national historical landmark in the Bambang area of Nagcarlan, about 102 km south of the Philippine capital Manila (figs. 1–2). The site was founded as a Franciscan mission settlement in 1853, and the large public cemetery was built and designed by Father Vicente Velloc, who took advantage of the uneven local terrain to include the construction of an underground crypt for the interment of deceased Spanish friars and prominent local families.

The cemetery was built in octagonal form, and it perches on top of a 2 m rise along the provincial highway, facing the road that leads to the town of Nagcarlan (fig. 3). The perimeter walls of thick blocks of brick that surround the property are topped with undulating waves of carved stone. A pathway made of brick leads through a grassy lawn to the cemetery chapel. The chapel façade is in classic Baroque style with conspicuous use of curved surfaces and thick walls, and the chapel itself resembles a single large niche built into the cemetery walls where the aboveground burial niches - about 120 on each side - are found. The chapel was used as the last station for the final rites before entombing the dead. Its wooden ceiling is decorated with faded seraphic designs and once used to have a painting of a hand holding a scale, depicting the relative weight of temporal life, represented by the crown and the sword, and spiritual life, represented by the Holy Spirit. The altar, in painted gold and simulated marble, has a statue of the dead Christ. The flooring has blue and white tiles inlaid at the centre and red tiles at both sides and the walls show signs that they were once painted. At the right side of the chapel a set of stairs leads down to the crypt. This subterranean cemetery has two windows with iron grilles that filter faint light into the interiors, one at the south corner and the other at the west. It has an altar at the east side. Arranged into rows on the walls are 36 niches, the final resting place of the town's chosen few.

National Historical Institute: Vision, Mission, Mandate

The mission of the National Historical Institute (NHI)¹ is the promotion of history and cultural heritage through research, dissemination, conservation, site management and heraldry works, such as blazoning of heraldic items and devices. The institute aims to raise public awareness and appreciation of the noble deeds and ideals of celebrated figures and other illustrious Filipinos. The institute's vision is "A Filipino society with citizens informed of their history, who love their country and are proud of their cultural heritage".

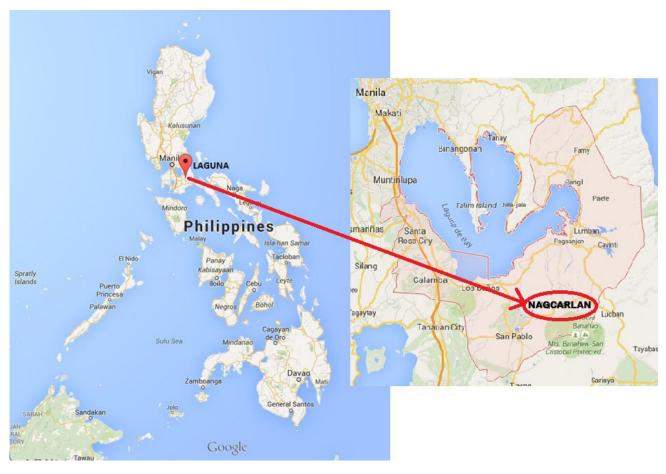


Figure 1 Nagcarlan is a municipality in the province of Laguna, Philippines. (Google Maps)

Figure 2 Entrance to the Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery. (Photo: National Historical Commission)



In 1972 NHI was assigned, by presidential decree, responsibility for the preservation, restoration and/or reconstruction of several historic sites and buildings, and, in 1973, was further assigned the supervision and control of certain sites declared as national shrines and monuments; this latter responsibility in collaboration with the Department of Tourism.²

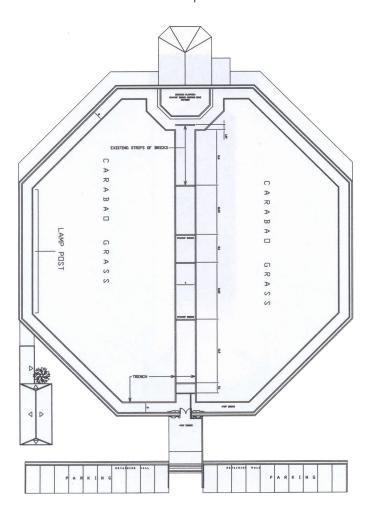


Figure 3 The Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery has an octagonal plan, featuring 240 niches along its perimeter walls, which have an interesting lace-like motif on top. Tall, wide openings secured by wrought iron grilles pierce the top of the walls. (National Historical Commission)

This legal oversight gives NHI the power to enforce the policies and directives in place. NHI also has responsibility for:

- research and publication of national historical works;
- educational activities relating to historical events and figures;
- restoration, preservation and conservation of movable and immovable objects of historic value, and implementation of the National Historic Act of the Philippines (Presidential Decrees 260 and 1505);
- administration of historic sites, structures, and memorabilia of national heroes;
- blazoning of government symbols and implementation of Republic Act 8491 or 'The Flag and Heraldric Code of the Philippines'.

The NHI has four divisions that carry out its mission and obligations: Research, Publication and Heraldry; Historic Sites and Education; Historic Preservation; Finance and Administration. The Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery was declared a national historical landmark in 1981 and is maintained by the Historic Sites and Education Division.³

Restoration of the cemetery site began in 1982 under the supervision and guidance of the NHI, with local labour supplied by the townspeople. Initial restoration included cleaning of walls, replacement of decorative blocks in the walls with original wrought iron grilles, and a general approach to developing the site. In 1983 restoration of the chapel began,

including the construction of an office for the curator and administration services, and public facilities. Restoring the chapel ceiling entailed dismantling the wooden parts piece by piece. These were numbered, meticulously restored and reassembled after treatment. The cemetery, on the other hand, was paved with bricks that came from the demolished Insular Ice Plant in Manila. The restored Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery was formally opened in 1986, but the restoration work continued until 1995. Since then no major restoration work has been carried out on the site. The cemetery currently has four regular members of staff: a shrine curator, shrine guide and two administrative aides.

Visitor Management

The Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery is generally visited by local residents and relatives of the dead buried at the site. As the site is also used for religious activities (e.g. the chapel is a venue for Holy Week, All Saints Day offerings, etc.), other groups such as tourists, school groups and community members require public access. There has been little effort to promote the educational features of the site, mainly because the curator is not obliged to increase attendance among young people. Although the curator is not required to provide data on visitor numbers, a summary of the total visitors that visited the site in a number of different years has been provided by the shrine curator in four annual reports as follows:

2001: 17 892 visitors
2003: 27 259 visitors
2004: 31 409 visitors
2007: 28 580 visitors

There are no figures available for 2002, 2005 and 2006, but it can be noted that since 2003 there has not been a dramatic increase in the number of visitors to the site. It is not known, of these visitors, how many came with schools, with organized tour groups or were independent visitors. The absence of visitor data exposes the lack of any visitor management strategy at the site. The reason for this can be attributed to site staff not having the required skills and experience.

Funding

The cemetery does not have a fixed annual operating budget, and maintenance works are dependent on the overall budget for the Historic Sites and Education Division that is agreed by Congress. The head of the Historic Sites and Education Division normally allocates expenses for each shrine and landmark based on its priorities and does this in consultation with the head of the Historic Preservation Division. In 2008 Congress approved 20 million Philippine pesos (approximately US\$182 000) for the repair and maintenance of various historical shrines and structures, of which 5 million Philippine pesos (approximately US\$45 500) goes towards the maintenance of shrines and landmarks. In addition to this Congress-approved budget, a national shrine or landmark may also receive some

funding from individual congress members, but this is primarily dependent on the congress members' own initiative during budget deliberations at the House of Representatives (Republic of the Philippines 2008: 104:1).

Of the budget allocated in 2008, the Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery received the largest share among the existing shrines and landmarks for restoration work: about 1.6 million Philippine pesos (approximately US\$32 000). This was followed by Rizal Shrine Fort Santiago in Manila with a share of 1.2 million Philippine pesos (approximately US\$24 000); with Barasoain Church in Malolos Bulacan receiving the smallest budget, at 200 000 Philippine pesos (US\$4 000).

Annual management planning is held in the first quarter each year to determine the organization's works programme. Initially, the Historic Sites and Education Division allots an amount for Nagcarlan and each of the other shrines and landmarks, and then a management team meets in a workshop-style format to discuss and agree the budget for NHI's works programme. This team consists of division chiefs (Research, Publication and Heraldry, Historic Sites and Education, Historic Preservation, Finance and Administrative) and section chiefs within each of these divisions. After considering the cost estimates prepared by the head conservator and architect assigned to an individual site, the management team then approves a final budget for that site's restoration. Depending on the amount of this agreed budget, the Historic Sites and Education Division may then need to adjust, accordingly, restoration budgets for other shrines and landmarks. This is not unusual procedure in a bureaucracy where realignment of budgets occurs even if the plans and programmes of activities are already in place. For the programme of work, the Historic Preservation Division normally takes a lead role in coordinating, along with the head of the Historic Sites and Education Division.

In planning works and conservation interventions, the Historic Preservation Division follows guidelines set forth by the international conservation community, which are specified in the NHI Operations Manual, paragraph 6.1:

All historic preservation works, including proposals for alteration, modification and destruction of declared and classified historic sites and structures, shall be subject to the principles laid down by basic conservation standards and principles and international standards of conservation as set forth by the International Charter for the Conservation of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter 1964, 1981), the International Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter), Nara Document on Authenticity, Code of Ethics of the American Institute For Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, and practices and/ or such other standards and agreements as may be provided by applicable law. The conservation plan, once drafted, is also basically influenced with the requirements of all applicable codes such as the National Building Code, Structural Code, Plumbing Code, Fire Code, Accessibility Code, Environmental Code, and all other applicable local ordinances and regulations. Also, once the plan is implemented, it must comply with RA 9184 (Government Procurement Reform Act). (HSED 2000: 6.1)

Conservation and Management Practice

As we have seen, the Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery is managed by a national government agency protected by law, and a budget is made regularly available for the site's maintenance, operations and conservation, which should guarantee its existence in the medium to long term. However, a shortage of professional knowledge around museum operations and management has been identified in the site's staff, and training is required to develop skills and capacity in this area (even the shrine curator does not possess academic qualifications for museum work). This is a common issue found in government service jobs because of the minimum requirements imposed by the Philippine Civil Service Commission for first- and second-level positions. In addition, the agency often has no say in recruitment; in situations where a listed shrine or landmark is given over by the local government or a private owner then the personnel (who are mostly political appointees) come as part of the deal.

There are two approaches to carrying out conservation work that the National Historical Institute adopts: one is the use of outsourced, contracted services, and the other is direct intervention by NHI itself. NHI has limited personnel to undertake conservation work, and so it is fairly standard practice that projects and activities pertaining to the conservation and restoration of sites and structures are carried out under a contract arrangement. Only in the case of conservation of movable objects, such as the memorabilia of national heroes, is this carried out by NHI directly. A combination of internal NHI input and external outsourcing usually happens in the case of restoration of national monuments, but these decisions are made by the Materials Research and Conservation Centre. The potential risk of outsourcing works is that work may be of substandard quality, whereas the potential risk associated with in-house work is that focusing attention on one particular site for a prolonged period may impact programmes and priorities at other sites. Based on experience, a combination of the two will often achieve the best result.

Partnerships

There are 26 shrines and landmarks currently maintained by NHI, and not all of these can receive the desired level of budget and human resources. These sites are therefore encouraged to work with local government units, academic institutions, and non-governmental organizations to enhance the site and make it more meaningful within the local context. Partnerships are often formed between the local government and local historical society by putting on events at the site. At Nagcarlan, local festival centres put on exhibits to showcase locally made products, and a kite-flying festival is held every year to attract visitors. Funds for this purpose are usually drawn from local government income, and NHI provides the facilities. A memorandum of agreement is always required by NHI for partnership and collaborations with other institutions. Management practices and procedures, policies, and guidelines are all set out in the NHI Manual of Operations; however, further guidance is needed around the aspects of organizing and implementing programmes and activities. The involvement of a wide spectrum of organizations through active partnerships serves to promote greater awareness of the

site, which in turn helps to protect it from vandalism, theft and disrespectful behaviour.

Management planning

As described above, NHI conducts its annual management planning in the first quarter of the year. Planning focuses mainly on implementing plans and programmes of activities on an annual basis because budget allocation for a fiscal year is dependent on the budget approved by Congress, and the approved budget may vary year on year. If the approved budget for the year is lower than the previous year, all plans and programmes of activities will be affected, and the reduced budget will determine which are the priority projects and activities. To avoid this happening, the NHI head of the Finance and Administrative Division together with the executive director will seek to defend the original budget (as agreed upon during the annual planning workshop) at the Congress budget deliberations. It should be noted that there are always implications for budget allocations if the head of the agency is a politician. Before the present director became head of the agency, the approved budget was roughly 20 million Philippine pesos in 2002. However, after the appointment of the new director and his promotion of camaraderie among Congress members and with the president's office, the NHI budget rose staggeringly, to almost 200 million Philippine pesos in 2008.

Conservation approaches

The jurisdiction and specific conservation responsibilities of NHI's Historic Sites and Education Division are described in the NHI Manual of Operations as follows:

- Maintenance and administration of national shrines and landmarks, including relics and memorabilia of national heroes and other illustrious Filipinos, and objects of historical value in order to perpetuate the memory and emulate the patriotic deeds of our heroes.
- Management of shrines and landmarks as resource centres and conduits between national government agencies and local government units, non-government and civic organizations and stakeholders.
- Conduct of historical educational activities such as lectures, seminars, exhibits, workshops, patriotic tours, showing video, historic-cultural contests . . . and learning sessions in accordance with the Philippine Cultural Educational Plan.
- Organization and strengthening of various historical committees and associations (i.e. provincial, city, municipal, institutional, etcetera) private or public, as active partners in the dissemination of significant historical events and personalities at the grass roots level. (HSED 2000: Article II, Functions 1–4)

With regard to conservation and maintenance works, the following operating policies and procedures are followed:

 The Curator and shrine personnel shall conduct daily inspection and maintenance of all museums items, equipment, structure and premises.

- The Curator shall report immediately verbal and written to the Historic Sites and Education Division central office any missing items in the collection of the shrine/landmark.
- Thefts, break-ins and other untoward incidents should be reported at once to the nearest police station for recording.
- Curators and shrine personnel should ensure the security and proper handling of items as per basic conservation principles and policies to avoid accidental damages during display, handling, storage, and transport.
- Museum items should be properly insured against damage, fire, loss or theft.
- The Historic Sites and Education Division chief or the duly authorized representative shall pull out museum items at the shrine or landmark for conservation treatment, based on the assessment report/recommendation of the conservators of the Materials Conservation Section (now Materials Research and Conservation Centre).
- Items for conservation shall be deposited at the Materials Conservation Laboratory for conservation assessment and treatment, when deemed necessary.
- Restored museum items shall be turned over to the Historic Sites and Education Division with proper documentation.
- Historic Sites and Education Division central office shall be responsible for the return of the restored items to the shrine/ landmark.
- MCS (MRCC) conservators shall conduct periodic on-site conservation assessment and preventive conservation treatment of collections in shrines and landmarks.
- Minor repair works on the structure, equipment, and premises shall be done by shrine personnel and reported in the Curator's monthly report.
- Expenses for the minor repair works shall be charged to the Curator's petty cash.
- More extensive repair works on the structures shall be undertaken by the NHI's Repair and Maintenance Group.
- Major restoration works shall be undertaken and/or supervised by the NHI's Historic Preservation Division. (HSED 2000: Article III, 47–60)

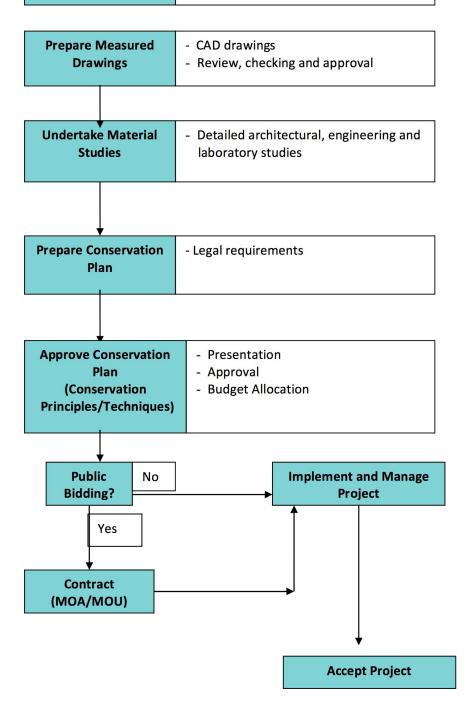
In support of the Historic Site and Education Division in its management and conservation of national shrines and landmarks, in particular with regard to major restoration works, the Historic Preservation Division has drafted its own set of operating processes. The NHI Operations Manual sets out the following procedures that are to be undertaken by its team of architects, engineers and conservators (fig. 4):

- conducting conservation assessment of the site or structure to include ocular survey, photo and documentation and accomplishment of State of Conservation Assessment Sheet;
- preparation of measured drawings;
- conducting architectural, engineering and materials studies;
- preparation of a conservation plan including architectural, structural, electrical, plumbing and other related plans based

Survey and Assess Site/Structure

- State of conservation assessment
- Narrative observations
- Photographs, GPS orientation
- Site studies, field sketches
- Measurements

Figure 4 Procedures and processes are clearly set out in the National Historical Institute's Manual of Operations. (National Historical Commission)



on architectural, engineering and material studies – and preparation of a Program Evaluation and Review Technique/ Critical Path Method for the project;

- implementation with supervision and monitoring;
- preparation of periodic reports;
- publication of final report to include the history of structure, conservation goals, conservation programme, project accomplishments, drawing/plans, photographic documentation and recommendation for maintenance. (HSED 2000: Article III, 5.1–5.7)

Additional policies in Article III under the Historic Preservation Division state a requirement for:

- regular on-site conservation assessment of the physical environment where historical memorabilia are displayed or stored are conducted;
- formulation of mitigating measures, policies and procedures (e.g. storage, exhibition, packaging, handling, transport, use, emergency preparedness or risk management) to ensure the long-term preservation of the historical memorabilia;
- regular monitoring in the implementation of mitigating measures, policies and procedures is undertaken.

It is clear, therefore, that NHI has established a clear set of policies and guidelines to be followed by its operating divisions. The NHI Manual of Operations is designed to eliminate the risk of overlapping functions and duplication, and to identify where the responsibility for conserving each shrine or landmark sits. This clarity is useful in cases where the deterioration of a monument may give rise to external or public criticism.

Conservation at Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery

This recent increase in budget allocation has given NHI the opportunity to draw up sizeable projects and activities, including research work on the development of conservation techniques. In previous years projects and activities had been programmed but did not materialize owing to budget restrictions imposed by Congress. For 2008 it was agreed that priority would be given to the restoration of the Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery, where major intervention was deemed necessary following a site inspection in February 2008 that highlighted a series of critical issues:

- the sunken portion of the grounds flooded on rainy days and existing drainage solutions were not inadequate;
- most of the lighting system was not working;
- termite infestation of parts of the altar;
- evidence of loose stones, black deposits, pulverization and biological growth;
- vegetation growth in the open canal at the back of the chapel;
- flooding of the underground crypt.

