Brandenburg
University of Technology
Cottbus - Senftenberg

HELWAN UNIVERSITY

Proceedings

Fourth International Conference
on Heritage Conservation and Site Management

CATASTROPHE AND CHALLENGE

CULTURAL HERITAGE IN POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY

DECEMBER 5–7, 2016, BTU COTTBUS

edited by
Peter Schneider

CATASTROPHE AND CHALLENGE

CULTURAL HERITAGE IN POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY

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Brandenburgische
Technische Universität
Cottbus - Senftenberg

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4TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND
SITE MANAGEMENT
**CATASTROPHE AND CHALLENGE:
CULTURAL HERITAGE
IN POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY**

Programme December 5–7, 2016

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Leo Schmidt
BTU Cottbus – Senftenberg

PREFACE

This volume contains the keynotes and papers presented at the Fourth International Conference on Heritage Conservation and Site Management, held at BTU in Cottbus in December 2016. Under its title of 'Catastrophe and Challenge: Cultural Heritage in Post-Conflict Recovery', the conference addressed issues of great topicality and urgency, presenting and discussing relevant cases, experiences and ideas from many countries.

In any armed conflict, people suffer – not only in their persons, but also in their cultural integrity. Culture and heritage are essential components of human existence. Since the First World War, organised efforts have been undertaking to protect cultural heritage in times of war and then to recover as much as possible of its values as soon as the arms fall silent: not for the sake of the places, the things themselves, but for the sake of the people who have a deep cultural need for the reassurance and affirmation that can be gained from a familiar and cherished built environment and its historic landmarks.

Post-conflict recovery of places affected by war and destruction has taken many shapes during the last century, a century afflicted by many wars all over the world. Through learning from experiences and discussing new ideas we can contribute to the task of rebuilding the architectural and social environment of places damaged by war and of communities whose existence were brutally interrupted.

The conference and its approaches should be seen in context with other activities of the two universities involved. With financial support from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and academic input from BTU, Helwan University is training a number of students from war-afflicted countries in the field of post-conflict recovery, as part of the new National Track of our Joint Master Programme, 'Heritage Conservation and Site Management'. At the same time, a growing number of international doctoral students, mostly based at BTU and supported by scholarships from the Gerda Henkel Foundation and from BTU itself, are conducting their individual research projects on topics of Heritage and War. All these activities are linked with those of international bodies such as ICOMOS and Unesco, and BTU and Helwan University gratefully acknowledge the valuable support that has been provided by members and representatives of these bodies.

In my role as director of the Fourth International Conference on Heritage Conservation and Site Management it gives me great pleasure to thank all those who have made the speedy publication of its proceedings possible. The first to be named and thanked are of course the speakers and authors of the various papers themselves who have responded with great enthusiasm to our request for providing manuscripts and illustrations. I am very grateful to Peter Schneider who has done a marvellous job, not only editing the texts but also producing the layout for the publication. As native speakers, Leonardo Leckie and Larissa Dougherty, students of 'World Heritage Studies' and 'Heritage Conservation and Site Management' respectively, were instrumental in the English-language editing of the papers. Furthermore I wish to thank Laura Hernandez, another World Heritage student, for the cover design.

WELCOME AND GREETINGS

Prof Dr Jörg Steinbach
President BTU Cottbus – Senftenberg

WELCOME

One of BTU's four research focus areas is called 'Smart Regions and Heritage'. Sometimes people wonder, what is the role of Heritage within the research portfolio of a University of Technology, and why is it paired with the concept of Smart Regions? We can find the answer to this if we look more closely at the particular approach to Heritage that characterises BTU. Of course, Heritage is about the past. Historic monuments and sites, and the built environment at large, come to us from the past. They are the product of earlier generations, and we need to study them first to understand their cultural significance. But much more than about the past, Heritage is about the present and the future. Not only are our present lives shaped by our history and our built environment, Heritage is an important component of our cultural identity and we use it constantly in many different ways. Most importantly perhaps, and this is where 'Smart Regions' come in, we use Heritage structures to live in: in cities, towns and villages that usually have an historic core and component which needs to be upgraded in many ways so as to be fit for the requirements of the present and the future.

In many countries, as for example in Egypt, Heritage is an extremely important economic factor. Our friends and partners at Helwan University's Faculty of Tourism and Hotel Management know this quite well, and this is why they have paired with us to create and run the Joint Master programme 'Heritage Conservation and Site Management' which we have been running together very successfully since 2013.

To use Heritage in a productive and sustainable way, both for cultural and economic purposes, requires a broad spectrum of knowhow and techniques, ranging from documentation and study to interpretation and management, but also a great deal of technical expertise as well as creativity in the field of architectural and landscape design.

Looking after Heritage would be easy in a perfect world, in a world of peace and tranquility. The ideal of Architectural Conservation is continual maintenance: 'Look after your old buildings and you will not need to restore them', as John Ruskin wrote 150 years ago. But in the real world, Heritage is afflicted by all sorts of calamities – disuse and long-term neglect, natural disasters and, particularly, armed conflict. The repair and rebuilding of historic cities after war requires a formidable array of specialist approaches if one wants to avoid the mistakes that have been made in many places after the various wars the world has suffered from in the last century. But, as many planners and political leaders have found in similar cases, a war-damaged city represents not only a catastrophe, but also a challenge and an opportunity. Rebuilding should ideally be carried out in a way that retains the historical qualities and values and yet manages to make the historic city structure and its buildings fit for the twenty-first century. The conference held at BTU in 2016 of which we now have the proceedings in our hands has produced a wide range of insights that will contribute materially to the herculean task of rehabilitating cultural assets wherever they have been damaged by armed conflict.

Prof Dr Maged Negm
President Helwan University

GREETING

It gives me great pleasure to be with you today on the opening of our Fourth HCSM conference. Since its inauguration in 2013 in Luxor, this annual conference has grown to be of true international significance and a chance for all stakeholders of Heritage Management, not only in Germany and in Egypt but also from many other countries to come together to discuss recent developments and future perspectives.

During this round we will also celebrate the graduation of the second batch of HCSM graduates, and I am very proud that we are again providing the labour market with a second group of excellent heritage managers and professionals who are eager to take part in better conserving and protecting world heritage.

Since 2012 we have established an excellent partnership with BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, whether in establishing and running the HCSM program or in organizing the annual conference. I am very glad that this cooperation is commencing in that excellent manner and I wish to extend my gratitude to the teams of both universities for having established and maintained this outstanding professional academic partnership.

I wish you all a very successful conference, fruitful discussions and exchange of ideas and take this opportunity to extend an invitation to attend our fifth conference to be held in Aswan in December 2017.

Dr Martina Münch
Minister of Science, Research and Culture of the State of Brandenburg

GREETING

It am delighted to have the opportunity to open this conference! I extend a particularly warm welcome to our partners from Helwan University and our guests from Egypt as well as all other international participants! I cordially welcome you to Cottbus! This year's conference of the Master's programme 'Heritage Conservation and Site Management' focuses on a very important and very serious topic: "Catastrophe and challenge – cultural heritage in post-conflict recovery".

We are all deeply shaken by the wars in several countries of the Middle East and North Africa. The particularly savage civil war in Syria and the other violent conflicts cause untold human suffering. There are countless victims and millions are fleeing their homes. This touches us profoundly and requires our continued help and international support. The destruction of unique ancient sites and valuable archaeological monuments is another painful wound – especially for our cultural memory and that of subsequent generations. I am therefore very grateful that this year's conference of the joint Master's programme raises this very issue. This once again clearly shows that the Master's programme and the scientific cooperation between the two partner universities is highly relevant – particularly in view of the far-reaching challenges faced by international heritage protection efforts.

The joint programme of Helwan University and the Brandenburg Technical University of Cottbus-Senftenberg makes a valuable contribution to the implementation of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. It aims to strengthen the role of world heritage in public life and raise awareness of the importance of the preservation of our cultural heritage. I extend my sincere thanks to the German Academic Exchange Service, which provides generous funding for the degree programme!

The Brandenburg Technical University is a particularly international university: 20% of its students currently come from abroad. The State of Brandenburg supports this internationalisation: Firstly, such a high percentage of students from other countries promotes scientific exchange. And secondly, we are hoping for the attractive university in the Lausitz region to attract specialists from Germany and abroad in the long-term. What universities and world heritage sites have in common is their aim to preserve the world's cultural memory, and both are places of cultural diversity and cultural exchange. The joint Master's programme also promotes academic relations between Egypt and the State of Brandenburg.

Both Egypt and the State of Brandenburg have prominent world heritage sites: the Egyptian pyramids have not only been objects of research for a long time, they also fascinate visitors from around the world. The parks and castle-strewn landscape of Potsdam and Berlin features spectacular monuments from the time of the Hohenzollern dynasty. While the historical contexts are very different, there is a wide range of issues that is addressed by scientists and scholars responsible for the memorial sites around the world: these include such topics as sus-tainability, tourism and economic effects and the protection of valuable monuments in a changing climate, to name just a few.

These are just some of the aspects of the joint Master's programme. A number of other re-search institutions in the State of Brandenburg also deal with issues that are of relevance for the preservation of our cultural heritage. One of them is the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. An interdisciplinary working group at the academy currently looks into the impact of climate change on historic gardens. They are also studying closely the well-known Palace and Park Branitz here in Cottbus. I would like to conclude my remarks with this bridge back to the city of Cottbus. I hope that the conference will be a great success and that you will have a chance to get to know the city as well. I recommend a visit to the Branitzer Park I just mentioned. It even has two pyramids (albeit a little smaller and located in wetter surroundings than you would normally expect ...) I wish you all an enriching experience and a good time here in Cottbus!

Prof Dr Ahmed Ghoneim
Cultural Counsellor of the Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt

GREETING

It is my great pleasure to be among you in the inauguration of the joint fourth conference between two of the well reputed Universities, namely Helwan University and Cottbus University. The theme of your joint cooperation, which is Cultural Heritage Management, is of utmost importance for our beloved country Egypt. In fact, I would say that such field represents a perfect match for the joint cooperation between the two countries, Egypt and Germany, where culture, knowledge, technology regarding this field are abundant, and this form of cooperation ensures that the perfect match among such variables is present where academics and graduate students join efforts to study, research, and exchange views.

The joint masters program developed within the context of this form of cooperation is a success story in itself, on several fronts. It started as a programme aiming at enhancing the capacity building of graduate students of Egyptian and German students, and in fact its success has exceeded the expectations. Now, after four years of collaboration, the program succeeded not only in maintaining its pace of attracting Egyptian and German students, but rather extending on regional and global basis, attracting students from all over the world reaching fifteen countries. Such kind of collaboration and success reveal that the wealth of culture and antiquities in Egypt is a matter of attention to the whole world, and more importantly that such culture, despite Egyptian by origin, remains a worldwide heritage whose ownership in terms of preserving it is a global responsibility. This implies that choice of the program is perfect, filling a void that the researchers and academics are thirsty for. Moreover, the management of the program by the two partners ensured that academic need is handled professionally, and that explains how the success has been created and maintained.

The program is one among a number of joint masters programs between Egyptian and German universities that are financed by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), whose role in enhancing the academic collaboration between Egypt and Germany is highly appreciated. I am confident that the success of this program has ensured and secured the continued support provided to it by the DAAD.

It is important that this form of collaboration be translated into successful implementation. I mean, in this regard that the policy implications and the results reached by the papers presented in this conference are taken seriously and presented to policy makers. Moreover, graduates of this programme, eventually will become themselves policy makers or advisors to policy making in this field. Hence, it is extremely important that some sort of alumni is established to ensure some sort of sustainable communication for ideas and persons who have been involved in this form of cooperation.

Ladies and Gentleman, let me again emphasize that you are doing a great job, and I wish you all the best in the coming few days in your joint fourth conference.

Prof Dr Friederike Fless
President of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI)

GREETING

Surely none of us here can fail to recall the propaganda photos showing the destruction of museums and historic monuments in Syria and Iraq caused by so-called Islamic State. And therefore, I think, we are all united by a desire to help safeguard the Syrian cultural heritage. Many colleagues have long carried out research in Syria, and have documentation, knowledge, and expertise about how to restore and conserve monuments. Accordingly, many of them have already started preliminary groundwork, planning and measures, and are in contact with Syrian colleagues.
The perceptions about what steps should be taken now, points of view, and ideas will be wide ranging. This makes it all the more important to discuss and systematize these matters. The Cottbus Workshop "Guidelines On Safeguarding Cultural Significance of Urban Structures Damaged by Armed Conflict" is an important step on this way.
But our first priority must be to learn from our Syrian colleagues what is most urgently needed where, or what can be undertaken. This was the topic of a UNESCO expert Meeting on Cultural Heritage in Syria, which took place at the beginning of June in Berlin. The goal was to identify how to jointly develop specific projects and what a UNESCO Action Plan might look like.

Information is the basis of all projects that explore ways to deal with Syria's destroyed cultural heritage. Early in May the UNESCO Field Office in Beirut organized a meeting to discuss how information can be made available as a foundation for securing the cultural heritage of Syria. The German Archaeological Institute and the Museum of Islamic Art of the Staatliche Museen Berlin were participants. Since 2013 they have jointly carried out a Syrian Heritage Archive Project financed by the German Foreign Office. Its purpose is to digitize all the information on Syria in our archives and to make it accessible to our Syrian colleagues. So far, some 100,000 photographs, plans and maps have been digitized and made available to Syrian colleagues for planning specific conservation and restoration measures. Of course, this graphic material does not include everything. There is a need to link sources and initiatives so that as much useful information as possible can be made available. For example, documentation of specific buildings has been produced as part of numerous past research projects. The documentation of the rehabilitation project of the Old city of Aleppo is one eyample. It is a result of the GTZ (now GIZ)-Project that started in the 90th.

We all know that as important as historical documentation is, the first real steps have to be taken at the monument site itself. Damage mapping has to be carried out. The position in the debris of the various pieces of a collapsed building has to be documented, as well as the extent of their damage. Only then can decisions be made about whether a monument can be reconstructed with minor restoration, or whether it has to be augmented with extensive additions. There are a number of associated challenges. How can our Syrian colleagues be enabled and supported in this work? Is technology available for damage mapping?
Another question is equally important. Can we already now make detailed plans for particular cities and monuments? Despite the fact that fighting is still going on in Aleppo, for example, is it possible to begin discussions on city planning? Basic questions have to be answered: should the street layout of the historic inner city be retained, should the traditional building style be kept, should perhaps individual important buildings be reconstructed?

All these decisions have to be made quickly, because the places where people live have to be reconstructed first of all. This gives rise to the question of whether our past policy discussions about how to deal with destroyed cities are adequate. For that reason, Prof. Leo Schmidt of BTU Cottbus has started a debate on the need for Guidelines On Safeguarding Cultural Significance of Places Damaged by War and Aggression and he invited you all to discuss this topic during the next two days.

It is no surprise that this particular question continues to haunt us in Germany. We are still dealing with the question of how to deal with monuments destroyed in wartime. Many cities were extensively damaged, and decisions were made which ranged from reconstructing the historic core of old cities to completely redesigning them from a modern perspective. In retrospect we can clearly say what worked and what did not. But of course this is not only a German issue by any means; it was in focus throughout the entire war zone of both world wars. Also regarding this matter we should discuss how to arrange for sharing, and also for taking on specific responsibilities.

When restoration and reconstruction become possible again, skilled workers and stonemasons will be required for the purpose. Many of us have trained craftsmen and stonemasons, for example Dorothee Sack from TU Berlin for the site of Resafa. Here, too, one has to ask how capacity building can be intensified.
Since last year the German Archaeological Institute has been considering whether and how we can continue to be involved in this area. This is because as soon as the subject of training comes up, then we are no longer only talking about physical safeguarding.

As a first step we established a system for linking expertise, the Archaeological Heritage Network. It was inaugurated at the end of April in the presence of our foreign minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier. Germany has considerable competence in the preservation of historic buildings and monuments. Because of our federal structure, however, many key areas are the responsibility of individual German states. Other institutions have an explicitly national mandate. Making all this know-how evident and useful is one of the goals of the Archaeological Heritage Network. Another goal is to gain experience, and to see our own activities in a global context.
The first joint project of the network has the title, 'Die Stunde Null – A Future for the Time after the Crisis'. It is part of the specially funded 'Flight and Migration' initiative of the Federal Foreign Office of Germany. This project is not only concerned with the moment when attention can turn to reconstruction after a period of destruction, as has been going on in Syria since 2011. It also has to do with implementing prospective capacity building. Architects, craftsmen and restorers are to be trained and experts are to be given advanced instruction so they can be enabled to reconstruct their country, to rebuild Syria when the time comes. With this in mind, capacity building projects are being carried out in Jordan, the Lebanon and Turkey. This work and training will also be key elements of humanitarian help for refugees from Syria who are now living in neighboring countries.

Syrian students, doctoral candidates and colleagues who live in Germany are also involved in this project, as a matter of course. As demonstrated the Young Experts Forum als part of the UNESCO conference, young people have an important role in planning the future of their country. They also contribute what is now called 'public engagement'. All questions related to reconstruction must certainly also take into account what is important for the actual inhabitants and what they regard as important elements of their city. When discussing the planning of this conference we therefore suggested that this subject also be included.

For this reason the German Academic Exchange service with Its study programs is also part of the Project 'Die Stunde Null'. And the Joint Master 'Heritage Conservation and site management' between BTU Cottbus Senftenberg and Helwan University in Kairo is also part of the Stunde Null Project. At Cottbus University we had also the chance to organize PhD grants for young Syrian colleagues like Mr Zeido Zeido and also Mrs Noura Alsaleh. They have to decide the future of their country. And therefore they are also important participants of our todays workshop.
And with these few remarks I'd like to end my short introduction ad wish us fruitful and interesting debates on Guiedelines 'On Safeguarding Cultural Significance of Places Damaged by War and Aggression'.

Dr Renate Dieterich
German Acacemic Exchange Service (DAAD)

GREETING

I am very happy to greet all of you tonight on behalf of the German Academic Exchange Service. To put it in simple words: Our mission at the German Academic Exchange Service is to make people move – but not for its own sake but for an ambitious goal: academic exchange in combination with scientific excellence.

The cooperation between Helwan University, the Technical University of Cottbus-Senftenberg and the German Archaeological Institute has a long history and I was lucky enough to accompany this collaboration since its early days more than 5 years ago. Tonight, we celebrate the opening of the fourth conference on cultural heritage, organized within the framework of this fruitful collaboration.

In recent years, the DAAD has been paying great attention to the academic education in archaeology and related fields in the Arab World. The joint Master Course Heritage Conservation and Site Management is one of numerous examples of such an engagement, often in close collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute.

Even if cultural heritage seems to be a national issue at first sight, it is also a topic of global importance. Cultural heritage is a treasure – but it is also an obligation. The conservation and protection of archaeological sites and findings is a national as well as a global duty. The international community is called to safeguard these treasures against threats of all kinds for the sake of future generations. Therefore, conferences like this one are so important.

Much has been done so far for the preservation of archaeological sites but there are numerous threats endangering historical places. Some of these threats are man-made, like violence and war, or looting and plundering in times of turmoil.

In this respect, the title of this conference is quite an optimistic one, talking about post-conflict recovery. Right now, the brutal war in Syria, fighting in Libya, the destructive forces in Iraq and the shelling of Yemeni cities dominate the news from the region and a peaceful solution is not in sight.

What is needed, however, are visions and guidance for the time when fighting stops. The examples of central and Eastern Europe after World War II have proven that societies as well as landscapes and urban areas can recover from destruction and war damages. During the next two days, you will touch on these issues and you will link current conflict situations that endanger historical sites to past experiences. Cultural heritage also plays an important role for collective memories and identities and should therefore be integrated in concepts of reconciliation in post-conflict situations.

The tasks once the fighting ends will be manifold and numerous and what is needed in any case are experts in the field. Experts who are trained in modern techniques of preservation and management, taking part in international academic networks, exchanging knowledge and ideas and promoting concepts for the protection of sites.

This is the moment when DAAD comes into play. This conference is organized within the framework of a joint master course in cultural heritage and site management. Meanwhile, two classes have already graduated, the third one is well on its way and the fourth intake has just started with its studies. The Master Course contributes so far to the expertise of the relevant institutions in charge of heritage conservation, be it in the various ministries, archaeological departments or in site management.

Since this year, the collaboration between the two university partners has entered a new phase with the establishment of a national master course in Cairo for refugee students from Syria and other war effected Arab states. This additional opportunity for the education and training of young graduates is also supported by the DAAD, thanks to the generous funding by the German Foreign Office in Berlin.

It is a great opportunity to contribute to the education and formation of a new generation of heritage experts in the region, hopefully linking them across borders and help them to weave a network across the Middle East.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish you a pleasant evening and fruitful and inspiring discussions during the following days.

HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND SITE MANAGEMENT

Hosam Refai

Conference Speech

on the Genesis of the Joint HCSM Programme at Helwan University and Brandenburg University of Technology

A journey of a thousand miles used to begin with a single step, now it usually begins with an email. That's how the HCSM journey started. On June 4th, 2011 I sent an email to Prof Albert of BTU Cottbus containing an attached letter of Prof. Maged Negm and me suggesting an academic cooperation in the field of Heritage Management. The letter attached to that email read as follows:

Dear Prof. Albert,
The Faculty of Tourism and Hotel Management of Helwan University is the oldest faculty of its kind in Africa and the Middle East. It started as two separate institutes in 1962 and was developed into a faculty in 1975 when it joined the then newly established Helwan University. In addition to our programs in Tourism Studies, Hospitality Management and Tourism Guidance, the faculty is also interested in the preservation and management of cultural heritage and has plans to develop academic programs in Cultural Heritage Management as well as Museum Studies intending to prepare qualified managers of heritage sites, who ensure the sustainability of the sites by maintaining the balance between its accessibility as a tourist attraction with the best possible services to visitors, while at the same time preserving the site for future generations. This is an academic field, though with utmost importance with regard to the cultural uniqueness of Egypt, has not been previously tackled in international cooperation. Many of our staff are PhD holders in Archaeology, Egyptology and History of Egypt and maintain excellent connections to the Ministry of Antiquities and the foreign archeological institutes in Egypt.
It is our aim to provide a joint master degree in that field preferably with a German Institute. We have already discussed the matter with the President of Helwan University, the DAAD office here in Cairo as well as with Dr. Dorothea Rüland, Secretary General of the DAAD upon her visit to Cairo and to Helwan University and we have been encouraged to contact you and ask if your institute would be interested in establishing this joint degree. We have carefully studied the program you offer on World Heritage Studies, and believe it to be a perfect basis for a joint degree program with Helwan University, enabling both of our students to gain foreign experience through a semester abroad. We also believe that Egyptian heritage sites could be interesting for applied projects in that field and therefore we pro-pose to include the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo as a possible partner.
We ask you to forward this proposal to the council of your college and to inform us if such cooperation is welcome on your part.
Maged Negm and Hosam Refai

Two days later, I received a reply from Prof. Albert asking me to contact Michael Schmidt, the (then) newly appointed director of World Heritage Studies, and on the 14th of November 2011,I received an email from Simona Cadar, who was the coordinator of World Heritage Studies, telling me that on behalf of Michael and the Heritage team of BTU they are interested in the proposed cooperation. At that time the German Academic Exchange Service had published a call for proposals under the programme *German – Arab Transformation Partnership*. After securing the approval of Helwan University president, everything moved on very fast from that time on. We prepared a letter of intent on the next day and signed a MoU in May of the following year and worked almost on daily basis from November 2011 to June 2012 on the proposal that we presented to the DAAD and that was approved on July 27, 2012.

Now the task ahead was to develop a joint programme in less than a year. In a professional and collegiate working atmosphere with our new friends of BTU and supported by the German Archaeological Institute as a partner from the very beginning, we managed to accomplish this task in three workshops that were held in Cottbus and Cairo between November 2012 and February 2013. Then each team followed on rigorously with the official university and ministerial approvals to get

everything ready to start in the academic year 2013–2014. Simultaneously, on both sides, we started marketing the new programme and managed to secure 27 applications from Egypt and Arab states, nine Egyptians joined the first intake of the programme as DAAD scholarship holders in addition to two self-payers.

Within the joint academic agreement with BTU, an annual conference was foreseen from the very beginning and it was envisaged to be held alter-nating between Egypt and Germany. The conference was meant to serve as the scientific platform of the cooperation and also help market the programme and make it visible on an international scale.
The first conference was held from 8–11 December 2013 in Luxor. There was undoubtedly no better place to kick off this annual event than amidst the glory of heritage sites that our programme aims to better preserve and manage. It was also a wonderful opportunity for our first batch of students to participate in the organization and preparations of this conference and to get to know the BTU academic staff before leaving to Cottbus to spend the second semester from April–July 2014. We then intensified our efforts on both sides to market intake two of the programme with great success. From intake two onwards the programme became a truly inter-national one, with a total of 20 students registered in both universities from Egypt, Germany, Jordan, Romania, China, Russia and Bangladesh.
The second round of the HCSM international conference took place in Berlin/Cottbus from 15–17 October 2014. The opening was held at the German Foreign Office and included a panel discussion moderated by Prof. Friederike Fless about the role of Germany in the protection of heritage worldwide; then and now an increasingly important topic in light of the turmoil in several countries of the Middle East hosting unique cultural wealth of universal significance.
During the third conference that was held in Cairo in December 2015, we celebrated the graduation of the first intake. It was again an opportunity for intake 2 students of both universities, and while BTU students where spending their third semester in Cairo, to take part in the organization and attend the various sessions of the conference. At that time, intake 3 students had also started their first national semester in Cairo and Cottbus.

Intake three students, 19 in total, comprise in addition to 10 students from Egypt registered at Helwan as their main university, 9 from BTU who are currently spending their third semester in Cairo together with their Egyptian colleagues. The international spectrum has gotten even wider with those students coming from the following countries:
Georgia, USA, United Kingdom, Turkey, India, Bangladesh, Ghana, Indonesia, and South Korea

In its third intake, HCSM had thus already reached 15 different nationalities. The intercultural experience that the programme offers is almost unparalleled at Egyptian universities. We are also trying to enhance this through a wide range of activities and excursions during the third common semester in Cairo which I believe is a unique life-long experience.

With the initial DAAD funding phase coming to an end this month, we started early in 2016 to discuss with our BTU colleagues the possible extension of funding and prepared a new proposal that was again generously funded by the DAAD. The new project that started in the current academic year aims at establishing a new local track of the programme to function alongside the joint master track with a special focus on Disaster and Risk Management and endangered heritage at the time of war and conflict. The idea was to address the current political situation in the Middle East and to prepare for the 'Zero Hour' where countries affected by civil war will need to deal with the damages to its heritage sites and cultural property.
Within the new project DAAD scholarships are offered to ten Arab refugees from countries affected by civil war, who are residing in Egypt and registered at the UNHCR, in addition to five scholarships to Egyptians and five to Germans from the WHS programme to spend an external semester in Cairo. Here again an innovative intercultural approach will help new groups of students to get a qualification in heritage management with the focus on conflict and disaster areas. Together, Germany and Egypt have taken a small but important step in dealing with the refugee crisis from a new approach with the aim to help the affected countries by educating professional heritage experts who would be ready to help in rebuilding its cultural landscape after the canons of war have silenced.

The new project again took tremendous efforts in preparation and marketing and we were lucky to have once more the support of both the DAAD as the funding agency and the DAI as a project partner. We received 35 applications from Egyptian students and 36 applications from Arab refugees. Together with our colleagues from BTU, all applicants were interviewed in Cairo and 15 were granted a scholarship. In addition to five Egyptians, ten Arab refugees were selected: seven from Syria, two from Yemen and one from Iraq.
What mostly excites me in HCSM is the life-changing impact this programme has on its students and it gives me great pleasure to see how our graduates and students have developed, improved their skills and found new jobs and opportunities. I am sure that again in this new batch – our intake four – the programme will be a turning point in the lives of the students, more even in the lives of our selected 10 Arab refugees, which I want to conclude my word of tonight by briefly introducing them to you:

Abubakr Osman
Abubakr is from Aleppo. He started to study architecture in the academic year 2009/2010. In 2011, his second year at the university, he joined a project on the documentation of the Old City of Aleppo, but then the war broke out in the city in 2012 and he fled to Egypt where he joined the Architecture Department at Alexandria University and graduated in 2015. He hopes to be able to join in the rebuilding of the old city of Aleppo when the war is over.

Abdulnasser Albasha
Abdulnasser is from Damascus and had already studied two years architecture at Damascus University before fleeing to Egypt with his father and mother in 2012. He managed to joint Zagazig University and recently graduated from its Department of Architecture.

Abdulrahim Badrakhan
Abdulrahim is a 30 years old Syrian who studied interior design in Russia. He was a member of the local heritage committee in Syria before the war. He is an accordion player and an amateur painter.

Hashem Sallam
Hashem is from Yemen. He studied IT in Saudi Arabia and worked with several telecom operators in and outside Yemen. He has always been passionate about history and cultural heritage and his dream is to use his IT skills to record Yemeni heritage sites.

Hassan Hawa
Hassan was born in Duma, a small city near Damascus. He started to study Architecture at Damascus University in 2009, but in 2012 (the year where he was supposed to graduate) he had to flee to Egypt with his family. He managed to get enrolled at Ain Shams University and had to study two further years but eventually graduated in 2015.

Islam Dawood
Islam is from Iraq. He studied Archaeology at the University in Baghdad and came to Egypt in 2016. He hopes to participate one day in the rebuilding and management of archaeological sites in Iraq.

Lujein Alkreidi
Lujein comes from a small southern city in Syria called Swaida. She studied English Literature at Damascus University where she graduated in 2010. She then started a course in Tourism Guidance and wanted to become a tour guide but the war broke out in Syria and she had to flee to Egypt together with her husband who refused to join the military service and had to escape. In Egypt she worked in an organization for refugees services before joining HCSM.

Mohamed Tareq Aljabban
Mohamed holds a Bachelor in Business Administration from the Syrian International University. He fled to Egypt in 2012 and has been working in a construction company since 2013. He hopes that one day he would use his knowledge both in managing construction sites and managing heritage sites to save the Syrian heritage.

Mohamed Wassem Slal
Mohamed is Syrian with origins in Palestine. He holds a Bachelor in Architecture from Damascus University and fled to Egypt in 2012. He has been trying to establish his own business in Architecture in Egypt ever since.

Reem Anaam
Reem is from Yemen. She studied Architecture at Cairo University and graduated in 2015. She joined the programme because she was always inter-ested in architectural heritage and ist conservation and she hopes to be able to raise awareness about that in her home country after the war.

HCSM has not only changed the lives of many, but has also changed the academic environment of my own faculty. This new academic discipline was integrated at the faculty over the last three years, first in the Master level, followed by a Bachelor programme that started this year and a PhD programme that will follow in 2017. In the pipeline are furthermore the establishment of a specialized scientific journal and a new academic department of heritage and museum studies that will embrace all these different approaches and that will be the first at Egyptian Universities.
Our initial email has already taken us quite far, but the journey of a thousand miles is still in its beginning.

OPENING LECTURE

Bijan Rouhani

In Search of Lost Values

Is Post-Trauma Cultural Heritage Reconstruction Possible?

Abstract

The post-conflict reconstruction of cultural properties and historic cities is a familiar theme for the international community of cultural heritage. Since the end of World War II, the authenticity of reconstructed cultural heritage, especially when it comes to the reconstruction of a World Heritage site, has been questioned several times. In each case, the primary concern has been the impact of the reconstruction on the values for which the property was inscribed as a World Heritage site. While the existing guidelines and policies do not offer a clear guidance for the reconstruction of a destroyed cultural property, there are also serious deficiencies in the policies and practises for post-conflict recovery of cultural heritage. Ranging from the lack of shared vision, political and financial support, institutional and human capacity, and local community participation the issues directly connected to what should be recovered and how are numerous.
The ongoing conflict situations in the Middle East and North Africa, and the large scale destruction of the cultural heritage sites and historic cities, has necessitated a holistic strategy to address the different conceptual, programming, and infrastructural challenges for post-conflict reconstruction and recovery.
The evolution of the concept of cultural heritage and its authenticity, and the broader definition of values attributed to cultural heritage after the Nara Document, should also be considered for developing such an international document that can suggest a process for decision making.
To respond to this need, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is developing a specific Guidance on Post Trauma Reconstruction in Cultural World Heritage Properties to assist State Parties in preparing recovery framework and plans.

Keywords:
Aleppo, Armed Conflict, Cultural heritage reconstruction, ICOMOS, Iraq, Italy, Middle East, Post-war recovery, Syria, The 1954 Hague Convention, World Heritage, Syria.

Historians tell us when Athens was destroyed in 480 BC during the Greco-Persian Wars, the Athenians first decided not to rebuild the ruined sanctuaries and monuments. They wanted to preserve the ruins as war memorials. Later, this decision was revised, however the Athenians decided to insert some parts of the destroyed temples into a section of the northern wall of Acropolis to keep the memory of the destruction alive (Jokilehto 2002: 4).
The marble blocks and columns from the destroyed pre-Parthenon temple were laid in a continuous row on the wall as a message to future generations.

This innovative form of reconstruction highlighted an awareness of the cultural values that are threatened by war. From this a 'new heritage' was developed through "the process of destruction, interpretation, preservation, and reconstruction; the process of changing and creating" (Holtorf & Fairclough 2013: 199).
Even today, 2500 years after the Greco-Persian Wars, a visitor to Plaka, the historic district of Athens, can look up and see these integrated sections of marble still standing as a message. For us, this message goes beyond a war memorial. It reminds us that cultural heritage is a hybrid integration of the different historical processes of change and creation.

Fig. 1: Acropolis, Athens (Photo: Bijan Rouhani).

War and Cultural Heritage: A Complex Situation

The relationship between war and human cultural heritage, in all of its forms, is as complicated as each of these phenomena are on their own. Their interconnection is also multi-layered and alters in different phases of a conflict, starting in the pre-violence phase and continuing into the extensive process of post-war recovery and reconstruction.

In the hyper-politicized atmosphere of war, cultural heritage can not only become a target, but it can also have a role in forming a cause or accelerating the violence. It can be used as a strategy of war and its destruction can be a war weapon to diminish enemy morale, or war propaganda.

Its dynamic characteristic enables it to actively participate in the multidimensional stages of war, peace-making, and post-conflict recovery.

Contrary to the static reading, which considers the nature and position of cultural heritage as a passive phenomenon, a victim in conflict, it, in actuality, has a dynamic characteristic that incorporates cultural heritage as an active participant in the multidimensional stages of war, peace-making and post-war recovery.

In recent decades, post-war reconstruction of war-torn states and nations has been recognised as a fundamental element of global stability, security, and the eradication of poverty (Barakat 2007: 26). Consequently, the tendency to integrate the recovery of cultural heritage into the whole process of post-war reconstruction, rather than a monumental approach to cultural heritage, is gradually emerging. By coining and applying wider definitions for cultural heritage, protection and recovery of it are no longer an unaffordable and elite action in peacetime or in post-war recovery phases. Therefore, the fundamental questions revolve around the new concept of cultural heritage and its relationship with war.

The context and concept of cultural heritage

The understanding and interpretation of cultural heritage, and the efforts for its protection and reconstruction, has not been a constant concept during recent decades. Studying the evolution and changes in our perception of human's heritage plays an essential role in gaining a more comprehensive view regarding the relationship between war and cultural heritage. To answer what should be protected during an armed conflict and what should be reconstructed after a conflict and how, the new perspective on cultural heritage and its social role need to be recognised.

Political and social conflicts in many cases, such as the French Revolution of the 18th century, do not only act as a threat to cultural heritage and art; rather, they propound a new concept of cultural heritage and its conservation.

The French Revolution alongside its art iconoclasm and vandalism gave birth to the notion of 'heritage' in Europe. In the eyes of the French revolutionaries, architecture and works of art created

Fig. 2: The northern wall of Acropolis: a war memorial? (Photo: Bijan Rouhani).

before 1789 were didactic and the instrument of social control, and were often considered against the 'truth'. In 1765, Denis Diderot, French philosopher and writer, wrote to his friend: "if we love truth more than the fine arts, let us pray God for some iconoclast." (Idzerda 1954: 13)
During the French Revolution, the question was how to treat the 'untrue' and 'false' message and value in the artistic heritage of the *ancien régime*. The destruction of numerous paintings, statues, and monuments was a brutal answer to this question.
However, during the Reign of Terror, Henri Jean-Baptise Grégoire, known as Abbe Grégoire, a Catholic priest and a revolutionary leader, proposed a new theory for the protection of monuments, libraries, manuscripts, and antiquities. According to Grégoire, the protection of cultural values should be conceived as a proper public concern in the modern world. The word 'vandalism' was coined by him to describe the deliberate destruction of monuments and art works. Grégoire wrote three reports against such actions. In his Mémoires, he described how angry mob devastated every book, painting, and monument that had the mark and sign of religion, feudalism, or royalty (Grégoire, Carnot & Leniaud 1989: 345).
Grégoire believed vandalism could delete all the symbols of tyranny and oppression and instead conserving such objects and historic monuments could transfer them to the permanent memory of the citizens. In 1795, Alexandre Lenoir, a French archaeologist, established the Musée des Monuments français, Museum of French Monuments, as a refuge and depot for the preservation of religious and royal sculptures and monuments from the iconoclastic outbreaks. The collections were compiled from the vast majority of monuments originally located at the abbey of Saint-Denis and other Parisian churches. Busts of famous people, reconstructed monuments, and works commissioned from contemporary artists were stored and displayed at Lenoir's museum. With objects, architectural fragments saved from the revolutionary anger, and the reconstructed monuments, Lenoir recreated his narrative of the history of France's medieval art and architecture. Lenoir's museum was the second public museum opened in France after The Louvre. Through the safeguarding and reconstruction of cultural heritage, a new heri-tage was born.

History and context of defining heritage
In the aftermath of the two World Wars, and particularly after the vast destruction of cities and cultural heritage during the Second World War, the international community, led by UNESCO, decided to provide a legal framework for the protection of cultural property during armed conflict. The resulting document, the 1954 *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, became the only international convention that exclusively provided a legal protection for cultural properties in the event of armed conflict.

Fig. 4: World Heritage Convention introduced the concept of Outstanding Universal Value. World Heritage map (UNESCO World Heritage Centre).

The 1954 Hague Convention defines cultural property as "movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people" (UNESCO 1954: Article 1). This definition mainly focused on the materialistic aspects of culture, such as monuments of architecture, art or history; archaeological sites; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; buildings that preserve or exhibit the movable cultural properties; or centres containing a large amount of them (UNESCO 1954: Chapter I, Article 1).

Fig. 3: The distinctive emblem of the 1954 Hague Convention on a historic house in Amsterdam, the Netherlands (Photo: Bijan Rouhani).

The key message of the 1954 Hague Convention is that "Damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of mankind since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world" (UNESCO 1954).

This message formulated the idea of the universality of cultural heritage; an effort in the search for and protection of those values that links humans together (Cameron 2009). The concept of universality of cultural heritage was introduced as a protocol to the Hague Convention before the UNESCO World Heritage Convention of 1972.

However, by adopting a restrictive definition of cultural heritage, the 1954 Hague Convention explicitly excludes many forms in which cultural manifests itself. Drafters of the 1954 Hague Convention intended to design a realistic document that could feasibly be accepted by as many states as possible. Therefore, a "selective approach embodied in the definition of cultural property was justified by the impossibility of the protection of every building with historic, artistic, religious, scientific or charitable values, or every works of art" (O'Keefe 2006: 101). The definition not only negates intangible and living heritage, but it also neglects the different forms of tangible heritage. For instance, the 1954 Hague Convention does not consider sites with ethnological or anthropological values without any outstanding architectural or archaeological remains as cultural properties.

Fig. 5: The early definition of authenticity was limited to design, material, workmanship, and setting. Picture: Apadana Palace, World Heritage site of Persepolis, Iran (Photo: Julia Maudlin, Lake Oswego, Oregon, 2013).

This approach to cultural property changed in the following conventions of UNESCO, which applied a broader definition of cultural heritage. The 1972 UNESCO Convention on Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage replaced 'property'with 'heritage' and also accepted the sites with aesthetic, ethnological, and anthropological values as a part of cultural heritage. Although in many international documents both 'cultural property' and 'cultural heritage' are frequently used, the relation of these two terms is not very clear. It seems that 'cultural property' is considered a part, or subset, of 'cultural heritage' (Blake 2000).

In 1972 the World Heritage Convention presented the concept of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). According to the Operational Guidelines of the 1972 Convention, OUV means "cultural value and significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generation of all humanity." (World Heritage Committee 2015: Art. 49).

The Operational Guidelines of the Convention stress that "to be deemed of Outstanding Universal Value, a property must also meet the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity" (Paragraph 78, p.18).

In 1977, when the World Heritage Committee developed the first Operational Guidelines, the test of authenticity was only referred to authenticity in design, material, workmanship, and setting.

Materialistic approach to the values of historic monuments and sites, embodied in the modern conventions and international documents such as the Operational Guidelines of the Convention, found its basis in the western culture, which had profound roots in the Christian doctrines of the Catholic Church and its cult of relics (Tomaszewski 2004: 34).

Under this narrow approach to authenticity, different interpretations of cultural values, for example in Buddhist, Judaic, and African traditions, were at odds with the material-based definition of cultural heritage and its authenticity. For instance, conserving wooden or earthen architectures requires the meticulous periodic replacement or renewal of decayed or eroded components with new materials.

By this definition, which was rooted in Venice Charter of 1964, a major reconstruction of a heritage site could not meet the test of authenticity. The Venice Charter states that all reconstruction work should be ruled out 'a priori' and only anastylosis is permitted (ICOMOS 1965: Article 15). The anastylosis restoration project of Parthenon in Athens is an example of an acceptable reconstruction according to Venice Charter.

Intangible values of tangible heritage

In response to the emerging need to have a broader universal definition of authenticity, the Nara Document on Authenticity was adopted in 1994 in

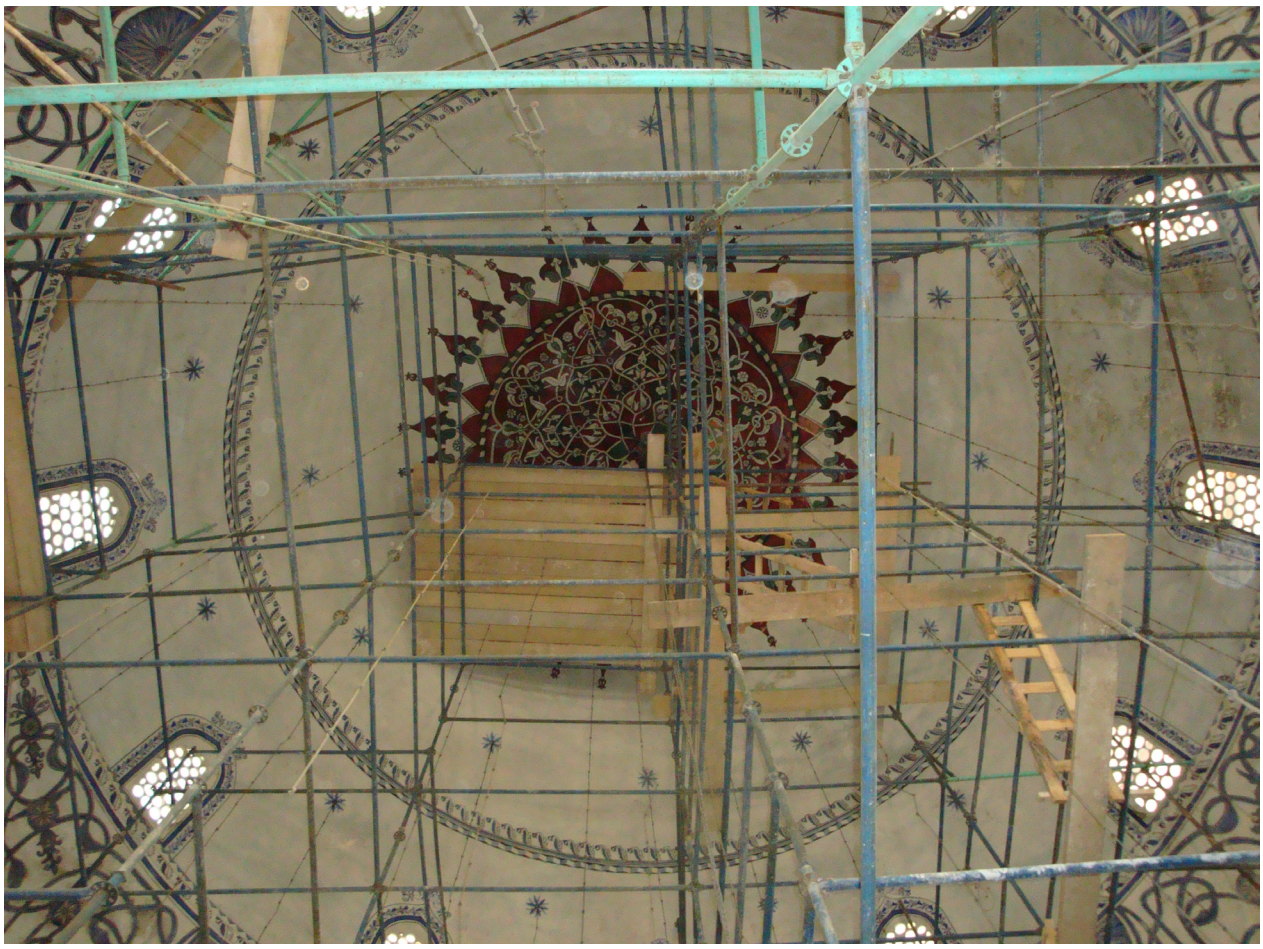

Fig. 6: Reconstruction of Pristina Mosque, Kosovo, former Yoguslavia (Photo: Bijan Rouhani).

which the "diversity of cultures and manifestation of heritage" and thus "the relativity of the concept of authenticity" were recognized, and "intangible values of heritage sites" was accepted. "Authenticity is separated from the originality of material aspects, and instead qualified as a tool to analyse the credibility of information sources." (ICOMOS 2015: 27)
The spectrum of cultural heritage then became even broader through the 2003 *Convention on Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage*, which aims to safeguard practices, representations, expressions, and traditional knowledge and skills, as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated with them, as well as communities, groups, and, in some cases, individuals.
Even further, the 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* acknowledges 'cultural diversity forms' as a common heritage of humanity and for this reason, emphasises the need for their protection and promotion. In this new approach, protection of cultural diversity is linked to "the guarantee of human rights and fundamental freedom" (UNESCO 2005a: I, Article 2).

In 2005, The Council of Europe adopted the *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, known as Faro Convention. The Faro Convention recognises "the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage" (Council of Europe 2005: Preamble). In the preamble, The Faro Convention put emphasises on the need to involved society and community "in the process of defining and managing cultural heritage". The process of defining cultural heritage is impossible without an active participation of everyone in society and heritage reconstruction should be a participatory process which serves people and society.
Other recent efforts, such as defining living heritage and conservation principles for it, show that there is an existing trend to evaluate, respect, and preserve the livingness, meaning, significant, and symbolism attached to heritage (Wijesuriya 2005: 37).
The 'Spirit of Place', "made up of tangible (sites, buildings, landscapes, routes, objects) as well as intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, festivals, commemorations, rituals, tra-

Fig. 7: The anastylosis restoration of Parthenon, Athens. The Venice Charter states that all reconstruction work should be ruled out 'a priori' and only anastylosis is permitted (Photo: Bijan Rouhani).

ditional knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors, etc.)" was recognized by the 2008 Quebec Declaration of ICOMOS as a combination of tangible and intangible elements, which are threatened by different factors, such as armed conflict as well as urban development, mass tourism, and climate change (ICOMOS 2008: Article 1 and 4).
As Loulanski (2006) has discussed, there is a "shift in the conceptual focus of cultural heritage from monuments to people, from objects to functions and from preservation per se to purposeful preservation and integration of cultural heritage in sustainable development" (p. 207).
Twenty years after Nara Document, Nara + 20 recommendations adopted in Japan[1] identified five key inter-related issues to the Concept of Authenticity, which are:

"1) Diversity of heritage processes; 2) Implications of the evolution of cultural values; 3) Involvement of multiple stakeholders; 4) Conflicting claims and interpretations; 5) Role of cultural heritage in sustainable development."
(Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs 2014: 1-2)

Discourse about cultural heritage recovery is impossible without considering "the social process by which cultural heritage is produced, used, interpreted and safeguarded." (ICOMOS 2015: 27)
Social and cultural values are subject to change over time. War and conflict can undermine values attributed to heritage places, while at the same time new values can emerge after such traumas and change the spirit of place. New values need to be accepted through community engagement in heritage process and evaluation.
Twenty years after Nara Document we know that "cultural heritage may be significant in different ways to a broader range of communities and interest groups that now include virtual global communities" (ICOMOS 2015: 27) The important questions now are; who makes decisions about post-conflict reconstruction, who should be involved in this process, and to what extent?

Fig. 10: Oradour-sur-Glane (Photo: TwoWings).

Natural and environmental heritage

The relationship between environment, nature and cultural heritage is considered more and more in new conservation policies, and thusly it should be regarded in recovery and reconstruction process as well. In this context, the existence of built heritage and its continuity is deeply depended upon its environment; cultural and natural landscapes are inter-related, and any sustainable development plan should consider both environmental and cultural heritage issues. The environment is a fundamental context that gives birth to human heritage and, in many cases, determines the social, technical, formal and artistic characteristics of cultural or architectural heritage.

The coherency of culture and nature goes further and includes different types of landscapes. Historic urban landscapes are identified by various elements in different scales including "land uses and patterns, spatial organisation, visual relationships, topography and soils and vegetation" (UNESCO 2005b: 3), which once again shows the new attention to the integration of cultural and natural values with each other.

We are now facing extending concepts of cultural heritage which are not limited only to historic and magnificent monuments or masterpieces of art. Its definition cannot be reduced only to properties or the materialistic aspects of culture. The new perception of humans' cultural heritage comprises all ways of cultural expressions and respects their diversity, in both tangible and intangible forms. The function, people, living heritage, skills and traditions, significance and sustainable use are as important as historic, artistic, and documental values of cultural heritage. The relation between cultural heritage and religious-spiritual aspects is now considered as important as cultural heritage ties to human rights and fundamental freedoms. Natural and environmental concerns are considered as the interrelated issues to the sustainable protection of cultural heritage.

This developed understanding of cultural heritage indicates that it has a dynamic, deep, and multi-layered relation with armed conflict. On the other hand, post-war recovery of cultural heritage is not considered an unaffordable, luxurious process, limited to monuments, but is as vast and essential as the definition and function of cultural heritage.

Effects of conflict on intangible aspects of heritage

Indirect effects of war are not limited only to the tangible aspects of cultural heritage; rather, it can fundamentally alter or eliminate the essential elements for the sustainable protection and recovery of cultural heritage and damage the intangible aspects of it. As Neal Ascherson argues, by destroying the tangible aspects of cultural heritage, conflict undermines the collective identity constructed around a monument, like a cathedral or a mosque, and also the social or anthropological identity, traditions, customs and "living tissues of familiarities accumulated around language" (Ascherson 2007: 17). Besides the psychological effects of war and the threats that it poses to social and collective identity, many forms of intangible and living heritage are endangered in the aftermath of armed conflict. The continuity and livingness of many intangible forms of cultural heritage, like traditional knowledge and skills, craftsmanship, social practice and way of life, depends profoundly on people and their places. As war causes loss of life and unwanted displacement of people, the existence and the continuation of these traditions may become threatened with extinction, loss, or severance from the creative links to their original location. The conflict-induced displacement and the related questions about home, homeland, traditions, language, religion, and other forms of intangible heritage are inevitable issues that are interrelated with any war. Although a number of refugees and immigrants may return to their homeland after a conflict, and those who remain in another land may continue their cultural traditions, there is little doubt that mass conflict-induced displacements alter the cultural landscape of abandoned territory.

According to the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNCHR), there are over 4 million Syrian refugees seeking sanctuary in other countries. The number of internally displaced Syrians is also over 6.3 million. The situation for Iraqis is also critical as the escalation of armed conflict and the deterioration of the security situation in Iraq has led to a massive internal displacement of Iraqis. The number of Yemeni displaced people is over 2.500.000, according to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC).

This mass displacement in the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA) has affected the intangible heritage of the region. Missing ties with intangible heritage can impact the protection and recovery of built and movable heritage as

Fig. 8: Old Town Market Place, Warsaw, after the destruction, 1945 (Photo: Wikimedia).

Fig. 9: Postwar reconstruction of Old Town Market Place, Warsaw (Photo: Wikimedia).

well, which depends on traditional knowledge and craftsmanship. Without people who are the real creators and bearers of the cultural heritage and its values, the protection and recovery of the impacted heritage is impossible.

After 2003, the number of Christians, who fled Iraq, increased sharply. This was exacerbated by the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and the fall of Mosul and its surrounding areas under the control of the ISIS militants. Before the recent conflicts and violence, Iraq, and especially in Mosul, had a large population of Christians who were considered as one the most ancient Christian communities in the world. In 2014, Patriarch Louis Sako, a senior Iraqi Chaldean Catholic cleric, announced that "for the first time in the history of Iraq, Mosul is now empty of Christians" (Tarabay 2014).

With each displacement, the creativity and the existence of many traditions and forms of culture are threatened. The living and intangible heritage have a key role in any recovery phase for tangible heritage after a conflict. The reconstruction of vernacular architecture, such as earthen and wooden structure, also depends on traditional skills and knowledge.

Post World War II Reconstruction

Cultural heritage reconstruction has become a common theme since the conclusion of the Second World War. Many cultural properties have been completely or partially reconstructed due to the utter destruction of areal warfare. The post-conflict reconstruction of Warsaw is perhaps one of the most recognizable examples of rebuilding a historic urban centre in almost the same fashion, visually, as it once stood before its complete destruction.

On the other hand, there are other types of extreme answers to destroyed settlements and monuments. The ruins of Oradour-sur-Glane, a small village in west-central France, is preserved without any intervention or reconstructions to commemorate the victims of the massacre by Nazis in 1944 during the Second World War. Though it is difficult to compare a bustling occupied city centre with an abandoned village now used as a memorial, Warsaw and Oradou-sur-Glane do represent converse decisions on how the total the devastation of war is dealt with.

World War II had also unexpected results for Italy's historic cities and monuments. The massive destruction raised the question of reconstruction and conservation throughout the entire country. The degree and extent of damage showed the limits of the then-existing restoration approaches such as restauro filologico and restauro scientifico, the theoretical frameworks promoted by Camillo Boito and Gustavo Giovannoni.

The monuments had suffered different levels of damages during the war, ranging from light damage to severe damage and total destruction.

In the first category, there were numerous monuments, which suffered minor damage like disruption of roofs, openings and cracks of modest measures, deformations without losses, etc.

The second category was composed of the monu-ments with significant damage like those with broken or lost roofs, partial demolition with structural disconnection, etc. In these cases, there was not one, univocal solution, but two accepted proposals: essential repair or different arrangements according to the damaged or lost part or elements (Sette 1996).

An example of the first form of repair is visible in the restoration of the Basilica of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura in Rome, which was consolidated and reintegrated after aerial bombardment destroyed it.

In the second type of reconstruction, both practical and historic considerations were interlaced. Where a monument had lost most of its irreplaceable elements, the concrete reasons for reconstruction were stronger than the protection of historic values and the original materials. The historic considerations in this type of restoration

Fig. 11: Post-war reconstruction in Beirut, Lebanon (Photo: Bijan Rouhani).

Fig. 12: Post-war reconstruction in Beirut, Lebanon (Photo: Bijan Rouhani).

were bound to the idea that the previous condition of the monuments before its destruction had higher architectural-historic values and qualities and thus it was the preferred form. However, when destruction revealed hidden historic layers in a significant monument, the discovered form was considered as the point of reference for the reconstruction process.

Santa Chiara Church in Naples is the famous example of this kind of reconstruction. The cathedral was bombarded by the Allies and almost entirely destroyed by a fire after the bombing in which its Baroque style layer of the 18th century was lost and an even later style from the 14th century was uncovered. The reconstruction work returned the cathedral to its alleged 'original' form. It was presumed that the medieval aspect was legitimated according to the 'exceptionality of the situation'.

For the destroyed monuments, the tempest atmosphere of the post-conflict Italy led to some reconstruction projects as 'painkiller' solutions, without a theoretical framework in many examples.

Reconstruction of stone architecture was an exception, because of the existence of the adopted methods for re-composition by a type of anastylosis. The famous example for this category is Santa Trìnita Bridge in Florence which was destroyed in 1944 by retreating German troops. The bridge was reconstructed 'faithfully' as a reproduction of the original by using graphical and written documents, and by opting to use 'the same materials', the same constructive system, decorations and other particulars (Venè 1950).

This was the return to the famous Italian formula of 'come era e dove era' (how it was, where it was), which was the slogan of many Venetians after the collapse of the San Marco's bell tower in 1902. Under the pressure of those who did not want to give up to losing significant monuments, the reconstruction of many buildings that were made of stone blocks was legitimated.

In many cases, the post-war recovery works in Italy until the early 1960s, were aimed to restore the original face of the monuments as much as possible and reconstruct the collapsed structures. Others such as the bridges in Florence and Verona, were the precise intention to 'duplicate', even obsessively, the destroyed model (Marconi 1997).

Post-conflict recovery challenges

The post-conflict recovery phase can also be seen as an opportunity for improvement, development, and investment.

The reconstruction of Beirut's historic downtown is an example of a massive post-war project that was justified by the government, planners, and investors as a driver for development and econo-mic growth for the country. Although the aim of the Solidere, the joint-stock company in charge of planning and redeveloping Beirut city centre, was to "reconstruct the notion of the multi-ethnic city centre" (Calame & Charlesworth 2009: 195), the project resulted in a fabricated city centre that has lost the connection to its history. Beirut's downtown, destroyed during the Lebanese Civil War from 1975–1990, was reconstructed by the private sector with national and international investors, who had close ties to influential Lebanese politicians. Many historic buildings and public spaces were demolished during the reconstruction project and the areas were reconstructed with luxury shops, offices, and properties. In the post-conflict phase, new socio-economic and political dynamics put pressure on the local inhabitants to move out and be replaced by the new stakeholders (Randall 2014).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the reconstruction of the Old Bridge of Mostar, finished in 2004, was justified because of its symbolic value for the war-torn society. The reconstruction was also encouraged by the international organisations that looked at the project as a reconciliation attempt for a divided city. However, the desire to reconstruct an iconic cultural heritage in a complex political atmosphere can neglect the traumatic separation that has happened.