After completing a visual inspection to determine conservation needs, the NHI team, consisting of an architect and a conservator, are required to follow the procedures as set out in the NHI Manual of Operations. This is a requirement prior to the implementation of any conservation and restoration work and includes a complete assessment of the damage; submission of narrative observations, including photographs and GPS orientation, site studies, field sketches and measurements; material studies prior to the preparation of conservation plans, approval and budget allocation (the cost estimate is done by an in-house specialist) (fig. 4).

The scope of works required was identified as:

- rewiring at the chapel and on the ground;
- repair of the drainage system;

- consolidation of the ceiling/altar paintings;
- replacement of damaged ceiling parts;
- mechanical and chemical treatment of chapel and cemetery walls;
- treatment of termite infestation at the altar;
- clearing and cleaning of vegetation that is damaging wall structures.

Owing to the scale of work required, which could not feasibly be carried out by NHI, it was decided the project had to be outsourced. The successful bidder for the contract for the works would therefore be required to follow these specifications in order to deliver the project successfully.

As indicated above, outsourcing conservation work has its disadvantages, primarily because it depends on the contractor's capability to deliver the specified scope of work, and it has been noted from past experience that the quality of output suffers if work is done by an external company rather than by in-house specialists. Nevertheless, in the case of the cemetery, NHI has decided to put the contract for restoration work out for tender. It is likely that the tender will be awarded to the lowest bidder, and this creates risk because where NHI conservators usually follow high standards of conservation practice, contractors instead are driven by financial motives (for example, buying substandard materials to save on cost) and not the long-term quality and sustainability of the work.

The management team is responsible for (1) ensuring that visitors are not affected by the ongoing restoration work, and (2) carrying out regular monitoring to ensure that the works are consistent with the original plans. The contractor is held responsible for any deviation from the original scope of work and is asked to provide detailed documentation throughout the project. In circumstances where contractors do deviate from the agreed plan, NHI conservators have the authority to correct any issues relating to mechanical cleaning and chemical treatment work, and, in the case of structural works, the NHI architects and engineers assigned to the site can decide whether or not the contractor may continue under the contract. In any programme of restoration work, contingency costs are always included, normally ranging from 15 to 25 per cent of the total direct cost. Supervision fees allotted for the duration of the project are covered by this contingency fund. These fees are used to finance continuous monitoring of the work by in-house specialists (conservator/architect) who are assigned to the site in order to ensure the quality of work.

The scope of work for this conservation project is devised to ensure long-term stability, but this is not regular ongoing maintenance for the site. It is a project-based approach, a one-off conservation solution that may be implemented again in ten years' time. The limitations in the process of budget allocation make it difficult for the conservators to ensure the much-needed restoration of the whole structure over a period of time and therefore they must focus on areas where the greatest damage is occurring, and tackle the causes of it. Maintenance following major restoration work cannot be guaranteed since regular monitoring by in-house experts is usually not feasible, basically due to the sheer number of shrines and landmarks under the jurisdiction of NHI and the volume of technical assistance being requested from churches and other local government

units. Staff working on the sites usually lack the expertise necessary to sustain a programme of ongoing maintenance work.

Sustainable Development

Many government-run sites around the world are in perilous danger, but the continued protection of the Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery is fundamentally ensured. This is due to the fact that the government cultural agencies are being given greater attention now at a national level, with proposals to bring in a National Cultural Heritage Act and to strengthen the National Historical Institute by renaming it the National Historical Commission. Additionally, directives have been issued for energy-saving and cost-cutting measures and to increase contact between stakeholders, not only for Nagcarlan but for all the shrines and landmarks. Lastly, the National Historical Institute is now exercising aggressive policies under its mandate by instituting reforms and adopting new strategies and techniques to attain its mission. Focus has already been placed on the shrines and landmarks that were previously left out of maintenance planning and interventions. This is a significant step in ensuring sustainable growth in the site's development as a visitor destination. Furthermore, since the NHI Manual of Operations has been published it is expected that there will be greater responsibility given to NHI personnel, which will result in more initiatives to achieve NHI's goal of being the leading government cultural agency, with the mandate of promoting and preserving our cultural heritage. Areas that need to be improved are the training of shrine personnel on preventive conservation approaches and encouraging greater contribution to the development and improvement of the site's management.

Postscript

In 2016 major restoration and expansion programmes were implemented at Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery with a budget of 10 million Philippine pesos. A new lime-based plaster was introduced on the chapel façade and on the wall of the main gate entrance. The roofing was repaired, the ceiling painting was stabilized, the underground crypt was consolidated and the iron gate was repaired. The curator's office space was expanded with the addition of a museum, which is called the Museum of Nagcarlan Underground Cemetery. This museum presents exhibition panels on early burial practices of Nagcarlenos, the building's anatomy and the traditional methods and materials used for the construction of the site, and the history of restoration works from 1982 to 2016. Also found in the museum are glass display cases containing samples taken from different parts of the original structural membrane, which have been analysed in the NHCP conservation and research laboratory. Additional glass display cases contain conservation experiments performed on different alternative masonry materials that are compatible with the original ones, and other restoration materials used in the period of intervention.

Visitor attendance has also increased dramatically from 28 580 visitors in 2008 to 59 902 visitors in 2017. The increase in attendance may be attributed in part to the opening of the museum, which is unique in nature as it showcases heritage and restoration materials for the general public to appreciate. The National Historical Commission (formerly the National Historical Institute) is also expected to generate further public interest in different shrines and landmarks that are under its management with its goal to become certified to ISO 9001:2015 for quality management, in 2018.

Biography

Larry C. Cruz is a chemical engineer by profession and has worked at the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (formerly the National Historical Institute) since 1997. He is currently Chief Science Research Specialist and head of the Material Research Conservation Division where he manages the conservation and research laboratory. He has written a paper on the restoration of churches, establishing standards and guidelines for restoration of unreinforced masonry. He is presently working in collaboration with the Bohol Island State University to integrate conservation as a subject in the teaching syllabi of the College of Engineering and Architecture.

Contact details

NHCP Building T.M. Kalaw St Ermita Manila 1000 Philippines Email: cruz_xlv@yahoo.com

Notes

- 1. The National Historical Institute has since become the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, integrating the functions of various historical agencies.
- 2. Presidential Decree 1 of 24 September 1972; Presidential Decree 260 of 1 August 1973 (amended by Presidential Decree 1505).
- 3. The cemetery was declared a national landmark under Presidential Decrees 260 and 1505.

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Cross-Cutting Case Study: Herculaneum



Heritage Management in Italy and the Special Case of Herculaneum Italy

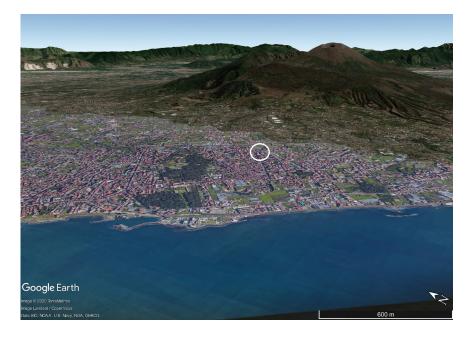
Paola Pesaresi, Valentina Puglisi and Jane Thompson

he archaeological site of Herculaneum can be found at the foot of Mount Vesuvius in southern Italy, and it is one component of the larger serial World Heritage property, the Archaeological Areas of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata (fig. 1). It hosted the 2008 workshop that led to this publication, and it was used as a case study that provided common ground for the participants to discuss and explore the various issues that arose regarding managing heritage places. This extended chapter covers all three themes that the workshop addressed, as the authors offer a multi-scale overview of the management reality at that time on multiple levels, and from the perspective of heritage practitioners working on the ground. First, it looks at the national heritage management system for archaeological sites in Italy in general and then at the particular situation at Herculaneum, where the local heritage authority responsible for the sites in the Vesuvian area had been given partial autonomy from the national system in the late 1990s. The chapter then charts the development and impact of a temporary reinforcement of the management system introduced at Herculaneum in response to the extremely serious conservation conditions, a public-private partnership known as the Herculaneum Conservation Project (HCP). A final section then discusses the approach adopted by HCP, first in response to the emergency situation at the site in the early twenty-first century and then as it evolved into a programmed maintenance campaign.

Part 1: The Italian Heritage Management System for Archaeology

At the time of writing, Italy has the largest number of World Heritage properties recognized by UNESCO (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2002c), including monuments, archaeological sites, historic town centres and land-scapes. To date, Italian cultural heritage has been documented on more than 3 million record sheets completed by the Central Institute for Cataloguing and Documentation. Its total value has been estimated at about €1 million billion by the Italian Association for Cultural Economics (Boda and Spada 2004). There are currently: 4 739 museums and similar institutions, public and private, open to visitors; 5 668 protected archaeological monuments and sites; 317 identified and documented underwater archaeological sites; and 53 715 protected buildings and monuments (MIBAC 2009).

Figure 1 The archaeological site of Herculaneum is located at the foot of Mount Vesuvius within the modern town of Ercolano. (Photo: Google Earth)



The first section of this chapter looks at the management system in Italy that exists to oversee this extraordinary wealth of cultural heritage at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. It is a system that has developed historically from early legislation in the states that existed before Italy's unification (Troilo 2005). In many ways, it is solid and comprehensive, but it needs a handful of further reforms to make it truly effective. Particular attention is paid to the implications of the system for the management of public-owned archaeological sites nationwide, and also to the specific situation that exists for the local heritage authority overseeing the archaeological sites in the Vesuvian area, which was conferred partial autonomy by the central Ministry of Culture (Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali, also known as MIBAC) in 1997.

Legal Mandate

The Italian government is responsible for the safeguarding, conservation, maintenance and enhancement of Italian cultural heritage. According to Article 9 of the Constitution: "The Italian Republic promotes the development of culture and of scientific and technical research. It safeguards natural landscapes and the historical and artistic heritage of the Nation" (Senato della Repubblica 1947).

Current Italian legislation is based on Law no. 42/2004, known as the *Codice Urbani* (Presidente della Repubblica 2004). It defines cultural heritage as "movable and immovable items of artistic, historical, archaeological, ethno-anthropological, archival and bibliographic value... which bear witness to values of civilization" (Article 2.2). It also places emphasis on measures for safeguarding public cultural heritage, with the aim of being used by the public, in order to maintain the identity of the nation through the memory of the past and to promote the cultural development of its citizens (Articles 1.2 and 1.3). The legislation sees the safeguard of heritage as the domain of public authorities (Articles 1.4, 4 and 5) but envisages participation by the private sector for enhancement initiatives (Article 6.3).

However, even with recent reforms, Italy's extensive and pioneering heritage legislation (by European standards it is one of the oldest bodies of heritage law, dating back to the early 1800s) (Troilo 2005), still outlines a conventional, materials-based approach to protection and conservation. Sufficient importance has yet to be given to heritage values (Demas 2000) - a pressing need given the obligation to respect World Heritage requirements for Italy's numerous inscribed sites - and there is no specific mandate to work with interest groups or other stakeholders. In addition, legislation has failed to evolve in a way that facilitates the practice of cultural heritage protection and enhancement in modern society, with laws that are not always implemented or implementable, and procedures that can be unrealistic or ineffective. The outcome is a system that is heavily hierarchical and poorly receptive to change. This leads to insufficient flexibility to harness new forms of support that society can offer, something particularly important in the case of public-owned heritage (the case of archaeological sites), given the challenging amount of Italian cultural heritage to manage.

Existing gaps between legislation and its application can be a result of ineffective control mechanisms at a local level or political priorities at central governmental level. This at times weakens the mandate to safeguard heritage and secure broad public access and enjoyment, in favour of more popular initiatives or the interests of a few. Examples include the amnesties on infringements of local planning law and building regulations for private citizens or for construction lobbies who break heritage protection laws, or indeed new 'generous' building laws, which weaken the existing heritage legislation.² There is also the trend for flagship capital projects that do not address real needs.³ In the case of archaeological sites, this has compromised not only routine heritage management effectiveness but also buffer zones and wider areas of influence of the sites, therefore eroding the capacity of these areas to draw socio-economic benefits from the presence of cultural heritage.

Institutional Framework

The Italian Ministry of Culture, as mentioned before, has the constitutional mandate for managing culture, including protection, conservation, enhancement, communication and presentation, visitor management, scientific and academic research. It is required to allocate adequate human and financial resources for these purposes, but this is often impossible to fulfil with the Ministry of Culture itself being acutely underfunded (see below). Each of Italy's 20 regions has a regional Ministry office (*direzione regionale*), which acts as the interface between the Ministry and the local heritage authorities, known as superintendencies (*soprintendenze*), which are allocated specific geographic areas.

It is the nationwide system of superintendencies that directly manages the heritage, within a close and rigid relationship with the central Ministry, on which they entirely depend both for staff (who are directly employed by the Ministry) and for all annual funding for running costs and activities (from safeguarding measures to cultural initiatives). The latter is obtained through the submission of Triennial Budgeted Programmes, which are updated annually.

The institutional framework for archaeological heritage is, in many ways, comprehensive and systematic, but in many areas it suffers from organizational inadequacy. Several recent legal reforms attempted to re-design the Ministry's organization (three major reforms in the last seven years, plus several minor and local rearrangements), in order to solve old problems of bureaucratic obstacles and inefficiency. These have, unfortunately, also created new shortcomings and delays in the national cultural heritage management system.

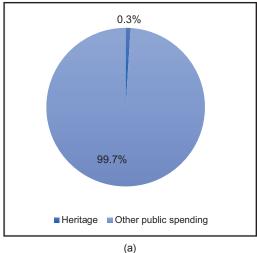
Resources

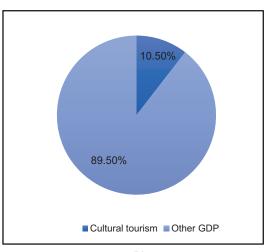
The Ministry, through its regional offices, is responsible for gathering the funding requests formulated as Triennial Budgeted Programmes (see below) from the superintendencies and granting them funds on an annual basis, according to the available national budget for cultural heritage. In spite of the constitutional mandate, yearly funding from central government is never enough to respond to all the requests from the superintendencies (fig. 2).4

This lack of financial resources causes a continual battle for funding: the local superintendencies do not know how much of the funds requested in their Triennial Budgeted Programmes will be granted until information is received late in the financial year in question. Choices need to be made in accordance with the financial resources eventually awarded by the Ministry, with many programmed activities thus abandoned and the slow time frame causing delays in important actions year after year. The continual uncertainty inevitably hinders intelligent long-term strategic planning.

Every superintendency must account for its expenditure by submitting reports on works and other activities carried out. This information, unlike the funding request, is not made public. This seems to be the only accounting mechanism the system has put in place so far: in practice, the superintendencies' effectiveness in meeting the needs of the archaeological heritage is not examined by the Ministry, nor by any other public office

Figure 2a-b Public spending on heritage in Italy in 2008 was €1 380 million (a). This is the equivalent of 0.3% of the national budget for that year, far lower than other budget expenditure by central government and one of the lowest in Europe for heritage. This is despite the fact that Italy's cultural tourism industry provides 10.5% of its gross domestic product and employs 11.5% of the total labour force (b). (Data source: MIBACT 2015)





(b)

	SOPRINTENDENZA ARCHEOLOGICA POMPEI - PROGRAMMAZIONE TRIENNALE 2007 - 2009						
	A.) RESTAUR	A.) RESTAURI DEL PATRIMONIO ARCHEOLOGICO					
	LUOGO	TITOLO	GENERE	STATO	2007	2008	2009
1	POMPEI	Necropoli di porta Nocera - Restauro e illuminazione	44	N		43.240,00	288.657,33
2	POMPEI	Casa del poeta Tragico - Restauro apparati decorativi	44	N		52.500,00	564.346,00
3	POMPEI	Regione I - Restauro e manutenzione coperture	"	N		150.000,00	100.000,00
4	POMPEI	Regione II - Restauro e manutenzione coperture	**	N		90.000,00	80.000,00
5	POMPEI	Regioni III,IV,V e IX - Restauro e manutenzione coperture	"	N		275.000,00	200.000,00
6	POMPEI	Regione VI - Restauro e manutenzione coperture	**	N		325.000,00	250.000,00
7	POMPEI	Regioni VII e VIII - Restauro e manutenzione coperture	**	N		275.000,00	200.000,00
8	POMPEI	Progetto Occidentalis VII,16 - Lavori di restauro strutturale	**	N		375.000,00	750.000,00
9	POMPEI	Complesso dei Teatri - Restauri e sistemazione per spettacoli	**	N		300.000,00	600.000,00
10	STABIA	Villa Arianna - Ricollocazione colonne peristilio H crollate	"	N		25.000,00	50.000,00
11	STABIA	Villa Arianna - Sistemazione ed apertura al pubblico degli ambienti M-N-O-R-S-T-U	**	N		50.000,00	50.000,00
12	POMPEI	Villa Imperiale - interventi urgenti	**	С		60.000,00	
13	POMPEI	Insula VIII, 4 - Restauro	66	C		696.254,52	
14	POMPEI	Insula VI, 15 parte Nord - Restauri diffusi a strutture ed arredi decorativi		N		400.000,00	
15	POMPEI	Casa dell'Ancora (VI 10,7) - Restauro architettonico	44	N		180.000,00	
16	POMPEI	Casa dell'Efebo e case limitrofe (I,7) - Restauro apparati decorativi		N		200.130,00	
17	POMPEI	Casa di Sirico su via stabia - restauro apparati decorativi	44	N		139.388,00	
18	POMPEI	Villa dei Misteri - restauro arredi decorativi V D M 1/2/3	"	N		250.000,00	300.000,00
19	POMPEI	Casa di Paquio Proculo - Restauro arredi decorativi	**	N		250.000,00	
20	POMPEI	Insula del Centenario - consolidamenti e restauri	66	N		150.000,00	300.000,00
21	POMPEI	Casa di Giulia Felice - Consolidamenti e restauri	44	N		220.000,00	
22	POMPEI	Casa di Giulia Felice - Restauri apparati decorativi	"	N		220.000,00	
23	OPLONTIS	Villa A - Completamento e perfezionamento lavori relativi accordo di programma	**	С		260.000,00	
24	ERCOLANO	Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico - Restauro apparati decorativi	66	N		358.211,75	
25	POMPEI	Casa VI ,16,26 - Restauro architettonico e apparati decorativi di alcuni ambienti	44	N			155.000,00
26	POMPEI	Casa degli amanti (I,10,11) - Lavori di restauro e consolidamento	"	N			546.035,00
27	POMPEI	Casa dei Vettii e VI,15,2-3 coperture protettive leggere		N			580.000,00
28	POMPEI	Casa dei Vettii - restauro arredi decorativi	"	N			600.000,00
	TOTALE "A"	euro)			0	5.344.724,27	5.614.038,33

			This is a property of the contract	
	23	OPLONTIS	Villa A - Completamento e perfezionamento lavori relativi accordo di programma	
(24	ERCOLANO	Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico - Restauro apparati decorativi	•
•	25	POMPEI	Casa VI, 16,26 - Restauro architettonico e apparati decorativi di alcuni ambienti	
		POMPEI	Casa degli amanti (1,10,11) - Lavori di restauro e consolidamento	

effectively. Moreover, in this centralized organizational structure there is limited room for local communities or other stakeholders to take part in the decision-making processes or in monitoring and review mechanisms.

Heritage Processes

Superintendencies deal with planning, implementation and monitoring (including administrative and technical aspects) of all routine actions and measures that are specific for the heritage for which they are responsible. The main mechanism used in this management system (and indeed in all of the Italian public sector for works programming) is the Triennial Budgeted Programme (fig. 3), which is a list prepared by each superintendency for the conservation and infrastructure works needed in their own area. It contains an estimated cost for each scheduled intervention and a related funding request, united in a 'shopping list' format.

Comparison with internationally accepted practice for heritage planning highlights how this approach is overly influenced by the administrative requirements of the Ministry (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2020b: 86). The outputs of the planning process reflect its inadequacies. The programme documents often only take into consideration specific isolated interventions and do not track the relative urgency nor the interdependent nature of initiatives on various scales. Examples of such interdependencies

Figure 3 Part of the Triennial **Budgeted Programme for the** Vesuvian archaeological sites, 2007-2009. In addition to the listing for works on the decorative features of a Herculaneum house (seen here), the list originally included an additional line for structural works that were vital to conservators gaining safe access to the house. These latter works were removed from the programme by administrative staff who were seeking to downsize the budget, but without an understanding of the context. (Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei)

include securing structural safety for access prior to programming interventions on wall paintings, improving site drainage to receive new rainwater collection infrastructure or guaranteeing maintenance after specific conservation projects. Nor do these shopping lists link actions to immediate objectives of the management system (e.g. eliminating causes of decay, reducing running costs, improving quality and cost effectiveness of conservation methodology) or broader ones (e.g. improving public access, community engagement and delivering benefits locally). Consultation on the content of the planning documents only happens in-house among the technical staff, but, in the absence of a structured process and interdisciplinary expertise, it is often insufficient or only occurs in the early stages of the decision-making process. Final conservation programming responsibility and decision-making are often assigned to a single person (who in some circumstances is an administrator or an archaeologist with limited conservation knowledge) who makes recommendations to an administrative board. The 'shopping list' is not a sufficiently sophisticated tool from which to draw up a programme of reduced scope in the case of insufficient funding (which is nearly always the case).

Furthermore, in current management practice for archaeology in Italy the planning process and, indeed, the implementation and monitoring phases of the cycle of heritage processes are dominated by heritage specialists and generally fail to employ broader participatory approaches. However, at some sites pioneering work is being done to turn this situation around and open up the management system to new forms of local and international partnership.⁵

There is a large amount of management literature that underlines the consequences of bad planning on the later stages of the management cycle. Implementation suffers, as does the ability to monitor and harness feedback and, in turn, the capacity to shape future objectives around the real needs of the archaeological site and the management system in place. Bad planning fails to trigger that upward spiral of change central to effective heritage management practice.

Results

As seen above, those responsible for managing Italy's cultural heritage, especially state-owned heritage, follow an agenda that is set by national heritage legislation, even if just at the level primarily focused on protection. Such a top-down approach, together with a comprehensive but centralized institutional heritage framework, is perhaps a root cause of local management 'passiveness' that is evident at a territorial or single site level. Here, management approaches can be reactive, simply trying to shoehorn national objectives into local contexts rather than considering what strategy might be most suitable for a particular site or group of sites. This passiveness can also extend to partnerships, which can be based on who knocks on the door rather than on any effort to identify partners who may complement the work of the public authority in achieving specific goals.

Such passivity can also be seen in the unsatisfactory and ineffective efforts made by managers to define the significance of a heritage place in terms of

its cultural values and the attributes that convey them – if defined at all, the significance is explored only in a fragmented way and usually ends up in inaccessible academic texts.

These difficulties, exacerbated by shortcomings in the legal and institutional frameworks and the deployment of resources, hinder the management system from achieving its overall purpose and delivering the outcomes required. If consensus and clarity regarding the desired changes to (or maintenance of) the existing situation (within and without the heritage place) was not achieved in the planning stage, the likelihood of the right outcomes being reached diminishes further, as does any possibility of monitoring success and feeding back learning into the management system to inform future practice.

Inevitably, a downward spiral of continuous decline of the system, of its actions and of its achievements takes root, since failure to deliver results undermines the credibility of the specific superintendency in subsequent annual pursuits for funding from the Ministry. This is exacerbated by the Ministry's focus on accounting, rather than on more wide-reaching assessments of the extent to which each superintendency achieves its objectives (something which cannot be measured by financial turnover alone).

The Future

The Ministry of Culture, its network of regional offices and their superintendencies accomplish a huge undertaking every year for the conservation and enhancement of cultural heritage. What the public officers achieve is admirable given the very limited cash flow after running costs have been deducted and the other difficulties mentioned above that characterize the existing management system – difficulties that are by no means unique to Italy. Future reforms perhaps need to revisit the unilateral, top-down culture of the current management system and devolve decision-making closer to the problems, thereby decentralizing revenue creation and resources deployment (human, financial and intellectual) but enhancing centralized monitoring of management effectiveness.

Both at national and local levels, the authorities involved in heritage protection rarely create communication channels with other stakeholders with a legitimate interest in cultural heritage. Engagement of local communities in critical decision-making processes is unusual. Conservation strategies are largely self-referential and accountability in public spending remains an unknown since little information is shared. Conservation and enhancement results are rarely publicized outside the realm of scholarship, and, when they are, the emphasis is often short-term political visibility rather than favouring inclusive assessment processes and consensus-building to inform future practice. All these factors work against promoting an an expanded and informed cultural debate on heritage preservation and enhancement between heritage practitioners (public officials or specialists hired by the superintendencies) and others for whom the heritage is important and provokes a sense of ownership (local communities and other stakeholders). The role of the people as 'owners' of heritage is generally misunderstood, and debate around the current

system in Italy erroneously considers them more from a marketing point of view as 'customers'.

Heritage institutions have a critical role in preserving the country's cultural heritage, but they also have an obligation to promote heritage as belonging to all and as a shared responsibility. Experimentation in heritage practice in the field is showing that changes in the Italian national system to this effect will often not require major revisions of existing legal or institutional frameworks and, in the long term, will increase resources thanks to the wider support base that will result from building up wider involvement in heritage.

Part 2: The Heritage Management System in the Vesuvian Area: An Autonomous Archaeological Superintendency

Institutional Framework

The local heritage authority currently operating (in 2009), the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei, is a recent creation. It was formed by unifying the two separate superintendencies for Naples and Pompeii in 2008.⁶ This superintendency oversees a large area in the Campania region that is rich in important archaeological sites (such as Pompeii, Herculaneum, Oplontis, Cuma, Pozzuoli, etc.) and museums such as the National Archaeological Museum in Naples.

In 1997, long prior to merging the Vesuvian archaeological sites superintendency with its Neapolitan counterpart, the former had been made financial and administratively autonomous from the Ministry of Culture in recognition of the richness and complexity of the area's archaeological heritage. This earlier reform was also applied to the archaeological superintendency of Rome. At the time of writing, these two exercises in decentralization of Ministry power have remained isolated experiments in the national system. Autonomy has allowed the superintendency to receive all income directly (ticket sales and services, donations, etc.) and manage its own budget (fig. 4 and Table 1). It still has to account for its expenditure to the Ministry's financial office (Corte dei Conti) and respect public works law. This includes the Triennial Budgeted Programme cycles, but the process takes place internally, thereby avoiding the yearly battle with other superintendencies competing for funding.

Financial Resources

Funding shortages and budget uncertainties are generally no longer a problem, except on those occasions when the superintendency's autonomy has not been respected. The annual income provides a consistent budget that can be managed year after year on a regular basis with only small fluctuations. The average superintendency yearly income from 'regular' funds (*fondi ordinari*) exceeds €20 million even with occasional reductions in visitor numbers, such as that for the 2008 return of the waste management crisis (Table 2) (Pasotti 2010). However, over these ten years the Ministry has more than once withdrawn substantial funds

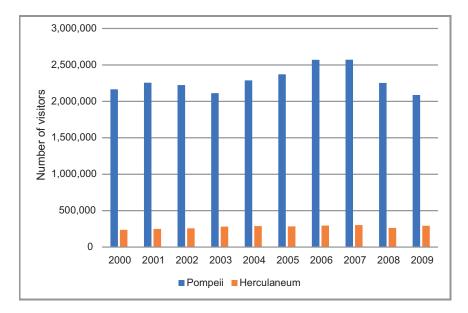


Figure 4 Visitor numbers at Pompeii and Herculaneum; ticket sales are a form of income that is directly managed by the superintendency. (Data source: Parco Archeologico di Pompei 2020)

Rank	Site	Visitors		
Most Visited Cultural Heritage Sites in Italy (1997)				
1	Pompeii archaeological site	1 964 279		
2	Uffizi Galleries, Florence	1 332 349		
19	National Archaeological Museum, Naples	258 391		
22	Herculaneum archaeological site	241 139		
Most Visited Cultural Heritage Sites in Italy (2007)				
1	Colosseum, Palatine and Roman Forum, Rome	4 441 453		
2	Pompeii archaeological site	2 545 670		
13	National Archaeological Museum, Naples	357 032		
18	Herculaneum archaeological site	279 354		

Table 1 Ranking in terms of visitor numbers at the main superintendency-managed heritage places and museums. (Source: Ufficio Statistica MIBAC 2010)

Sites and Museums in Pompeii Area (2007)			
Archaeological sites	$500\ 000\ m^2$		
Paying visitors	2 133 718		
Gross income	€22 788 908		
Sites and Museums in Naples Area (2007)			
Archaeological sites	data not available		
Paying visitors	242 681		
Gross income	€1 157 414		

Table 2 Visitor numbers and related income from the main sites of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei. (Source: Ufficio Statistica MIBAC 2010)

from the superintendency for use elsewhere, thereby radically reducing their capacity to deliver planned work programmes, resulting in serious consequences for the sites and undermining the entire autonomy experiment.⁷

One-off funding comes periodically from external sources, principally the European Union, in recent years within its Regional Operative Programme or Programmi Operativi Regionali (so-called POR funds), and is delivered to the superintendencies via the Regional Councils (not to be confused with the Ministry's regional offices). These have delivered the superintendency significant additional funds.

The superintendency is evidently a superintendency that is not struggling in terms of income. However, the comparison of actual average annual spending to the financial resources available (both steady and one-off) confirms that deployment and use of these financial resources is less healthy. If calculated over the years 2002–2007,8 the average expenditure per year is approximately €6.8 million, a lot less than the annual income, which averages well over €20 million (see Table 2). Even more surprisingly, of the more than €40 million committed to site works by the superintendency between 2002 and 2007, 75 per cent actually came from POR funds (average expenditure roughly estimated at €5 million per year), and only 25 per cent were funded from the ordinary superintendency budget (about €1.8 million per year) (Regione Campania 2011).

This imbalanced expenditure trend can be explained in part by the complicated procedures related to European Union POR funds. The rigid admittance procedure and the need to advance costs (with reimbursement to the superintendency only on the completion of set phases), together with strict reporting and accounting deadlines during site works, have kept the understaffed superintendency technical, administrative and financial offices very busy and penalized their ability to carry out routine superintendency activities. The superintendency's yearly expenditure of ordinary funds in the same 2002–2007 period barely reached 10 per cent of the yearly available budget, and almost half of it actually relates to running costs, namely site and facilities cleaning and garden maintenance, which are expenditure processes requiring very little technical and administrative involvement.

This summary could easily suggest that strict spending procedures, such as the European POR funds demand, encourage better expenditure of available resources. However, this is often true only in terms of quantity and time frame and much less in terms of quality. Strict deadlines and large surges of capital funding can lead to results that do not always meet the real needs of the archaeological site. Moreover, they have favoured the implementation of plans for new buildings and infrastructure over site conservation measures, the latter inevitably benefitting from a phased process and greater contractual flexibility and responsiveness to changing needs.

The real effectiveness of the superintendency in relation to its legal mandate (safeguarding, conservation, maintenance and enhancement) is also worth verifying by crosschecking expenditure distribution against these areas. As fig. 5 summarizes, during the six-year period under study, an average sum of €2.8 million was dedicated every year to the conservation and restoration of the ancient Roman buildings and their related archaeological finds, with expenditure distributed between all the Vesuvian sites. On one hand, conservation expenditure corresponds to just over 10 per cent of the funding available annually in the period studied. On the other, it equates to less than half the average sum the superintendency actually spent each year. Though European funding distorted conservation programmes to some degree in this period, the data are still startling given the actual budget available, the size of the archaeological areas and the renowned conservation problems of the Vesuvian sites,¹0 including Herculaneum (fig. 6).¹1

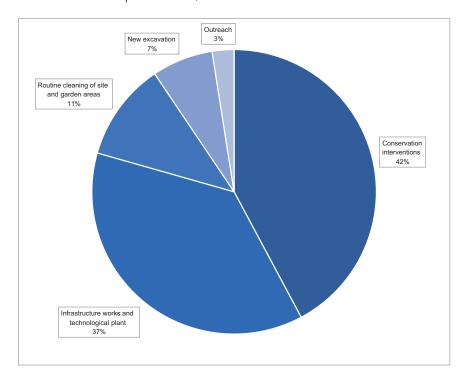


Figure 5 Of the total sum the superintendency expended in the six-year period 2002–2007, roughly €17 million were spent on conservation interventions, while €15 million were spent on infrastructure works including services and technological installations, €4.5 million for site cleaning and garden maintenance, €2.8 million for new excavations and €1 million for cultural events and publications. (Data source: Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei)

Current prospects are difficult to decipher for the future of the superintendency since the Italian government declared a State of Emergency in June 2008, carrying out what essentially constitutes a temporary central government takeover of the management of the Vesuvian sites through the involvement of the central government's Department of Civil Protection, an organization that normally steps in after natural catastrophes. It has been presented as the emergency response necessary to respond to the "serious danger" in which Pompeii found itself, with the severe state of disrepair of the site being the main target of the intervention.¹²

Whether this new management formula can turn around current difficulties in safeguarding some of Italy's most important archaeological sites, considered "without parallel anywhere in the world" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2020a), has yet to be seen. If those who make decisions for the Vesuvian sites can recognize that the challenge is improving heritage processes for effective deployment of financial resources (not a shortage of funds), and introducing radical changes in site care and human and intellectual resource management (flexibility and stability), they may have a chance.¹³

Human Resources

After the superintendency was given financial autonomy in 1997 (at that time it was responsible only for the Vesuvian sites and not yet for the wider Naples area), the amount of funding to be managed suddenly increased. However, there was not significant enough change in the number, profile and allocation of existing staff to align human resources adequately to the new circumstances. The public employees that made up the existing in-house staff had been hired in nationwide selection campaigns through the latter half of the twentieth century and were paid directly by

Figure 6a-d Decay in Herculaneum at the beginning of the twenty-first century. (Photos: Nicholas Stanley-Price, Monica Martelli Castaldi/HCP)



the central Ministry. At the time, they totalled around 700 in number and included some heritage specialists.

Following the merger with the Naples superintendency in early 2008, the superintendency staff comprised 1 038 people, of whom 567 were custodians, 148 were administrative staff and 45 were technical officers (archaeologists, architects, engineers, conservators and building surveyors). Roughly half of these technical officers were actually involved in the planning and management of site works.¹⁴

An independent analysis of the situation at the start of the superintendency's autonomy stated:

The organization of the *Soprintendenza* (pre-autonomy) is beset by a series of problems, which represent in their turn a serious challenge for any new discourse on the management of such a site: unclear description of job content, but exasperating formal details; prevalence of workers with relatively modest skills; lack in absolute terms of skilled professionals; poor information technology skills; inefficiency; suppression of key positions. But a word of warning: in speaking of inefficiency I do not wish to imply the existence of any form of absenteeism or an 'unwillingness to work'; productivity is above all a result of how work is organized and what kind of managerial and administrative procedures are set in place.... If we look at the labour force from a quantitative point of view, what

is striking is its sheer size... the marked prevalence of security-warding staff.... There is a significant number of 'administrative and auxiliary' staff.... [T]he number of professionals, essential for an archaeological site (archaeologists, art historians and architects), are very few.... There are, in other words, too many employees without the right skills, and indirect staff whose skills are not those typical of an archaeological site. (Zan and Paciello 2002: 109)

Pier Giovanni Guzzo, former archaeological superintendent for the Vesuvian area (1995–2009), called for autonomy in human resources allocation and management numerous times during his tenure. The complexity of the heritage under the superintendency's care is significant. Rather than isolated monuments, the archaeological sites are, for the most part, vast urban districts that have lost the key infrastructure typical of built-up areas still in use. Furthermore, these sites are all located within communities that face particular socio-economic difficulties. This makes proper resourcing of the superintendency's Technical Office – with appropriately experienced and qualified specialists in a suitably flexible and responsive organizational structure – a challenging task in any circumstances. The failure to overcome this problem, even partially, was – and continues to be – the principal obstacle to ensuring all available financial resources are directed to effective site-wide conservation activities.

All interventions on archaeological sites in Italy are now outsourced (i.e. specialist works contractors are commissioned from the private sector) with the exception of the most minor maintenance interventions. The same is not true of professional expertise that can be found in-house, but even this is more and more commonly being sourced externally because of staff or skill/expertise shortages, in particular for consultancy services associated with planning (and sometimes supervising) conservation interventions and related health and safety coordination issues. Outsourcing has become common practice, to some extent alleviating what could be a much more acute staffing problem, but it brings new problems. Sourcing consultancy externally from freelance heritage practitioners or consultancy firms has changed the role of the staff of the superintendency Technical Office to a more supervisory one. The average value of external consultancy equates to about €660 000 a year according to the 2008– 2010 Triennial Budgeted Programme, although the real figure will be less since not all the activities identified in each triennial programme cycle are actually delivered. The in-house technical staff now tend to direct site works, including on-site technical checks, accountability reports and contractor management. Indeed, one of the challenges outsourcing has created is a loss of continuity in terms of knowledge transfer and monitoring capabilities: staff from the Technical Office are no longer involved in the entire cycle of heritage processes. Often the public officers are too little involved in (or lack the managerial skills to manage) the strategic and detailed development of the outsourced conservation proposals for the works. They then find themselves fully responsible but ill-equipped to manage their implementation, and the final result suffers.

Another consideration, common to the technical offices of all archaeological superintendencies, is the substantial responsibility the public officers take on in helping to deliver site works, since the Italian public sector

does not indemnify its employees. A level of personal liability is therefore assumed by specialist staff, which is not reflected in the economic and working conditions (adequate remuneration and indemnity insurance, flexible hours, facilities, equipment, services, etc.), as normally happens in the private sector. This general situation, typical of the public sector in Italy as a whole, demotivates personnel and does not encourage retention of valuable intellectual resources.

How the Ministry deals with hiring staff is also an important aspect to understand in relation to the situation facing public employees in the heritage sector in Italy: staff are normally appointed through national public selection procedures, essentially by way of written, and occasionally oral, exams. After many years, this mechanism has reached an impasse in Italy: very few recruitment procedures are ever organized, and those that have been relate to a very small number of positions. At the same time, staff in the superintendencies are retiring one after another (or being transferred to other public positions), in particular the mid- and high-level officers that include superintendents, and are not being replaced by new staff.