In recent decades, there has been a paradigm shift in the post-conflict reconstruction of cultural heritage in which the emphasis has been put on the peace-building role of reconstruction. This political concept has led to a focus on iconic cultural heritage potential to reconcile and 'bridge' the divided societies. As the new conflicts are now fought within, rather than between states, this approach has gained more attention to garner reconciliation among divided people within a state or society (Greer 2010: 125).

As analysed by Paddy Greer, sometimes the post-conflict reconstruction tries to "re-create an anodyne imitation of the pre-conflict environment devoid of meaning and cleansed of the physical signs of conflict and the trauma of war." (Ferguson 2010: 4)

The overemphasis on the reconstruction of iconic heritage with universal values might marginalise the most vulnerable local heritage that has a significant role in restoring socio-economic life and cohesion of communities. This makes cultural heritage recovery an elitist action while the society is still grappling with its basic needs and insufficiencies.

This approach to iconic heritage is sometimes fostered by the voice of local authorities and politicians, who want to keep the attention of international donors on their countries.

There are serious deficiencies in the policies and practises for post-war recovery, ranging from the lack of shared vision, integrated approach, political and financial support, institutional and human capacity, and local participation, to the issues that are directly connected to what should be recovered and how, the pace of recovery, codes and legislations, and different technical approaches for conservation or replacement of destroyed historic city centres.

The recovery of cultural heritage in post-war countries may face other challenges including security and poverty. In Afghanistan, years after the fall of Taliban, many heritage sites are still inaccessible because of the unsecure situations in parts of the country. The isolation of these sites and the poverty of local people lead to further damage such as illegal excavation and neglect which leads to the deterioration of historic rural and urban centres.

Fig. 13: A reconstructed replica of the destroyed Palmyra's Arch of Triumph, erected at Trafalgar Square, London, in April 2016 (Photo: Bijan Rouhani).

Conversely, cultural heritage can be a driver for development and economic improvement for these societies. Conservation and recovery projects of cultural heritage potentially can create investment and job opportunities; rehabilitate traditional skills and craftsmanship; and produce cultural products for local, national or regional markets. The examples can be found in Kosovo, former Yugoslavia, and also Timbuktu in Mali, where the reconstruction of the intentionally damaged mausoleums created local jobs for masons and craftsman (UNESCO 2015).
Analysing the recent cases of post-conflict reconstructions suggests that each case responds to a different set of expectations and questions, including:

- Restoring a cultural heritage with symbolic, national, spiritual, and religious values;
- Removing or preserving evidence associated with the conflict;
- Responding to the immediate post-conflict needs and providing replacements for houses, shelters, businesses, shrines, that have been destroyed;
- Promoting economic recovery by restoring cultural goods, services, and tourism.

ICOMOS and Reconstruction in World Heritage Sites
Since the adoption of the World Heritage Convention in 1972 by UNESCO, the World Heritage Committee and its advisory body, ICOMOS, have been faced several times with the question of reconstruction in World Cultural Heritage sites after natural disasters or armed conflicts.
In each case, ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee have examined the relation and the impact of the reconstruction on the OUV for which the properties were inscribed or nominated.
Where reconstruction has been seen as a supportive tool for the OUV of the property, it has been accepted as a legitimate action. One example is the reconstruction of the royal mausoleum of Muzibu-Azaala-Mpanga within the World Heritage site of Kasubi tombs in Uganda that was destroyed by a fire in March 2010. In this case, according to the World Heritage Committee, the reconstruction of the royal tomb "could be justified, provided, that the new structure is based on authenticity in design, materials, and techniques as well as continuing use" (UNESCO 2010: 103).
However, the current Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention do not offer a comprehensive guidance for the reconstruction of destroyed cultural properties. The Guidelines mainly deal with the reconstruction of fabric. Paragraph 86 of the Guidelines states that "In relation to authenticity, the reconstruction of archaeological remains or historic buildings or districts is justifiable only in exceptional circumstances."(World Heritage Committee, 2015).

Fig. 14: ICOMOS Post Trauma Reconstruction colloquium.

The 'exceptional circumstances' do not have a clear definition in the Guidelines. This means that in the absence of a clear reference document, the decisions of the World Heritage Committee must be case by case.
The on-going conflict in the Middle East and North Africa and their destructive impacts on the cultural heritage sites and cities has necessitated a holistic strategy for reconstruction and recovery of cultural heritage, especially for World Heritage properties.
There is a need and a demand to update the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention to reflect the new concept of cultural heritage and authenticity after the Nara Document. It needs to include a wider range of approaches to reconstruction in light of the large-scale destruction of historic cities and sites in the Middle East and Africa.
In 2016, the World Heritage Committee decided that a new guidance was necessary "to reflect the multi-faceted challenges that reconstruction brings, its social and economic context, the short and long-term needs of properties, and the idea of reconstruction as a process that should be undertaken within the framework of the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the properties." (World Heritage Committee, 2016: Decision 40 COM7)

In response to this request, ICOMOS initiated a project to develop Guidance on Post Trauma Reconstruction in Cultural World Heritage Properties. The Guidance, drafted by a group of ICOMOS international experts, would be based on the idea of reconstruction as a dynamic process.
In March 2016, ICOMOS organised an International Colloquium in Paris on Post Trauma Reconstruction to discuss different perspectives on reconstruction and authenticity. A follow-up operational workshop, sponsored by Kyushi University of Japan, was organised by ICOMOS in September 2016 in Paris to draft the proposed ICOMOS Guidance document on Reconstruction.
The draft document, which is still in preparation now in January 2017, will address State Parties who are the respondents to the traumas and destruction. The guidance will not provide a solution for post-disaster reconstruction, but suggests a process for decision making and will assist in setting out process to assess the impact of destruction on Outstanding Universal Values of World Heritage properties as well as on other values and their related attributes.
Moreover, the Guidance aims to assist the process for the assessment of different options, including:

- What are the purposes and motivations for reconstruction and how does the purpose justify the reconstruction?
- What are the expected outcomes of reconstruction?
- What tools are to be used?
- And how will reconstruction be undertaken and by whom?

For the purpose of this document, a clear statement of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) for World Heritage property is required as a crucial tool to define the attributes of such OUV, and later to help to assess the impact of conflict or disaster on those attributes. Surviving attributes of OUV should be carefully documented and a statement of impacts and a list of different options for recovery and reconstructions should be developed by the State Party with the help of ICOMOS and other advisory bodies of UNESCO.

Global Strategy for Reconstruction of World Heritage sites in the Middle East and North Africa
ICOMOS Guidance on Post Trauma Reconstruction is the first international initiative to define a global process for assessing the impact of a disaster or conflict on World Heritage sites and developing reconstruction options.
The guidance addresses all types of World Cultural properties, impacted by a natural disaster or an armed conflict, in different societies, and is not a specific document in the context of armed conflict.
While the impact of the on-going conflict and security situations in the Middle East and North Africa on the cultural heritage and historic cities of this region has been tremendous, armed conflicts, terrorist attacks and intentional destruction, the lack of security, looting, and social upheavals in the MENA region have led to the unprecedented pace of destruction of cultural properties. Exacerbated by the economic crisis, neglect, and poor management, all types of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in the MENA region have significantly suffered since the start of the current period of instability.
By the end of 2016, 21 World Cultural Heritage properties from the Arab States were inscribed on the *In Danger List of UNESCO* either because of damage related to the prevailing situation of conflict and instability or due to the fear of further degradation and upheaval. This constitutes 38% of all World Heritage Sites in danger globally. The number of World Heritage endangered sites in this region is more than any other areas in the world. There are also thousands of sites and monuments not on the World Heritage List but are highly valuable for the local communities that face the same danger.
The scale of intentional and wilful destruction of cultural heritage during the recent crisis in MENA region has also reached an extraordinarily worrisome level. The shocking footage of the destruction at Mosul Museum in Iraq, released by ISIS in February 2015, was followed by other propagandistic images of the destruction of the ancient sites of Nineveh, Nimrud, and Hatra in Iraq. Following the capture of Palmyra in Syria, ISIS systematically demolished the most iconic components of Palmyra, i.e. Temple of Bel, Temple of Baalshamin, and later in 2016 the destruction of Tetrapylon and Roman Amphitheatre was planned and implemented by the ISIS militants.
The intentional destruction in the region is not limited to pre-Islamic archaeological sites and artefacts in Syria and Iraq; a considerable number of religious places, cemeteries, and shrines belong to different ethnic and religious groups have also been intentionally bombed, bulldozed, or demolished by other means. The attacks on Christian churches and monasteries, Yezidis temples and cemeteries, Muslim Sufis' shrines, mosques, and libraries and heritage of other minorities in the region have escalated since 2011.
This new dimension of vandalism and intentional destruction, in which cultural heritage and city centres are destroyed, will affect the recovery and reconstruction options as the impacted societies might have a stronger will to remove the evidence of violence and hateful destruction. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a strategy for the recovery and reconstruction of different types of cultural heritage in this region, based on the Post Trauma Guidance, by considering the social, cultural, and economic specifications of this region and the unprecedented scale of damage, including intentional destruction.

The Case of the Ancient City of Aleppo

The scale of the destruction in some of the historic city centres in the MENA region is comparable to the destruction during World War II.

It is not surprising to know that among all countries in this region that have been experiencing upheavals and armed conflicts, Syria's cultural heritage has undergone the most dramatic crisis. Almost all of Syria's regions and governorates of have suffered from the conflict. Major cities, like Aleppo and Homs, have been the theatres of war for a long time. According to a UNESCO report, a preliminary survey in Aleppo shows that "some 60% of the old city of Aleppo has been severely damaged, with 30% totally destroyed" (UNESCO 2017).

Before the Syrian conflict, Aleppo was the largest city and an important commercial and industrial centre of Syria. The city has been inhabited since Pre-history and located at the crossroads of several trade routes from the 2nd millennium B.C. In 1986 the Ancient City of Aleppo was inscribed on UNESCO World Heritage List.

Since 2012, Aleppo has experienced massive destruction as a result of the armed conflict, and the city was divided into two sections, one controlled by the Syrian Army and the other by the armed rebels. In addition to unprecedented damage to the old city, a major part of the city's population was also displaced. In 2013, the ancient city together with its significant monuments including the Citadel, Umayyad Mosque, and Suqs were placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. It is expected that the post-war recovery efforts for Aleppo and its ancient city will be a high priority for Syria and the international community.

Responding to the post-conflict needs of the Ancient City of Aleppo, as a living World Heritage city, requires a global strategy to face all the challenges and prevent further damage or loss of the cultural significance of the city centre. As a living city, the rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo should not be limited to the reconstruction of the iconic monuments and rebuilding the damaged structures; it should address the regeneration of the socioeconomic vitality of its historic centre as well as help the local community to recover from the social, economic, political, and psychological impacts of the war.

The global strategy for the reconstruction of the Ancient City of Aleppo would be aligned with the new Guidance on Post Trauma Reconstruction and should identify and justify a variety of reconstruction options. Moreover, it should create a coordination mechanism for all reconstruction projects in the Ancient City. Such a strategy or guidance for Aleppo would aim to:

Fig. 15: Aleppo's Umayyad Mosque (Great Mosque) after the destruction (Gabriele Fangi, Wissam Wahbeh).

Fig. 16: An old image from Aleppo and the Citadel from Southwest, taken between 1898 and 1946 (Photo: Library of Congress Washington, D.C.).

- Address the challenges for post-conflict recovery and reconstruction of Aleppo's cultural heritage in the context of urban recovery;
- Set out Post-conflict recovery principles for Aleppo;
- Develop Guidelines and recommendations for improved planning and implementation of actions aiming at the recovery of Aleppo's cultural heritage.

Working with local human, institutional, and material resources, and placing communities at the centre of the process should be promoted by international organisations in Aleppo and other impacted historic city centres. A successful and sustainable recovery process is dependent on the development of local institutions and building capacity for them.
Reconstruction is not just reconstructing fabric and physical assets, it is also about reconstructing and "re-establishing the process that connects people to places and to their environment and social associations" (EU, UNDP & WB 2014).
Both destruction and reconstruction of cultural heritage contributes to historic processes and the dynamics of social change. Let it not be forgotten that reconstruction process, as well as cultural heritage itself, should serve society.

Endnotes

[1] Nara+20 was drafted and adopted by the participants at the Meeting on the 20th Anniversary of the Nara Document on Authenticity, held at Nara, Japan, from 22-24 October 2014, at the invitation of the Agency for Cultural Affairs (Government of Japan), Nara Prefecture and Nara City.

Credits

Fig. 1–3: Bijan Rouhani.
Fig. 4: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.
Fig. 5: Julia Maudlin from Lake Oswego, Oregon, USA. 02 October 2013.
Fig. 6: Bijan Rouhani.
Fig. 7: Bijan Rouhani.
Fig. 8: WikimediaCommons,publicdomain:https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Old_Town_Warsaw_waf-2012-1501-31(1945).jpg.
Fig. 9: WikimediaCommons,publicdomain:https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:VarsaviaPiazzaMercatoCitt%C3%A0VecchiaLatoDekert.jpg.
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CASES AND EXPERIENCES

Nigel Walter

The 'Second Battle of Britain'

Lessons in Post-War Reconstruction

Abstract

This paper is concerned with the British experience of reconstruction following the destruction of World War 2, central to which was the question of cultural continuity at a time of radical reinvention of Britain's towns and cities. This story of reconstruction is often told either from the point of view of heritage lost or of architecture (of whatever quality) gained, reflecting the typical division of both professional life and academic research into narrow specialisms. But the question of cultural continuity requires these and other strands to be brought into dialogue with one another, and there is much to be gained in reflecting on how they interrelated.

After WW II, Coventry was amongst the first British cities to begin rebuilding, implementing a relatively radical redevelopment of its central core, broadly along Corbusian principles of the 'Functional City'. The preference for radical redevelopment was not a foregone conclusion either in Coventry or elsewhere, and the post-war debate, characterised by Donald Gibson as a 'second Battle of Britain', helped lay the foundation for current British conservation processes, for example the designation of conservation areas. One principal form of resistance to the 'Functional City' orthodoxy was the Townscape movement, an alternative approach which was developed in the pages of the Architectural Review from a distinctive theoretical framework including Nikolaus Pevsner's work on the English Picturesque.

By combining this earlier thinking with a narrative understanding of time and culture the outline of a new framework is offered to address the ongoing issue of how the historic environment should be reconstructed in the aftermath of conflict, and the wider question of the place of new design in historic settings.

Keywords:
Continuity, Reconstruction, Narrative, Townscape, Coventry, World War Two, Nikolaus Pevsner.

Destruction and Rebuilding

During the course of WW II, cities and their civilian populations were attacked, in a way and on a scale that had not been previously seen, through the use of air power. In Britain, Coventry was the first regional city to be targeted in this manner and the extent of destruction there made it a symbol for the wider nation's experience of aerial attack. A city with a historic core and a medieval cathedral, Coventry had grown rapidly from the mid-nineteenth century as a centre of manufacturing. This growth had been largely unplanned, resulting in industry liberally intermixed with housing and other uses; the conversion of its factories to arms manufacturing made Coventry a military target because of its industrial worth. The city was attacked on the night of 14 November 1940, destroying or irreparably damaging the majority of the central core (Mason & Tiratsoo 1990: 97), including the cathedral (figure 1). While Coventry faced further devastating bombing, it was the November 1940 attack that is principally referred to and which led Joseph Goebbels, Reichsminister of Propaganda, to coin the triumphal neologism 'coventrieren' for such extensive devastation. As the war progressed, the balance of destruction shifted from British to German cities, but in a British context that first attack on Coventry retains a particular resonance.

Fig. 1: Churchill inspecting the ruins of Coventry Cathedral (© Imperial War Museum, London).

The course of post-war reconstruction in Britain followed a somewhat different pattern from the typical Continental European model of the defined historic Altstadt surrounded by modern development. Concern had been increasingly voiced from the late nineteenth century about the failures of industrialisation, particularly in the despoiling of the landscape by polluting industries and the insanitary living conditions of many workers who were often housed in slum areas in close proximity to the factories in which they were employed. Town planning developed as a discrete discipline in the early twentieth century from within the architectural profession as the remedy for these deficits; in Britain, 1909 saw both the Housing and Town Planning Act and the creation of the world's first school of town planning at the University of Liverpool. The reconstruction that followed the war was, therefore, not only an exercise in repairing war damage, but was also seen as a means to address the negative legacy of nineteenth century urbanisation. This duality was summed up in the phrase 'blitz and blight', which also served as a shorthand label for the 1944 Town and Country Planning Act (Clapson & Larkham 2013: 13, note 38).
The interrelation of social issues – in particular health and sanitation – with the need for planning was of widespread concern, including amongst the general population. *A Plan for Town and Country* (Stephenson et al 1944) was a book aimed at the general public in which they make the case for planning, reflects this contemporary concern with the state of British cities. Julian Huxley's foreword to the book uses emotive imagery of threat and disease: unplanned growth from a poisoned and decaying centre is likened to the spreading action of fungi. In Huxley's analysis, "our great towns have been allowed to spread like sores", and he heralded

"*our last real opportunity to put things right before the great towns created by the industrial revolution get into a chaos which is past remedy.*
The blitz has been a planner's windfall. Not only did it do a certain amount of much-needed demolition for us, but – more important – it made people in all walks of life realize that reconstruction was necessary, and what it might mean if it were properly planned."
(Stephenson et al 1944: 7)

This promotion of the idea of opportunity amidst the destruction is illustrated by the two photos of Coventry facing the title page of the same book, one the evocative image of the bombed out Cathedral viewed from its tower, and below this, a photo of the 1942 model of the proposed plan for the city. And as Junichi Hasegawa (1999) corroborates, this sense of opportunity was not only because the destruction made redevelopment more feasible, but crucially because it enabled the public to engage with planning as an issue of urgent relevance rather than dismissing it as one of technical abstraction.
The case of Coventry is also particular in a number of ways. As the first city outside of London to have been badly blitzed, and with destruction so extensive including the loss of its cathedral, it stood as a national symbol of wartime suffering; if post-war reconstruction were to succeed, it had to be seen to succeed in Coventry (Bullock 2002: 267). This resulted in early and strong encouragement from central government for bold reconstruction. In addition to this support, the City consistently had a Labour administration in place from 1937 throughout the war and reconstruction period and well into the 1960s, providing a stable political environment for the implementation of its plans. Finally, Coventry's plan was not only the first and best publicised of the post-war reconstruction plans, it was also seen in the professional press as the best (Gould & Gould 2009: 79).
As with many cities that had experienced largely unplanned growth through industrialisation and social change, proposals for the reconstruction of Coventry had been discussed well before any bombs were dropped. Coventry's new Labour administration had created a new architects' department in 1938, headed by Donald Gibson, as an integral part of its wider aim of enacting social reform. Initially frustrated by a lack of scope to implement change, Gibson developed a first reconstruction plan in 1939 on his own initiative, prompted by an offer from a local industrialist to build a municipal art gallery and museum. This first plan was limited in content to civic functions which might be expected to attract public support, and

to a part of the city less constrained by existing property ownership. Gibson used this plan to launch a campaign to spread modern town planing ideals, promoted through the 'Coventry of Tomorrow' exhibition which was staged in May 1940 and accompanied by a series of lectures including prominent speakers such as Thomas Sharp, William Holford and Clough Williams-Ellis. Thus in the case of Coventry, substantial preparatory work was already underway before the bombing started.
The people of Coventry's ambivalence, in the twin sense of loss and opportunity, is illustrated in a modern interpretation in the following domestic exchange from the play *One Night in November*, set shortly before the bombing, between a daughter and her shop steward father:

"Katie: Dad, I went to a lecture. Mr Gibson, the City Architect.
Jack: The one who wants to tear down Coventry and put a skyscraper up in its place?
Katie: But you sit there, and you think, how does he get an idea like that? He said, if you were going to build a city, from scratch, you wouldn't start with this, would you?
Jack: This?
Katie: Coventry. You wouldn't start with rotting buildings, stinking slums, factories in people's back gardens. You wouldn't start with that, would you?"

(Pollock 2008: 23, emphasis original)

And then, of course, the bombs came. Percy Johnson-Marshall (1966: 293), one of Gibson's newly assembled architectural team, remembered the 'unforgettable and indescribable sight' of walking on the morning of 15 November 1940 from his home into the centre of the city over piles of smouldering rubble. While the destruction and loss of life were awful – over 500 people were killed in that first raid – it was not difficult, for some at

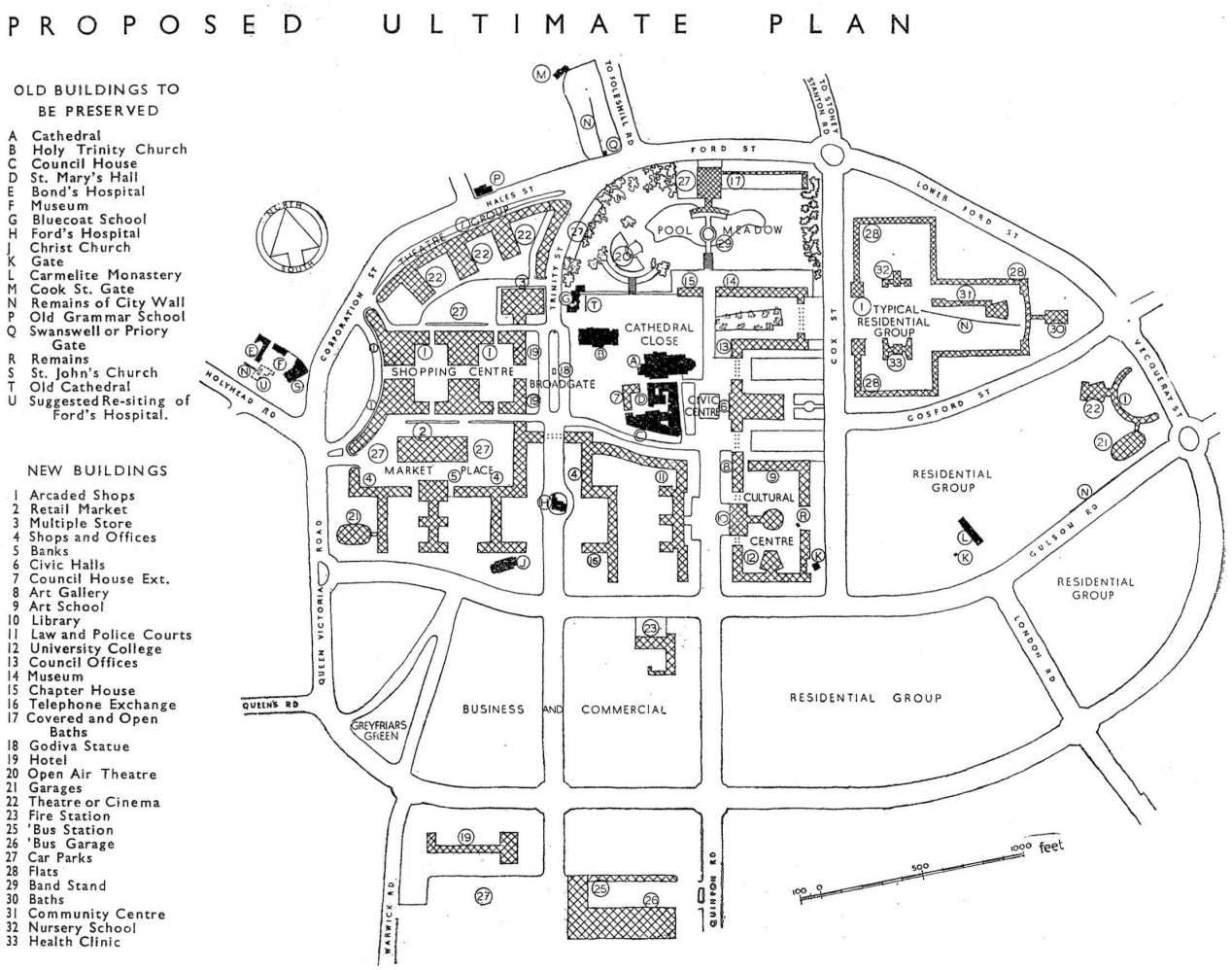


Fig. 2: Gibson's 1941 plan for Coventry as finally redeveloped (Gibson 1941c).

Fig. 3: Ford's Hospital (author).

least, to see the destruction as an opportunity in light of the substantial pressure for a new plan for the city. Less than three weeks after the bombing Gibson (1940) delivered a paper to the Royal Society of Arts entitled 'Problems of Reconstruction', which principally dealt with planning and the industrialisation of building construction. To the end of this he appended some comments on the significance of the recent bombing of Coventry:

"The bombing of Coventry has given us a chance to rebuild a dignified and fitting city centre. Many citizens had despaired of this possibility. High land values, the delays involved by town planning legislation, together with a lack of a plan for the central area, made it seem impossible. Now in a night, this is all changed; instead of a tightly-packed mass of buildings of every description, there are many burnt-out ruins and much desolation, debris and ashes, but like a forest fire the present evil may bring forth greater riches and beauty."[1]

The City Council quickly seized on this opportunity and within four weeks of the bombing had set up a City Reconstruction Committee, ordering Council officers to prepare a "bold comprehensive plan" (Johnson-Marshall 1966: 294). In the event, since City Engineer Ernest Ford and City Architect Donald Gibson were unable to agree, two plans were put forward, with Gibson's being the one adopted. His description of the scheme in his report to the Redevelopment Committee, excerpts of which appeared in a number of architectural journals (Gibson 1941b, 1941c, 1941d) in the March and April, provide some helpful indicators of his approach.

Gibson wrote that the plan (figure 2) was "based around the fine Cathedral tower and spire, the Holy Trinity Church, St Mary's Hall and the hill they crown, which is Coventry" (1941b: 76, emphasis added). While there is some recognition of the role that historic buildings play in the creation and sustaining of identity, it is on an understanding of these as isolated monuments which can be better appreciated when 'freed' from their former context. The plan that accompanied the report shows just ten existing buildings or fragments retained within the proposed inner circulatory road; everything else that survived the bombing, including substantial amounts of housing to the east of the Cathedral, was to be erased. On the face of it Gibson displayed at least some sensitivity to the surviving historic buildings, for example in his insistence that "[c]are has been taken to avoid disturbing ancient monuments, and wherever possible these have been incorporated as features in gardens" (1941b: 77). But if these buildings derived anything from the context provided by the medieval street plan and surviving fabric then retaining this handful of selected monuments in a new landscape would change their nature critically, and result in a second stage of transformation.

Gibson's plans were published in the *Architects' Journal* of 24 April 1941 (Gibson 1941d), presented in two stages. His caption to Stage 2 clarifies his approach to plucking buildings from their context when he ventures that the preliminary drawing "is of great interest in showing the processes of thought by which a City can become a far better place while still retaining individual historic buildings and the broad lines of its former lay-out" (1941d: 279). The remains of the damaged Ford's Hospital on Greyfriars Lane, a group of Elizabethan alms houses (figure 3), are described as "an unnecessary problem [that should] not be allowed to stand in the way of the new plan" (1941c: 188). Two solutions were suggested. Firstly, the remains could occupy a traffic island in a new straight road leading due south from the replanned Broadgate to the railway station. Or, secondly, they could be moved to join Bond's Hospital on Hill Street just to the west of the central area, thus "forming a medieval group of interesting buildings" (Gibson 1941b: 77), and where in Gibson's view "its historic value would be undiminished and where it would not interfere with the new plan and where it would be in harmony with the adjacent buildings" (Gibson 1941c: 188).

While the latter suggestion was not implemented, a similar logic was followed in the 1960s proposal for both the preservation of surviving buildings and the importing of threatened ones from elsewhere

Fig. 4: Spon Street, looking west (author).

in the 'surviving' fragment of medieval city at Spon Street (figure 4). In 1965 the new City Architect, Terence Gregory, had commissioned F. W. B. ('Freddie') Charles, another product of Liverpool School of Architecture and a specialist in timber-frames (Charles 1980), to survey what remained of Coventry's historic timber-framed buildings. Charles's report demonstrated the scale and speed of post-war loss: of the 240 buildings that had survived the war, 100 still stood in 1958, but only 34 had survived to 1965 (Gould & Gould 2016: 76). Some of those that remained were on Spon Street, from which was created a form of historic quarter, supplemented with salvaged buildings from elsewhere, including the 3 storey building at Nos 163–4 which was salvaged by Charles from 7–10 Much Park Street. Spon Street was no doubt a good place to collect these rescued structures, filling in between the few survivors, but it betrays its modernism in its lack of cultural context, and in overall terms adds up to little more than a curator's collection. Gould & Gould describe it as "a 'model' of a street, belonging in a museum rather than part of the new Coventry" (2009: 63) and, subsequently, as having the effect of "a museum of timber building types, straightened up and polished inside and out so that even the genuine parts looked new" (2016: 79). In similar vein, Stamp (2007: 53) dismisses Spon Street as "a sanitised and inauthentic historic quarter – a sort of skansen, [or] open-air museum".

With the 1941 scheme, Gibson (1941b: 77) proudly proclaimed "[a] planned city worthy of the new generation". In most respects, the principles laid down in this early plan fed through into the scheme

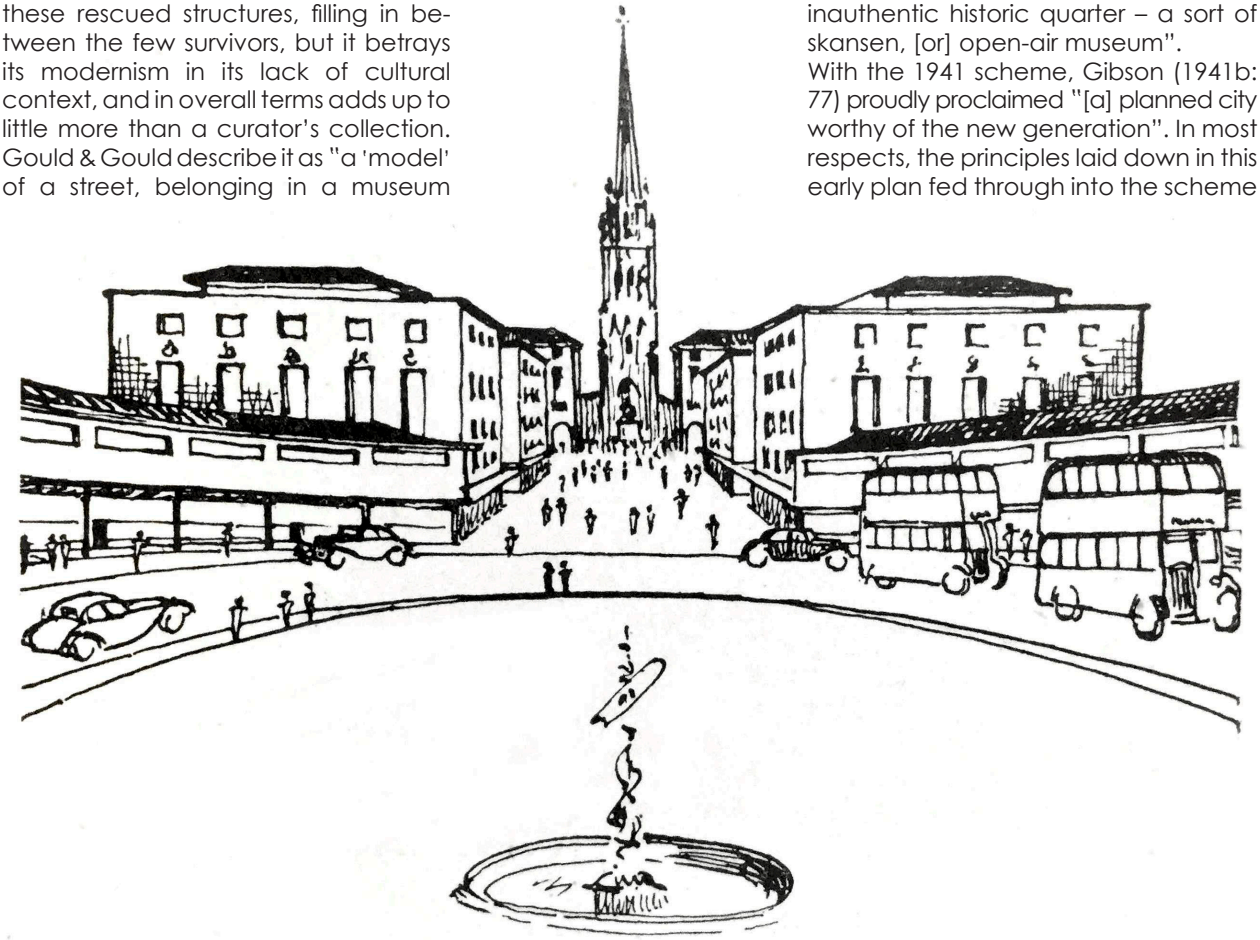


Fig. 5: View of 1941 scheme looking east through the shopping centre to the cathedral tower (Coventry Records Office).

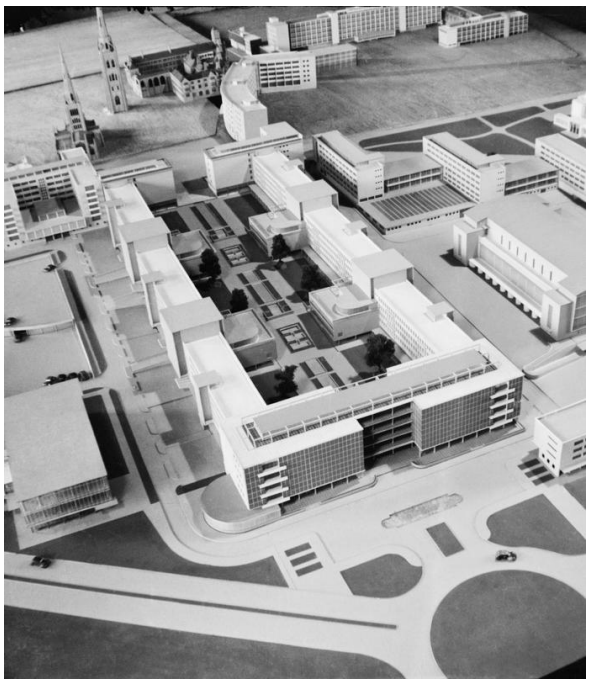


Fig. 6: Model (incomplete) of the 1942 plan (© Imperial War Museum, London).

as ultimately built, including the zoning and location of functions, the pedestrian Precinct, the traffic strategy including the diversion of through traffic away from the centre, and the Beaux Arts axial planning. The place of historic buildings, of greatest relevance to this discussion, within his conception is clear: "The main object has been to provide a frame round the old medieval buildings, through which certain interesting vistas have been planned" (figures 5 & 6). He concludes on a note of idealism:

"We have an opportunity in front of us that has never occurred before, born, it is true, out of a catastrophe of colossal magnitude, but an opportunity to be grasped with both hands. Let it not be said by future generations that the people of Coventry failed them when the ideal was within their reach." (Gibson 1941b: 77)

After 1941, there followed a period of relative inactivity, in part because of a lack of finance, resources and legal powers, and in part because of opposition from Coventry's Chamber of Commerce which represented business interests in the affected area. They were concerned with the implications of Gibson's plan from the outset, particularly with respect to the pedestrianised Precinct which they felt would be commercially unworkable. This lack of consensus contributed to the ensuing stalemate between local and central government. After initially ignoring the Chamber, the Council began engaging with their concerns during 1944, and a compromise was reached in mid 1945. A further exhibition – 'Coventry of the Future' – was held in October 1945, to coincide with the 600th anniversary of the City's Charter of Incorporation, and drawing 57.500 visitors in two weeks (Hasegawa 1992: 45). Whereas Hasegawa suggests this demonstrated a high level of public support, Stamp (2007: 52) interprets this negatively as demonstrating widespread concern. Whichever the case, the Council was emboldened and in June 1946 a symbolic start was made to the redevelopment with the laying of a commemorative 'Levelling Stone' in the proposed Precinct (figure 7). After approval of the plan was granted at a public enquiry, the Council applied the following year for the Declaratory Order required under the 1944 Act for the compulsory purchase of properties that were to be demolished. On 22 May 1948, Princess Elizabeth opened the newly completed Broadgate Gardens and laid a foundation stone for the Precinct; in her speech, the future Queen praised "the spirit of enterprise which is rebuilding Coventry and the other towns of Great Britain, a spirit alive to the great opportunities of our day".[2]

Modern Coventry has been much derided, and is often held up as exemplifying the mistakes made in post-war reconstruction. Gibson had declared within weeks of the initial destruction that "after the first Battle of Britain has been won, I think that there is going to be a second battle, and it will be fought out on the drawing-boards of the architects and planners in this country" (Gibson 1941a: 73). It is ironic that Gibson's generation of planners has now come to be seen as having completed the destruction the Luftwaffe had begun. It was therefore a major item of news when the city announced in March 2016 that it was preparing a bid to become UK City of Culture 2021, and it remains to be seen how prominent a role the fruits

Fig. 8: Logo for the City of Culture bid (Image+, Coventry City Council).

Fig. 7: Levelling stone (author).

of the reconstruction will take in this bid, particularly in relation to the few medieval survivals. In recent BBC coverage Angela Tebay, a local resident, is quoted as saying "I love the fact that we're a concrete city and I think we should celebrate that."[3] Certainly the modern cathedral can be expected to play a central role in Coventry's bid, not least since the bid logo features in abstracted form the John Piper windows from the cathedral's baptistery (figure 8).

Modern Planning and the Place of the Old

The second battle that Gibson referred to above was in part a generational one. Gibson and his team were young; Gibson was 29 at the time of his appointment and Percy Johnson-Marshall, one of his key associates, was just 23. They were of a generation that looked to Continental Europe for fresh thinking that would address the inherited failings of British cities. One major conduit for these ideas was the Liverpool School of Architecture which in 1909 had established the Department of Civic Design, the country's first town planning department, under the professorship first of Stanley Adshead, and then from 1915–1935 of Patrick Abercrombie. Gibson's approach to planning, including the symmetrical and axial layout of the shopping precinct with the cathedral spire as its focus and the commitment to zoning and open space, was directly related to the approach of the Liverpool School, and is seen in other prominent contemporary schemes, such as Abercrombie's replanning of Plymouth.

In design and planning terms, one of the most obvious influences on Gibson was the pioneering Swiss-French modernist architect Le Corbusier. In Johnson-Marshall's account (1966: 112) Le Corbusier's vision "exploded almost all the other 'traditional' planning theories, and no better diagrammatic statement of ideal cities has since been made". Judging him to be "the most famous and imaginative of European architects and city planners," Johnson-Marshall (1966: 112–13) praised his urban design proposals in particular for their "clearly thought-out circulation pattern appropriate to our own time". Le Corbusier's 1925 book *Urbanisme* had appeared in English as *The City of Tomorrow* ([1929] 1987), and is clearly referenced in the title ('Coventry of Tomorrow') chosen for the May 1940 exhibition in which Gibson's ideas were first presented to the public.

In 1928 Le Corbusier had helped found CIAM (the International Congresses of Modern Architecture), with Siegried Giedion and others. It was CIAM, with its central idea of the 'Functional City', that helped establish Le Corbusier's approach to urban design as the international modernist orthodoxy that ultimately prevailed in the post war world of reconstruction. However, this rejection of the historic in favour of the modern was not a foregone conclusion, as Nicholas Bullock (2002) recounts in his account of the triumph of modernism in the architecture and planning debate over the ten post-war years. Architects were divided; most of the younger generation had gone off to fight, with the war forming a hiatus in their training or early professional development, while older architects attempted to continue in practice, in whatever form.

Amongst those that remained at home there was much debate during the war over the reconstruction that would follow. In April 1943, the same month that Le Corbusier published his *Athens Charter* (Le Corbusier 1973), the *Architectural Review* published a special edition entitled *Rebuilding Britain* (figure 9); this accompanied an exhibition of the same name organised at the Royal Institute of British Architects, and the same text was also published as a separate pamphlet for the general public.[4] Before addressing speci-

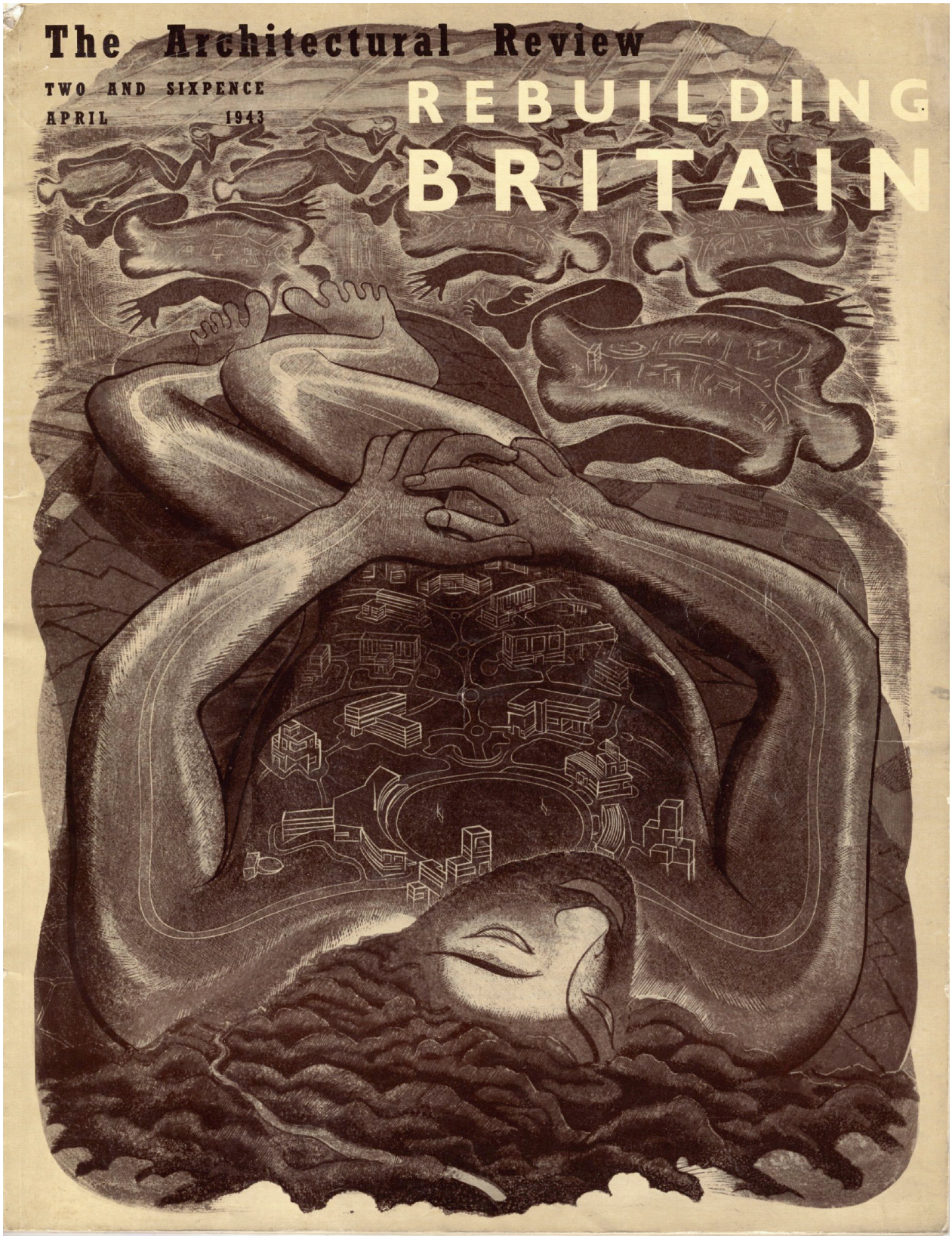
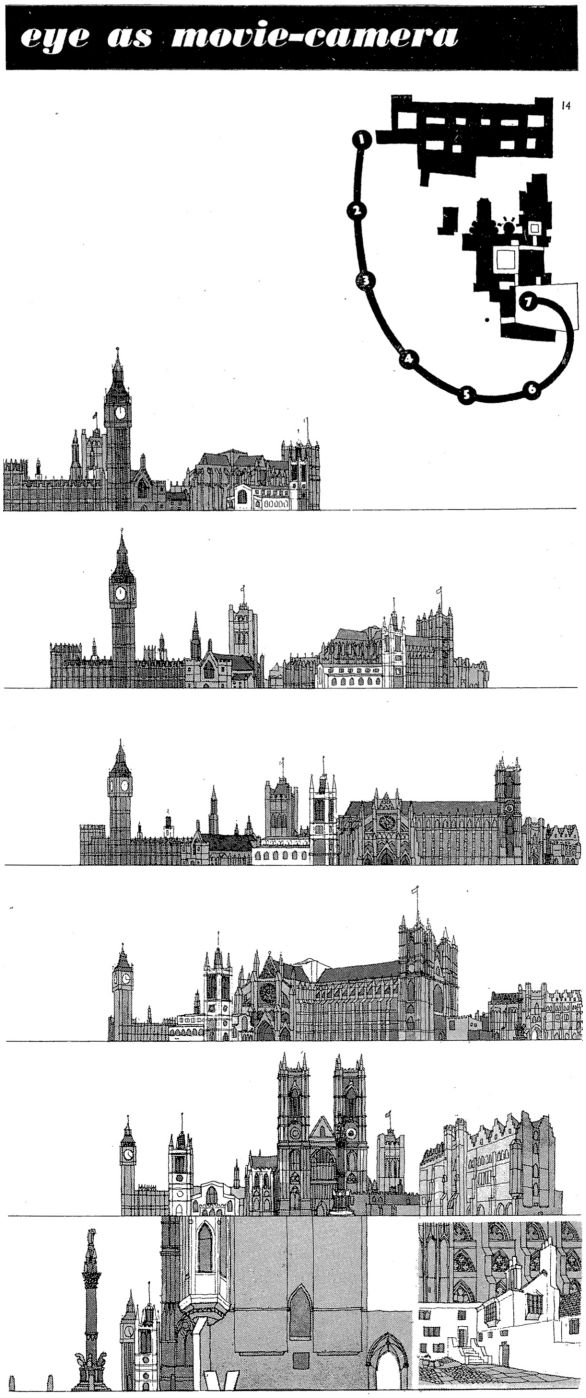


Fig. 9: Cover of Architectural Review April 1943 issue.

fic building types such as civic buildings, housing, schools etc, the issue deals with heritage first, in the context of a call for 'town and country planning on a national scale' (Hastings 1943: 87–8). At the outset the article attempts to balance conservation – "Before replanning can start, it is necessary to decide what must be preserved" – with change – "And yet it's not the slightest use setting out to preserve all this as a museum-piece; if the country is to live the country has got to develop" (p. 87). The choice of what should be preserved is not limited to individual buildings; almost any town is "a store-house of good building" (p. 88). This shows an appreciation of those historic buildings that would never warrant statutory protection in their own right but that are nevertheless important for the identity of a place and are easily overlooked. It stands in stark contrast to Le Corbusier's approach, set out in paragraphs 65–70 of The *Athens Charter* (1973), which itself developed from the nineteenth century view of built heritage as a collection of national treasures.
In words that could have been aimed at Coventry, the *Review* castigates "Borough Engineers looking for space for a Civic Car-park, or 'progressive' town councillors eager to cash in on an old site." But this is not an attack on planning, the move for which in England we are told arose from those who understood our built heritage and wished to see it preserved. Rather, it is the planner's "grand object [...] to enhance personality wherever it appears, to woo it – even at the cost of traffic flow; to preserve ancient buildings, traditional rites, customs, ways of life [...]." This interest in preserving the vernacular expression of "a but half-dead local tradition" was not an argument against planning, but an understanding of it markedly different from that proposed by CIAM and subsequently implemented in Coventry and elsewhere: "If we want to keep the good old things, the crumbling walls, the quiet lanes, we have to plan [...]" (p. 88) .

Once again, in the very same month that the *Architectural Review* published its *Rebuilding Britain* edition, another exhibition was held in London under the title *The Continuity of the English Town* at the St. Martin's School of Art. This was jointly organised by 12 societies which the accompanying publication described as "interested in the historic development of our buildings, their planning and their preservation" (Esher 1943: 115). The coalition of organisers is interesting in itself, including many groups that retain a prominent campaigning role such as the National Trust, the Georgian Group, the British Archaeological Association, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and the Town & Country Planning Association. Of the 13 daily lectures, eleven were published by the Ecclesiological Society whose patron, Viscount Esher[5], stated (p. 115) in his foreword that:



FREE DEVELOPMENT *As a novelist creates drama by the juxtaposition of characters, a with b, b with c, c with a, so in this example movement brings an everchanging juxtaposition of masts, towers and turrets which appear and disappear only to reappear in a quite different context.*

Fig. 10: Free Development, from Townscape Casebook in Cullen (1949).

"the associated Societies desire that in post war reconstruction the natural variations of scale, materials, and lay-out in our towns and cities shall be maintained, and realizing that interest has been awakened and fostered to a great extent by the Press and by the reconstruction schemes of public bodies, they wish to draw public attention to the value of our architectural tradition."

The lectures varied widely in approach. However, despite the exhibition title, only two speakers made mention of the word 'continuity' at all. Edward Yates FSA, made passing reference to it in his talk on 'The Medieval Town', but it is only in 'The English Town Tradition' by the architect Herbert Austen Hall for the Council for the Preservation of Rural England that the issue of continuity is explicitly addressed. In an interesting insight into the relationship of modernism to tradition, he quotes Dutch modernist architect Willem Dudok, designer of the much admired Hilversum Town Hall, saying on a visit to Hampton Court Palace that "I cannot understand why you copy me, when you have this noble tradition of building in England; in that lies the line of your true development, for there is the national spirit of your country" (Austen Hall 1943: 164). Austen Hall goes on to suggest that

"There is room for all schools of design within the framework of the national tradition, the development of which is far more important than occasional brilliant successes outside it. What we are concerned with is the general advance in good design, not the great and rare achievements of genius." (p. 164)

Criticising the contemporary "foolish desire for novelty" and arguing that "the Book of Architecture is written chapter by chapter" his vision is of change that is incremental:

"Aristotle says that the quality of poetic language is a continual slight novelty, an inflection of the thought that illuminates the subject and widens the scope of the mind's activity in its passage. It is by inflection and not infraction that continuity with development is achieved. The mysterious growth of the centuries has not ended, it will never end while time lasts, and our modern contribution is the mark of our own times in a story that was begun before our recorded history." (p. 165)

His argument was not against change as such – "Our forefathers accepted change gladly, and rejoiced in the developments of their own times" (pp. 163–4) – but that change should be in a context of continuity rather than revolution, as a chapter in an ongoing narrative.
Among the organisers of this conference were two of the six national amenity societies – the Georgian Group and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings – that local planning authorities are now obliged to consult on all applications involving demolition to a listed building or significant change to a listed church. Of the other four, only one – the Ancient Monuments Society – was in existence in 1943. Viscount Esher, patron of the Ecclesiological Society and author of the foreword quoted above, went on to serve as the first chairman of the Victorian Society when it was founded in 1958. Given the important role that the national amenity societies now play in conservation in England and Wales, 'The Continuity of the English Town' can thus be seen as an important staging post in the development of this role. It is also interesting to note that of the eleven published papers five were by architects, confirming that it was from within the architectural profession that much of the opposition to the emerging town planning orthodoxy emerged. However, as touched on above, it should also be noted that all of these were of the older generation, the youngest being in his fifties and the remainder over the age of sixty.

Townscape and the Picturesque

The *Architectural Review* was founded in 1896, and by the 1930s had grown to become the leading English language architectural magazine. The chief editor from 1927 to 1973 was Hubert de Cronin Hastings, who was also proprietor of the *Review*'s parent company, The Architectural Press. Hastings assembled a capable editorial team including Jim Richards (involved from 1935 to 1970) and the German émigré Nikolaus Pevsner (involved from 1941 to 1970). Under Hastings's leadership, the Review took on an increasingly campaigning role, often defining the terms of the debate within the profession and beyond.
Townscape was a campaign initiated by the *Architectural Review* in 1949. While the *Review* consistently favoured modern architecture, this campaign was a direct challenge to the CIAM tradition of modernist planning, attempting to encourage a 'visual sensibility' in the British public, and architectural profession, by means of case-books of successful examples. The December 1949 edition which launched Townscape included an extended article of the same title written by Hastings under the pseudonym Ivor de Wolfe, and a 'Townscape Case-book' by Gordon Cullen, then an assistant editor. The prefatory paragraph to Hastings's article suggests that the English Picturesque has a significance beyond the history of landscape gardening; it reasserts the importance of visual criteria, allows for the exploration of a specifically English approach to design, all to the end of "making possible our own regional development of the International style" (de Wolfe 1949: 355). From its launch, Townscape became a regular column and is particularly remembered for Cullen's ground-breaking illustrations (e.g. figure 10). These

Fig. 11: Coventry Cathedral (Author).

were deployed within a form of presentation known as 'serial vision', which as Engler (2015: 16) notes did much to free the representation of urban design from the constraints of the very static focus of the nineteenth-century Beaux-Arts tradition.

Cullen's material was subsequently collected into the book *Townscape* (Cullen 1961), which is structured into sections of General Studies, Town Studies and Proposals. In his introduction, Cullen (1961: 10) is careful to say that we should not reject the "scientific research and solutions arrived at by the technical man (or the technical half of the brain)", simply that we should not be "entirely bound by them", since they are "based on the best that can be made of the average: of averages of human behaviour, averages of weather, factors of safety and so on". Scientific solutions he describes as "wandering facts" that have a pliability, "and it is precisely in the manipulation of this pliability that the art of relationship is made possible". (Cullen 1961: 10)

Cullen's section entitled 'The Line of Life' (1961: 111–9) uses an analysis of Brixham and other seaside towns to suggest that the physical expression of the 'lines of force' which arise from its origins and functions give a place its intelligibility, structure and character.[6] This is another indication that, contra its critics, Townscape's concern was with identifying and strengthening the culture of a place and its people – that is, as Erten (2004, 2015) suggests, with cultural continuity – and that it is misunderstood if it is seen as primarily a formalist approach to urban design.

Under the heading of 'Prairie Planning' Cullen (1961: 133) famously states that:

"one building is architecture but two buildings is townscape. [...] *Such problems as the relationship between the buildings and the space between the buildings immediately assume importance.* [...] *the possibilities of relationship increase, manoeuvres and plays proliferate. Even a small congregation of buildings can produce drama and spatial stimulation."*

Key to his understanding is the sociability of buildings and people, and it is no accident that buildings are described in anthropomorphic terms. In condemning modernist planning, he identifies a 'cult of isolationism', suggesting of the building of the New

Towns that "it is as though the drive to the country has been undertaken by people all studiously avoiding each other and pretending that they are alone" (1961: 135). This focus on sociability is brought out in his contrast of 'towniness', which involves "a gathering together of people and utilities for the generation of civic warmth", with its antithesis of 'ebbiness', which produces "the paradox of concentrated isolation" (Cullen 1961: 135). The study of the Churchyard of St Paul's Cathedral (Cullen 1961: 293–305) opposes the 'vista system' of formal axes adopted by Sir Christopher Wren in his unrealised plan to rebuild London after the Great Fire with "the spatial drama sequence" adopted around St Paul's, describing this as "the local as opposed to the imported genius" (p. 297). Cullen's comments (p. 297) on the role of this iconic and monumental building are telling:

"The object is to exploit St Paul's in the landscape and life of London. Everyone is agreed that it is an asset to be capitalized. You can either segregate it or integrate it into London. If you segregate, you present the building as a painting to London. If you integrate it you walk into the picture yourself, taking with you the things you need such as shops and offices, pubs and trees and brass bands. And magically St Paul's becomes a catalyst raising all these ordinary things to its own level."

We shall return to this distinction of Cullen's between integration and segregation in the consideration of continuity that follows.

Townscape grew out of a long-standing *Review* policy to develop a viable alternative – within modernism – to the CIAM approach to planning. One key aspect of this for Hastings was the ability to demonstrate these planning ideas in practice, which was the significant contribution that the planner Thomas Sharp was able to make to the overall project. Sharp's first involvement with Hastings was a series of essays on the 'English Tradition in Town Planning' published in the *Architectural Review* from November 1935, and which later provided the structure for *English Panorama*, Sharp's second major book (Sharp 1936; Erten 2009: 32). His importance lay not only in demonstrating the practical application of these ideas in the numerous plans he prepared and published for specific cities, but also in his prominence within the planning profession; Sharp held the presidency of the Town Planning Institute from 1945 to 1946, and of the Institute of Landscape Architects from 1949 to 1951.

Conventional histories of conservation in Britain largely ignore the role of Townscape. For example, neither Jokilehto (1999) nor Glendinning (2013) make mention of it at all, though the pivotal role played by the *Architectural Review* in the saving of Covent Garden from comprehensive redevelopment in the early 1970s is acknowledged in the latter, including the role played by the sketches drawn by 'townscape editor' Kenneth Browne (Glendinning 2013: 329). The intertwining of these different worlds of conservation and Townscape has not been much explored, and yet one does not need to delve far to find the links; amongst the most obvious is the figure of Nikolaus Pevsner, whose leadership of the Victorian Society from 1964 is credited with turning it from a collection of well-meaning amateurs into an effective campaigning organisation. In the context of Pevsner's pursuit of an English *Kunstgeografie*, Glendinning does note his interest in the Picturesque, but subordinates this to his promotion of Victorian architecture. The case argued here is that this is back to front, and that far from being dismissible as a "long-standing stereotype" (Glendinning 2013: 315), the Picturesque should be seen as foundational for both Townscape and (British) post-war conservation.

While the *Architectural Review* had launched Townscape at the end of 1949, many of its ideas had been developed and the academic foundation for it laid much earlier in the 1940s. Central to this was the reappraisal of the English Picturesque tradition undertaken by Pevsner, research that was intended to culminate in a definitive book (Pevsner 1974: 119). Although unpublished during Pevsner's lifetime, the incomplete manuscript has been published posthumously with an extensive introduction by Macarthur and Aitchison (2010) as *Visual Planning* (Pevsner 2010), and this forms the most extensive intellectual justification for the Townscape argument.