Another influential factor in human resources management in this sector is the absence of appropriate learning and skills development for staff. The pursuit of continuing professional development outside the public system is not encouraged, and what is offered within the system tends to be overly standardized and hence does not meet real needs (e.g. in-depth courses on geographic information systems for everyone, but IT hardware that cannot support such enterprises). This limits the extent to which current staff can grow professionally and, in turn, the ability of the entire management system to face new challenges adequately. Due attention to strengthening capacities and intellectual resources of staff and rewarding commitment is a critical gap. It reflects a system that tends to view the assignment of responsibilities as a means of 'ticking off' legal and procedural obligations rather than achieving a common outcome for the collective good of humankind. Too often, a small number of skilled and motivated officers resist this trend by committing personal time and resources to their own professional learning and development activities. It is often these staff who deliver the best results when faced with difficult working conditions, but there are no reliable mechanisms to reward such commitment.

The widespread practice of outsourcing conservation works instead of using in-house labour has also had negative repercussions for archaeological sites, repercussions that would not necessarily have been anticipated when it became standard practice in the late twentieth century. During Maiuri's excavation campaign at Herculaneum from the late 1920s to the early 1960s, almost every family living in the surrounding area had at least one relative working at the archaeological site, earning their wages in the excavation campaigns or as part of the restoration works and maintenance programmes (fig. 7).

This direct community involvement in discovering the ancient Roman city and safeguarding its future created a strong sense of community ownership.¹⁶ With several factors leading to the outsourcing of all works on site, even routine site care (Thompson 2007), community involvement



Figure 7 The large-scale archaeological campaign at Herculaneum that took place at great speed for the first half of the twentieth century required a local workforce to be permanently employed on site for excavation and restoration of the archaeological ruins and subsequent maintenance of the site. (Photo: Archivio del Parco Archeologico di Pompei, C2508)

declined, interrupting a long-standing relationship of mutual support between the modern and ancient cities (Biggi and Court 2009). This has been further exacerbated by the loss of other local staff, such as custodians, and a failure by the superintendency, and indeed the Ministry, to provide any constructive solutions to prevent this happening.

In relation to this, a further important factor that negatively influences daily management, conservation activities and visitor access at the Vesuvian sites, particularly at Pompeii, is the weak position in which the superintendency finds itself in relation to powerful trade unions for all those remaining lower-grade employees who constitute the largest portion of the staff body. Custodians make up more than half the number of superintendency employees directly employed by the Ministry of Culture. Many of these are serious and committed workers, but there is among some a long-established practice of taking advantage of their position in order to earn extra money unofficially, without the appropriate authorizations or qualifications. Examples of this include unauthorized guiding of visitors around the sites (Striscia La Notizia 2012); opening closed areas for such visits (even in hazardous areas where works are in progress);¹⁷ and allegedly selling small fragments removed from the archaeological site as souvenirs.¹⁸ The misuse of the site and the mistreatment of its visitors through these practices are inseparable from the broader progressive decline of the whole public employment system and the loss of a sense of ownership felt by the individuals. It is part of a larger conflict between unions and the public sector that cannot be dealt with by superintendency senior staff alone and will require strong and unpopular institutional intervention and generational change. Until then, the Ministry continues to display ineffective management around succession planning that is by no means unique to Italy: letting staff retire, not replacing them nor planning alternative measures.

Conclusions: Difficulties with the Current Management System, Opportunities and Feasible Change

An overview of the main features of the Italian state management system for archaeological heritage at a national scale, as well as at a local scale, demonstrates it has many qualities but that there is also room for improvement.

Without doubt, compared to many countries, Italy benefits from a substantial body of law for heritage protection built up over a long period of time. This notwithstanding, there are advances to be made in legal frameworks, both advancing existing heritage laws in key areas (recognition of heritage values, empowering working with others, managing threats outside property boundaries, improving procurement routes and performance standards for conserving archaeological heritage) and borrowing legislation from other spheres (in particular from the ministries of the Environment and of Development) to help manage change better.

Similarly, the institutional framework formed by the Ministry and its network of regional offices, subdivided into superintendencies, is a comprehensive system that has shown itself capable of innovation (e.g. the autonomy awarded to Rome and Pompeii in 1997). However, it still needs to evolve in several areas: first and foremost, reducing hierarchy and bringing decision-making closer to the problems while also providing greater flexibility in order to embrace new challenges and new forms of support. The existing situation can offer a good point of departure if, as in the case of financial resourcing, the short-term agendas created by political interference are kept at bay.

Indeed, the shortage of financial resources at a national scale is primarily a political issue: in a developed country, which is also rich in terms of cultural heritage, this can be seen as a governmental failure to fulfil its constitutional mandate. However, it also reflects a failure in terms of advocacy and engagement within an overly self-referential and insular heritage sector to ensure all stakeholders, politicians included, are capable of understanding the importance of investing in cultural heritage, in terms of valuable medium- and long-term social and economic outcomes. This is also true to some extent for the decade of superintendency financial and administrative autonomy witnessed to date: if the senior superintendency staff had used advocacy and engagement better, they may have equipped themselves with the necessary tools - such as broader stakeholder consensus - to safeguard them from central government periodically withdrawing superintendency funds for use elsewhere. It might have also helped the superintendency push for change and innovation from the 'bottom up', including within the area of human resources, to overcome serious shortages in the Technical Office and the many other problems that affect the entire Italian public sector nationwide.

The Heritage Site Management Practices workshop held at Herculaneum in 2008 offered a rare insight into management difficulties faced by archaeological sites on every continent of the world. Much common ground was found when it came to reflecting on features of successful heritage management practice, in particular the positive repercussions of more bottom-up approaches (Stovel 2004). Examples include steady

sources of finance with funding surges only integrated under the right conditions; a flexible institutional framework; the tendency to bring decision-making closer to the problems; and greater participation of local communities and other stakeholders in that decision-making. Italian heritage management systems too often practise the exact opposite but, as mentioned above, offer a solid framework in which some small steps in the right direction can have a major impact, as the work at Herculaneum shows.

During the workshop, participants shared experiences and learning around the challenges facing heritage management in their own countries and, at the same time, used Herculaneum as an open classroom and a common case study for more in-depth analysis. From these discussions, key areas for focus emerged, some of which correspond in particular to the needs of the Vesuvian sites and Italian heritage management.

Flexibility in institutional frameworks

Greater organizational flexibility would be beneficial because it would permit both learning-by-doing and the tuning and modifying of strategies and objectives as needs change. It would create an environment more favourable to partnership. Indeed, partnerships are one tool to overcome shortcomings in the institutional framework, even some of the major ones identified, without the need for legislative or organizational reform.

Financial resources: favouring continuity and long-term strategies

In terms of financial resources, review mechanisms and specific measures are needed to counteract the negative effects of surges of capital spending, such as in the case of funding from the European Union or World Bank, within the heritage sector but especially in the case of high-profile World Heritage properties. Better and more realistic integrated planning – with routine site care guaranteed regardless of wider long-term strategies for the use of capital funds – can already overcome many of the current difficulties in spending resources effectively, or even in spending them at all.

Human resources: high-level and low-level change

The superintendency autonomy from the Ministry, which has been an important and successful experiment in many ways, has to be allowed to take one important step further: to assume direct management of human resources. Accordingly, the management system would benefit from more effective deployment of resources and the simplification of administrative procedures, even if this, at times, requires legislative reform. However, much can be done by shifting approaches to human resources at a low level in the hierarchy (communication and advocacy, project management training, evaluation systems and incentives, etc.) to manage in-house staff and external contracts.

Stakeholder engagement to improve heritage processes and reach shared objectives

Greater investment in planning and monitoring is desirable in order to improve implementation, deliver action plans and work towards achieving necessary outcomes. The needs of the heritage and its wider setting, including the local community and other stakeholders, must be placed centre stage. Decision-making and review mechanisms must be embedded in wider consultation and participation, and this is no easy task. However, it will help to overcome difficulties that often exist in the relationship between an archaeological site and its setting, and between the management system for a site and its stakeholders. In many cases, the widening gap in these relationships is only a relatively recent problem (the case of Herculaneum), but overcoming it is central to the paradigm shift in the role of superintendencies from 'guardianship' to promoting a 'shared responsibility'. The following are ways through which this might be achieved:

- working to re-establish affinity and sense of ownership of the ancient city among local residents, starting from learning and outreach initiatives that encourage people's inclusion in heritage care;
- involving local communities directly in management processes and recognizing when the community can take a lead (e.g. enhancement initiatives aimed at improving access and sustainable tourism) and promoting social development and economic benefits as outcomes for local stakeholders;
- establishing permanent communication channels and fostering networks between public authorities and the local socioeconomic context to facilitate direct involvement of local people: this might, subsequently, allow for their contribution to the review and monitoring of annual work plans and outcomes to inform future priorities but also be more tangible still (e.g. through providing opportunities for volunteering or by encouraging works contractors to source maintenance staff locally, the promotion of which legislation does allow).

With greater awareness of their heritage, existing and new stakeholders can begin to contribute to its care, and over time support superintendencies, such as the one overseeing Herculaneum, in their mission.

Part 3: A Temporary Management System for Herculaneum to Reinforce the Wider Heritage Management System

Difficulties in the existing management system at the archaeological site of Herculaneum were the point of departure for the Herculaneum Conservation Project. This public-private initiative, launched in 2001, has sought to address the problematic conservation situation at this site and find long-term approaches to overcome the management deficiencies that had led to its serious neglect in the latter half of the twentieth century. Many aspects of the project's organizational structure and programme constitute a direct response to the shortcomings of the wider public heritage management system in Italy. In order to help the public authority overcome the grave operational impasse that the site had endured with regard to the quality of routine care for some 40 years, the first priority was to reinforce the existing organizational structure where there were inadequacies. This was done essentially by creating a temporary management system within the existing public management system and by promoting broader partnership. A successful multilateral operation was

established, which initially addressed the state of emergency. With that substantially resolved it was then possible to embark on the greater challenge of developing shared strategies that would be sustainable beyond the lifetime of the project and creating the conditions that would favour their continued implementation. In this way, the project has worked to establish good practice, broad consensus and new forms of support for practical responses to some of the problems that afflict the site and its surroundings, many of which are common to archaeological site management elsewhere in Italy and beyond.

The Project Mandate

The Herculaneum Conservation Project (HCP) is an initiative that has unfolded at the heart of a public heritage authority and, as such, has worked with the requirements and specific mandates established by Italian legislative frameworks outlined in the first section of this chapter. The fact that it is not a legal entity but a collaboration constructed on a series of partnership agreements is emblematic of its overall aims, that of building capacities in the long-term management system, departing from existing strengths.

Two principal agreements form the basis of this multilateral collaboration:

- a 2001 memorandum of understanding between the Packard Humanities Institute, a US philanthropic foundation, and the local heritage authority, at the time known as the Archaeological Superintendency of Pompeii (Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei);
- a 2004 sponsorship agreement (based on new heritage legislation)²⁰ between the British School at Rome, an Italian-based UK research institute supported by the Packard Humanities Institute, and the same superintendency.

Further local and international partnership agreements have been forged for specific aspects of the project.

Multilateral initiatives have the potential to deliver results that are far greater than the sum of the contribution of the individual partners, but they also raise specific management challenges. One such risk is that each partner constructs its own particular vision of what the project is about. The definition of shared objectives and strategies is of particular importance in a joint venture such as HCP. Initially, a conventional conservation agenda was adopted – 'saving the archaeological remains of Herculaneum from further ruin' – an inevitable response to the alarming condition of the site (Thompson 2007). Thanks to input from the project team and dialogue with other interested parties, and also to the new possibilities available under the 2004 sponsorship agreement,²¹ the aims of the project gradually shifted to encompass wider issues, such as:

- heritage values and to whom the heritage belonged;
- enhancement, access and use, not just protection;
- greater consultation, partnership and participation;

- a more inclusive and structured approach to planning and review;
- an emphasis on the effective use of resources and developing approaches that were re-applicable and sustainable in the future.

Together with an invitation from the president of the Packard Humanities Institute in September 2006 to extend the project's scope,²² this shift led to a more holistic agenda, which translated into a formal redefinition of project objectives.²³ The greater emphasis placed on access, values, planning, consultation, participation and the use of resources was a direct reflection of weaknesses of the existing management system, weaknesses that were all working against the project's capacity to safeguard the heritage and allow public enjoyment of the site.

The Organizational Framework

HCP was created as a lean and modest management structure with, where possible, light administrative procedures designed to reinforce, not weigh down, the already administratively heavy superintendency. From the outset, HCP's operational arm comprised a single project manager/administrator interfacing with project partner representatives, at the same time directing and contributing to a small non-hierarchical interdisciplinary team where consultancy appointments evolved as understanding of the site's needs and key management objectives grew (Thompson 2007).

This approach reflected the partnership's status essentially as a pooling of resources and operational capacity in the face of shared goals, rather than a legal entity. When HCP has been its most effective, it has been because each partner was bringing complementary strengths to the table and taking on roles and responsibilities to which they were suited: all prerequisites for effective multilateral initiatives. The following points outline, while inevitably simplifying, the diverse roles:

- The Packard Humanities Institute, founder and the main 'owner' of the project, constitutes the principal project driver and source of funding. The strong desire of its president and board to participate in, and see lasting benefits from, the foundation's work has shaped the project agenda from the outset, and continues to do so. The foundation brings experience of major international partnerships in the cultural sector, partnerships in which it has always played a primary operational role, in contrast to many other US philanthropic foundations that limit themselves to releasing grants and monitoring congruity of spending.
- The superintendency, a co-founder of the project, brings to the partnership the state-owned archaeological site, an inclination for strategic alliances and, above all, continuity in terms of responsibility and knowledge. This continuity is not only in the form of past management experience but also in the long-term responsibility for archaeological heritage in the Vesuvian area. It also brings organizational capacity through its institutional

- framework and human resources, and, from 2009, financial resources²⁴ to contribute to the achievement of HCP outcomes (where 'HCP' is intended as the sum of the public and private commitment).
- The British School at Rome, the third organization that was brought on board three years into the partnership, provided a major boost to the project's operational capacity. This was thanks to its ability, as a charitable entity already operating in the cultural sector in Italy for over 100 years, to guarantee effective delivery of major campaigns of archaeological conservation and enhancement works and related research activities, all funded by specific grants from the Packard Humanities Institute.

Indeed, in the current phase of HCP (first five-year sponsorship contract for 2004–2009), the British School at Rome, as the operative arm of the project, directly appoints the management team, the freelance consultants and the specialist contractors who work alongside public officials from the superintendency to form the HCP project team. The core team is based in temporary office accommodation on site and effectively constitutes the day-to-day organizational framework, which deploys and manipulates resources, carries out routine planning, implementation and monitoring and feeds information in a timely way back up the decision-making ladder.

A Scientific Committee of local and international experts meets annually to review and approve new and ongoing project objectives and the strategies in place for HCP to achieve them. This committee is headed jointly by superintendent Pier Giovanni Guzzo and the Packard Humanities Institute's president, David W. Packard, deferring often to his advisor Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, who fulfils a role essentially as a scientific director to HCP, acting as the principal interface with the founding partner, the Packard Humanities Institute, and as a guarantor for the congruity of decision-making throughout the year with agreed outcomes. In addition, two representatives from each project partner come together to govern coordination and partners' individual contributions to the annual joint programme of activity.²⁵

A team of three now carries out strategic planning at Herculaneum, as well as the preparation of coordinated annual conservation and enhancement programmes for review and approval by the Scientific Committee and the individual partners: the superintendency's site director, the head of the superintendency's Technical Office and the HCP project manager.²⁶ This team, in turn, draws on valuable input from the rest of the HCP project team and from wider interest groups, in recent times also benefitting from the contribution of HCP's sister initiative, the Herculaneum Centre.²⁷

To date, the HCP team has worked to ensure that conservation interventions contracted out by the British School at Rome have taken place within a flexible framework and, being free of the restrictions of public works law, often adopt experimental approaches. At the time of writing, the project is entering a 'handover' phase in which the experience accrued within HCP in recent years is informing a new programme in which the superintendency outsources site conservation and management, primarily

for site works but also sometimes contracting external expertise. It is the first structured, rolling programme of site care since the primary excavation and conservation campaign came to a close in the 1960s (Stanley-Price 2007). In this next phase, 2010–2012, the superintendency and the private partners are committing human and financial resources and achieving new levels of interdependency in the public-private partnership. The effectiveness of this joint programming is vital to ensure all project objectives are attained, in particular the establishment of approaches congruous with the financial and operational capacity of the public authority and its future partners. This will ensure sustainability long into the future, beyond the involvement of the current private partners.

Attracting and Deploying Resources

The injection of resources that Herculaneum has enjoyed to date as a result of the HCP initiative is, in financial terms, entirely thanks to the remarkable tradition of US philanthropy.²⁸ In the period from 2002 to 2008, funding reached some €14 million, and this is now being complemented by the parallel injection of public funds for works contracts.

The significance of HCP for the public heritage authority is that these additional financial resources have been translated into:

- human and intellectual resources, also through stimulating wider partnerships and increased operational and organizational capacity;
- tangible changes to the archaeological site itself;
- new conservation and management approaches trialled in the flexible contracting context granted to the private partners: these approaches promote quality, guarantee the best use of resources and are becoming increasingly compatible with superintendency procurement realities.

It was legislation passed in 2004 that introduced this flexibility as an almost incidental consequence of the new concept of 'sponsorship agreements', which allowed more direct contributions by the private partner.²⁹

Why has this proved important? The superintendency had been relatively wealthy since it gained autonomy from the central Ministry of Culture in 1997. However, it was in operational paralysis due to shortcomings and inflexibility in all areas of the management system. This was particularly acute in terms of staff shortages and limited project management skills to govern outsourcing (see above). In these circumstances, pouring money into the superintendency coffers would have only exacerbated the paradox of an organization dramatically under-capacity, ill-equipped and incapable of reform, and therefore unable to spend its own substantial financial reserves and carry out the routine actions (obligatory by law) to manage the cultural heritage in its care. Surges of financial resources can actually be counterproductive for cultural heritage where continuity of care is often more important than major capital investment projects. This was indeed demonstrated by the 2000-2007 rush of European funding for the Vesuvian sites,³⁰ which more or less consumed all of the superintendency's operational capacity and resulted in continued neglect of rolling

programmes of site care.³¹ Indeed, the measure of the interest in HCP, as an example of private support for heritage, is not in terms of financial resources but in methodological and organizational terms, with a strong emphasis on effective manipulation of human and intellectual resources. Its significance is not economic but rather as a form of 'capillary' capacity building of a management system through reinforcing the institutional framework, human resources and management processes, with a particular emphasis on its ability to work in collaboration with others. HCP's impact can be measured in terms of the legacy it leaves in the form of technical and administrative approaches to site management and the new forms of interest and support that have been harnessed.

The private partners' contribution to Herculaneum's conservation programme has been made on an annual basis in recent years. Previously, the awarding of grants was more irregular, creating a challenge for the project team in establishing continuity for the site – its biggest need – in a situation of limited continuity of financial resources, hence mirroring (and overcoming) some of the problems the superintendency was facing. Whilst regular annual commitment has provided more project stability and permitted a more efficient use of resources, it has proved an insufficient time frame for truly effective long-term planning for a cultural heritage site such as Herculaneum. At the time of writing, it has been provisionally agreed that the 2010–2012 programme for coordinated conservation handover (and HCP closure) will be reviewed and approved in its entirety and the two-year period covered by a single grant.