For Pevsner it seemed that the Picturesque offered two significant benefits. The first was that it enabled him to progress his argument about the nature of a specifically English contribution to European art, a theme with which he had engaged from his early career in Germany through to his Reith Lectures of 1955 (Pevsner 1956) and beyond. The second was that it enabled him to make the distinction between modernism in architecture and modernism in town planning, allowing him to hold on to the former in line with his own convictions and the policy of the *Review*, while avoiding the damaging consequences of the latter. More broadly, the Picturesque enabled the focus to shift from the individual object to the effect of the whole, providing a means of combining the disparate and downright ordinary into something of coherence and delight that was more than the sum of its parts. It also provided the justification to re-establish the relevance of the visual aspect of urban design and to look beyond the conventional objects of architectural study in fine buildings of individual note to the vernacular.

The Editor's 1944 article on 'Exterior Furnishing', undoubtedly prepared with Pevsner's input, makes the case for the English Picturesque as a model for urban design since "it is found to be, in essence, an aesthetic method which is designed

to reconcile by various means – contrast, concealment, surprise, balance – the surface antagonisms of shape which a vital democracy is liable to go on pushing up in its architecture in token of its own liveliness" (Hastings 1944: 8). Ten years later, in an article explicitly addressing the lack of contradiction between modernism and the Picturesque, Pevsner (1954) went on to suggest that the irregularity and asymmetry of the Picturesque was necessary to the expression of functionality in modern architecture. While Pevsner's *Visual Planning* was never to appear in his lifetime, the rooting of Townscape in the Picturesque was made explicit, not least in the inclusion of Lang and Pevsner's article ('Sir William Temple and Sharawaggi') in the December 1949 issue which launched the Townscape campaign (Lang & Pevsner 1949). While Townscape, and the related campaigns that followed, sought to encourage resistance to the CIAM modernist approach to planning, it was certainly not advocating any form of historicism. Hastings and Jim Richards were early members of the Modern Architecture Research Group (MARS), which was the British chapter of CIAM, and Cullen's proposals were always populated with buildings of modern design. By the time of the first CIAM meeting after the war, CIAM 6 in Bridgwater in September 1947, MARS was led by Richards, who had succeeded in refocusing MARS away from CIAM's pre-war concerns with the 'Functional City' and more towards a modernism that would appeal to the 'common man'. He used his speech on behalf of the hosts to bring Townscape ideas to CIAM, but with a modified vocabulary avoiding reference to Sharawaggi and the Picturesque, ideas which had already caused significant divisions amongst British architects, as they would continue to do. He specifically addressed the issue of how modern architecture could relate to historic buildings. In his closing section he presented this agenda in conjunction with an appeal for an architecture that could be appreciated by the general populace:

"*Existing towns have personalities and traditions of their own, by which their inhabitants naturally set great store. As well as being a way of earning the allegiance of the man-in-the-street, it is clearly the duty of the town planner to make a point of preserving and even intensifying local character rather than destroying it.*" (Richards 1947: 279)[7]

The *Architectural Review's* championing of the Picturesque was not without its critics, and provoked significant opposition from within the architectural profession. Barnabas Calder (2015: 199) begins his insightful examination of the relationship between Townscape and Brutalism by quoting critic Colin Rowe's 1957 challenge to "the insufferable tedium of townscape", which made it appear that English architecture was "necessarily degraded" and "essentially corrupt". Similarly Reyner Banham attacked the *Architectural Review's* use of genius loci "to justify, even sanctify, a willingness to compromise away every 'real' architectural value, to surrender to all that was most provincial and second-rate in British social and intellectual life" (Banham 1966: 13).
Despite such opposition, Andrew Higgott, in his history of modern architecture in Britain, describes "the shift to the specific" (2007: 85–116), placing the development of Townscape ideas within an overall move from the abstract understanding of space characteristic of high modernism towards inhabited space that is responsive to context. Even so, the fact that the Picturesque was promoted in the service of modern architecture, as an alternative approach to the 'Functional City' approach to planning, is often overlooked. In part, perhaps, this was generational, but in part it is due to the later presentation of Townscape material. Cullen's 1961 book was popularised and was much better known through its reissue as *The Concise Townscape* (Cullen 1971). This book comprises the first two sections from the original (Casebook and General Studies) with identical page layout and numbering, plus a second introduction and a four page 'Endpiece'. What was cut from the original were the Town Studies and Proposals sections, the latter containing the great majority of the modern architecture in the imagery. This had the (presumably unintentional) effect of enabling Cullen in particular, and Townscape in general, to be remembered as narrowly contextual and historicist; in this way Cullen (and Townscape more broadly) could become recruited to other agendas. Thus it is possible to label the assemblage of historic timber-framed buildings at Spon Street in Coventry as a 'Townscape Scheme' (Gould & Gould 2016: 76).
It would, however, be mistaken to portray Townscape as primarily a heritage movement; as John Macarthur suggests (2007: 220), in the context of Hastings's late Townscape-related project 'Civilia', "the problems of buildings of historical value and traditional urban forms were the pretexts of Townscape, not its aim". Nevertheless, Townscape was in good part responsible for a shift taking place in the leadership of the architectural profession towards a more conservation-literate approach. Lionel Esher memorably argued for this shift in his address to the 1964 RIBA conference in Glasgow:

"*We must beware of contempt for old buildings just because, like old people, they can be frail, muddled and squalid. That contempt can easily become a sort of architectural fascism. Not all our slums are slums. Piecemeal renewal, each piece in scale with the place, is not necessarily a wrong answer just because it is an old one.*"
(quoted in Esher 1981: 73)

It is also the case that the contemporary approach to conservation area designation, first introduced in England, Wales and Scotland in the Civic Amenities Act 1967, is based on the same idea of the preservation and intensification of local character implicit throughout Townscape. Conservation areas are defined under the current legislation[8] as "areas of special architectural or historic interest, the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance". The similarity of language between this and Richards's CIAM speech quoted above is striking, and is evidence of Townscape's lasting impact. As Erten et al. (2015: 7) suggest, Townscape was an early conceptualisation of

"*how contemporary intervention should come to terms with the existing urban fabric, that is an earlier development of the contextual sensitivity that underlies urban design today. In other words, Townscape is proto-urban design that harbours interest in historical continuity, the adaptability of urban heritage to present needs, the questioning of the impact of larger-scale planning ventures, to the needs of the pedestrian and the aesthetics of the city.*"

While Townscape was not a heritage movement, it is clear that, had this contextual modernism prevailed at the time of post-war reconstruction, then Britain's historic cities would have been far less damaged in the process of post-war reconstruction than was in fact the case.

Some Principles of Continuity

As explored above, continuity is a theme that surfaced in the British debates over post-war reconstruction in a variety of forms. If the 1943 'Continuity of the English Town' conference largely failed to address the issue explicitly, despite its overt billing, this was not the case for Hubert de Cronin Hastings and those he assembled around him. Erdem Erten demonstrates how Townscape was a key element in a wider 'project of cultural continuity and renewal' (2004: 5) which Hastings pursued through his ownership of the Architectural Press, and particularly in the pages of the *Architectural Review*. He further demonstrates (Erten 2004, 2015) the means by which Hastings's approach, in foreseeing and challenging the implications of CIAM-inspired urban redesign, was grounded in the 1948 publication by the poet and critic T. S. Eliot of *Notes towards the definition of culture*. Eliot's analysis of culture, with its focus on regionalism, the celebration of social difference, and the relevance of communal belief, remains relevant when considering continuity of character through change, not least in planning for post-war reconstruction.

Central to the question of how to rebuild without at the same time completing in peacetime the destruction of war is an understanding of tradition, something also examined by Eliot much earlier and in the context of literary criticism in his seminal essay 'Tradition and the individual talent' (Eliot 1920). For Eliot, tradition is dynamic rather than static; a new work of art cannot be judged in isolation but only against the tradition which precedes it, and most startlingly, in the process of the new taking its place, the existing order is modified:

"*The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them. The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the whole existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered ...*"
(Eliot 1920: 44, emphasis original)

In this context, conformity to tradition is therefore not stultifying but profoundly creative and, for the poet who understands tradition, brings with it both "great difficulties and responsibilities".

Questions of tradition and the continuity of character through change are closely linked with a narrative conception of time. Narrative is an area of significant contemporary interest, not only in philosophy of history, culture studies and heritage, but also in moral philosophy. Alasdair MacIntyre was one of the first philosophers to suggest that the locus of ethical decisions is wider than the single act, the single point of decision in the mind of the single agent. He famously uses the example of a man digging in his garden to highlight the inability of discerning the meaning of this action without presupposing a prior understanding of the interrelation of the multiple overlapping answers to that question: "To the question 'What is he doing?' the answers may with equal truth and appropriateness be 'Digging', 'Gardening', 'Taking exercise', 'Preparing for winter' or 'Pleasing his wife'" (MacIntyre 1985: 206). That is to say that we are unable to interpret the action correctly without first attending to the enfolding narrative histories that provide the action with its essential 'social setting' and context. A narrative understanding is therefore necessarily contextual; conversely, an interest in context is likely to find a helpful theoretical grounding in a narrative understanding.

Narrative is also the cultural form through which we account for continuity of identity and the development of character through temporal change (Crites 1971), and it is therefore well-suited to similar concerns of the continuity of significance in the historic environment. Crucially, this approach implies that change should not be resisted per se, but that each new element will need to find its place within its context, both physical (including neighbouring buildings) and temporal (the history of that place of which it inevitably becomes a part). As noted above, Herbert Austen Hall had made more limited use of a very similar metaphor when

he described the 'Book of Architecture' as something "written chapter by chapter" (1943: 165). But rather than using the metaphor to describe the development of an abstract cultural phenomenon – in Austen Hall's case architecture – it can helpfully be applied to understand the development of the historic environment at whatever scale, whether that be the built fabric of an entire region or town, an area of a town, or an individual building. Embracing this approach means seeing a historic building or city as an ongoing narrative, with each generation 'writing' its own chapter, taking the story on from the point its previous development had reached. It is only in this way, working with rather than against the narrative grain of a historic building or city, that continuity of character can be maintained, a concern which is of as much relevance in a heritage context as it is in literature.

Thomas Sharp's last publication, *Town and Townscape* of 1968, provides a useful summation of his understanding of the Townscape movement he had helped create. In Chapter 2, entitled 'Maintenance of Character', he identifies a number of possible attitudes towards what should happen to older streets and individual buildings (1968: 18–20). At one extreme he places the utilitarian approaches, which hold that the old should be replaced with the new to meet modern needs, with the corollary that since needs change new buildings should be built so as to "make them expendable in a generation or two". Much 1960s architecture was indeed conceived in these terms, often to the cost and regret of later generations, since buildings tend to endure far longer. At this same extreme is the belief that we should ignore context and give redevelopment free rein wherever it is profitable, thus allowing the urban environment to be dictated by financial logic. Diametrically opposed to these is an extreme preservationist approach, which "opposes change of almost any kind" and which fails to acknowledge that a town is a 'living organism'. Between these Sharp identifies a middle way:

"which, acknowledging the desirability of maintaining character, seeks actual preservation only where that is in a high degree important, and for the rest admits the inevitability of some new building and redevelopment taking place and asks only that, when it is undertaken where there is existing unity of character, it should accept the disciplines that have brought that unity about. Though this attitude does in part seek actual preservation of the more important existing structures, it is maintenance of character that is generally aimed at. As such it is different from the more rigid preservationist attitude. The difference needs to be emphasized; and it can be clarified by describing the intention as conservation rather than preservation." (1968: 20, emphasis original)

If we take narrative as a model for development of the urban environment, then a similar tripartite structure can be employed. In a narrative context, the trauma of wartime destruction would represent an unexpected, painful and unambiguously unwelcome episode. How subsequent 'authors' – that is those responsible for rebuilding – respond to that trauma is both determined by, and speaks volumes about, their understanding of the narrative to date. For example, if those authors are determined that the narrative as a whole should remain a gentle and reassuring tale then there is little prospect of a new and painful chapter finding its place within a coherent whole. The urge will be to erase that episode as a mistake and to 'put it back the way it was' in order to continue the story 'as before'. There are many examples of such an approach, of which perhaps the leading one at the level of urban design is the reconstruction of Warsaw after the Second World War.

The popularity of this approach shows that this is an attractive response, presumably because in some sense it is seen as 'putting right the wrong' that was done, but this comes at the cost of a concealment or even erasure of that painful chapter. The disowning of the trauma inevitably brings with it the enforcement of a particular interpretation (or arguably misinterpretation) of the story to date. It also leaves a lacuna in the story; there is what appears to be a very strong degree of continuity with the past, but by bridging over the trauma it is a false, or at best highly selective, continuity that brings with it an inevitable element of fantasy in which the previous narrative becomes canonised as a form of gospel truth incapable of variation. This rigidity is both its strength – not least it has instant appeal as a means of 'healing' the past – but also its fragility, since freezing something in time severs its connection with contemporary culture, removing it from the flow of continuity and setting it to one side. It can therefore be seen as a modern instance of what Françoise Choay (2001) described as the "invention of the historic monument".

A second means of covering over the trauma is to begin again by reconstructing a new building/area/town in place of the old, and the reconstruction of Coventry fits this mould well. This 're-planning response' sees continuity of function as of primary importance, as is evident in what Donald Gibson wrote of his plans for Coventry. In terms of our central metaphor, this response sees little value in the preceding narrative, or responds to it in purely abstract terms; the past is not only a foreign country but one without relevance or interest to the present and the future. This is the 'anti-traditional' response, and it is no accident that it is often articulated in terms of rational superiority, since the Enlightenment mistakenly set rationality in opposition to tradition. The previous narrative is seen only as a constraint, often characterised in pejorative terms in phrases such as 'the

dead weight of history'. Much British post-war reconstruction followed this model, but it should be noted that it was only through the legislative mechanism of compulsory purchase afforded by the 1944 Planning Act that it was possible to override those with interest or indeed investment in the preceding narrative, whether that 'investment' be narrowly financial, or more broadly cultural.

A third response attempts to find a place for the trauma as a legitimate part of the narrative. If the urge to enforce an interpretation, a characteristic of the first response, can be resisted, then the narrative can be seen as having a life of its own. In this case the preceding narrative gains a sense of authority, and becomes a more equal partner in shaping the future. In the wake of conflict people will always need to rebuild their lives, their houses, their businesses, their cities, but this can be done in a way that acknowledges the central importance of the narrative to date. Of course the trauma must be moved on from, but it must also be incorporated; and if this can be achieved, then a deeper sense of continuity will result. Arguably this is what Basil Spence's new Coventry Cathedral achieves at a smaller scale, juxtaposing the new cathedral building with the retained shell of the medieval one (figure 11). The competition for the Cathedral was a landmark in post war British architecture, and Spence's winning design drew criticism for its 'picturesque' approach (e.g. Banham 1968: 273).[9]

Finally, therefore, when viewed through the lens of narrative, both first and second responses are revealed as unbalanced, as exercises in over and under-interpretation respectively. Where the first focuses on a (necessarily) fictionalised past, and the second rushes headlong into a bright new future, the third response draws both past and future into dialogue with the present. In terms of continuity, the first could be described as 'continuity truncated', the second as 'continuity aborted' and the third as 'continuity affirmed'. A narrative approach becomes expert at reading the tradition and analysing the story to date, and then at continuing that story by picking up the plot threads that have been left by previous generations. In turn it then attempts to leave a variety of threads open for future generations to write their own chapter within the overall framework afforded by the narrative continuity. In Cullen's terms discussed above, both first and second responses follow the urge to segregate the past from the present – the first by bridging over the trauma and therefore fictionalising it, and the second by eradicating it. By contrast it is only the third response that seeks to integrate, rather than to segregate.

A narrative understanding such as this is central to a balanced understanding of the historic environment, one that is able to work with the grain of tradition as something that is living, as constantly in flux but never being swept away. This is the way in which our historic towns – whether Coventry, Lübeck, Aleppo or so many others – were created in the first place, as an ongoing inter-generational narrative; and this is how they must therefore be recreated if they, and the culture they both represent and support, are to survive at all.

Endnotes

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My thanks also go to the copyright holders of the images used, as noted; other photographs are by the author. Everything has been done to trace copyright ownership and I apologise to anyone who is not credited; please contact me to allow correction of any errors in future editions.

[1] This version is quoted from the Coventry Standard of 7 Dec. 1940 (Mason & Tiratsoo 1990: 97 and note 3; McGrory 2015: 9–10), but differs from the report in The Architect and Building News, 6 Dec. 1940.

[2] Film of the speech can be found at https://youtube.com/watch?v=7mDfzgwIF2s (accessed 19 March 2016).

[3] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-35773288 (accessed 15 March 2016).

[4] The exhibition had been opened by Sir William Beveridge, whose 1942 Beveridge Report formed the basis of Britain's post-war welfare state, including the establishment of the National Health Service; again this is indicative of the contemporary link between reconstruction and social reform.

[5] Oliver Sylvain Baliol Brett, 3rd Viscount Esher (1881–1963); father of Lionel Esher (1913–2004), architect, author and contributor to the *Architectural Review*. The text of the publication is also available from http://cashewnut.me.uk/WGCbooks/web-WGC-books-1943-2.php (accessed 18 April 2016).

[6] This material originally appeared in the August 1950 edition of the *Architectural Review* 108, pp. 95–106.

[7] See also Erten 2004: 61–3; Mumford 2000: 168–79.

[8] Section 69 of the Planning (Listed Building and Conservation Areas) Act 1990.

[9] For a discussion of the 1951 competition and some of the principal entries see Louise Campbell (1996), chapter 3. See Pevsner (1951) for his response to the debate over the competition conditions; the discussion of the appropriate manner and style of rebuilding, and the generational differences within the profession, give a flavour in microcosm of the broader arguments over reconstruction.

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Credits

Fig. 1: Imperial War Museum, London; H 14250
Fig. 2: Gibson 1941c – *Architect and Building News* (21 March 1941): p. 191
Fig. 3: author
Fig. 4: author
Fig. 5: Coventry Records Office
Fig. 6: Imperial War Museum, London; D 15515
Fig. 7: author
Fig. 8: Image+, Coventry City Council
Fig. 9: Cover of AR April 1943 issue – *Architectural Review*, 93 (556)
Fig. 10: Cullen (1949) – *Architectural Review* 106 (636): 366
Fig. 11: author

Ivana Nina Unkovic

Post-Conflict Recovery of Diocletian's Fortified Villa in Split (Croatia) and Kostanjevica Monastery (Slovenia)

Abstract

During the Second World War, three main art historian/conservators, France Stele in Slovenia (1886-1972), Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971) in Croatia, along with his successor, Cvito Fisković (1908-1996), tried to save various affected areas with minimum human and financial resources in the former Yugoslavian territory.
The aim of this paper is to make a short analysis of the reconstruction and conservation implemented during, and shortly after, the Second World War on two example monuments: the Fortified Villa of Emperor Diocletian (Split, Croatia) and the Kostanjevica monastery (Konstanjevica on river Krka, Slovenia), emphasizing the impact on today's function of the monuments.
After the destruction caused by WW II, the opportunity for clearing buildings of minor importance to expose greater monuments was taken on a larger scale. A good example of this is the Diocletian's Fortified Villa (295-305) in Split. The remains of a monastery of the lazaretto and other lesser buildings in the immediate surroundings were removed to give better views of the Villa's massive facades, a procedure that would not be regarded as acceptable today. This approach had a significant impact on today's presentation of the emperor's fortified villa, which was also later damaged during the Croatian War of Independence in 1991.
Another valuable example that will be discussed is the Kostanjevica monastery, a monument destroyed by fire whose reconstruction was devised and started to be implemented by the Slovenian conservators and architects in 1942. During the following decades, and with considerable support from the local community, the interior was renovated and redecorated. Many restoration and reconstruction works have been carried out for 40 years until 1982. Today Kostanjevica monastery is one of the most beautifully restored monument complexes in Slovenia, serving as a model of its kind and offering a rich cultural experience.

Keywords:
Monument conservation in former Yugoslavia, Ljubo Karaman, France Stele.

Due to the escalation of conflicts in the Middle East, and to the significant destruction of cultural heritage, UNESCO and World Heritage Centre organized in June 2015 for a meeting titled: 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction in the Middle East Context' (Al Hassan 2015). This meeting sought to address theoretical and deontological approaches in which comparative historical overviews of post-war reconstruction since WW II and several case studies were taken from former Yugoslavian territory.
This indicates that the specimens from past conservation ventures are an invaluable base for understanding the decisions of the approaches during the conservation process. They offer opportunities which are historiographically interesting as a comparison of the present state of the monument, giving insight to the question: "Is the function of the monument well determined by the decisions of the undertaken conservation process of reconstruction after war?"
Taking into account the scope of this heritage, the efforts invested in rediscovery, protection and conservation treatment of monuments rely significantly on funding. Before raising the question of funding, one should ask if, and for whom, this heritage should be restored.

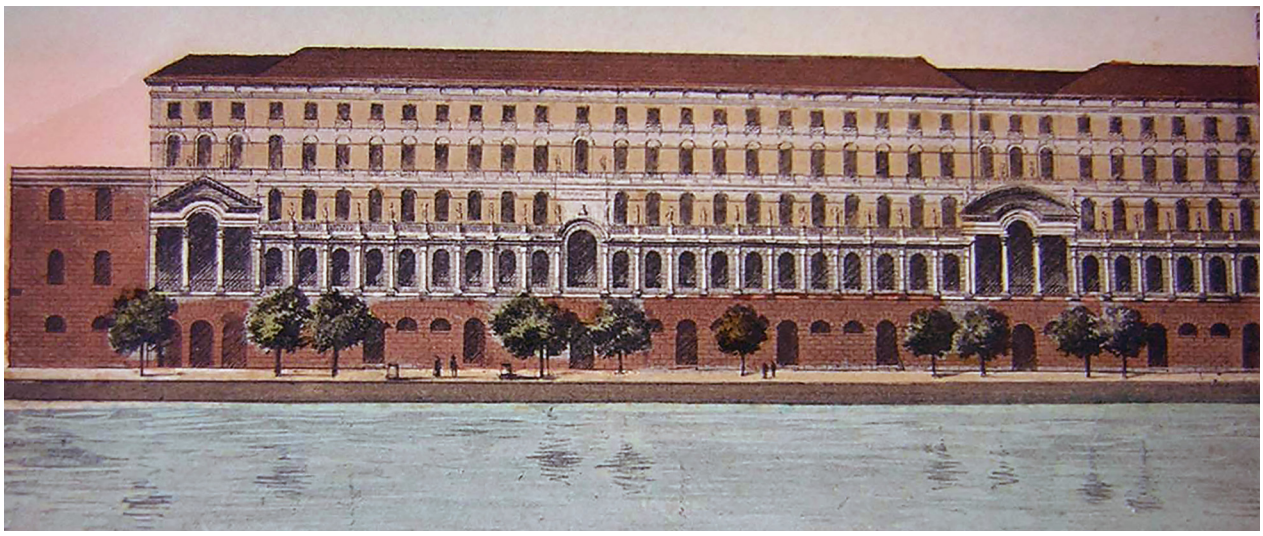

Fig. 1: Drawing of the Austrio-Hungarian architect Vicko Andrić of the project related with the 'purification of the Villa' by the other buildings, 1875 (CD/MC/Split).

The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the subject of post-war reconstructed heritage and the ongoing discussion and main factors involved in the final vision and presentation of the monument, in order to examine the previously posed question. What can we learn from the international heritage practice? Is there a 'right way' to deal with post-war heritage at all?

Founded in 305 as a fortified Villa of the retired Roman Emperor Diocletian, Split developed into a medieval town, keeping traces from all periods and incorporating them into one harmonic whole. Throughout history, many writers and researches have highlighted the importance of the Diocletian Villa such as architect Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), architect, sculptor, and architectural historian J.B.Fisher von Erlach (1656–1723) and architect Robert Adam (1728–1792), who in the mid-18th century published a lavishly illustrated book about the Villa (Adam 1764).
During the first decades of the 19th century, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de Marmont, the French Governor of the Dalmatian Region, had included into the urban plans to empty the Villa of buildings added and constructed after the Roman period, a plan that fortunately was not implemented. In the mid-19th century, the maintenance of the Villa was under the supervision of the Austro-Hungarian architect Vicko Andrić (1793–1866) who wanted partially to purify the monument of the buildings added after the Roman period (Kečkemet 1993).
The short duration of the French governance, and later the lack of investment in Dalmatia region under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, halted the development of these plans. Another factor that influenced the halting of Vicko Andrić's plan was that the Austrian archaeologists of that period, under the influence of the new principles in heritage protection, rejected these radical ideas.
Since the end of the 19th century, increased number of studies about the Villa resulted in the publication of two fundamental studies of this monument by Georg Niemann (1910) and also by Ernest Hebrard and J. Zeiller (1912) (Kokole 2012: 21). These exhaustive scientific views of monument protection initiated the progress of monument studies by local archaeologists, art historians and conservationists. Distinguishable amongst them were archaeologist and conservator Frane Bulić (1846–1934) and art historian and conservator Ljubo Karaman (1886–1971) (Karaman et al. 1986).
In April 1941, following the invasion of Yugoslavia by Nazi Germany, Split was occupied by Italy. Although Split formally became part of the Independent State of Croatia, the Ustaše were not able to establish and strengthen their rule in Split as Italians assumed all power in Dalmatia.[1] One month later, on 18 May 1941, when the Treaties of Rome were signed, Italy formally annexed Split and large parts of Dalmatia (Anić 2004: 12). Italian rule met heavy opposition from the Croat population as Split became a centre of anti-fascist sentiment in Yugoslavia. In a tragic turn of events, besides being bombed by axis forces, the city was also bombed by the Allies in 1943 and 1944, destroying a large part of the Diocletian Villa.
This monument, as well as its environment, caused problems for the Municipality of Split in the post-war years, and opened many doubts about its recovery as new examinations and approaches to monument protection developed.

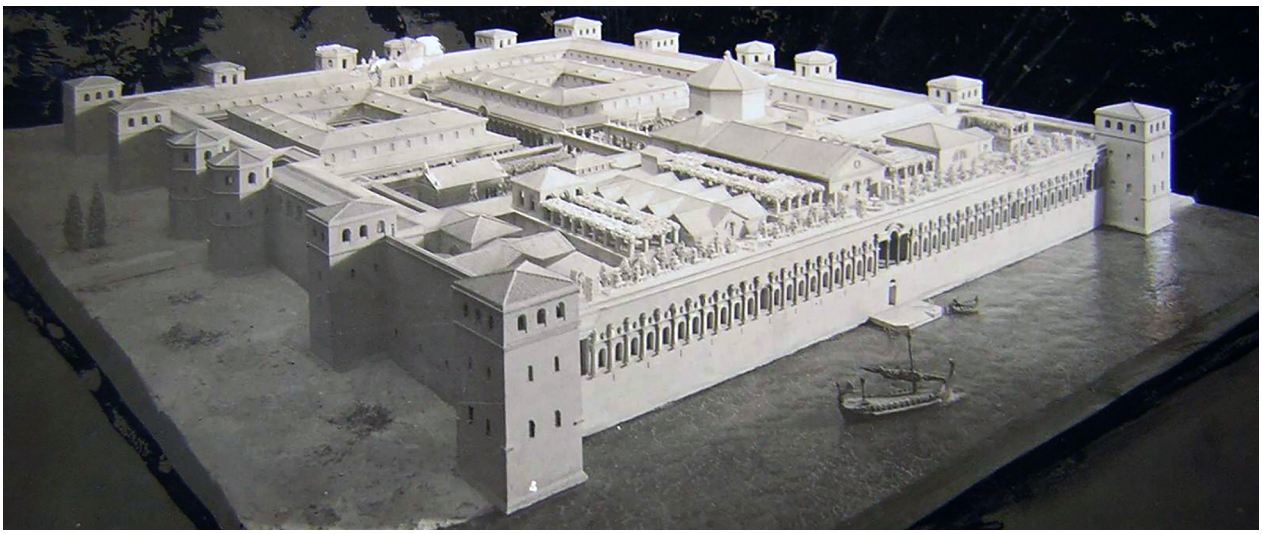

Fig. 2: Reconstructed model of Ernest Hébrard and Jacques Zeller, 1912 (CD/MC/Split).

After many years of research and public investment in the functionality of the Villa the historic core of Split was declared a World Heritage Site in 1979. It was decided upon the account of its well-preserved architecture from all periods, but also because of the fact that it is still a living organism with all urban functions.

Selected Conservation Intervention in Split after 1945 – Polemics and revision of the conservation decisions

Immediately after WW II in 1946, the conservation-restoration works on the Emperor's Villa begun. It presented the first major project in Split in the area of archeology, which was undertaken in a relatively short time under circumstances that were not particularly prone for the protection of cultural heritage. Until then in Yugoslavia, there was no common law for the protection of monuments and sites. The first law which was applicable for the reconstruction and protection of monuments after the WW II was established in late 1946 and included also the protection of the ecological sites. The "Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the Democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" mostly focused on planning and analysed different ecological problems and general conditions of natural habitation after the WW II.

The strategy of conservation work included: isolation of the outer southeast part of the Villa, reconstruction of the East Gate, cleaning of the north wall by removing the remains of the former military hospital, which was located in the grounds of the former Benedictine monastery of St Euphemia, minor modifications within the Villa and the beginning of excavation of the Villa's substructure (basement).

Since the city was bombarded and covered with rubble, the margin for decision-making was very slim and choices had to be taken almost immediately. The main conservator saw the functionality of the Villa as a 'living monument' in consideration to the living, health and traffic circumstances of the building.

Two examples are given in this paper about how the core of this UNESCO monument was protected and even reinvented in some parts.

In the first case study, it will be shown how the conservators used the opportunity to research a bombarded area of the monument and remove a part of it, following their instinct rather than using archive data; while the second case is a presentation of reconstruction of destroyed structures in a modern style.

Case Study 1: East Gate of the Villa

The end of the WW2 and the destruction that this conflict inflicted on the city of Split gave the political and cultural authorities a clear opportunity for the clearing of less important buildings, exposing greater monuments as a result. Buildings of 'less value' in the immediate surroundings were removed to give better views of the Villa's massive façade. Although the official conservation policy still followed the general principle of 'conservation – not restoration' and declared that any purification should be ruled out, some undertakings during the post-war period actually followed that course.

This approach, called 'creative conservation', required that respect for old buildings should not deny the social, hygienic and other modern requirements of life within a medieval city.

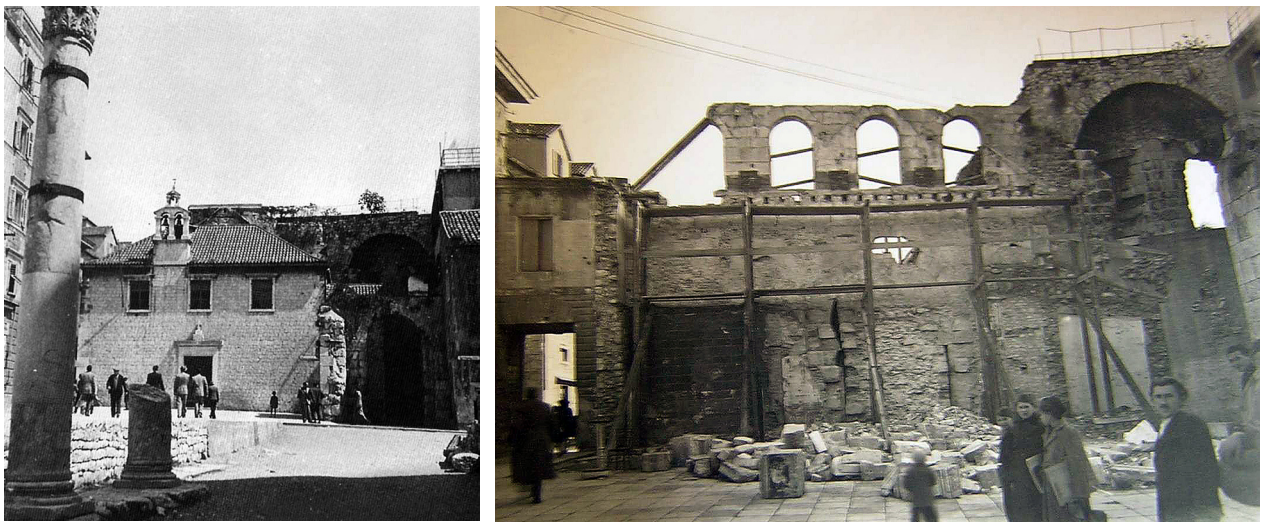

Fig. 3: Church 'Dušica'. Left (a): On the inside of the East Gate, demolished in 1945 (CD/MC/Split). Right (b): During the conservation work, after removal of the damaged church 1945 (CD/MC/Split).

After the Second World War, the reopening and restoration of the East Gate of the fortified Villa was followed to improve the connection of the old city centre with its surroundings. Research was made (probing of the wall), and the remains of the original wall of the Villa were discovered. Thus it was decided, without much questioning, to restore the wall by removing the remains of the small church 'Dušica' from the 19th century (which was declared ugly by the conservator Fisković, 1950: 25) on the interior part of the Villa and to also remove fortified wall installed in the 15th century to block the ancient gate (figure 3).
The next step of the after-war conservation strategy included the reconstruction of the East Gate. From today's point of view, it was only a part of the process of clearing away the buildings which obstructed the view of the Villa, and which were condemned to have no historical value. This approach resulted in creating serious disruptions within the historic fabric of the city and in isolating the medieval core from its surroundings.

Case Study 2: 'The glass house' (1964)
The Glass House was built on the remains of a late 19th century building called 'house of family Aglić' which was located on the north side of the Peristyle square of the Villa. It was almost totally destroyed by the 1944 bombings, leaving a gap in the otherwise unbroken edge of this glorious historic place. In the course of clearing the debris there emerged a very significant ancient pillar in the corner

Fig. 4: East-Gate. Left (a): Opening of the Gate during the conservation works, 1945 (CD/MC/Split). Right (b): After the Conservation works, 1945 (CD/MC/Split).

between the two main Roman streets. It was such an important discovery that many people plead the case for not rebuilding the plot at all in order to leave an original piece of Diocletian's fortified Villa exposed. This view was, fortunately, rejected by conservators, as well as the idea of restoring the bombed house, which was declared of no particular artistic or historic value (figure 5).
Instead, during the 1960s it was decided to build a new building on that spot, but in a modern style, designed by Croatian architect Neven Šegvić. Due to its location on the Peristyle and considering the monumental and symbolic values of the space in the former emperor's Villa, this house caused conflicting opinions of architects, art historians and conservators, both during and after the time of construction (figure 6a).
The main project task was the presentation of the ancient archaeological remains (the corner pylon, base columns, walls and pavement) which the architect integrated in an interior originally intended for a café place (today is used as a bank office), and left them visible from the outside thanks to the transparent glazing ground. In addition to the presentation of ancient archaeological remains on the ground floor, the building has an exceptional value and unique view of the Peristyle thanks to the use of glazed strip windows on the entire width of the southern side of the building (figure 6b).
Although the building was based on the principles of international modern expression, the neutrality of the design testifies to the methodical approach which incorporated respect towards heritage and of the monumental importance of the space. The successfulness of the project was raised upon the agreeable cooperation between the architect and Cvito Fisković, the main conservator of that time .
We can conclude with the words of the author/ architect Neven Šegvić (1917-1992), who charac-terized the building as an "object of a sharp surface profile which only needs systematically adjustment" (Križić Roban 2000). Today, this house is registered as cultural heritage under the protection of the Ministry of Culture Republic of Croatia (number Z-6699).

Short revision of the monument state during the Croatian War for Independence (1991–95)
At the beginning of the War in Croatia, many objects of art were removed from churches, museums and private collections and transported to safer places. Quick photogrammetric surveys were carried out on a series of buildings that had not previously been well documented on locations where military operations allowed it.
The most significant historical buildings were given protective screens of wooden boarding and sandbags, or whole new protective walls were built with concrete blocks. Unfortunately, not enough material was available on the majority of occasions

Fig. 5: House 'Aglic' from the 19th century. Above (a): before the damage (CD/MC/Split) Left (b): after the destruction during WW 2 (CD/MC/Split).

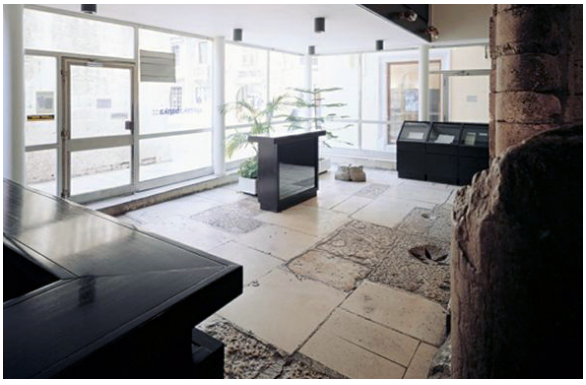

Fig. 6: The building of the architect Neven Šegvić. Above top (a): The building 1964 (CD/MC/Split). Above bottom (b): The interior of the modern building on the Peristyle 2011. (Unkovic 2011).

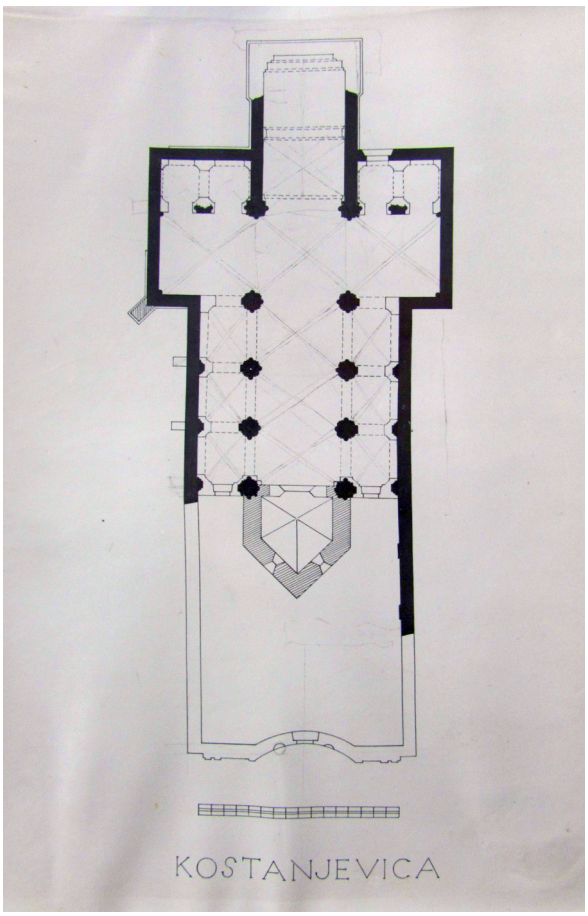

Fig. 7: Monastery of Kostanjevica na Krki. *Top right (a): The monastery like it is today, photo taken during the early 1980's. Left (b): The layout of the church in Kostanjevica. Bottom right (c): Conservator France Stele during the examination of the church state (all images: INDOK center, Ministry of Culture, Ljubljana).*

and many times the impact of destruction was underestimated. Overall, a total of 245 historic sites and settlements were affected by artillery and air attacks in Croatia, of which 60 were destroyed or burnt down, 83 heavily and 92 lightly damaged. Dubrovnik and Split were besieged over a period of several months and repeatedly shelled. Sacred buildings were the hardest hit and the most frequent targets of these shells.[2]

There is the presumption that Split did not fall into the enemy's hands, probably in part because the historic city was listed as a World Heritage Sites, and because the city of Dubrovnik received a bigger focus in worldwide media. Before these attacks on Split, it was not expected that such an old and world famous city could be damaged (UNESCO protection from 1979) since its protection against wartime destruction was guaranteed under international cultural preservation treaties signed by Yugoslavia and overseen by UNESCO. Using Split as an example, the power UNESCO truly has over a war affected area must be examined.

The cistercian monastery of Kostanjevica na Krki, established in 1234, which is located in a small village in the eastern part of Slovenia, and it is known as the 'phoenix of Slovenian monument preservation', representing one of the most impressive monasteries from the Roman-Gothic period in Europe. Its significance is also due the fact that after the devastation caused by the Second World War, the conservation work was carried out for almost 40 years (figure 7a).
The three-nave basilica with five vaults (Fontenay floor plan), has capitals which are unique in Slovenia and are characteristic of the transition from the Romanesque to the Gothic period (Zadnikar 1969: 99–114) (figure 7b).
During a period of three centuries, from the 15th to the mid-18th century, the wings of the monastery were constructed gradually. Its form is also known for the largest arcaded courts in Europe. The interior of the church was renovated in the baroque style, and a baroque free-standing facade was added to the west side. After the dissolution of the monastery, the castle became

the regional centre of administration in late 1800. Due to its new role, the furnishings were sold in 1820 and the church began to decay. Afterwards, it was used as a storehouse and a cart shed.
It was in a very poor condition when Slovene conservator France Stelè found the church in 1919 (Stele 1921: 82) (figure 7c).

Restoration of the monastery
In the late 1920s France Stele, the main Slovene conservator, decided to clean, consolidate and structurally rehabilitate the monastery. In his report on work done in the period of 1925–30, he wrote that the restoration might well result in one of the most interesting cultural monuments of the whole state, meaning the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Cevc 1975).[3]
During the Second World War, the church was transformed into an army log storage for the Italian and German armies and therefore the monastery was torched by the partisans for strategic reasons on 28 September of 1942. It was ablaze for three days and smouldered for three more weeks (figure 8).
The church suffered heavy damage, and it urgently needed to be covered. Unfortunately, on the 30th of March, 1944, the vault of the church collapsed, and only two bays in the presbytery were still standing. In the meanwhile, the main conservator in charge of the project, Franc Mesesnel, was captured and killed by the German army. At that point, France Stele, who was then the professor of the Faculty of Arts, had been appointed temporary head of the Monuments Office in Slovenia. With his capacity as professor of art history, he helped to organise student work groups, which assisted in the immediate after-war period with the reconstruction of the most endangered cultural monuments.[4] He coordinated the groups of students to make layout plans of the monastery. One of the plans included the coverage of the whole site with a temporary roof, which eventually failed as the walls were badly damaged. The wall in the south cloister wing collapsed in 1948 followed in January 1949 by a collapse of part of the west wing (INDOK center, Ministry of Culture, Ljubljana: map 480/46).
Due to the shortage of building material in 1950, the church walls were temporary protected with surplus timber from a partisan camp during the resistance.

Decision of the reconstruction and revitalization
Conservation work resumed in 1955, but on the 14th of April 1956, the bell tower collapsed, and this situation resulted in immediate action. This problem had to been addressed directly on the state level, thus the project was immediately put in the main agenda of the meeting of the Committee for Protection of Monuments in Belgrade (figure 9).
A new plan of conservation had been quickly defined: the structure of the church and the arcaded cloister were rehabilitated, and some sections

*Fig. 8: The monastery after the fire, 1942. (*INDOK center, MC/Lubjjana*).*

*Fig. 9: The bell tower after the damage, 1956., photo: I. Komljen (*INDOK center, MC/Lubjjana*).*

Fig. 10: The monastery today surrounded with Forma Viva, 2015 (Unkovic 2015).

of the collapsed part of the south wing were reconstructed. Since sandstone – the original building material of the church and cloister – is an extremely sensitive material, it was decided that the church would be reconstructed with another type of more resistant stone.
In the following years, a large number of documents, in particular photographs, were taken as evidence of the intensity of the restoration effort carried out in that period. By the end of 1960 the church walls were additionally strengthened to bear the new roof, the collapsed west wing was rebuilt, the arcaded inner court was presented in all its former glory, while the bell tower was reconstructed in the original baroque style.
The monastery was now ready to be used for public purposes, which revitalized the former monastery. During the 1970s, an outdoor sculpture collection called forma Viva was established in the surroundings of the monastery. They were made by contemporary national and foreign sculptors, and the place was brought to life with various festivals and concerts.
These varied cultural activities enriched the revitalised site with a new spiritual value, which it helped to place Kostanjevica as an example of extraordinary monument reconstructions (figure 10).

Conclusion
The minds of modern man cannot equate deliberate war devastation with the gradual destruction caused by the action of time. The examples provided in this paper prove that to restore a building to its pre-war state is not a desire for a pure style and bringing it back to its original appearance: it means condemnation of the horrors of war, revenge to the enemy who caused them, and reconstruction of the county after the disaster. People gradually become desensitized from things they are used to look at. Even when a historic building is suddenly destroyed by a fire or earthquake, we should not oppose its reconstruction on moral grounds if it is possible to be achieved without major harm to its appearance and function.

Endnotes

Acknowledgements
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I am especially expressing my gratitude to Mrs Metka Košir, Information and documentation center for heritage (INDOK center), Ministry of Culture in Ljubljana (Slovenia) for the help during my research.

[1] Independed State of Croatia was a puppet state of Germany and Italy. It was established in parts of occupied Yugoslavia on 10 April 1941, after the invasion by the Axis powers. Its territory consisted of most of modern-day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as some parts of modern-day Serbia and Slovenia. Yugoslavia. Holocaust Encyclopedia. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005456 (accessed 16th Jan. 2017).
[2] Interim Report on War Damages Caused on the Cultural Heritage in Croatia, Ministry of Education and Culture, Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments, Zagreb, June 12, 1992; Reberski, I. (1994).
[3] INDOK center, Ministry of Culture, Ljubljana, map: 440/46.
[4] INDOK center, Ministry of Culture, Ljubljana, map: 98/5-49, 441/46, 436/46, 448/46, 442/46.

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Credits

Fig. 1: Conservation Department, Ministry of Culture (CD/MC/Split), Split, photo archive inv.no. 3436.
Fig. 2: CD/MC/Split, photo archive inv.no. 3383.
Fig. 3a: CD/MC/Split, photo archive inv.no. 3430; 515.
Fig. 3b: CD/MC/Split, photo archive inv.no. C 944.
Fig. 4a: CD/MC/Split, photo archive inv.no. 3663.
Fig. 4b: CD/MC/Split, photo archive inv.no. 3306; 365.
Fig. 5a: CD/MC/Split, photo archive inv.no. C 232.
Fig. 5b: CD/MC/Split, photo archive inv.no. C 242.
Fig. 6a: CD/MC/Split, photo archive inv.no. 5498.
Fig. 6b: Unkovic 2011.
Fig. 7a: INDOK center, Ministry of Culture in Ljubljana (MC/Lubjjana), inv.no. 13649 S.
Fig. 7b: INDOK center, MC/Lubjjana, inv.no. 28668.
Fig. 7c: INDOK center, MC/Lubjjana, inv.no. 15828.
Fig. 8: INDOK center, MC/Lubjjana, inv.no. 14301S.
Fig. 9: INDOK center, MC/Lubjjana, inv.no. 26155S (photo: I. Komljen).
Fig. 10: Unkovic 2015.

Constanze Röhl – Peter I. Schneider

Coping with Concrete and Contamination

Lessons to be Learned from the Archaeological Investigation of the Missile Factory Building F1 at Peenemünde

Abstract

'F1' denotes 'Fertigungshalle 1', an industrial building on the site of the *Heeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde*, the German Army Research Center at Peenemünde/Usedom, Vorpommern-Greifswald, dedicated to the serial production of missiles during WW 2 and now lying in ruins after being bombed by air raids and subsequently demolished in the 1950s. Due to its current state, a profound investigation of the site can only be achieved via the application of architectural survey and archaeological excavation alike, combining non-invasive and invasive methods. F1 was researched archaeologically in summer 2016 in the course of an educational project of the BTU Cottbus, aimed at training reconnaissance and interpretation of architectural objects of conflictual heritage. The fabric of the building, its history and accompanying multifacetted context proved to provide a sophisticated challenge to the methodological repertoire of archaeology and conservation alike.

The paper presents two aspects which are relevant to the investigation and documentation of modern buildings destroyed or damaged during armed conflicts and considered tangible heritage. One aspect highlights the problems connected with the material quality of concrete as building debris. Another issue is concerned with the problem of ammunition removal. Both challenge traditional archaeological approaches on a very pratical level, as preserving stratigraphical information is imperative but also fraught with serious difficulties.
This aspect is clearly under-represented in archaeological methodology. The issue is therefore in absolute need of being explicitely addressed within the scope of methods and methodology pertaining to building survey and archaeological fieldwork alike, as the work conducted at Peenemünde has proven.

Keywords:
Peenemünde, Concrete ruin, Contemporary Archaeology, Conflict Archaeology, Building survey, Contaminated heritage.

The site of the former German Army Research Center Peenemünde is located on the nowadays resort island Usedom in Vorpommern-Greifswald at the eastern end of the German Baltic Sea coast. It is well known not only to enthusiasts of the history of space technology and those interested in the particularly dark period of the National Socialist Regime in Germany and World War II, but also to heritage experts interested in the fields of memorial landscapes, heritage of war and conflictual heritage, dark tourism and related aspects.
The *Heeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde* had been established in 1936 in order to provide the research as well as large-scale production and testing facilities needed for the German rocket program, most notoriously the production of the technologically very advanced 'Aggregat 4'; 'Vergeltungswaffe 2 / Retaliation Weapon 2' as Nazi Propaganda had dubbed it, and was in use for these purposes until 1943 (Neufeld 1996; Bode & Kaiser 1998).
When evaluating the significance of the site from a heritage perspective, the Janus faced character of the place and its history is well recognized as an authentic testimony both to groundbreaking advancements in science and engineering history, while at the same time encompassing inhuman practices of the National Socialist Regime and its warfare strategies as well as a fatal ignorance of scientists concerning the political framework of their work (Hoppe 1999, Hoppe 2004, Mühlendorfer-Vogt 2009a, Mense & Schmidt 2012, Hoppe 2014, Faulenbach 2014).

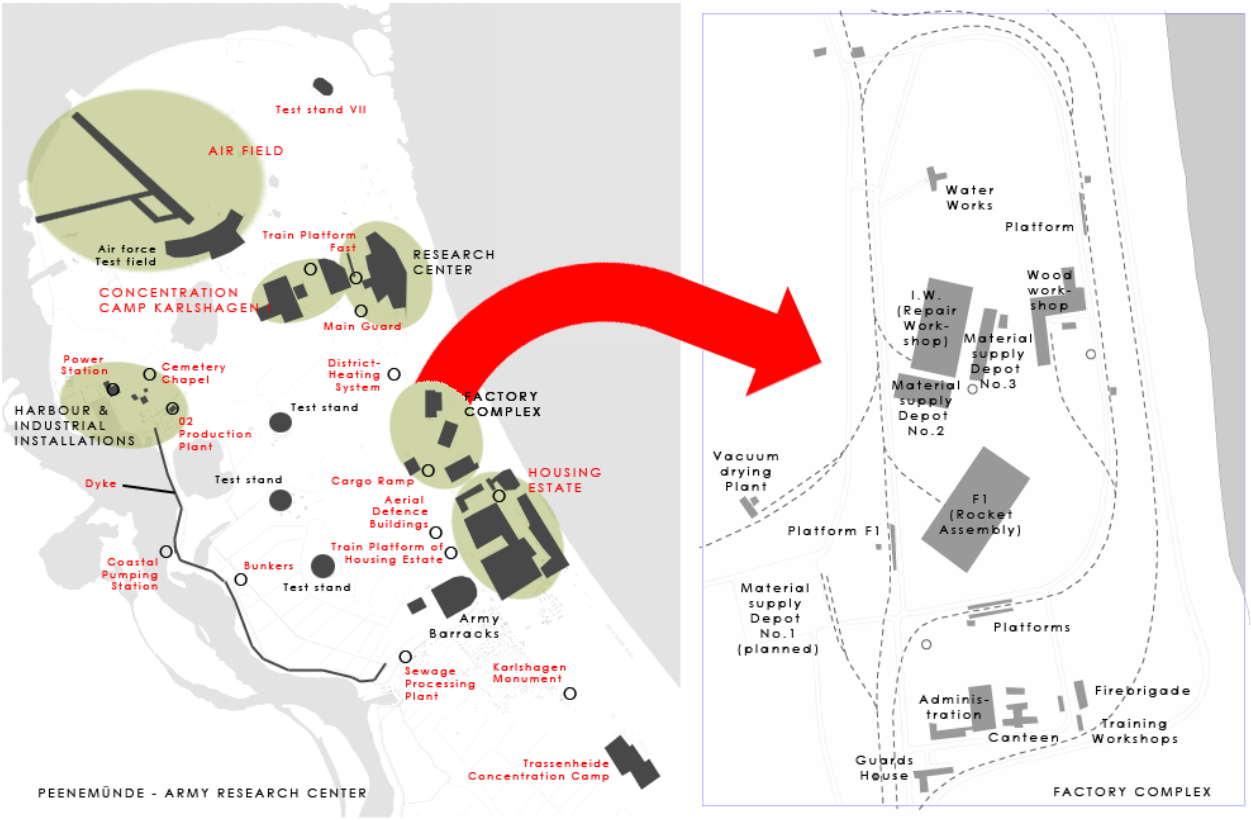


Fig. 1: Map of Peenemünde and the remains of the Army research center (left) and detailed plan of the factory complex including the fabrication plan F1 (right). Facilities of the Army research center cover laboratories and test stands for research, housing of scientiests and of army bodies, concentration camps for forced and slave labourers, buildings for administration, a power plant, dams and dykes, an harbor, an air field and railway infrastructure, a farm for self-supply, the fabrication plant. etc. Small circles and designations in red types indicate stations already developed for the 'Denkmallandschaft Peenemünde' (actual state).

Peenemünde is a place of exceptional historical significance and complexity, due to a number of different contexts that merged in the ambition to fabricate reliably guidable ballistic missiles in serial production. In the midst of war and complete secrecy, a vast research campus and factory complex was realized drawing on technology and know-how at back then state-of-the-art on all levels, except for any basic respect of human rights.

With this in mind, the site of Peenemünde with all its individual installations necessary for the maintenance of the German guided missile rocket program and self-sufficient infrastructure signifies a landscape of differing heritages to the contemporary mind, reaching far beyond being merely heritage of science (see figure 1).

At the same time it is a landscape of conflict proper, which incorporates relics related to concentration camps and forced labour as well as various structural remains of damage caused by allied air raids and also its final dismantling in the aftermath of the specifications for demilitarisation in the Potsdam agreement.[1] All these facets are respected in the Conservation Management Plan of Mense and Schmidt which already in 2012 proposed a strategy and guide lines for the conservation and interpretation of the complex heritage present at Peenemünde, classifying the different structural remains connected with the site into six categories from A to F according to the diminishing degrees of educational potential they present (Mense & Schmidt 2012). F1 – which is of course inextricably linked to 'civilian' structures (site of the former scientist's settlement), as well as remains of infrastructural installations (power plant, railway system), the remnants of topographical interventions (dyke, harbor) and places signifying the dark side of science during the era (Concentration Camps) – ranks in category A. Planning conservation and attempting interpretation of such a

site reaches the horizon of well established methodology very quickly without being able to identify appropriate solutions instantly when confronted with the task of actual fieldwork. This in return creates awareness concerning deficits in archaeological methodology which urgently need to be addressed. These deficits are connected to a series of quite different problems, connected with heritage of conflict in particular. The most immediate ones are caused by contamination with ammunition from various sources and potential remains of toxic materials used in the construction of the facilities as well as during their subsequent use. Additionally, concrete as a building material causes its very own problems when being encountered in the form of a ruin. The relevance of these issues becomes unquestionably obvious when connected to the basic task of heritage intelligence: understanding and interpretation.

Fertigungshalle 1 / F1 as cultural heritage

The 'Denkmallandschaft Peenemünde' (Heritage Landscape Peenemünde), encompassing an overall area of 2.500 ha, is a concept first proposed by Erichsen (1999: 15–8), taking into consideration the concerns for both heritage conservation and preservation of nature, as most parts of the site are also classified as a natural reserve. Mense und Schmidt in their Conservation Management Plan understand the whole area of the research center as a complex unity of landscape incorporating various traces and remains of human activities, and propose a strategy which enables access to single parts of the army research center by developing selective features of the facilities hitherto closed to the public (Mense & Schmidt 2012: 113, 189–91).

Access and interpretation in this strategy are considered prime factors for connecting the general public with its heritage, and for realizing the potential to create awareness about different intangible aspects inherent in each of the individual features. Currently, access to the site is restricted to specific areas only, due to several reasons: While the precarious state of the remains is one of these; most relevantly the state of contamination with ammunition stemming from the allied air raids during the 1940s, as well as its subsequent use by the People's Army of the German Democratic Republic prohibit unsupervised visits without prior establishment of decontaminated access routes. The site's status as a nature reserve adds further aspects to be considered. Therefore, single features within the landscape had and still have to be developed touristically piece by piece. Until now a series of different types of remains has been made accessible under the label of 'Denkmal-Landschaft Peenemünde' with the initiative and under the auspicies of the *Historical Technical Museum* Peenemünde (HTM), such as 'Test Stand VII' or the KZ Karlshagen I (see HTM n.d.).

'Peenemünde Fertigungshalle 1 Investigation 2016'

In summer 2016, the remains of 'Fertigungshalle 1/ F1', the fabrication plant for the assembly of missiles, were investigated in the course of an interdisciplinary workshop between the modules 'Conservation of Ruins and Archaeological Sites: Peenemünde Army Research Center' and 'Archaeology', situated at the Chairs of Building History and of Architectural Conservation at BTU Cottbus and aimed at students of 'World Heritage Studies' and 'Heritage Conservation und Site Management'. Its overall goal was the development of a tourist concept for the heretofore undeveloped area of F1 which is currently closed to the public, as part of the *Peenemünde Historical Technical Museum* in order to provide an extension to the existing 'Denkmallandschaft', incorporating the facilities provisioned for the serial production of the A4-aggregate. This goal was pursued via a combination of architectural survey and archaeological investigation.

Interpretation requires Knowledge: Architectural Survey und Archaeological Investigation

Interpretation is bound to knowledge. Apart from its status as a significant part of the missile program, F1 as an architectural monument has never been subject to basic investigation. Clues regarding possible deviations from the original conceptual plans and indicators reflecting the particularly complex contexts of its erection are missing. The plans preserved in German archives represent only the early stages of design. The overall documentary state of information is not sufficiently precise. It lacks, for example, details about adaptions of building materials, aesthetic claims or later changes in execution due to external factors – like shortage of building materials, shortage of work forces or the order given by the Reichsminister for Armaments and Ammunition, Fritz Todt, to limit the architectural execution to the necessary basics in times of war. As always in building history, the informational gap between archival sources and factual situation needs to be addressed.

Consequently, before establishing ideas for a tourist concept, an architectural survey in combination with archaeological investigation provided the only adequate interdisciplinary methodology for gaining a basic understanding of F1.