As already mentioned, this next project phase foresees the superintendency and the private partners pooling their resources (financial, human and intellectual) for Herculaneum in a joint programme of activities to maximize the impact of HCP. It will be the first time in a long time that the superintendency will have directed a substantial portion of its own funds to works at Herculaneum,³² and these will be divided between:

- regular funding (*fondi ordinari*) for an annual programme of site maintenance, envisaged to roll on into the future (and to be funded by ticket income);
- periodic special funding (*fondi straordinari*) for more ambitious site infrastructure, conservation and enhancement projects (a mix of income from ticket sales and other funding sources: e.g. the Regional Council, European Union funds).

It is hoped that the superintendency's Technical Office will benefit from support from the HCP project team in planning and implementation stages of the first maintenance cycles and campaigns to address some of the remaining major conservation challenges on the site (e.g. the ancient shoreline, the House of the Bicentenary, the Palaestra) before HCP is disbanded.

In this phase of HCP, an interdisciplinary team of 12–15 locally and nationally sourced freelance heritage specialists are working for the private partners. Of this team, up to seven provide continuity and regular site presence, working most closely with the permanent public superintendency officials, who include the site director, two architects and a conservator from the Technical Office (the last three, however, also overseeing activities in other sites). The relatively constant on-site presence of core

members of this interdisciplinary team, overseeing the site 12 months a year since 2002, and bringing day-to-day decision-making closer to the problems to be solved, has proved to be of enormous strategic importance in project development. It has demonstrated that appropriate investment in intellectual and human resources for archaeological conservation can pay its way in the long term.³³

This project team is supported by works contractors, also appointed by the private partner and respecting Italian eligibility standards, for carrying out conservation interventions, varying in number from two to five companies at any one time and usually selected by competitive tender. The tender procedures followed, particularly in recent phases of the project, have been better aligned with public works law to ensure re-applicability in the future (see below).

In addition, national and international research partners reinforce HCP's capacity and scope for improving conservation practice and creating learning environments. Partners are numerous and varied but priority is increasingly being given to those that fill specific knowledge gaps and, potentially, can also offer long-term commitment to the site beyond HCP's lifetime.³⁴

These partners have come forward or been recruited not only to reinforce conservation research, archaeological research and training but also to introduce new forms of support to the site for the long-term future (not just financial), to promote dialogue and to guarantee that the site plays a more meaningful role within the community, both now and in the future. The significance of the knowledge, values and support that has been drawn from within local and international communities alike, thanks to participatory initiatives, has become clearly evident. Multiple partnerships also with civil society have been created,³⁵ often in conjunction with HCP's sister initiative, the Herculaneum Centre.³⁶ These have proved critical for achieving a dual outcome: ensuring that Herculaneum, and other cultural heritage in the area, is perceived as relevant and beneficial to contemporary society and, in turn, making the care of our collective past more sustainable because it becomes a *shared* task.

HCP has achieved a rare mix of local partnerships and international alliances, first, by rooting the project in the local territory and in a clear and shared understanding of the problems to be addressed and the opportunities to be harnessed and, second, by drawing on international excellence and neutral perspectives. It has already proved instrumental in securing the long-term engagement of diverse interest groups and ensuring that project strategies attain greater legitimacy (taking only the best of local 'interests').³⁷ This has been vital for improving approaches to planning.

Planning

Planning for the outsourcing of site conservation works had been one of the weakest links in the superintendency's procedures, hindered by numerous failings in a management system in many ways obsolete for the needs of heritage in the twenty-first century. This was highlighted in the previous sections of this chapter and is perhaps best epitomized

by the handful of qualified specialist staff working in this rigid management environment that rarely reflects on the 'why' and 'what' of its core business. Too few in number, shouldering vast and complex responsibility in no way matched by their stipend, and fielding duties over-diluted by administrative obligations, this ageing part of the work force is near extinction unless new recruitment drives kick in (Thompson 2007).

In contrast, the Packard Humanities Institute endorsed flexibility as a key feature in the project's approach from the outset, welcoming mid-programme changes as an indication that the project team was learning and acquiring knowledge from its experience as the project progressed. This flexibility afforded the project team a space in which to experiment and advance approaches and also to overcome some of the difficulties of planning within the short-term framework of the Packard Humanities Institute's financial commitment to the conservation programme.³⁸

From the outset, the HCP team has dedicated substantial resources to the planning stage, but this contribution has increased substantially as the project has shifted from dealing with an emergency situation (2002–2007) to developing a rolling programme of site care for the long term (2008 onwards). The HCP planning process to develop a proposal for a year or three years of activities juxtaposes and synchronizes information and priorities emerging at all levels of the organizational structure. These can be strategic frameworks set by committees, contributions from those working most closely with the archaeological site or inputs from the outside (e.g. community partners, learning from other heritage sites, learning from good practice in other sectors). Interdisciplinary consultation and detailed estimations (in terms of scope, cost, time and quality of the output and outcome of each intervention) form the backbone of the process. A project management approach to the deployment of resources maximizes the output of the small organizational framework that makes up HCP. There is an increasing effort in the project to ensure planning is improved by broader consultation, better management and more thorough analysis of data from previous works, also via the use of GIS (Thompson and D'Andrea 2009), and much still needs to be done to improve these aspects. Indeed, new projects for the edges of the site are beginning to test a genuinely more integrated approach to involve the local community at all project stages, in conjunction with the Herculaneum Centre.

Naturally, with the broad framework agreed, each campaign of works on site is subject to careful planning. The development of comprehensive technical proposals communicating the results to be achieved and key considerations to be made in the process is given to each externally sourced works or services provider, and the coordination between these multiple appointments has been central to guaranteeing the outcome identified for each campaign.

Implementation

Grouping interventions into typologies (e.g. minor masonry or roofing repairs within the site-wide campaign in areas of the site at risk) or breaking down more complex campaigns into phases of manageable works packages (e.g. the long-term conservation strategies for the House of the Bicentenary – see below) are approaches that have particularly shaped the intense conservation activities that have taken place in recent years. This has ensured that outsourced activities are well defined and correspond with the organizational capacity of HCP to plan, supervise and monitor them.³⁹ It has helped guarantee the flexibility and organizational responsiveness required by archaeological conservation work where mid-implementation emergencies are par for the course. Indeed, resources are deployed to cover the ongoing mid-works re-planning that is required and to ensure rigorous implementation of health and safety policy and appropriate management of risk (both areas in which there is still much to be improved upon for the archaeological heritage sector). How this flexibility can be maintained as the programme of continuous care of the site is transferred to the superintendency is a challenge currently being addressed. Much emphasis is being placed on optimizing the use of the public works contractual frameworks that are available to commission archaeological conservation, as well as related planning and supervision models, in order to improve the cost-benefits of contracting out routine site care and more elaborate conservation projects by the public partner in the future (see below).

In terms of supervision and accountability, a single point of responsibility is identified for the implementation of the overall annual conservation programme (the project manager) but also in a disciplinary-specific way for every intervention and, subsequently, for its entire life cycle. This person may be an architect, an engineer, a conservator-restorer, an archaeologist, a geologist or a chemist depending on the problem in the archaeological site that is being addressed (fig. 8). This is in contrast to the public heritage management system, which guarantees continuity solely at a senior administrative level (the *responsabile del procedimento*), while discipline-specific technical aspects are often led in the implementation phase by different professionals from those leading the planning phase.

A measured and broad distribution of responsibility is achieved for individual freelance professionals within the HCP team thanks in part to Italian legislation derived from European directives,⁴⁰ as well as to the insurance policies required by the contracting client (the British School at Rome in this case). More preventive risk mitigation considerations (good communication, matching skills to tasks, continuing professional development, etc.) also come in to play to reduce personal liability.

Monitoring

Evaluation and monitoring of the effectiveness of the existing public management system for Herculaneum and the other Vesuvian sites has been at the heart of HCP since it began. As already mentioned, every HCP action aims to address gaps or build on existing strengths.

Monitoring the physical state of the site has been central to HCP since the outset, in the form of archaeological surveying, mapping of decay phenomena and regular monitoring of the site and risk. Greater rigour and method were introduced as the criteria required for managing the

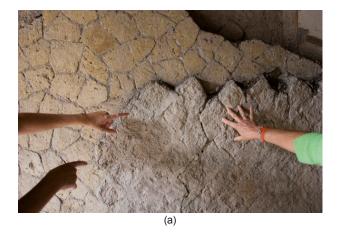








Figure 8a–d The Herculaneum Conservation Project brought together a multidisciplinary team to tackle the variety of conservation challenges the archaeological site faces. (Photos: Dave Yoder [a–b]; Jane Thompson [c–d])

information became clearer. The establishment of the project's geographic information system (GIS) is the ultimate expression of this process. Together with the importance given to *post-operam* documentation and the contribution of the information manager in all areas of the project, this has had positive influences not only on how the various specialists go about gathering, recording and analysing data but, above all, on how they go about using it to inform future planning (see below). So far used primarily for technical aspects of conservation work, the GIS is evolving to include financial and other administrative information, facilitate greater awareness of attributes that convey the site's cultural significance, facilitate data capture and monitor trends. It will provide precious material for more effective outsourcing of site maintenance (better technical choices

but also better pricing in the preparation of tender documentation, a framework for monitoring contractor performance, site decay, the cost of sustaining an archaeological site, etc.). It will in turn be able to enhance larger-scale future programming activities addressing responsibilities such as visitor management, low on HCP's radar pending the site being in a more stable and manageable condition.

With the emergency phase of the project now complete, more and more project resources are being dedicated to forms of data gathering and more in-depth monitoring (e.g. environmental, forms of decay, durability of previous conservation interventions, new conservation trials linked to research projects, etc.) specifically aimed at improving conservation techniques in terms of quality, duration and cost.

Evaluation of the effectiveness of HCP in achieving its mandate is addressed in several ways. A structured approach to reporting and meetings at all levels of the organizational framework since 2004 has ensured regular project review mechanisms and often greater effectiveness and relevance of strategies adopted.⁴¹ Continuous professional development by members of the project team and the use of HCP as a case study by ICCROM training courses has offered an important injection of outside thinking into project development. Perhaps communication and interpretation are areas that have been given too little weight considering their importance for achieving project objectives. As the project advances, there is also the need to create better mechanisms for capturing critical input from within and without HCP, and to ensure that project monitoring, control and review processes consistently inform future actions and set a useful lightweight and effective precedent for the superintendency to follow in the future. Indeed, the project continues to suffer from two problems typical of the heritage sector: (1) the difficulty of getting different disciplines to work effectively together, and (2) the overly insular nature of the heritage sector and its specialists, which can be a barrier to opportunities to learn from other sectors and to develop and improve existing skills.

The primary outcomes of the management system, monitoring, review and control processes at Herculaneum must also begin to ensure the protection of the Outstanding Universal Value of this World Heritage property and its other cultural values, as well as to promote forms of engagement in and benefits from these values among all stakeholders. Such a clear strategic emphasis will broaden the parameters identified to measure success and ensure more viewpoints are taken into consideration in planning to shape physical changes to the site and its surrounding management. All this will, in turn, gradually contribute to enhancing stakeholder consensus.

Results of the Temporary Management System at Herculaneum

The HCP public-private partnership identifies three macro objectives, which are very much aligned with the overarching strategic direction of the existing management system, even if the superintendency for the

Vesuvian sites fails to articulate them as specific goals and does not measure progress against them:

- Safeguarding. Although stated only indirectly within its six strategic objectives, HCP is protecting the Outstanding Universal Value of this World Heritage property and other cultural values that are important at a local and national level.⁴²
- Increasing forms of engagement with cultural values. In collaboration with the Herculaneum Centre, greater participation by the local and international community and visitors in the conservation and management of the site is building awareness of its cultural significance and contributing to the preservation of these heritage values. It is placing access, collective ownership and shared responsibility for heritage high on the agenda (something new for the Italian system) and attracting new forms of support to guarantee the future of the site.
- Harnessing benefits. Similarly, links (physical and psychological) are being re-established between Herculaneum (the ancient city) and Ercolano (the local community and the modern town). These will gradually ensure that the greater socio-economic and cultural vitality that cultural heritage can bring to its surroundings is harnessed, as well as the positive benefits for the heritage itself (new forms of support, reduced vandalism and theft, etc.).

In the long term, it is hoped that such a tripartite approach will highlight the benefits of a more integrated management of archaeological heritage in challenging urban settings, also in socio-economic and environmental terms. A problem not unique to Herculaneum is the lack of suitable social and economic indicators to measure these outcomes in a reliable way that makes the benefits of heritage conservation and enhancement visible to politicians and the wider public. It is only by measuring the impact of the more tangible project results which contribute to these outcomes that improvements can be discerned. HCP outputs to date can be grouped into four principal areas:

- A systematic annual campaign of archaeological conservation (since 2004) operating in three principal areas has radically improved the condition of the site and continues to make progress: improving site infrastructure (sewers, access, etc.) to reduce long-term site management costs; re-establishing continuity of care of the site, initially with a rolling campaign of emergency works which is evolving into programmed maintenance; and encouraging research, trials and experimentation with external partners to improve understanding of site problems and conservation methodology and to establish model solutions where appropriate.
- The launch of joint public/private planning, implementation and review processes to facilitate handover and to establish long-term approaches sustainable by the public partner alone, together with greater stakeholder participation to create the conditions for a more integrated management approach in the future.
- The production of a body of knowledge in the form of online facilities that unite a diversity of resources an HCP results

- archive, digitization of historic archives, thematic bibliographies, a GIS for Herculaneum and encourage analysis of previous scenarios, studies and initiatives to inform future programming of site care, and overtime, can deliver the base material for preparing detailed (priced) proposals for conservation campaigns in the future.
- Research and capacity-building collaborations in situ consolidating Herculaneum's emerging status as an open classroom for the sector and conference participation and publications support outreach beyond the confines of the site.

Management Planning

In order to respect World Heritage requirements, in 2008 the Ministry for Culture authorized the commissioning of management plans for all UNESCO World Heritage properties in Italy, including Herculaneum as part of the wider serial property.⁴³ The process took a long time to begin and has not always been integrated well into the management systems that already existed for World Heritage. The process, as in many countries, has been hindered by legislative gaps and also by institutional approaches often entrenched in academia that make it difficult to base management on cultural values (rather than on material expressions) of the past (De la Torre et al. 2005), and involve all those who hold these values. In the case of the Vesuvian World Heritage property, superintendency staff and the HCP team were consulted by the external consultants preparing the management plan but only in the final stages of its preparation, and primarily as data providers. There is some doubt as to whether the plan will be of any practical value given that its preparation process means it is not aligned with many of the management realities given the lack of meaningful involvement of core stakeholders. The document that will be produced therefore risks being consigned to sitting on a shelf and being an end in itself; a problem that is not unique to Italy.

Partnership and Management-by-Projects (or 'Change Management')

HCP has, from the outset, adopted an alternative approach to creating change in a heritage management system, choosing not to adopt the management planning practices that are so widespread in the heritage sector, particularly in Anglophone countries. The project essentially uses temporary partnership arrangements to carry out a form of operational capacity building⁴⁴ and management reforms that build consensus and secure advances in small steps, creating lasting changes that will hopefully continue to exist beyond the project. This approach is proving effective because the main external partners operate *within* the existing management system so are well placed to carry out, and build consensus around, 'health checks' on the existing management scenario, and also because the collaboration is taking place over a long enough period of time to consolidate its impact. Furthermore, those additional partners described above are recruited to help drive change in specific areas.

The capacity-building process in HCP attempts to promote a pragmatic, project-based approach to improve the ability to respond to emergencies but also shift to a more proactive rather than reactive approach. The shift includes the capacity to plan in a way that addresses priorities, to deploy resources and implement effectively, to assess success in quantitative and qualitative terms that feed back into the process, and to augment operational transparency. Indeed, many of the HCP strategies already described are typical of the use of 'management-by-projects' as a management tool to introduce change in an organizational status quo.⁴⁵ Increasingly, organizations are changing in nature as more of them accomplish their routine business through management-by-projects.⁴⁶ Such an emphasis on projects leads to what have been until now pyramid organizational structures (the case of the Italian heritage system) and their resources being regrouped in a new way, according to specific initiatives for which scope, quality of work, time and cost constraints are all clearly defined.⁴⁷

Future Prospects

It is envisaged that HCP, at least the ambitious version underway today, will wind down in this next three-year period, 2009–2012, gradually handing over its approaches for site management to the superintendency (see below) and then downsizing to a small support team for a number of years yet to be defined.⁴⁸ This team could work on several fronts:

- monitoring and review of previous project results;
- research and experimentation to further advance methodological approaches;
- dissemination of knowledge and continuous professional development activities;
- technical and administrative support to those responsible for site management;
- help in identifying and recruiting new partners and new forms of support.

The team could thus contribute to consolidating project results and help ensure that Herculaneum continues to be a model of effective use of resources and good conservation practice and, in conjunction with the Herculaneum Centre,⁴⁹ further establishes itself as an 'open classroom' for the archaeological heritage sector, the local community and the wider public. Such an approach to the winding down of the project would certainly maximize the possibility of HCP's results having positive wider repercussions on the management of other archaeological sites in Italy. However, the Italian heritage system is in a period of uncertainty, and there are differing opinions on whether the Italian state will be capable of drawing on the lessons learned in Herculaneum.⁵⁰

The direct and indirect socio-economic benefits that cultural heritage can bring to its surrounding communities and environment are immense. It should be central to government agendas worldwide – in Italy especially, the potential of heritage to address issues of cultural diversity, social cohesion and urban regeneration is immense. However, the short-term agenda of politicians, paired with the insular nature of the

cultural heritage sector, can mean legitimate interests in the greater role of cultural heritage in modern society often translate into a more material vision. Heritage places are often described as being 'crowd pullers' or 'gold mines' for making money from tourism, but without the accompanying business sense to ensure that this economic gain takes place in a broader framework of mutually beneficial sustainable development, and only if:

- the right balance is made in resources deployment between capital infrastructure investment and sustaining cultural values and management in the long-term (the latter being too often neglected);
- capital infrastructure investment is channelled to make sites more manageable by reducing running costs (and not simply to create flagship projects);
- due emphasis is placed on wider participation in long-term management, so that continuity of care is favoured, shared values are enhanced and cultural heritage has a relevant role in society now and in the future.

HCP is already planning its phased closure and handover to the superintendency. Ultimately, it will only have been successful if it leaves an accessible and maintainable legacy of knowledge and sustainable approaches that:

- are accessible to all;
- can guarantee the protection of the cultural values of Herculaneum long into the future;
- ensure the superintendency, its future partners and other stakeholders feel full ownership and are in a position to implement;
- where possible, are re-applicable in other Vesuvian sites and perhaps large archaeological sites elsewhere in the world.⁵¹

It will not be possible to judge the success of this multilateral public-private venture until perhaps 2020.