Methodology

A site like Peenemünde is positioned within the methodological requirements of several archaeological disciplines which – leaving aside further refinements for the purpose of this article[2] – include Building Research/'Bauforschung', Contemporary Archaeology and Conflict Archaeology alike. Thus, not only is the researcher confronted with very specific circumstances when it comes to the preconditions to be fulfilled prior to field work, but also with the added dimension of ethical

Fig. 2: Plan of the remains of F1 – with indication of test trenches (blue circles) in the southern part of the building (BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, P. Schneider 2016).

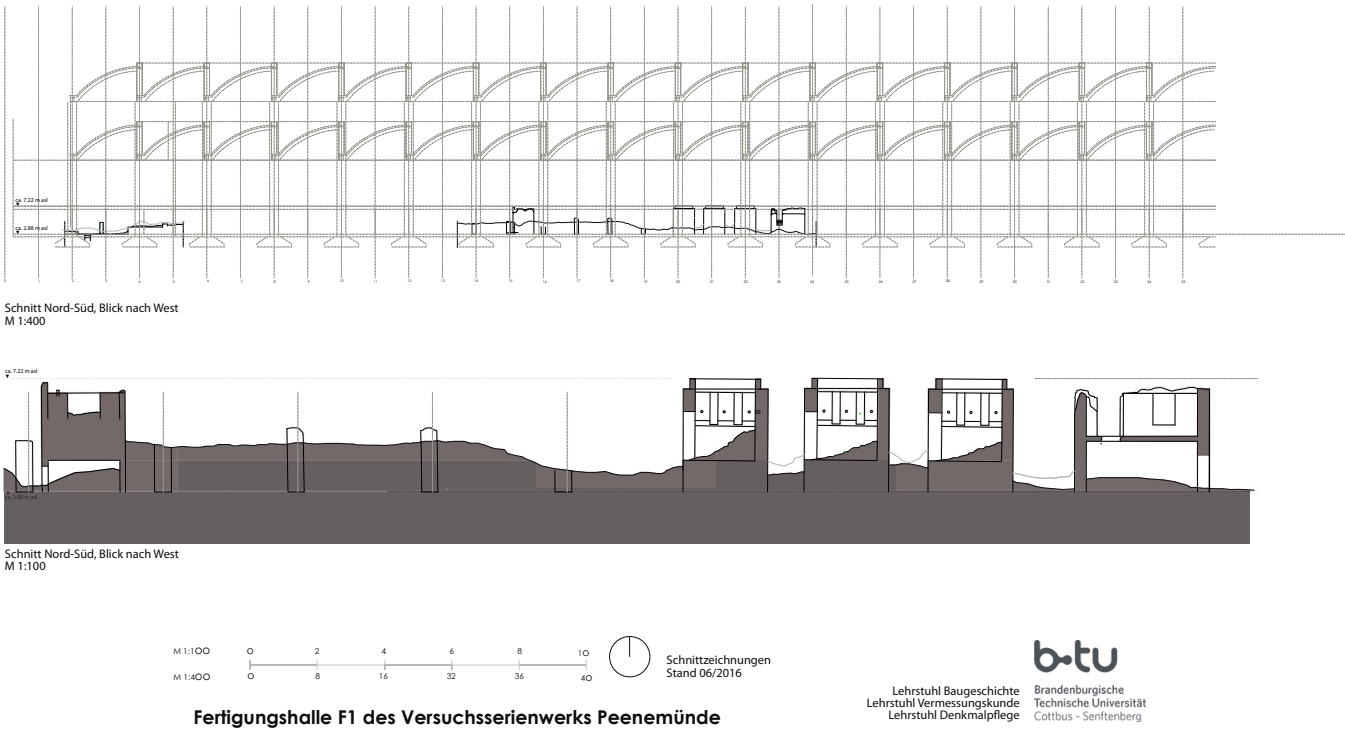


Fig. 3: Section of the remains of F1 (BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, P. Schneider 2016).

debates and their potential transference to the present as a contribution to the discussion of intangible values in society. As the topic 'Methods and Methodology' in general is currently being elaborated for a separate article, in the following only a short summary of the 2016 Field Campaign status quo will be given. While the context of Building Research or 'Bauforschung'[2] required an architectural survey which was planned to be complemented by archaeological investigation of the site, Peenemünde's temporal dimension as part of the discipline of Contemporary/Historical Archaeology allowed the consultation of archival documents.

In our case, this step in research ranked among the basic preconditions to be fulfilled, not only as an important source for the architectural survey but also due to legal issues concerning safety at work immanent when working on a World War II site. Considering German legislation, Peenemünde has to be classified within three of five categories of contaminated military sites: as a production facility ('Produktionsstätte'), a depot ('Lagerplatz'), and a bombing release area as well as later military training ground ('Schießplatz, Bombenabwurfplatz') (Rapsch-Tiedemann 1994: 42). As it is considered impossible to fully assess the substances, compounds, decomposition products and potentially still existing warfare agents,[4] archival research is mandatory before starting fieldwork (Rapsch-Tiedemann 1994: 81). As implied in the above statement, these factors could not be fully predicted from the archival records, while their potential presence was abundantly clear (see below Preconditions: Assessing hazards potentially to be encountered during fieldwork), therefore leading to a revision of standard archaeological procedures: Non-invasive methods included the architectural survey and the archaeological documentation of an area deemed safe due to a concrete floor with only minimal (max. 10 cm) soil application via photography and drawing. Restricted subsurface disturbance included 'test trenches'on the concrete floor itself. Any method involving ground disturbance was completely omitted.

Building Research: Archival work

From what is known about the architecture of F1 on the basis of archival resources,[5] the building was erected between 1941 and 1943 as the heart of a larger factory complex including buildings designated for administrative purposes, magazines and educational facilities – for example an apprentice workshop and a repair workshop (figure 1); all equally well accessible via a specifically built electric railway network with its own stations on site. The erection of a second, identical fabrication hall (F2) was intended but not begun.

Fig. 4a & b: Workshop group of BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg inspecting the actual state of the remains 1. Spring 2016. Left side (a): inspecting surface remains at the northern end of F1; right side (b): participants (photos: P. Schneider, C. Röhl).

The archival records name the companies and the experts involved in the design and the surveillance of its implementation, shedding light on the social aspects of networks in the building industry of the time, which can not yet be fully assessed without further historical investigation. A not very widely known fact is for example the involvement of Heinrich Lübke, the later president of the Federal Republic of Germany, who was a leading employee of the well known but nevertheless badly researched 'Baugruppe Schlempp', responsible as well for the conceptualization of concentration camps for forced labourers (Morsey 1996: 121–32; Wagner 2007; Mühlendorfer-Vogt 2009: 76–8).[6]

The building, 250 m long and 120 m wide, was conceived and erected as a large open three nave hall, subdivided into a wide central nave of 15 m in height and 48 m in width (see figures 2 & 3). The fabrication hall was situated on a basement of 3,7 m interior height containing magazines and storage rooms, recreation rooms and lockers for personnel, staircases etc. and accommodation for employees while at the same time also housing forced labourers. Thus, the building served also as a basic concentration camp facility. On the southern side of the building, a ramp connected to the railway system allowed for delivery of supplies and the transport of assembled missiles. Areas south of the ramp contained rooms for offices and administration.

From the archival records and the few existing aerial photographs it is well known that several provisions and additions – such as light obscuration, camouflage surfaces, segmentation of hall construction, use of concrete kernels and bunker rooms, installation of anti-aircraft guns on the roof etc. – had been foreseen to protect the building against air bombing.

The plan of the building was based on a 5 x 6 m pillar grid in the basement, incorporating the main piers for the roof construction. The hall was covered by a shed roof realized as a concrete shell construction system, a concept newly developed in the 1920s by the civil engineer Franz Dischinger, a former employee of the building company Dyckerhoff & Widmann (Dywidag).[7] At the time of its construction, F1 exhibited the largest free spanning roofing executed in the technique of concrete shell construction, truly a challenging task, especially under the difficult infrastructral circumstances at times of war.[8] The structure of the building was published in a contemporary article (Dischinger 1942) without mentioning name, place or purpose – following the logic of the the top secret character of the missile program.

The architectural character of the building's outer appearance can be assessed through an elaborate perspective drawing and an elevation representing the western façade. From these it is well evident, that the building was not just planned as a functional facility but also as architecture with an aesthetic aspiration and prestigious appearance.

In conclusion, the factory building F1 represents an architectural monument which embodies various values. The structural concept with its innovative character, the architectural background and the specific context providing insights on economic networks related to building activities during the era nowadays exist alongside the dire connotations of the building's use as a concentration camp. With this in mind, F1 must be considered a complex monument in its own right, and defies attributing value to it merely because of constituting an important infrastructural part of the army research center in general.

Building Research: Field Work

When visiting the site today, imagining its former state and intended grandeur is difficult even for those with a background trained in architecture, making it abundantly clear that interpretation is impossible without prior detailed knowledge. The modest visible remains, constituted mainly by the remnants of the building's basement are exten-

sively covered by the debris of the demolished concrete construction and overgrown by trees and shrubbery, permitting neither a proper experience of the ruins nor a basic reconnaissance of the building at all (figure 4).
Thus, basic primary information had to be acquired on site by two means:

- Mapping of remains in plan and sections as a basis for documentation and planning of interpretational infrastructure (figures 2 & 3).

- Recording of building materials and standardised construction elements, including the establishment of a subsequently catalogued reference collection of building materials, which was documented archaeologically throughout, where possible by single-point measurements (figure 5). The sample collection allows the identification of suppliyers, as indicated either by i.e. brick stamps or by reference of corresponding product catalogues, handbooks and advertisements.

Results: Although the remains are largely covered by debris, soil, trees and shrubbery, it was possible to identify the basic layout of F1. In particular, the grid system as described for the basement was recognizable through remains of regularly distributed pillars. Nevertheless, deviations from the situation depicted in the preserved plans turned out to be the rule rather than an exeption. These discrepancies can be demonstrated easily with the example of the so-called 'staircases', concrete block structures which are among the few remains of the basement (figure 6). Neither the blocks nor the heavy wall running parallel to their western side are indicated in the original plans. Their true function – possibly lift shafts – remains obscure as it was not possible to remove the debris – acknowledging that the removal would be part of the invasive methods currently not applicable on site.
Establishing the reference collection of building materials (figure 5) left us with a remarkable multitude of different products even for single categories of elements, as illustrated by the different types of brick employed. A number of six different brick types and fabricates could be documented already by focussing on surface finds in a very restricted area alone. Hitherto, not to be explained is the reason for the use of such a variety of products if the structure and its execution were planned as rationally as plans and documents suggest. Does this variety testify to chaotic supply conditions which affected the aesthetic concept? What can we learn about the true relevance of aesthetic considerations in the erection of a strictly functional, though nevertheless also representational building, which was being visited frequently by leading representatives of army, government and possible other decision makers?

Building Research: Interpretation and Tourist Concept
Based on the results of building research as explained above, but without any further information derived from archaeological investigation, a limited interpretational concept had to be developed in the course of the interdisciplinary workshop at BTU. The reasons for lacking archaeological information are explained below. Conceived as part of the 'Denkmallandschaft Peenemünde' the touristic concept is targeted

Fig. 5: Actual state of ruin – left side (a): concrete 'bloc C', remaining part of the basement of F1. Spring 2016. Possible lift shaft (photo merge: P. Schneider); right side (b): pre-cast concrete elements in eastern part of 'Rampe' area (photos: P. Schneider).

Fig. 6: Finds of building materials as documented in spring 2016 (photos: C. Roehl).

at lay visitors, as well as those with expert knowledge in missile technology development. The aim was to mediate to all of these visitors alike (a) the logic of the building and the complex contexts which determined its realisation, destruction and conservation, (b) the intangible values that can be attributed to the remains and also (c) an awareness of deficiencies and problems in investigation and conservation. Furthermore, the connection with the Historical Technical Museum Peenemünde as the key actor on the island dedicated to the rehabilitation of the Army Research Center's history and providing information on other aspects of the place as well had to be stressed.

A basic characteristic of F1, which can not be perceived anymore without assistive means, is its huge dimension. Thus, finding a way to enable an adequate perception of the ruins in this regard was considered a key requisite to all explanation when thinking about possible tourist concepts. At the same time we were eager to find solutions that allow for as much explanation with as little written text as possible, searching for a strategy of explanation that does not counteract the aesthetic integrity of the site. Some examples for possible solutions are presented in figures 7 & 8.

In any attempts to provide non-verbal or sensual access to the building's architectural character, special attention has to be paid to the traps inherent in the conceptualization of monumental buildings of the National Socialist Era: Albert Speer, Adolf Hitler's favoured architect and responsible for the development of suitable architectural concepts for the representation of the 3rd Reich, reflected about the emotional qualities of ruins in a long term perspective. Knowing about his concept of 'Ruinenwerttheorie',[9] any interpretation of monumental architecture has to pay attention to its emotional implications.

The interpretation of different contexts and further relevant aspects of the building was distributed to a series of information panels relating to significant material evidence in situ, interconnected within a circuit that permits a physical experience of the building's dimensions, key features, structure and state of preservation.

Archaeology:

Risk assessement concerning hazards potentially to be encountered during fieldwork

Several potential hazards of varying degrees were identified prior to commencing fieldwork. While including those being avoidable by issuing and following an appropriate code of conduct[10], several others proved to be completely unpredictable. Among the latter ranged in particular the potential contamination by toxic waste and ammunition.

Toxic waste: No archival materials exist concerning the materials/chemicals used during the pro-duction process of 'Aggregat 4'. The ground might therefore in places be contaminated by unknown substances. In addition, asbestos from the phase of re-use in the 1950s was recorded on site. Peenemünde is also for example infamous for incidents of people picking up pieces of phosphor on the beach due to confounding it with amber. These chemical residues can be traced back to incendiary bombs dropped by the allied forces over the Heeresversuchsanstalt, missing their target and instead hitting the ocean (Knobloch Koschinski – Ludwichowski 2015). Therefore, despite the lack of any actual findings so far, potential health hazards caused by phosphor can not be excluded

when working on site; showcasing that the degree of chemical contamination with its various causes can not be discerned with certainty.
Aerial explosive ordnance from WW II air raids: The exact extent of destruction of F1 during the air raids of WW II is not known. A photo from the archival records at HTM shows a section of the building being hit by bombs. Bomb craters directly adjacent to the outside of F1 evidence the potential presence of explosive aerial ordnance on-site. Furthermore, it is known that time delayed action bombs were used during the air raids, increasing the degree of potential danger caused by live artillery.
Ammunition: Ammunition from the period of re-use of the site by the NVA might still be present. This issue has been documented at other sites in Peenemünde.

Risk Assessement:
While immanent in both disciplines involved, building research and archaeology alike, solving the problem of contamination caused by various types of ammunition remains elusive up until now. Standard methods used by 'Kampfmittelräumdienst' (Explosive Ordnance Disposal or EOD) proved futile. The use of metal detectors is not possible in an area of reinforced concrete ruins. The alternatively suggested removal of ruins and soil present in the area chosen for excavation to a depth of 3 m with a digger would have meant the destruction of the actual material envisioned to be investigated. The option of a trained person from EOD being present during the whole excavation had to be dismissed as legally not possible in the county of Vorpommern-Greifswald. Due to responsibilities for third parties involved in fieldwork, it was decided to focus on non-invasive methods and employ 'invasive' ones only in a different definition of the term (see below).

Assessment of potential health hazards caused by contamination due to aerial explosive ordnance artillery from WW II and possible avoidance strategies: Even though the topic is devoid of official statistical evidence concerning accidents during archaeological fieldwork, consulting general data on the subject illustrates the threat posed sufficiently. 1.35 million tons of bombs were dropped over Germany during WW 2, of which 10% failed to explode. Seventy years later, still 2.000 tons of unexploded ammuntion are uncovered every year in Germany. That these still pose an immanent threat is – amongst other examples – proven by the fact that in 2011, 45.000 people were evacuated from their homes in Koblenz due to the find of a 'Blockbuster bomb'; the largest evacuation undertaken since the end of WW II. While dozens of technicians and hundreds of civilians were killed in the years after WW 2 by unexploded ammunition, still between the years 2000 and 2016, eleven bomb technicians died while trying to defuse bombs (Higginbotham 2016). Time-delayed action bombs, such as also dropped over Peenemünde, are fraught with further dangers due to the fact of constituting an 80% majority of duds (Schwarz 2003: 230).
One approach to this problem in archaeology is the mapping of bomb craters in combination with an assessment of the types of squadron flying, their formation and the types of bombs they were carrying (Capps Tunwell et al. 2016). Furthermore, the strategy of analysing allied aerial reconnaissance photographs for indicators of aerial explosive ordnance is routinely being practised since the 1980s by EOD in Germany (Oliver 2013). While the combined efforts of the above mentioned approaches might to some degree prove to be an

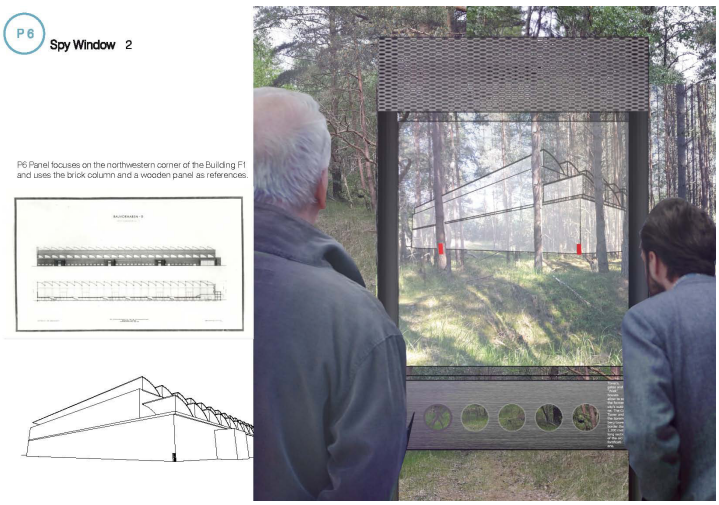


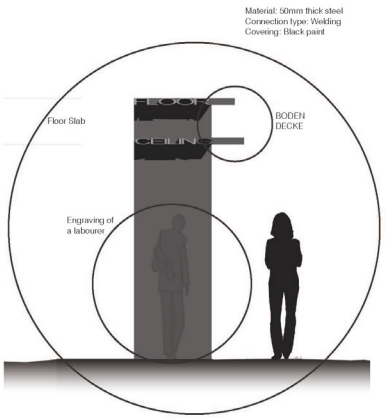
Fig. 7 (left): Proposition for a transparent panel allowing the visitors to match a graphic reconstruction with the actual situation of the ruin (Domfeh et al. 2016).
Fig. 8 (right): Proposition for a steel sculpture situated at the intersection of two main corridors indicating the building's internal organisation and its dimensions above debris. (Domfeh et al. 2016).

effective first step to be undertaken from the safety of the desk, it must also be noted that data might be insufficient and/or corrupted, as well as foremost of all that not all types of bombs leave visible craters in the landscape. Further complications arise from the fact of slightly deteriorated materials not being easily discernible in the ground, the danger of confounding ammuniton with metal construction elements of a building, as well as the fact that even smaller items or parts of ammunition in general might not be distinguishable at a first glance from other objects. Finally, the potential toxicity of the materials used is another factor to be considered, as chemical pollution caused by bombs poses threats persisting over several decades (Tyner 2009: 86).
In a long term perspective, adequate training of the heads of project might also prove to be effective, albeit of course only in addition to a general solution. Obviously this does not mean striving to acquire official entitlement in the handling and disposal of any type of ammunition, clearly a goal that is unrealistic. Still it might prove valuable in the recognition of potentially dangerous artefacts during building survey as well as excavation.
The presence of a bomb technician from EOD during excavation would have provided the most realistic approach to the problem during the 2016 campaign. Nevertheless this option was, as mentioned, not available in Vorpommern-Greifswald; as opposed to being common practice in other counties in Germany.

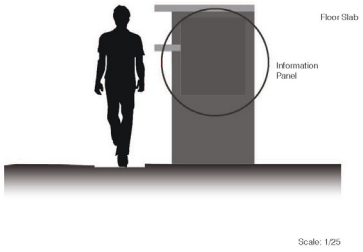
Archaeology: Excavation of Concrete Buildings
It has been mentioned previously that the use of metal detectors obviously is not applicable in ruins of reinforced concrete. Other constraints on the archaeological investigation are connected to the very properties of the material itself (weight, stability, combination with armoring iron) and also the dimensions of the fragments which compose the debris. Differently from brick or ashlar masonry or other pre-modern structures like timber or clay, excavation will need heavy machinery and equipment, such as (at least small) caterpillars or other lifting devices. The preparation of profiles and plana, a standard requirement of stratigraphical excavation, will be feasible only with difficulties.
Furthermore, qualified professional expertise is needed in the costly use of dissecting devices which are indispensable for the careful truncation of large and interlocked concrete elements. Finally, the structural stability on site is exceedingly difficult to ascertain due to uncertainties regarding voids and hollow spaces within or underneath the debris. While some projects may serve as references, published information on practical excavation experience is extremely scarce: A survey on experiences from archaeological excavations dedicated to concrete structures presented a rather deflating result.[11]

Archaeology: Fieldwork 2016
Due to the above mentioned issues concerning contamination with ammunition, the originally intended course of action was abandoned in favor of non-invasive methods and restricted subsurface disturbance, while still aiming at teaching novices the basics of fieldwork. Work took place in the area of the so-called 'Rampe'. Strictly speaking, this term is incorrect as the area commonly referred to as such consists of a floor with slide mounting and various subterranean installations – not all of which are visible on the original plans – and an elevated gradient part running along its whole length to the north. Only the latter therefore presents the remains of what technically correct can be called 'Rampe'. For the purpose of the 2016 campaign, the area was designated 'Area 1'. Area 1 was potentially disturbed by undocumented bulldo-

Installation Corridor Junction with low quantity of debris



Installation Corridor Junction with high quantity of debris



zing during the establishment of a bat habitat in 2006, presenting an artificial barrier deviding the building in the North-South direction in its Eastern part. For ethical reasons the term 'Rampe' should be avoided altogether because of its strong reminiscence of the 'selection' area at Auschwitz, thereby presenting misleading connotations due to the overall historical context of Peenemünde. At the moment it is still being applied in its technical sense in order to designate the work area functioning as such in Area 1.

Documentation of a profile: The southern profile of the 'Rampe' was documented photographically over its whole length of 43,95 m, showcasing the difficulties already encountered during this first step of documentation in a wooded and in general heavily overgrown area while having to refrain from undertaking clearance measures. In Contemporary Archaeology, photography is being addressed as an interface between documentary archaeology and traditional methods of fieldwork (Harrison & Schofield 2010). Due to the difficulties encountered at Peenemünde which did not allow for fully employing the latter, a similar emphasis can be placed on the medium of photography.

Sondages: In four places (fig. 2) the 4,0–10,0 cm thick upper layers of forest soil and concrete dust were removed from the concrete floor. The choice of sites was made based on the top layers being extremely thin, as comparison with adjacent areas showing the concrete floor indicated. This observation in combination with extremely cautious proceeding using small tools during removal minimised the risk of ammunition being present or encountered unexpectedly significantly.

As a result, traces of destruction of the concrete floor slabs and areas with missing pieces of the slide mounting visible in other places were detected. At the present moment, the causes of the recorded destruction as well as removal of structures remain speculative until complemented by results from an investigation of the whole area. While a layer of concrete dust of uniform thickness was present in all four sondages, its rigidity varied, indicating that only large scale removal of the top layers can reveal further details of the destruction process and fine-tuned stages during the building up of stratigraphy. Furthermore, a heretofore unknown stretch of slide mounting as well as an unknown cable shaft which both are not noted on the original plans were detected. Due to the ammunition problem these were not investigated further.

Conclusion

Both Building survey and Archaeology have shown in 2016 that the situation on-site at Peenemünde does not match the archival information. Consequently, source criticism has left us with less knowledge than we started with in the beginning of our research. In regard to conservation, this again leads to the question of how to interpret the ruin and what to preserve, in particular concerning the issue of how to ensure that we also conserve the potential for further research.

Most importantly though, archaeological work at Peenemünde comes with its very own set of difficulties due to the conditions present on-site. While the general question of how to handle the removal of large-scale structural remains made from concrete did not pose a pressing problem during this first campaign; the potential presence of toxic materials and in particular the contamination with different types of ammunition did. In general, the latter problem is of course not exclusive to Peenemünde,[11] but until now neither methods nor training pertaining to the latter have been discussed adequately.

Further investigation therefore requires the establishment of a methodology addressing these practical problems. The practical issues encountered were to a certain extent not dissimilar to those potentially present at different historical sites damaged in recent armed conflicts, like i.e. in Syria. Peenemünde's multi-layered history, including archaeological evidence for its destruction during WW II, but also from the subsequent era, also induces a discussion of contemporary relevance regarding the dangers of potential neglect of recent archaeological features when establishing concepts for memoralisation. Lastly, at Peenemünde the HTM provides information on the site's historical context of the National Socialist Era presenting not only technological developments but encompassing related societal aspects as well, thereby establishing a frame of reference concerning ethical questions connected with the time period. This induces a final issue connected to spatial aspects which needs to be considered. Leaving 'uncomfortable heritage' in a perceived state of 'terra nullius' without further presentation to the public opens up the alarming possibility of providing a projection space for a mystification of the time period, a danger all to present regarding the recent shift to the right in parts of German society. The multi-faceted practical and theoretical experiences gained (and to be gained still) from our case-study at Peenemünde allow transference to other places as well. Therefore we finally plea for the continuation of the engagement at Peenemünde as an excellent laboratory site for the advancement of methodological and conceptual approaches connected to the treatment of post-conflict heritage objects.

Peenemünde today is a peaceful place without any urgent need of archaeological recovery; however, it is also a place where the issue of handling concrete debris, and the problem of contamination of heritage objects can be studied and trained free from outside pressures under laboratory conditions as an interdisciplinary architectural and archaeological study also involving knowledge from other disciplines, essentially 'Post-Disaster Strategies'. We are furthermore convinced that as time proceedes, concrete ruins will necessarily become a substantial segment of urban heritage within the context of armed conflicts which will require an adequate 'set of tools' – to be ready then.

Endnotes

1 On the history of Peenemünde's destruction see Bode & Kaiser 1998: 135–62; Mense & Schmidt 2012: 89–94.

2 On the issue of grouping archaeological sites of the recent past according to 'topics' see Belford 2014: 3-4.

3 The term 'Bauforschung' represents an approach to building archaeology which is based on the architects perspective interested both in the structural and formal properties of a specific historic building – complete or in ruins – and in all processual aspects relevant to its formation covering spatial context, design, erection, use, modification and destruction. On the concept of Bauforschung see Schuller 2002: 7; Hassler 2005: 81–2.

4 "Die größte Schwierigkeit bereitet jedoch die für die meisten Standorte bestehende Unkenntnis über die real existierenden Stoffe, Stoffverbindungen, Zersetzungsprodukte sowie möglicherweise noch existierende Kampfstoffe selbst." Rapsch-Tiedemann 1994: 81.

5 For references to F1 in literature see: Bode & Kaiser 1998: 29–30 (on original state); Mense & Schmidt 2012: 68–9 (on original state), 100–1 (on actual state of site); Mühlendorfer-Vogt 2009a: 63. 76–78 (F1 used as concentration camp); Dischinger 1942 (on structural concept); Kanetzki 2014: 25–6 (overview on 'Versuchsserienwerk'); 100 (aereal photograph with indication of anti-aircraft guns), 119 (on bomb hits). Archival sources on the F1 and its building history: Bundesarchiv/Freiburg BA/MARH8/1206–10 (so-called 'Schubert-Chronik' on formation and development of the factory complex at Peenemünde); Fa. Allvia/Maisach, Dywidag Archiv, Projekt Nr. 4944 (building plans for main structure); Deutsches Museum/München Bildarchiv BN 47 503. 47 504 (Plan and perspective drawing) and BN 9656 (photograph of interior situation 1944) – published in Erichsen & Hoppe 2004: 178–9.

6 General traits of the Army Research Center's building history are currently the subject of the doctoral thesis of U. Mense (BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, supervised by Leo Schmidt).

7 Dyckerhoff & Widman, one of the largest and most important construction firms in Germany at the time, had previously developed and relised the construction of the fabrication hall of the Volkswagenwerk at Fallersleben/Wolfsburg, one of the most ambitious projects in factory buildings (Rüsch 1939; Bach 1939). The same concept seems to have been employed by the company for the construction of F1, albeit on a larger scale. On Dischinger and the invention of the concrete shell construction system see May 2016.

[8] From a typological point of view, the closest comparisons can be found in the context of fabrication plants dedicated to the assembly of air planes – such as e.g. the assembly hall of the Heinkel Werke at Oranienburg (Rimpl 1938; Rohde 2006).

[9] Although it well known that Speer's theory on the ruin values was created by him ex post in 1966 (Welzbacher 2016: 227–30; Brechtgen 2017, 542–3 with notes 43–48), the chance of conceiving ruins as long lasting positive testimonies of National Socialist values, following the perspective articulated by Speer, is real. On Speer's theory on the values of ruins: Schönberger 1987; Scobie 1990: 93–6; Stead 2003.

[10] Code of conduct would address such risks as: Health hazards caused by wildlife, health hazards due to the ruined state of the site; difficult discernibilty of the original structure of the building; danger of collapse of building remains when accessed; debris (i.e. metal section bars from reinforced concrete sticking out of the ground); known and unknown cavities/substructures (i.e. man-holes/water reservoirs etc.); illegal presence of 'pot-hunters' etc.