Conclusion

As with many of the case studies discussed in the workshop and further explored in this publication, the problems facing the superintendency in managing Herculaneum are problems shared by the wider public heritage management system in Italy. Indeed, like heritage management realities elsewhere in the world, management frameworks for public-owned heritage have failed to evolve to keep pace with society and its changing relationship to its past. Pressures on and expectations of cultural heritage in society increase, but not always in line with the capacity to manage these threats and opportunities. Indeed, heritage is no longer just a testimony to the past but a key player in social and economic change, a promoter of cultural diversity, social cohesion and meaning, a source of new scientific knowledge, environmental awareness and so on.

Constructed upon the expression of common intent between organizations and on a shared pool of expertise, HCP has proved a light and flexible response to deal with the problems of this existing, archaic and heavy management framework. HCP effectively constitutes a time-bound

public-private management system which operates from within the permanent public heritage management system using management approaches that forge change gradually, avoiding publicly advertising the shortcomings of the current situation. This can be a problem posed in some cultures by management planning (something management planning approaches can promote, which is counterproductive in certain social, political and cultural terms). HCP is a small and temporary management system created to overcome shortcomings in the macro system, essentially by creating change from the bottom up, through modifications in management practice (planning, implementation and monitoring, see below). In turn, these then trigger gradual but significant change in the public authority's mandate, organizational framework and use of resources, but without demanding major legislative revision or major organizational upheaval. It is this aspect that makes HCP, in conjunction with its sister initiative the Herculaneum Centre, of wider interest as a case study, especially for those countries with centralized and often bureaucratic, top-down public heritage management systems.

Part 4: Conserving an Ancient City: From a Site-Wide Emergency Campaign to a Cyclic Conservation Programme

At the beginning of the year 2000 the archaeological site of Herculaneum was found to be in very poor condition, both in terms of conservation and visitor experience (Stanley-Price 2007), nor was there a healthy relationship with the local authorities or the local community.⁵² The superintendency's management problems in general were all reflected in the growing problems at this extensive yet fragile archaeological site.

This final section of the Herculaneum chapter looks at the Herculaneum Conservation Project (HCP) site-wide campaign that was launched in response to the severe decay that the site suffered from at the turn of the twenty-first century. In response to such extensive conservation challenges, the HCP team developed their approach progressively, from an early attempt to resolve problems thoroughly in one urban block of the site (the Insula Orientalis I) to a widespread effort to tackle the most serious situations throughout the ancient Roman town in order to dramatically reduce the archaeological heritage being lost (Pesaresi and Martelli Castaldi 2007; Pesaresi 2009; Martelli Castaldi 2009). This section provides an account of this campaign and how the various problems have been tackled using innovative approaches. It explains how, later on, the site-wide campaign was continuously fine-tuned to transform it into a conservation and maintenance programme for the long-term care of the site. The challenges of converting the experience of a flexible team of external specialists who worked alongside the superintendency into an approach that can be taken forward independently by the superintendency in the future will also be discussed.

The HCP Site-wide Campaign and Its Life Cycle

The extreme level of decay that affected the whole archaeological site of Herculaneum at the beginning of the twenty-first century compared unfavourably with the level of conservation of the structures, wall paintings and objects that had been uncovered during the excavation, conservation and maintenance campaigns between 1927 and 1961, overseen by Amedeo Maiuri, superintendent responsible for archaeology in Naples and the Vesuvian area. Furthermore, the relatively few conservation interventions that took place were fairly isolated in comparison to Maiuri's vision of a 'harmonious' site, as demonstrated by the wellbalanced restoration methodologies he established. Even today, visitors can appreciate this overall harmony, and it helps them to understand better both the dynamics of the 79 CE eruption and the ancient urban fabric and the architecture of the Roman city. Amedeo Maiuri even set up a basic maintenance system for the site, which is still of interest today: fixed teams of specialist workers with different skills cared for the buildings and gardens on a regular basis, in much the same way that is done (or ought to be done) in a modern city. Accessibility was guaranteed even to upper floors of the ancient buildings in almost all cases, and the escarpments surrounding the site were cut in such a way as to provide maintenance routes and ensure visibility from above (fig. 9). The ancient sewer systems were modified to collect and drain rainwater, which remains one of the biggest threats to the site's conservation.

The abandonment of Maiuri's maintenance mechanisms in the latter half of the twentieth century, together with other factors, led to a spiral of damage and decay across the entire site of Herculaneum, to such an extent that it became difficult to appreciate the full cultural significance of the site. The sheer size of the archaeological site, the need to open it to the public almost every day of the year and the absence of direct access

Figure 9 This image from 1952 shows a staircase, which was installed to provide access to the upper floor of the Palaestra and then to the escarpment above. (Photo: D5639 Archive PA-Erco)



to the archaeological area proper⁵³ made works planning complex and extremely expensive, and public resources were not readily available. In the year 2000, the superintendency had begun to plan a series of conservation projects for individual houses, which should have been a first step out of this spiral of decay. The projects included some of the most significant houses within the site that had been closed to the public for safety reasons as decay affected the structures. Before the projects were drawn up, an extensive campaign initially took place to make the houses safe, which was largely achieved through propping up structures and decorative features with scaffolding. To date, however, not one of these houses has received the necessary funding for its planned restoration, signalling the complete failure of this policy. The houses in question have since suffered from exponential decay, with the 'temporary' scaffolding props themselves becoming dangerous as they were left in place beyond their foreseen lifespan.

During the first three years of HCP (until 2004) the project's activities were mainly focused on observation and planning, together with methodological experiments in one urban block of the site (the Insula Orientalis I) that had been chosen as a case study (Guidobaldi et al. 2005). At the same time, the Packard Humanities Institute took responsibility for the costs of conservation elsewhere on the site, as well as of archaeological finds – a strategic step to give the public and the private partner visibility of one another and help build trust. In theory, these initial works aimed at halting some of the most serious situations of decay within the archaeological site while waiting for the main conservation projects to be designed. However, in reality they included only provisional measures such as scaffolding props, temporary shelters, barriers, etc. Consequently, they did not substantially improve the conservation status quo of the site and often introduced new elements that created additional maintenance problems. Nevertheless, this form of support did result in the HCP team acquiring knowledge and understanding that was of great use in decision-making in subsequent years, as it allowed them:

- to gain experience on the ground and begin dialogue with in-house technical staff (which included building mutual trust);
- to verify the ineffectiveness and potential dangers of provisional works;
- to understand the difficulties the superintendency faced in implementing works and the levels of monitoring that their staff could provide.

Thanks to a sponsorship agreement signed in 2004 that allowed the private partner to commission works directly without many (but not all) of the restrictions of public works law (see above) (Thompson 2007), the HCP team swiftly planned and carried out an initial two-year programme of intense on-site activities. It is in this context that an emergency works campaign was launched for the whole site, in parallel to research into and mapping of decay, with the following aims:

- to identify the decay dynamics affecting the site;
- to experiment with various widespread solutions for the short, medium and, where possible, long term;

- to re-establish, where possible, sustainable maintenance mechanisms;
- to apply flexible approaches that could also be re-applicable elsewhere.

Thanks to a multidisciplinary team, a flexible approach and the experience gained from various studies and tests, this campaign produced tangible results in a short amount of time, resolving many of the most serious conservation situations. The superintendency's technical staff working at Herculaneum were therefore able to focus on more complex planning as they were freed from the ordinary day-to-day management and emergency response.⁵⁴

From 2006 onwards the campaign progressively shifted away from emergencies to a more systematic and broader vision, and packages of structured interventions were trialled. Works were tested in thematic groups based on the architectural element and/or the specific conservation measures required. This allowed specific and commonly found problems to be tackled through specific tenders (e.g. for the repair and substitution of modern protective shelters). It also reduced costs (thanks to greater market competitiveness), planning and design difficulties (reducing the number of unforeseen situations, and introducing greater 'standardization' of procedures) and the intensity of site visits necessary (thanks to rigid timetables). Attention was paid mostly to the causes of decay, an example of this being a huge investment between 2006 and 2008 in activities related to water management throughout the archaeological site, including excavations to re-establish the ancient sewer system. The introduction of a medium-term perspective (five years)55 in view of the progressive handover to the superintendency led to a greater emphasis being placed on planning, design and implementation in a way that increased efficiency, effectiveness and the sustainability of interventions in the long term. Consequently, while the focus of the campaign did not change, the management approach to activities was revised so as to be widely replicable, particularly within the public administration. This phase is still underway.

By 2008 it was clear that the state of emergency was over in nearly all areas of the site and that Herculaneum was now in a relatively stable and manageable state. Therefore, most of the HCP team's activity shifted progressively to maintenance and the search for adequate mechanisms to optimize and monitor works. In parallel to the development of a maintenance approach, the collaboration with the superintendency became even closer, and the foundations were laid for what has become called 'joint programming', a system for shared planning in which the HCP team draws up various conservation, maintenance and enhancement projects while the superintendency commits the necessary funding (see above). Joint programming (a term being defined at the time of writing) also foresees support by the HCP team for superintendency colleagues during the implementation of works. Another result of the emergency works being concluded is that attention has now been able to focus on issues that extend beyond site boundaries, in a process accelerated by the creation in 2007 of an association, the Herculaneum Centre, dedicated to improving the relationship between the local and the international communities (see above).

An Evolving Approach: From Emergency to Sustainable Conservation

As mentioned, the superintendency's approach to site conservation in the early 2000s focused on projects for individual Roman houses, with detailed proposals for major conservation campaigns in order to return them, at least partially, to their post-excavation conservation status. However, the slowness of the public procedures and the shortage of capital funds resulted in the impossibility of implementing the designs and highlighted how little the approach lent itself to being extended to the rest of the site. It would have left the majority of the ancient houses, shops and public buildings in neglect, creating unacceptable differences in the state of conservation across the site. The six houses that were chosen for the first superintendency projects covered an area of about 2 800 m², within a main archaeological area that contains 35 000 m² of built fabric. The investment of financial resources devoted to the conservation of the chosen houses (€3 000–4 000 per m²) was not excessive, but illogical if compared to the costs budgeted for both ordinary measures and more intermittent repairs dedicated to the rest of the site (virtually nothing).

The spontaneous - but profoundly conscious - decision to reject this approach and to dedicate the Packard Humanities Institute's resources (that were very limited in comparison to the amount committed by the superintendency to the six houses) to the entire site led to many reflections that have characterized thinking from the emergency phase until today. The shift initiated by HCP towards a holistic approach to the entire site provided various advantages for planning more effective works in the long term: for instance, enabling the team to tackle various problems connected to the interdependencies between various buildings, such as the challenges of water disposal in an open-air site and of structural performance in a seismic area. However, scaling up to work at the level of the entire site risked paralyzing the operational capacity of the HCP team and creating an elevated demand for specialist expertise that the private partner was not prepared to sustain. Considerable emphasis was therefore placed on setting up a system for identifying priorities and optimizing the use of resources. Mapping activities across the whole site by various specialists for their own area of competency provided a snapshot of the state of health of the archaeological heritage and allowed forms of decay, priorities and work typologies to dictate the works that were required. In parallel, the one urban block of the site (the Insula Orientalis I) that had been chosen at the beginning of HCP as a case study was permanently dedicated to experimenting with long-term conservation interventions, in such a way as to inform the campaign for the rest of the site.

During the 2006–2008 emergency campaign, establishing criteria for deciding priorities before and during works was fundamental for obtaining significant results in a short period over such a large site. The need to act rapidly and contemporaneously on mapping and implementation did lead to some tortuous moments during the planning and intervention phases. However, surprisingly, it was found that the absence of an established systematic methodology was compensated by a strong interdisciplinary presence on site, which ultimately benefitted the final results. In fact, the flexibility allowed by this type of approach, which was also built

into the tender process with works contractors in order to allow planning during works,⁵⁶ allowed situations to be tackled that could not have possibly been foreseen in advance because of their complexity and invisibility.⁵⁷

As the so-called emergency phase drew to a close, and conscious that the site was not 'restored' but only more 'manageable', the HCP team's approach gradually matured towards the conservation of the status quo of the entire site, while specific 'extraordinary' interventions (i.e. more intermittent or one-off repairs) progressively addressed the more complex conservation problems of the archaeological heritage that remained. From this point of view, the maintenance system that had been set up by Amedeo Maiuri in the early twentieth century was a model to study, and it was useful to reinstate much of that model in order to secure a sustainable conservation programme for Herculaneum.

Ultimately, over the years, HCP's approach to the site-wide campaign has progressively evolved to constitute a flexible and hopefully sustainable model of programmed conservation, which is currently being tested for its feasibility for implementation exclusively by the public partner. The approach responds to the following aims:

- to understand decay mechanisms better and minimize the decay of archaeological structures and decorative features;
- to intervene across the entire site, carrying out harmonious and integrated interventions;
- to plan according to the optimal use of resources that respond to priorities;
- to reinstate access, infrastructure and maintenance routes;
- to re-open closed areas of the site to the public;
- to seek to resolve medium- and long-term problems;
- to carry out and encourage monitoring and checks;
- to use simplified and re-applicable intervention models;
- to encourage information sharing on what has been achieved.

The Organizational Structure for the Site-wide Campaign: Constraints and Benefits

HCP is essentially a temporary management system deliberately designed to be small and responsive, and as such it cannot take on the organizational load of managing the entire archaeological site (see above). In the same way, the tasks of managing site conservation alone – including research, dissemination of results, planning, implementing works and documenting them – is a heavy burden for such a 'light' team. HCP's approach of working across the entire archaeological site led to the need to formulate the right on-site organizational structure appropriate for an intense site-wide campaign while remaining light and flexible.

Therefore, since 2004 there has been a fixed core team, made up of an archaeologist, an architect and a conservator-restorer, who are on site all year round. Support is provided by a project manager, a larger team of assistants and other specialists from a range of sectors who come to the site on request (but at least once every two weeks). During the period of maximum intensity (the emergency phase), works planning was discussed and

agreed in weekly site visits carried out with superintendency staff and then formalized in fortnightly meetings and written reports, which ensured that information and decision-making was shared as much as possible. If the expertise that fuelled the partnership took the form of a small fixed team supported by a larger and variable group of specialists, the operative arm in terms of site works consisted of two specialist contractors (for the conservation of structures and of decorative features respectively) who were involved continually over a five-year period. These contractors contributed not only to the implementation of works as they were planned but also to conservation trials and systematic maintenance campaigns. Research alliances with local and international academic institutions enriched specific aspects of the campaign and reinforced the conservation approach.

This lightweight but flexible organizational structure has ensured the constant and long-term multidisciplinary approach needed for responsive decision-making. The specialists involved, both fixed team members and those involved on a case-by-case basis, share common ground and understanding, thanks to frequent coordination meetings and written reports. Involvement in the decision-making process has been continual, and each specialist is invited to contribute on a range of issues, even outside of their own specialist sector, to ensure that the necessary balance of competences is maintained (Thompson 2007). Again, the decision-making process for the distribution of resources is shared in a process facilitated by the project manager, leading to co-responsibility and proactivity, which is not always common in many specialist professional spheres.

In addition, ongoing communication and the sharing of conservation decisions by the HCP team with superintendency colleagues was crucial on many fronts. For example, it allowed technical and specialist decisions to be reinforced, since the external consultants could not reasonably be expected to acquire knowledge about the former state of conservation and evaluate with the necessary precision the evolution of decay within such a short time frame, in addition to being aware of management difficulties surrounding site works. Furthermore, it allowed common ground to be found for planning, which over the years has come to form the basis of the current joint programming by HCP and the superintendency.

Sharing this decision-making platform with the superintendency has allowed the HCP team to work within the superintendency itself, making the most of the existing administrative and management system and reinforcing it without seeking to eliminate or substitute it. This would not only create immediate operational obstacles but also put at risk continuity of long-term management. In addition, this internal collaboration with superintendency colleagues has led to important discussions and peer learning, and it has created the platform for better embedding and enriching the HCP approach. This was particularly important in 2009 when HCP entered an experimental phase for taking this collaboration further, with the HCP team developing detailed proposals for future conservation campaigns that the superintendency can use to commission works at Herculaneum while still advancing works campaigns commissioned directly by the private partner (see above). It has marked a particularly complex and critical moment in the handover process and presented a difficult test for the HCP organizational structure, which has had to stay light so as to avoid duplicating roles that already exist within the superintendency.

Resources: How to Measure Need?

Although it may not appear to be the case when looking at a project like HCP, which enjoys private financial support, one of the main aims of the conservation programme from the outset was the correct and measured use of resources, human and financial. There were cost benefits to having the core team permanently present on site, as multidisciplinary approaches were needed for the entire HCP conservation programme. This use of human resources also had positive impacts on monitoring the use of financial resources, thanks to a better control of implementation and ever more accurate planning (as it was carried out on the spot, not in a remote office).

Monitoring the use of resources for the site-wide campaign was crucial when attempting to carry out works in as much of the site as possible. Excluding those areas that were already the subject of superintendency projects, HCP's site-wide campaign addressed an area of 42 000 m², of which 10 000 m² are areas protected by some form of shelter (roofs or floor slabs of upper floors), of which 1 200 m² of those shelters were in a serious state of decay and presented a risk both to visitors and to the decorative features they were intended to protect.

The need to direct the financial resources carefully in the site-wide campaign led to the creation of various strategies for planning and implementing works:

- Priorities were established not only on the basis of urgency but also around factors such as interdependencies with other activities, the possibility of re-opening areas to the public, the potential to attract other funding sources, etc.
- A range of accounting mechanisms were developed, to be used according to the type of intervention.
- The probability of contingencies was recognized (archaeological conservation projects tend to be treated as the equivalent of restoration projects for historic buildings, but the likelihood of contingencies is totally different).
- Similar operations (in terms of location and/or techniques) were grouped together.
- Provisional works were only used to a limited extent (mediumand long-term interventions, even if partial, were preferred).
- Access to site was improved to reduce the economic impact of transportation within the site area.⁵⁸

In the four-and-a-half-year period from the end of 2004, total funding for the site-wide campaign amounted to approximately €3 600 000 for works on structures and infrastructures and €1 400 000 for works on decorative features.⁵⁹ Thanks to this investment, a range of results have been obtained, including:

- 100 per cent of the structures and decorative features have been made safe, and only in some cases is this provisional.
- 800 m² of the 1 200 m² seriously decayed shelters (about 60 of them) were repaired or reconstructed.

- Vegetation was removed from 10 000 m² of escarpment surrounding the site and 3 000 m² along the entire ancient shoreline.
- The entire perimeter area between the main site and the modern town, for a total area of 5 000 m², was made safe.
- 1 000 m³ of rubble and other used building materials were removed from the archaeological area.
- 990 m of drains that were malfunctioning were reinstated, so that the 2 360 m drainage system is now fully functional, resolving water drainage issues.

The experience of the first phase of the site-wide campaign, in parallel to recognition of the failure of the 'house by house' approach (Pesaresi and Martelli Castaldi 2007), showed that the way forward for a sustainable conservation programme for Herculaneum lay in offering practicable models with contained costs and light planning, for maintenance and definitive conservation works.

The constant monitoring of works expenditures and professional and management support over the years has allowed costs to be quantified for carrying out the most common interventions (ordinary and preventive maintenance), as well as some of those of greater complexity (corrective maintenance). The GIS enables this to be done with ever greater precision. Herculaneum is halfway between a ruin and an urban area and has certain peculiarities, such as post-excavation reconstructions, that strongly shape conservation and management approaches. Significant modern integrations mean there is considerable repetition in terms of the types of works that are required, which has consequently led to greater standardization of procedures and costs than might be typical for an archaeological site. For these types of works, there is currently a focus on gathering all technical and economic information that can be used to generate future price lists and technical specifications by the superintendency for managing maintenance and a range of simple conservation tasks.

Instead, for more complex and specialist interventions, which are naturally more expensive, experiments have been underway since the beginning of 2009 for more intermittent or one-off repairs. These bring together the simplified ordinary maintenance models with the emergency approaches that were tested during the first phase of the site-wide campaign, and with the 'complete' planning methodology that was used for the superintendency's more exhaustive conservation proposals for individual houses. The aim is to arrive at a hybrid model of interventions, which are simple in terms of procedures but complex in terms of the specific works to be carried out. Using a phased approach, it focuses on those areas of the archaeological site that are still in serious conditions but where there are already detailed comprehensive conservation proposals available for expensive exhaustive conservation campaigns: this paradoxical scenario is not unique to Herculaneum, given the superintendency's past capacity to commission ambitious conservation planning by external consultants more easily than implementing actual works. This would allow the existing superintendency conservation proposals to be reshaped and subdivided into distinct phases, with the direct result being a reduction in the resources required (human, financial and

intellectual) and the ability to spread resource capacity over a longer period of time.

The rationality of this modular planning approach will be reinforced by HCP's ongoing conservation activities (including research, dissemination, etc.). In this way, despite the fact that subdivision of projects normally leads to an overall increase in costs, the swift intervention that is enabled through lighter discrete phases of work could break the vicious circle that currently exists whereby decay multiplies exponentially while waiting for ambitious conservation works to take place, ultimately increasing the costs of intervention.⁶¹ Currently, interventions are being planned that focus on the greatest priorities (almost 10 000 m² of site area) which will reduce the estimated cost per square metre of the superintendency's projects (currently €3 000-4 000/m²) to about a tenth of the original figure (€300–400/m²). These 'extraordinary' interventions can be reinforced in parallel by the maintenance works, which are cyclical and repetitive and spread all over the site (the open-air archaeological areas comprising the main site and the adjacent area of the Villa of the Papyri come to approximately 50 000 m²).

Planning: Mapping, GIS and Other Tools

Planning these interventions on such a large and complex scale as Herculaneum has certainly been one of the greatest challenges that HCP has had to face since its inception. From simply addressing the 'needs' of the site, the team has now come to recognize that the variables to consider in terms of priority factors and methods of intervention are almost innumerable. Herculaneum may be overshadowed by Pompeii in terms of sheer size, but it certainly matches the larger site with regards to the complexity of multi-storey structures and the completeness and richness of decorative features and architectural elements, many in fragile carbonized wood.

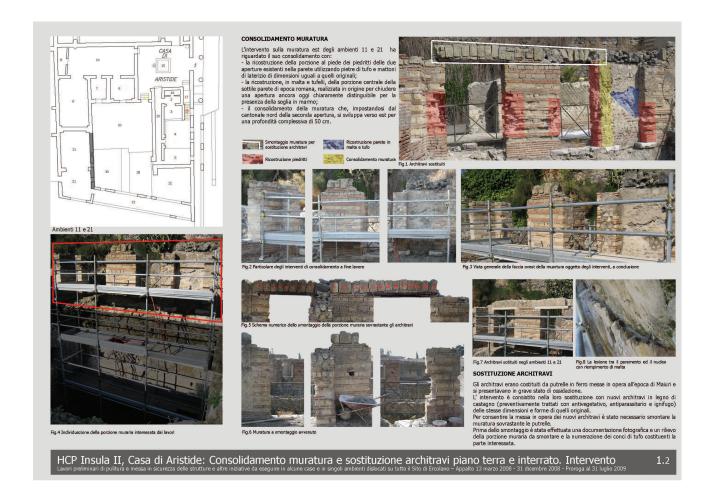
The HCP team has worked within a constantly evolving process that responded to the site's basic need to survive – a need identified by the superintendency, the general public and the local community – as well as to other crucial factors, such as the need for significant investments to obtain appreciable results. Indeed, even in planning phases, HCP has been able to apply a high degree of flexibility.⁶²

One of the key tools in achieving such flexibility from the outset was an intense mapping process to identify the decay factors geographically. Simple and adaptable to all heritage (both structural and architectural elements but also decorative features), mapping was applied through a process of codifying all the elements of the site on the basis of their characteristics and their level of decay. Each specialist contributed for their area of competency. This enabled the team to identify priorities swiftly according to criteria such as groupability, typology of works, resources available, etc. The combined result of the various maps immediately became the basis for all subsequent planning, both first-aid interventions and those of greater complexity. This process has since become systematic, with the introduction of a dedicated GIS that brings together

these data while revealing interdependencies significant to conservation decision-making. Early results and interdisciplinary planning, which had previously existed only in terms of meetings and reports, were integrated into the GIS which now stores all data relating to works, studies and research carried out since HCP began. Thanks to this, it has been possible to formulate and plan, and so further evolve the campaign into a process of integrated interventions as the basis for a sustainable model of conservation practice (Thompson and D'Andrea 2009). The ability of this GIS to host countless data of different types (from documentation recording work carried out to economic and procedural data), allows the team to constantly fine-tune this process of analysing the site's state of health and of planning works (fig. 10).

The experience and knowledge of the site that have already been acquired (also though wider partnerships) and enhanced in the GIS have proved valuable as a key communication tool when flexibility in works planning decreased in order to make approaches suitable for the superintendency to use in the future. It offers potential for use by the public authorities for internal conservation planning (i.e. preliminary planning prepared by superintendency staff) dedicated to routine works and maintenance. The use of the GIS is proving its strength as a tool for accelerating the preliminary planning phases of conservation interventions, as well as providing multi-disciplinary support to isolated public heritage officers (fig. 11).

Figure 10 An example of postworks documentation for the substitution of modern lintels and masonry repairs. The data were systematically archived in the site's GIS in order to allow monitoring of the results and progressive improvement of methodologies. (Studio Pesaresi/HCP)



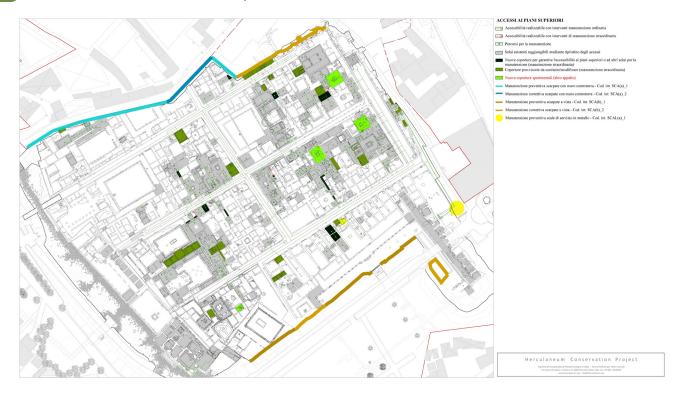


Figure 11 The GIS for Herculaneum contains a range of content which can be brought together to better understand the needs of the site, helping the multidisciplinary team to plan for maintenance and long-term management. (Studio Pesaresi/HCP)

Re-applicability: Tools, Procedures and Monitoring

As already outlined above, a conservation campaign for a large and complex archaeological site inevitably encounters a range of unforeseen situations while work is underway, and these can impact fundamentally on results and timing. In the context of progressive refinement of new phases of conservation planning, the experience of the site-wide campaign has been important. It has brought to light the degree to which the flexibility guaranteed by HCP's private-sector positioning had allowed the HCP team to reduce the number of contingencies that arise and manage them in the long term. In preparation for the handover of continuous care to the superintendency, the HCP team is now studying various strategies, based on the model of the site-wide campaign, that can be used by the public administration.63 Examples are the subdivision of works into packages with systematic revision of the design after the first works phase,64 or the use of more complex tender processes that include an analytical revision of the design and the possibility of involving external specialists on the tender panel. It is particularly difficult to identify appropriate procedures for the maintenance works on archaeological sites, as their cyclical nature requires a different approach to outsourcing a single works package.

As indicated earlier in this paper, the organizational structure of the superintendency underwent radical change over the second half of the twentieth century, as too did legislation for public works. The outsourcing of maintenance activities, in particular, has since become an inevitable move for public administrations, given the shift away from in-house provision of staff and towards European-led tendering frameworks. All the same, there is yet to be dedicated legislation in Italy to recognize that the commissioning of public works for heritage has very specific needs over other public works. Some procedural formulas are currently being tested in Italy for the maintenance of cultural heritage on a multi-year basis but

for historic buildings or museums. It is within this network of opportunities and constraints that the HCP team is seeking ways for the superintendency to be able to manage Herculaneum's continuous care in the future and archaeological sites in general.

Another problematic issue for the re-applicability of the site-wide campaign is one of guaranteeing the quality of work undertaken. The system for commissioning private contractors in Italy is highly contended and particularly so in the public sphere;⁶⁵ it is therefore especially important for the superintendency to monitor works that are being delivered. To support this, HCP is developing proposals to reduce and simplify control and monitoring procedures by dividing up works by type and standardizing these where appropriate. In particular, tasks can be fairly rigidly subdivided if works are simplified and well organized, meaning that checks can be programmed in advance, with notable savings on human resources. The supply of materials can also be organized more effectively so as to ensure that quantities and quality are appropriate for the requirements of each project.

However, ongoing monitoring of works in progress, as well as the longerterm state of conservation, is probably the most crucial factor in ensuring that correct implementation procedures are followed and supporting progressive improvement in works techniques. To create an equivalent of the HCP core team, as described for the site-wide campaign, within the public sector, is very difficult, owing to the chronic shortage of human resources within the public administration and the continuing trend to outsource work. The responsibility for monitoring site conditions and overseeing the implementation of works can only realistically be outsourced when the heritage professionals appointed can work autonomously (i.e. without conflicts of interest or forms of subordination to the contractor carrying out the works) and when the proper documentation of works is guaranteed. The legacy of the HCP GIS, which contains all the studies and data on works carried out, could be as a tool to support these processes of monitoring through the management of data. In the long term, these data could also be used to evaluate the efficiency of the impact of the HCP site-wide campaign and other interventions.

Results: How Do We Evaluate Our Success? How Do We Learn from Experience?

The journey of the site-wide campaign described above could be seen as the synthesis of the HCP experiment for heritage management: combining public and private resources, both financial and human, in a continuous process of exchange and evolution in order to guarantee greater sustainability and greater appreciation of the archaeological site. On one hand, the public heritage authority has been encouraged to break out of a vicious circle of non-reflective conservation programming, adapting it to the needs of the heritage and the financial, human and intellectual resources that are actually available. On the other hand, an interdisciplinary team of specialists engaged by the private partner has applied its expertise to experimenting with ways of being effective both in an

emergency scenario and in the long term, creating formulas that could be re-applied elsewhere in a public-sector context.

The most immediate and verifiable results (outputs) of the HCP site-wide campaign can be seen most clearly in the comparison between conservation conditions now and those at the beginning of the twenty-first century: some 30 per cent of the site has been re-opened to the public; the most serious cases of decay have been resolved (excluding those houses where the superintendency has projects that have not been financed); the majority of existing modern shelters in serious disrepair on the site have been repaired or substituted; the partially excavated structures on the edges of the site have been consolidated; walls and frescoes have been made stable and manageable. In addition, all these interventions have been documented and entered into the GIS so that they can inform future conservation programmes. Finally, scientific research has taken place alongside these works in order to support conservation decision-making, and an emphasis on consultation has led to ever more participatory decision-making.

There are still many challenges to tackle, however; these direct results have not resolved all the conservation problems that afflict the site, but the journey has nevertheless created the foundations for a greater understanding of decay mechanisms and the strategies necessary for reducing them. Where 'mistakes' were made, these have been learned from, and that knowledge has contributed to a better understanding of how to proceed. For example, where attempts to follow the bureaucratic constraints of the public administration have risked immobilizing the HCP team's operative capacity: the excessive programming of individual interventions carried out in the early years of the campaign led to high costs, which resulted in the adoption of a policy to group works into typologies or packages and thus streamline resources and capacity.

When assessing the complex objectives reached (outcomes) by the site-wide campaign in the context of the HCP experience of managing and conserving Herculaneum, what is perhaps most significant is seeing the return to a culture of maintenance that had been lost in the late twentieth century, when procedures set up by Amedeo Maiuri started to fail. Even though the HCP team comes from outside the management system, it has managed – even if only partially – to change the superintendency's approach to site maintenance. The first outcome of this change in approach is the superintendency's adoption of the continuous care programme that HCP has planned for the years 2009–2011. At the time of writing, the HCP team is working on a new experimental campaign dedicated to ordinary maintenance, such as was carried out by Amedeo Maiuri's teams in the mid-twentieth century, that is embedded within the public works system.

Ensuring ongoing day-to-day maintenance is certainly the most important and difficult challenge for the conservation of the archaeological site in the long term, and at the same time is the activity least likely to attract external funding. It is, therefore, something that the public administration needs to sustain indefinitely, and for this reason the HCP team is seeking to establish what is the minimum level of financial, human and intellectual resources required for the site of Herculaneum and what this means in terms of possible procedures.⁶⁶

The HCP team's presence within the superintendency over such a long period of time has facilitated a shared sense of trust that has developed between the external specialists and the public officers. This, in turn, has favoured the current process of joint programming, as has greater dialogue with the outside world. In fact, another key outcome of the project is the gradual return of Herculaneum to the attention of local and international communities through awareness building and increased engagement of diverse interest groups. The presence of HCP as a catalyst for attracting attention to the archaeological site has led indirectly to greater openness and the heritage is now being 'shared' at various levels. The creation of the Herculaneum Centre has perhaps been the most significant expression of this transformation: thanks to the activities of the centre, a gradual process of opening up the site to the modern town is underway, through greater dialogue with local institutions and local community members.⁶⁷ One example is the centre's oral history programme that was carried out with local senior citizens who had been site workers involved in excavation, restoration and maintenance under Amedeo Maiuri. These memories are a helpful source of information for understanding restoration techniques and the organization of site maintenance (as well as promoting a sense of community ownership as described earlier in the chapter). This broader participation in the challenge of conserving the site and providing a sustainable future for it, beyond the tangible results obtained in the field and the wealth of data collected, is the most encouraging response to the efforts and strategies employed by HCP so far and is critical to prevent the site sinking once again into the alarming state in which it had been found at the end of the twentieth century.

Postscript

There have been significant changes to the archaeological site of Herculaneum and its management system since this case study was originally written in 2008, and the following paragraphs offer an overview of developments since.

Partnership as leverage for broader improvements to the long-term management system

When this chapter was being drafted, it was envisaged that there would be a handover process of ongoing conservation efforts to the superintendency and an exit strategy for the Herculaneum Conservation Project (HCP) in 2010–2012. However, in late 2010 after the collapse of some archaeological structures in Pompeii, World Heritage Reactive Monitoring procedures were activated for the entire UNESCO World Heritage property of the Archaeological Areas of Pompei, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata. In the context of the Pompeii collapses, it became instrumental for the Italian state to show to the national and international media that there were pioneering approaches within the same World Heritage property. The Reactive Monitoring reports identified HCP's approaches to site-wide campaigns and information management as applicable to Pompeii. Unfortunately, when significant capital funding was provided by the European Union to address Pompeii's major conservation issues, the other Vesuvian sites managed by the same superintendency, including Herculaneum, were

marginalized because institutional capacity was, for the most part, directed at procurement processes and meeting funding deadlines for Pompeii.

This led to a change of direction for Herculaneum and the public-private partnership. Instead of reducing activities further, the focus shifted to consolidating approaches and welcoming new opportunities offered by the creation of an Italian arm of the Packard Humanities Institute in 2013, known as the Istituto Packard per i Beni Culturali (Packard 2013). It became the operational partner for HCP, taking over all activities from the British School at Rome. The sponsorship agreement, which was the basis for the HCP partnership, expired in 2014, and the need to renew the agreement in a new form prompted reflections within the Ministry for Culture. The subsequent years saw many advances with the introduction of simplified legislative frameworks for philanthropic support, new programmes of tax incentives and the revision of the code for public works procurement to enable greater operational engagement of the private partner.

Ministry reforms of the Italian heritage system in 2014-2016 were, in many ways, shaped by experiences at the Vesuvian sites, but by Herculaneum in particular.⁶⁹ Much had been learned about better frameworks for working with others and the benefits of decision-making taking place closer to the heritage. Indeed, perhaps the most high-profile feature of the reform has been the creation of independent management systems for Italy's most significant heritage places, including Herculaneum. In 2016 Herculaneum was separated from the superintendency of Pompeii, becoming the Parco Archeologico di Ercolano (Archaeological Park of Ercolano), with greater ability to create partnerships locally, nationally and internationally. Moreover, the new archaeological park oversees not only the archaeological site but also large portions of the modern town. The interdependency of these areas, 70 which have local communities living within the World Heritage property, mean that they lend themselves to heritage-led urban and coastal regeneration. This responsibility for the wider setting is at the heart of the new public partner's strategic vision and determination for the future. Productivity and overall effectiveness regarding conservation and management priorities at Herculaneum have also increased dramatically.

It is in this context of a stronger public partner with increased operational capacity that the HCP handover process has begun again.

Reapplicable conservation and management approaches

The joint programming that began in 2009 has delivered progressively significant results, and with the public partner taking an increasingly central role and conservation interventions worth over €28 million have been completed or are underway. Of these, approximately €6 million was funded and delivered directly by the private partner in the first five years after the workshop was held. Instead, the remaining €22 million are conservation and maintenance works funded and commissioned by the public partner, based on conservation proposals and designs developed by the HCP team and then donated to the archaeological park along with the necessary technical assistance to help implement them. The partners have worked closely not just to unblock administrative procedures but also to overcome the biggest challenge created by the long lead-in times: the need to adjust conservation choices during works, with multiple contract

variations resulting, since active decay since the conservation proposals were drawn up had changed technical parameters.

At the time of the workshop the permanent specialist expertise for Herculaneum within the superintendency was limited. In the five-year period following the creation of the archaeological park, Herculaneum's dedicated human resources will have increased from 11 (2016) to 62 (forecast for 2021), a portion of which is a wider interdisciplinary group of heritage professionals adjusted according to priorities. With a more complete in-house team, the archaeological park is now directly funding and commissioning external teams to plan conservation campaigns. The terms of reference for the planning appointments have drawn directly on the knowledge gained and methodologies developed by HCP and will see a further €6 million spent on conservation. In this new context, HCP specialists are progressively offering only an advisory support role to archaeological park staff overseeing the work of the external design team.

It was lack of site maintenance, paired with a general disinterest in Herculaneum's fate, that led to the site nearly being lost to decay in the late twentieth century. Therefore, perhaps the most important result of this shared journey is that routine care of the archaeological site is now almost entirely sustained by the public partner, and in a continuous form that should hopefully resist institutional change or fluctuations in capital funding and human resources. The site-wide campaigns being explored at the time of the workshop have now evolved into three-year cycles of programmed maintenance. They bring together works on site infrastructure, archaeological structures and decorative features with services related to documentation, monitoring and investigative work.71 The strategy, finalized by HCP in 2015 and taken onto the site by the archaeological park three years later, is an attempt to achieve the flexibility and responsiveness of the HCP site-wide works campaigns within the reality of Italian public procurement and institutional limitations. A web GIS platform allows the control and continuous enrichment of data, delivering a constantly updated baseline for maintenance and conservation planning, visitor management and broader long-term strategies for the site and procuring and deploying resources.⁷²

Heritage as a shared responsibility

The chapter on Herculaneum expressed HCP's clear aspiration to make Herculaneum and Ercolano a benchmark for the shift to a more integrated management of archaeological heritage in difficult urban settings, also in socio-economic and environmental terms. Much is still to be done, but important milestones have been achieved.