[11] Some projects or thematic complexes can be discerned: bunker archaeology – not in the sense of Virilio's aesthetic concept of 'bunker archaeology', but approaching it from field of Bauforschung, like 'Weingut I' (Bankel 2009). Little to none has been published regarding the specific problems connected with concrete debris. Before demolishing and removing the remains of Bunker Kilian in Kiel (Bohn & Oddey 2003: 175–208) archaeological investigation seems not to have been demanded. The same can be said for the debris removal of other contemporary architecture ruins – like the one of the municipal archive building in Cologne which crashed in March 2009. Here, removal of debris under the priority of safeguarding archival documents mashed up in the debris, was executed not by archaeologists but by the fire-brigade, under the supervision of a fire guard holding a Ph.D. in History (Neuheuser 2009: 152–4). Suffice to repeat here, that both the number of projects dedicated to the excavation of concrete ruins and the quality of information concerning questions of methodology and methods are scarce.

[11] See Neumayer 20015: 127 on the involvement of EOD units on urban excavations in Berlin.

Credits

Fig. 1: P. Schneider (based on HTMP n.d.: http://peenemuende.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Denkmal-Landschaft-Peenemuende.jpg and Kanetzki 2014: 25).
Fig. 2: BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, P. Schneider
Fig. 3: BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, P. Schneider
Fig. 4a: P. Schneider
Fig. 4b: C. Röhl
Fig. 5a & b: P. Schneider
Fig. 6: C. Röhl
Fig. 7: Domfeh et al. 2016 (E. Tirelioğu)
Fig. 8: Domfeh et al. 2016 (E. Tirelioğu)

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Aisha Darwish

Suq el-Mdineh in Aleppo in the Prewar Period: the Historic Value

Abstract

Aleppo, registered as a World Heritage Site in 1986, is mainly famous as a suq city. Its central market 'Suq el-Mdineh', deeply rooted in history, has been frequented throughout the years by millions of people from all over the world. This paper deals with the assessment of the historic value of the Suq in the period preceding the ongoing armed conflict in Syria. The importance of this research comes from the necessity of carrying out such an assessment before any intervention addressing the old city of Aleppo in the postwar recovery phase. The main purpose is to highlight the major cultural significance of Suq el-Mdineh and the persistence of authentic evidence related to its tangible and intangible aspects. This was done by an observation of the urban development of the Suq over time and the socio-anthropological aspects related to it. It was found that a very rich stratification of historical layers can still be seen in the fabric of Suq el-Mdineh which mainly grew in the 16th century due to the important system of waqf (endowment). In the Ottoman period, the Suq involved a very rich life of Western senior merchants, which influenced the architecture of the then emerging quarters of Aleppo. The structure of the Suq has been proved to be convenient and adaptable to the practice of business activity carried out within its borders, and has always encompassed significant rites related to the Suq's existence.

Keywords:
Aleppo, Suq el-Mdineh, historic value.

Aleppo's geographical location along the Silk Road helped to turn the city into a major business centre. The Suq el-Mdineh, the market of the old city,developed over time, especially due to the Ottoman waqf (endowment) foundations, has shown flexibility towards new, developing demands up until recent times (figure 1). Hence, the high historic value of Suq el-Mdineh is inherent not only in its physical structure, but also in other intangible aspects related to the surrounding society and functionality.

Suq el-Mdineh: the urban structure and its development over time

The longest of its kind in Arab Islamic cities, Suq el-Mdineh is composed of stone and consists of linear smaller suqs, khans (caravanserais), and other integrated structures like mosques, hammams (Turkish baths), fountains, and public toilets.

A linear suq consists of two parallel rows of shops opened on an axially elongated space. Ceilings are composed of barrel and cross vaults and brick domes with upper openings for lightning and ventilation. By the end of the 20th century, the main open circulation space of the Suq's extension westwards was partly covered with modern metallic gable roofs.

A khan is a two-story courtyard building which contains bedrooms, stores, and shops for merchants. Rooms connect to the courtyard through vaulted arcades and are generally covered with barrel vaults. Big halls are covered with cross vaults in the ground floor and are mainly domed on the first floor.

Fig. 1: Aerial photo from 1954 showing the rectangular Classical division of the area around Suq el-Mdineh of Aleppo. (1) the axis of via recta, (2) the Great Mosque, (3) the Citadel tell, (4) the approximate border of the Suq area. (Base photo: archive J.C. David).

The architecture of Suq el-Mdineh perfectly represents the thriving Aleppine stone workmanship with local limestone and the eventual presence of Basalt in the richly decorated facades of the important khans. Picturesque interior perspectives result from the vaulted ceilings and the effect of light and shade offered by the upper openings. All these elements make the Suq el-Mdineh a truly remarkable architectural masterpiece.
Adding to the rich history of the Suqare the modifications that have been made over time. One example is the flat wooden roofs, possibly a result of the post 1822 earthquake reconstruction of some originally vaulted parts of the khans. The urban development of the Suq can be better understood through the following historical overview.

The Hellenistic period (4th–1st century BC)
The earliest, still readable layout of Suq el-Mdineh dates back to the Hellenistic period relating to Seleucus Nicator who ruled Aleppo from 312 to 282 BC (Hretani 2012: 83). The via recta extended along the main east-west axis of the actual Suq, with the agora in the area of the actual

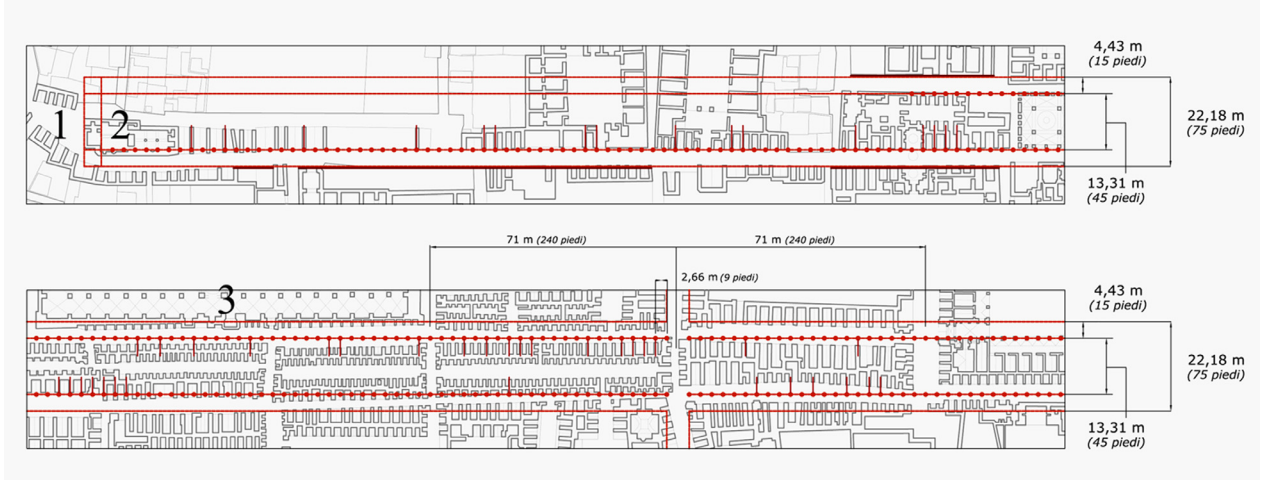


Fig. 2: Plan showing the hypothetical reconstruction of the colonnaded street corresponding to the main axis of the Suq in the direction east-west. (1) Antioch Gate, (2) al-Shu'aybiyya Mosque, (3) the Great Mosque. (Graduation workshop 'Aleppo 1' under the supervisions of Prof. Attilio Petruccioli & Giulia Annalinda Neglia – dICAR Politecnico di Bari).

Great Mosque. The orthogonal network's alignments assign rectangular divisions of 47.2 x 124 meters still visible in the Suq's fabric (figure 1) (Neglia 2009: 87–92).

The Roman period (1st–4th century AD)
The construction of colonnaded street on the site of via recta has been dated to this period by Neglia in 2009. It extended from the Roman triumphal arc near Antioch Gate in the west, to the Citadel tell in the east, where an important territorial route (figure 2) passed. She supposes that, like the colonnaded street, the Roman built area had extended from Antioch Gate to the caravan route near the Citadel. The Roman forum which could have occupied the space of the agora was associated with the basilica as an administrative seat. Later, with the economic progress of the city, commercial activities were transferred to the colonnaded street while the forum became limited to administrative affairs (Neglia 2009: 116–24).

The Byzantine period (4th–6th century)
During this time, the first cathedral was constructed to the west of the Roman forum which was either used as a cemetery or left as an open space (see Sauvaget 1941: 59). It was transformed into a mosque in 1123, and then into a religious school (al-Madrasa al-Halawiyya) in 1149. Fragments of the cathedral are still visible in the western part of the monument, in the walls and columns of the main domed hall) (figures 3 & 4) (Neglia 2009: 175–83).

The Umayyad and Abbasid periods (7th–9th century)
The construction of al-Shu'aybiyya Mosque at the west end of the colonnaded street (figure 2) came as the first architectural intervention in the Umayyad period. It brought with it a major transition of the city structure at the urban level: the Roman monumental colonnaded street, already visually blocked by the tell of the Citadel from the east, now became blocked from the west by al-Shu'aybiyya mosque (Neglia 2009: 184–94).
In 715, the open market on the site of the former agora had been transferred elsewhere to be replaced by the Great Mosque. Here, the only market which remained as an enclave in the mosque until the 12th century was called 'the Qaysariyya'; a commercial building specializing in fabric and similar to the Hellenistic basilica. In this period, the main avenue of the actual Suq was supposed to be partly occupied by shops that were systematically subdivided by the government for this purpose (Sauvaget 1941: 76–9).

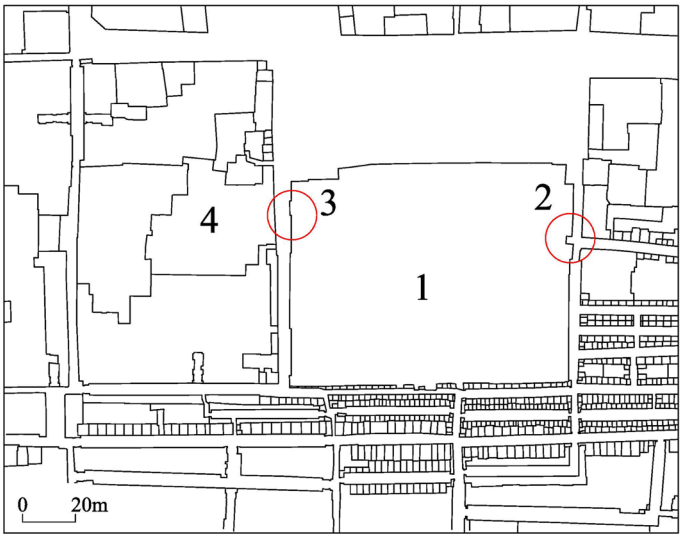


Fig. 3: General plan of the Great Mosque and its surroundings. (1) The Great Mosque, (2) the eastern and (3) the western entrances, (4) al-Madrasa al-Halawiyya (Base plan: archive DOC Aleppo).

Fig. 4: Photo of the former apse of the Byzantine cathedral, integrated in the structure of al-Madrasa al-Halawiyya. (Photo: I. Al-Hajjar 2011).

The Great Mosque had its main entrance at the east side while the western entrance was created later in the Abbasid period together with the adjacent street in the direction north-south (figure 3) (Neglia 2009: 184–94).

The Zangid and Ayyubid periods (11th–13th century)
After the Abbasids, several dynasties governed during a period of anarchy before the Zangids came to rule from the 11th century until 1181. Their reign witnessed an enlightenment period marked by the construction of many religious, scientific, and healthcare buildings. They transformed the Byzantine cathedral into a mosque and then into

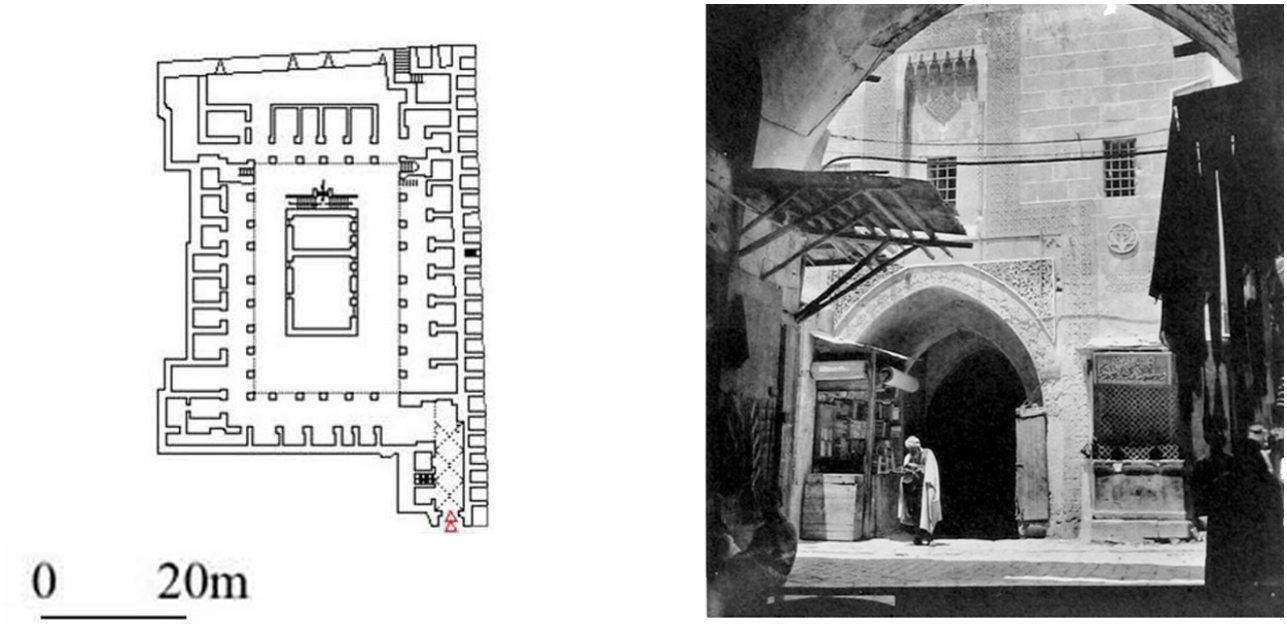
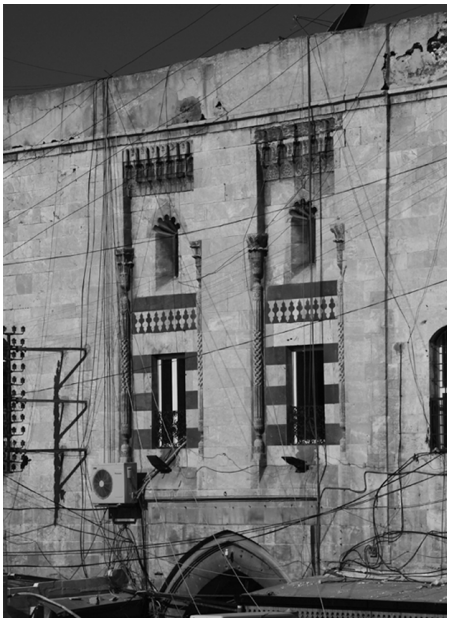


Fig. 5a: Plan of the Mamluk khan of al-Saboun before 1950 (archive DGAM Damascus), and photo of the entrance (Sauvaget 1941: pl. xxii).

a madrasa. A strong earthquake hit Aleppo in 1138 and in 1196 the Great Mosque was set ablaze by the Ismailis. Consequently, Prince Noureddin rebuilt the city including the Great Mosque and the Suq. The Qaysariyya was rebuilt in a completely different structure manner with the new one composed of three suqs built along the east, west, and south façades of the Great Mosqueand with wooden roofs. The description by Sauvaget (1941) corresponds to that previously recorded by the traveler Ibn Jubair who visited Aleppo in 1184 (Ibn Jubair n.d.). The position of these new suqs out of the main old axis is the evidence of the topographic extension related to a greater commercial activity (Sauvaget 1941: 119–21).
During the Ayyubid period, the city had greatly prospered due to international trade. Suq el-Mdineh expanded extensively and its composing suqs became highly specialized. Some of them were clearly defined by Sauvaget (1941: 150), and some others were localized by Sourdel (1952), like the fabric merchants and the cobblers to the southwest of the Great Mosque and the medicinal drug suq, linen merchants, wood merchants, and coffers makers to the south of the main artery.

The Mamluk period (13th – 16th century)
During this period, Aleppo was already a seller of its cotton, pistachios, and medicinal drugs to Europe, and its silk to North Persia. The city witnessed remarkable uninterrupted economic growth from the 15th century to the Ottoman conquest through a major development of crafts and the increasing amount of traffic. This has resulted in significant development of Suq el-Mdineh through constructing new parts, reconstructing and expanding damaged parts while adding new amenities. Consequently, the usage of the buildings had changed to some extent with respect to the kinds of goods and industries at work. For example, the suq formerly occupied by the notaries was now devoted to the manufacturers of bows and arrows and copper objects were now sold in the old suq of silk (Sauvaget 1941: 164–73).
Also during this period the number of khans increased. They were specialized in two ways: according to types of goods, like Khan al-Saboun (khan of soap); or according to foreign merchants coming from certain regions, like Khan al-Banadqa (khan of the Venetians). The persistence of the Mamluk influence can be later seen in the monumental khans of Aleppo. Khan al-Saboun and Khan Abrak are notable examples of Mamluk architecture which inspired the layout and decoration of the later Ottoman khans like al-Gumruk (1574) and al-Wazir (1682) (figures 5a & 5b) (Raymond 1985: 257).

The Ottoman period (16th–20th century)
At this time Aleppo achieved a quantum leap regarding its business relations with Europe, especially with Venice, France, England, and Holland into the framework of the treaties that the Ottoman Empire held with these countries. Waqf system, favored by the Ottomans more than by the Mamluks, dedicated incomes from investment for sustaining religious buildings. Within this legal framework, the Ottomans built many waqf complexes to form the major part of Suq el-Mdineh (figure 9). The khans emerging in this period followed the same order of the Mamluk ones, but were characterized by their unaccustomed dimensions, their architectural magnificence, and their further comfort (Sauvaget 1941: 215).



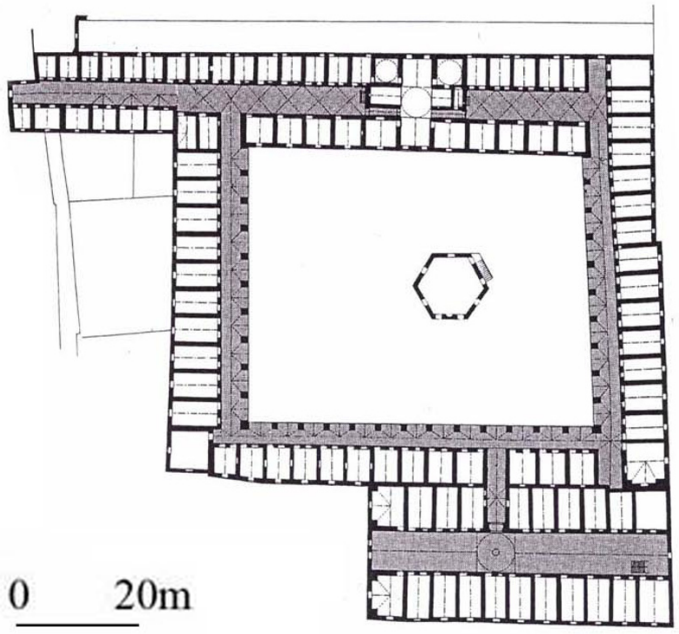


Fig. 5b: Photo of the entrance's interior facade of the Ottoman khan of al-Gumruk (I. Al-Hajjar 2011), and hypothetical reconstruction of the 1st floor's plan (David & Grandin 1994: 104).

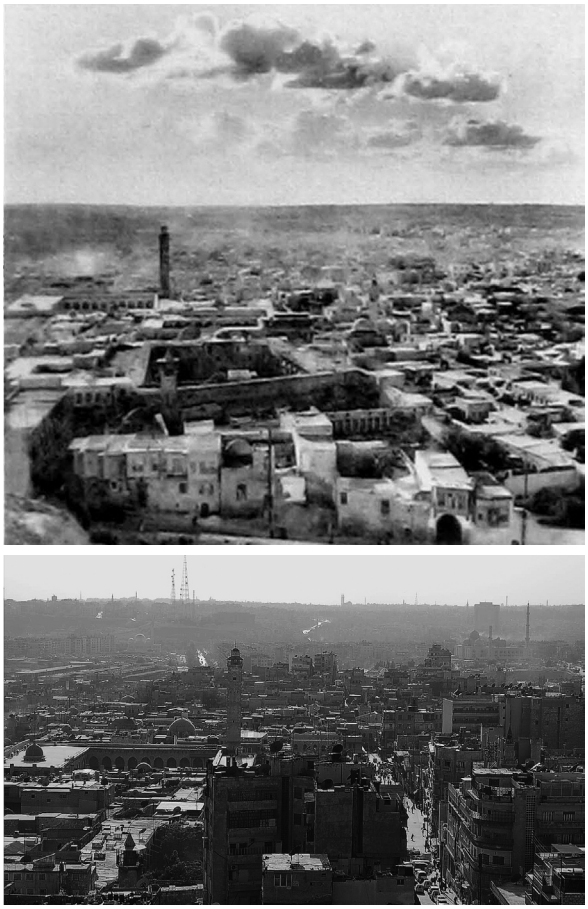


Fig. 6: View from the Citadel towards the Great Mosque before 1941 (above) (Sauvaget 1941: pl. xi). Below: The same view in 2006 showing the new street traced to the north of the Great Mosque and extending towards the Citadel (photo H. Qabbani).

The modern era

The urban structure of Suq el-Mdineh stayed intact until the 1950s. Then, and due to the Master Plan partly executed before the inscription of Aleppo in the World Heritage List in 1986, al-Umawy Street was traced and a large square was created to the north of the Great Mosque. Consequently, part of the old fabric was eliminated and several new high buildings appeared at the borders of the new streets (figures 6–8).

Starting from 1991, and into the framework of the Development Plan put into effect with cooperation with the German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ), the technical infrastructure was renovated in the eastern part at Suq al-Zarb near the Citadel, and measures were taken to achieve a coherent appearance of shops' fronts. The Great Mosque was rehabilitated and the square to the north of it was redesigned. (Project for the Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo 2005: 60). A very important waqf library with modern infrastructure was constructed under the square from 2006–2007, with priceless book collections and manuscripts.

Suq el-Mdineh: waqf system

The general idea of the waqf is based on dedicating the income of an investment for religious or beneficence work in the same city or elsewhere: a mosque, school, hospital, fountain, etc (David & Degeorge 2002: 206).

Waqf role in the urban development of Suq el-Mdineh

Due to the construction of waqfs at the beginning of the Ottoman period in the 16th century, the city expanded, turning into a major metropolis of the Ottoman Empire and the area of el-Mdineh grew by 50% in less than half a century (figure 9).

Four main waqf complexes were built by Ottoman governors under the control of Istanbul in the Suq area. They include the waqfs of: Khusraw Pasha (1537–1547), Muhammad Pasha Dokagin (around 1555), Ibrahim Khan Zada (1574), and al-Bahramiyya Mosque as part of a bigger waqf complex built in 1583. This provided the city with a major commercial infrastructure which resulted in the emergence of the port al-Eskandarona (todays Iskenderun in Turkey), particularly dedicated for Aleppo, and facilitating the access of more European merchants (Al-arna'out 1999).

The situation of waqf system in Aleppo in the pre-war period

Already in 1928, the waqf status related to dilapidated buildings was legally eliminated by the adoption of the principle of swap in kind or in cash (with another real estate having the same value) except for mosques. Later, in 1950, a decree was issued eliminating the post of those in charge of the waqfs and the responsibility was transferred to the Directorate of Waqf. As a result of these changes, and of circumventing the law in order to convert the property type into private, waqf properties in Suq el-Mdineh declined from 81% in 1930 to 31% in 1980. However, the modern waqf authorities have managed, with its massive budget, to contribute to the conservation process of the old city.

Suq el-Mdineh as a seat of consulates and Western senior merchants in the Ottoman period

Until the 18th century, Aleppo was an exporter rather than importer. Trade treaties were signed with the Sublime Porte by the French in 1535, the English in 1580, and the Dutch in 1612. Therefore, starting from the 16th and into the early 20th century, the khans permanently housed the European merchants who constituted a micro society organized around the consuls and missionary religious congregations (David 1999: 229–30). At the end of the 19th century, around fifteen big khans of el-Mdineh were completely or in parts occupied and fitted by Western merchants and their families, their representative consulates, their chapels, the convents of Catholic missionary congregations and finally denominational schools (David & Degeorge 2002: 240). The produced architecture was a compromise between strong architectural constraints and an exterior programme brought by the newcomers (David & Grandin 1994: 85). The new residential type is spacious, stylishly decorated, and furnished. The arcade which was a peripheral collective circulation space in the first floor became interior, basic, and axial. Neat luxurious polished stone and marble replaced the simple stone pavement. Besides the deluxe architecture, the interior spaces contained treasures and precious collections of art (figure 10). This evolution was not known

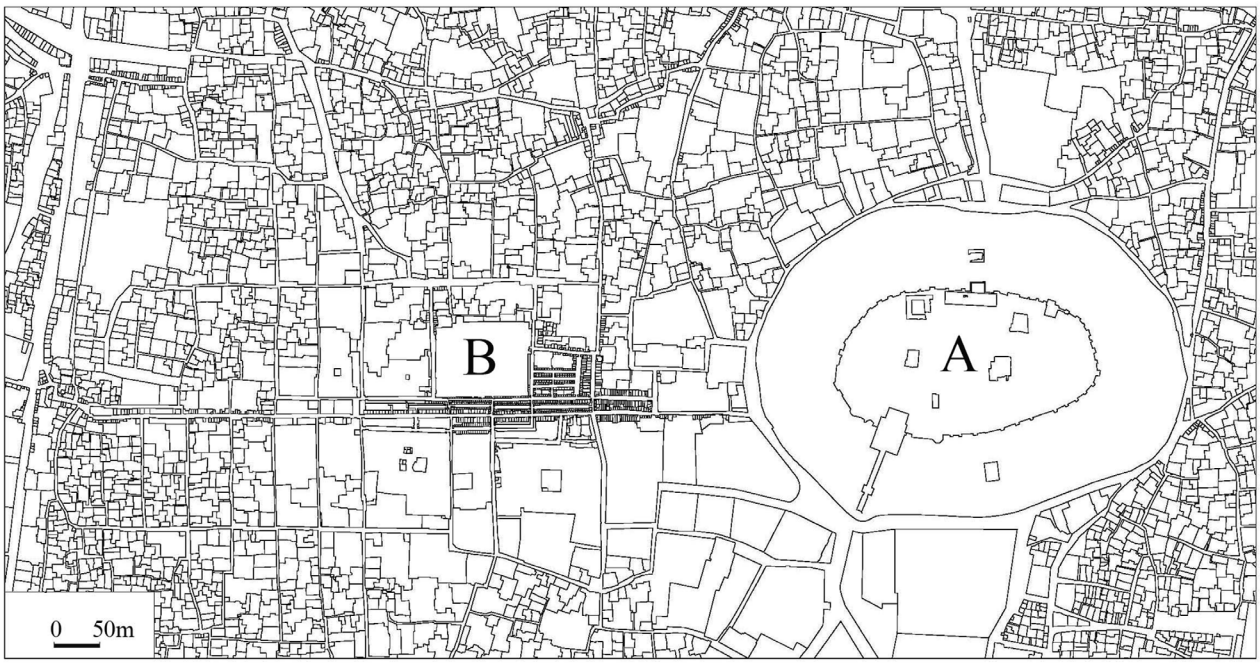


Fig. 7: General plan showing the streets' network in the old city according to the cadastral map of 1930. A: the Citadel, B: the Great Mosque. (Base plan: archive DOC Aleppo).

even in Damascus which was far from foreign consular representation (David 1999).
Through this new type, some senior Aleppine merchants inspired their new dwellings in the early modern quarters, like 'Azizie, Jamiliya and Ismaeliyeh. The new architecture transformed progressively, remaining the main reference for domestic architecture at least until the 1950s (David & Grandin 1994: 86).

Business activity
Aleppo has witnessed multiple changes of activities and functions, and has proven to have a structure similar to its Suq, flexible and adaptable to the changing demand.

Main business sectors
For centuries, Aleppo has been one of the most prosperous manufacturing cities in the Middle East, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. The main specializations of Suq el-Mdineh are textile and its annexes, food, soap, goldsmith, and jewelry. An important survey done by Hreitani and David (1984), and a recent interview with the latter (David, JC. Personal communication 26–30 September 2016) gives a good account of the development of business sectors. The trade of textile and its annexes remains dominant in both retail and wholesale. Khan al-'Ulabiyya is a significant example where the bourse of yarn was still held in the period before the ongoing war (Anderson, 2014). However, textiles are manufactured in modern factories and no longer in the traditional fashion, with a part exported with mostly poor quality.Suq al-Manadil (napkins market) has been transformed into a suq of goldsmith and other different articles. As it pertains to food, the specialized suq of al-