Following the success of the Herculaneum Centre's work to increase participation in cultural heritage, particularly within the local community, and consolidate cooperation with the local town council, a major new agreement was signed in 2014 to improve the relationship of the archaeological site to the modern town. The HCP partners convinced the town council and two ministries to work together with them and local residents for the urban regeneration of Via Mare, a neighbourhood around the northern corner of the archaeological site. An elevated public space at the heart of this area, overlooking the Roman town and the Bay of Naples beyond, is near completion and will reconnect this marginalized residential area to the modern town. An adjacent new garden space will be shared by the local

community and visitors alike. Further south, a high boundary wall around the archaeological site will be substituted with open railings so that visual links are restored to the site for the local community. This transformation is already proving to be a springboard for the partners to come together for additional measures, in particular to enhance the relationship of the archaeological site to the modern town to the south and east.

Most importantly, there is growing recognition that governance of this World Heritage property needs to draw even more strongly and effectively on local civil society, and the focus of the HCP team includes creating the conditions for participatory management, based on heritage values, that supports and benefits from wider sustainable development. The focus is on cultural and natural heritage throughout Herculaneum's wider setting, how they connect and how they are interdependent with the well-being of the local community.

Biographies

Paola Pesaresi has 20 years of experience as a conservation architect specializing in the conservation of archaeological sites. She directed the on-site conservation team at Sagalassos (Turkey) for five years before moving on to become, in 2005, the Herculaneum Conservation Project architect. Here she has worked developing long-term preservation strategies but also coordinating projects focused on the relationship between the ancient and modern towns. In parallel she has continued to work in different regions of the world, focusing on the increasing challenges that make archaeological sites vulnerable, such as climate change, anthropic pressure, and political and social changes.

Contact details

Paola Pesaresi Via Cadore 29 20135 Milan Italy

Email: p.pesaresi@herculaneum.org

Valentina Puglisi has been involved in national and international projects for heritage conservation, enhancement and management since graduating as an architect and conservation specialist in the 1990s. She has always worked within interdisciplinary teams and was Assistant Project Manager for the Herculaneum Conservation Project for five particularly intense years of this initiative. Having led the restoration and exhibition project of the Villa Wolkonsky Collection in Rome, promoted and supported by the British Embassy in Rome, since 2016 she has worked as a consultant at the Istituto Centrale per il Restauro (a branch of the Italian Ministry of Culture), for EU Underwater Heritage Conservation and Enhancement Projects.

Contact details

Valentina Puglisi Via Antonio Calderara 41 00125 Rome Italy Email: valentina_puglisi@hotmail.com Jane Thompson brings together more than two decades of site experience with international-level research, policy work and capacity development initiatives in the cultural heritage sector. As a consultant to ICCROM, she has co-authored many milestones in World Heritage resources in recent years, including the 2015 Sustainable Development policy, the 2013 UNESCO Management manual and the 2011 Capacity Building Strategy. In 2014 she became Course Director for Heritage Management at the Bocconi University and was also awarded the first of several senior advisory roles to the Italian Ministry of Culture. In addition to her ongoing role leading the Herculaneum Conservation Project, she consults for World Heritage properties worldwide.

Contact details

Jane Thompson Via Mossa dei Barberi 24 00067 Morlupo (RM) Italy Email: j.thompson@herculaneum.org

Notes

- 1. For example: "As often happens in the public sector in Italy, the focus is more on hierarchy and careers than on tasks and responsibility. On the other hand, drawing on the Ministry organizational chart, job contents tend to be narrowly defined (e.g. one finds four employees devoted to making photocopies). This is likely to generate waste, but also tends to lead to a lack of flexibility, especially in a situation of scarce resources. At the same time, critical positions are understaffed (general affairs), if not missing (a programming body for scheduling restoration work and setting priorities)" (Zan 2002: 104).
- 2. In Italy there have been three major amnesties for infringement of local building regulations in the last 25 years (1985, 1994, 2004), and another one has recently been presented to Parliament for approval.
- 3. The partial excavation of the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum in the 1990s is a case in point (Guidobaldi *et al.* 2009).
- 4. "In superintendencies without autonomy, they compare two types of documentation: on one side the list of funding requests sent to the Ministry; on the other side, the record of actual funds granted, which is always smaller than the sum requested" (Guzzo 2003: 18).
- 5. Examples for local participation include the Parks of Val di Cornia, Tuscany (Luzzati and Sbrilli 2009) and the Gaiola Underwater Park, Naples (Simeone *et al.* 2012). Examples for local and international participation include the Herculaneum Conservation Project (Camardo *et al.* 2012).
- 6. This management system continues to change, and in 2013 it divided again to become the Soprintendenza Speciale per Pompei, Ercolano e Ercolano and the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli. However, this chapter refers to the situation in 2007 and will therefore consider the united superintendency covering the whole Bay of Naples as it was then.
- 7. The case of Minister Buttiglione withdrawing €30 million of funds from the superintendency in 2006 is perhaps the most dramatic case in point; see Zan and Ferri (2014).
- 8. Data from the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei website. No expenditure data are available for before 2002, and in 2008, after the declaration of the State of Emergency for the main superintendency sites, annual spending became directly managed by the central government's Emergency Officer.

- 9. POR funds are available only for those projects precisely fitting the tender requests and have strict deadlines; the availability of such funds will in any case diminish in 2013, when the Campania Region will rescind its status within the European Union as an Objective 1 Area.
- 10. Pompeii was placed on the World Monument Fund's first World Monuments Watch List in 1996 and again in 1998.
- 11. "It is regrettable to conclude that the conservation and care of this outstanding cultural site (Herculaneum) is in an equally bad state as that of Pompeii. The decay of the exposed buildings continues at great speed and the efforts to retard this development are far too small" (Bumburu *et al.* 2002).
- 12. Order no. 3692 of 11 July 2008: Interventi urgenti di protezione civile diretti a fronteggiare la grave situazione di pericolo in atto nell'area archeologica di Pompei, *Gazzetta Ufficiale* n. 170 del 22 luglio 2008.
- 13. "It is not enough to simply make available more financial resources to ensure the protection of cultural heritage. Precisely because the heritage is characterized within the adjective, it is only with a cultural approach that one can try to reverse the trend. And culture depends on people, not money" (Guzzo 2003: 27).
- 14. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei, internal document provided by Site Director Maria Paola Guidobaldi in September 2008.
- 15. "The lack of autonomy in regards to staffing... has caused, and continues to cause, difficulties in many areas" (Guzzo 2003: 15).
- 16. Some of these former workers were contacted by the Herculaneum Centre and interviewed as part of its oral history programme (Biggi *et al.* 2018).
- 17. "Part of the area remains closed to the public because it is unsafe. But if you want, the custodian will let you in as an exception in return for a tip" (Guzzo 2003: 122).
- 18. "Il degrado di Pompei" [Pompeii's decay], television report by journalist Ilaria d'Amico for *Exit*, La 7 Channel, 16 October 2007.
- 19. Site 'management' is also intended to include site conservation (Thompson 2007).
- 20. The sponsorship agreement between the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei and the British School at Rome (no. 577 signed on 9 July 2004 at the Ministry of Culture, ratified by the superintendency's administrative council with no. 535 on the 14 July 2004; renewal ratified by the administrative council on 17 July 2009 no. 312, signed on 31 July 2009 and registered on 6 August 2009, no. 104) applied the following parts of the *Codice Urbani*: Law 449/1997, Article 43; Law 109/1994, Article 2, 6 as substituted by Law 166/2002, Article 7; Legal decree 42/2004, Article 120; Legal decree 30/2004, Article 2.
- 21. The new sponsorship law allowed a private partner to carry out actions directly and not just donate funds. In the case of Herculaneum, this was very significant.
- 22. In 2006 the Packard Humanities Institute's president, David W. Packard, presented his document "The Big Picture" to the HCP Scientific Committee in which he confirmed his ongoing interest in supporting a finite conservation campaign to establish sustainable approaches and also proposed extending project scope to include the site museum, improving the site's relationship with the modern town and possible further excavation as part of this
- 23. Contract no. 104 registered 6 August 2009 by the superintendency and approved by the administrative board with decision no. 312 on 17 July 2009.
- 24. The impact of the 2009 renewal of the sponsorship contract between the superintendency and the British School at Rome (contract no. 104, 6 August 2009) is explored later in this chapter.
- 25. This was formalized as the 'Executive Committee' in the 2009 renewal of the sponsorship contract.
- 26. This strategic planning responsibility was formalized in the 2009 renewal of the sponsorship contract.

- 27. The Herculaneum Centre, which is dedicated to building bridges between cultural heritage and the local and international community, was launched by the City Council of Ercolano, the superintendency and the British School at Rome in 2006 with public funding but aims to evolve, ideally reaching a model of self-funding through training and other initiatives, within a short time frame. See Biggi and Court (2009); Biggi *et al.* (2018); and the foreword by Biggi in this publication.
- 28. All funding to date has come from the Packard Humanities Institute, led by David W. Packard. It is hoped that a wider outcome of HCP will be to emphasize to the Italian state the importance of promoting philanthropy for cultural heritage with tax incentives similar to those in place in the USA for donations and VAT reductions similar to those that already exist for architectural heritage in Italy but, absurdly, not for archaeology.
- 29. The sponsorship contract was made possible by new legislation in the heritage sector in 2004 that built on previous legal frameworks: Law 449/1997 Article 43; Law 109/1994 Article 2, comma 6, then substituted by Law 166/2002 Article 7; Legal Decree 42/2004 Article 120; Legal Decree 30/2004 Article 2.
- 30. Funding was obtained from the European Union for projects such as the new footbridge access into the archaeological area and a new public land-scaped garden.
- 31. This is a similar situation to that experienced at other Italian sites. For example, see Sirano's chapter on Teano in this publication.
- 32. Most superintendency-led activities at Herculaneum since HCP began have been European-funded projects.
- 33. This cost-benefit relationship within site management is further explained below.
- 34. HCP research partners include university research departments, heritage organizations and museums. Examples include the Second University of Naples (Aversa), the University of Pisa, ICCROM and the Getty Conservation Institute.
- 35. Partnerships outside the heritage sector enrich the project. The city council and emerging organizations, such as Radio Siani (a pro-legality Internet radio station) and the local Youth Forum, are just some examples. Site visits and materials for schoolteachers (local and from as far afield as New South Wales, Australia), enhanced by oral history projects with retired maintenance staff, are an example of the potential of working multilaterally.
- 36. For the Herculaneum Centre, see Biggi, foreword to this volume.
- 37. All over the world the actions of, for example, local civic authorities can be driven excessively by political agendas. This often leads to short-term, high-profile initiatives being favoured over long-term, less visible infrastructure improvements. International interest can be effective in neutralizing such phenomena, particularly in the context of multiple partnerships. Generally, the heritage authorities are less victim to such pressures, even if politically driven central government nominations of some very senior heritage officials (rather than merit-driven transparent selection procedures) continue to compromise credibility and diminish hopes for intelligent reforms of the Italian heritage sector.
- 38. 'Short-term' for cultural heritage practice, but in reality the Packard Humanities Institute offers much longer-term programmes than most philanthrophic grant-releasing organizations. As mentioned above, this framework was usually annual, but some special projects follow their own timetables according to need.
- 39. Attention is given to ensuring that initiatives are particularly well defined in terms of the key project management parameters of scope, quality, cost and time, with agreement on which of the four should be the first to be sacrificed in the case of compromise.
- 40. The transportation of the European Union Directive 92/57/EEC into national legal frameworks defined the implementation of minimum safety and health requirements for construction sites through clearly assigning responsibilities to all parties.

- 41. The HCP team met on a fortnightly basis during the campaign of emergency works (2004–2007) and now meets on a monthly basis to develop and review the long-term programme of site care (2008 onwards). Comprehensive progress reports from each specialist are distributed as a single report to all (including project partners) prior to meetings and meeting notes are taken by the project management team to record decisions taken and outstanding actions.
- 42. Contract no. 104 of 6 August 2009, between the superintendency and the British School at Rome.
- 43. Although the 2005 revision of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention made documenting a management system an acceptable alternative to submitting a management plan for the site in question (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2020a).
- 44. A term used too often inappropriately in heritage sector literature (e.g. to refer to buying equipment).
- 45. Common characteristics of a project-based approach: problems are subdivided into manageable packages; the concept of a project 'life cycle' is promoted and leads to better control and monitoring; it takes decision-making closer to the actions and is often associated with decentralized management and responsibility; it is a goal-orientated problem solving process; human, financial and intellectual resources are grouped to focus on the planning, implementation and monitoring of a specific task (e.g. a campaign of temporary protective shelters) (Burke 2003).
- 46. Management-by-project approaches were first used in the engineering, construction and defence industries, but many other sectors have since integrated such processes (pharmaceutical, medical, telecommunications, software development, systems development, energy, manufacturing, education and service organizations) (Burke 2003).
- 47. In the case of heritage, a 'project' could be devising a planning process or carrying out the planning process, taking a set of conservation actions or even reforming the management system itself. For definition of 'project' see Turner (1993).
- 48. Although a two-year exit strategy was later developed in 2010 and initially implemented, increased interest in specific project areas, particularly the creation of a new site museum, and a desire not to abandon the superintendency in a particularly difficult period (the collapse of structures at Pompeii in November 2010) led the Packard Humanities Institute to continue and evolve its support for Herculaneum, where it is still active as this publication goes to press.
- 49. Indeed, via capacity-building programmes, expertise developed within HCP may be harnessed long into the future for the Vesuvian area, providing an alternative form of continuity of knowledge (in a situation where jobs for life in a public heritage authority no longer exist due to outsourcing) and offering forms of continuous professional development tuned to the real needs of specialists working for these heritage authorities and sites.
- 50. "The management uncertainties of the (Italian) heritage management system, which have worsened in recent years, make the possibility of setting up long-term and even medium-term programmes of activities it all the more tenuous" (Guzzo 2009: 44).
- 51. Particularly Pompeii and Torre Annunziata, to ensure that the Outstanding Universal Value of the entire World Heritage property nominated is coherently and comprehensively protected.
- 52. The relationship between the ancient and modern towns has been an unresolved problem since early excavation campaigns. It is true that with significant numbers of local Ercolano residents involved in excavation and restoration, works helped create a strong sense of participation. However, from the 1960s, with the excavation of the Decumanus Maximus area then the excavation of the ancient shoreline and the Villa of the Papyri, which ended in the 1990s, attention paid to the physical and social connections between the two towns was drastically reduced while the barriers and boundary walls increased.

- 53. In 2000 the new pedestrian bridge access to the archaeological site was finally completed. Prior to this, since the 1980s, the site had only one permanent access through the underground ramp that leads to the ancient shoreline (20 m under the modern town level).
- 54. Between 2004 and 2006 the superintendency staff, together with external specialists, fine-tuned surveys and projects for the six most important and fragile houses and for European-funded projects (an access footbridge, the consolidation of the north escarpment, a public garden at the ticket office, etc.).
- 55. In 2006, HCP's private partner, the Packard Humanities Institute, confirmed that HCP should continue with the same intensity on site for another five years and proposed a gradual handover to the superintendency from 2011 onwards.
- 56. Acting for the private partner, the British School at Rome, the organization that manages the works for HCP, was able to organize an informal tender process and contract out a list of activities to carry out (bill of quantities) with a 'request' formula.
- 57. For example, the activities carried out on the edges of the site, on the escarpments, had unforeseen benefits: re-establishing maintenance routes, improving the physical relationship with the bordering urban blocks, improving working relationships between public and private organizations, and gaining new archaeological data.
- 58. The archaeological site is about 15–20 m below the modern street level. This height difference is the result of the volcanic material that was deposited during the 79 CE eruption of Mount Vesuvius and it makes it particularly difficult and expensive to access the site for transporting materials and equipment.
- 59. Gross of VAT but net of professional fees.
- 60. While the data related to the projects and the post-operam documentation of works carried out have already been input into the HCP database, the entry of financial data on the costs of the site operations still needs to be completed. Once this has finished, the use of the GIS will be extended to the planning of future maintenance works, and the financial data will help formulate the correct use of financial resources.
- 61. For example, the superintendency projects for the House of the Bicentenary plans drawn up in 2004 and never implemented are currently underway. Unfortunately, the condition of the house has worsened in recent years, as was shown by a survey carried out between 2002 and 2003. Furthermore, the costs of the works and materials have substantially increased, creating considerable problems for the superintendency should it want to implement the project today.
- 62. Many of the activities of the first years of the campaign were carried out thanks to planning while work was in progress, a way of working that was possible thanks to the contemporaneous and constant presence of many specialists; unfortunately, this model is not possible within the public administration.
- 63. From the data of the Public Works Observatory, issues emerge during works for which planned works are substantially slowed down by the excessive administrative slowness and, almost always, for modifications and/or suspensions of work (Senato della Repubblica 2008).
- 64. Usually most of the modifications in conservation works at archaeological sites are the result of new information coming to light after the first phase of works, such as excavation, demolition of modern re-integrations, etc.
- 65. It is important to note that the European Commission started an infringement case against Italy in 2008 when it found that limitations on the right to use the competencies of other subjects (foreseen by Article 49, comma 6–7 of the Italian Code of Public Works Contracts, Services and Supplies) are in conflict with public procurement directives. This means that the minimal requisites for participating in a tender can be 'borrowed' or 'rented'. Pooling of this sort is an issue that is heavily debated nationally, particularly in the context of specialist works when the company putting together

- a tender offer can only meet qualification criteria by using the qualifications of a third party.
- 66. At the time of writing, there are many prospects for the future management of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and not necessarily restricted to the public sphere alone.
- 67. In recent years a series of initiatives have taken place that already offer a substantial improvement in terms of access and welcome and are addressing issues related to the edges of the site.
- 68. UNESCO (2017); to understand the heritage management context that led to this situation, see Zan (2002, 2014).
- 69. See contributions by Sampaolo and Sirano in this publication for a broader overview of the reforms. See also the declaration of the minister behind the reform, at https://cultura.gov.it/comunicato/20603.
- 70. Some of these areas are directly over the unexcavated parts of the Roman town; see Camardo and Notomista (2017).
- 71. For further information on the programmed maintenance at Herculaneum, see Pesaresi (2013). For the role of GIS in the programmed maintenance campaign, see D'Andrea *et al.* (2019).
- 72. Diverse experiences of programmed maintenance in archaeological areas have emerged in the last few years, including Pompeii and the Colosseum. However, the Herculaneum campaign stands out for being built methodically on the needs and characteristics of the site through a careful data management system.

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Via di San Michele 13 I-00153 Rome, Italy

Telephone: +39-06585531 iccrom@iccrom.org www.iccrom.org





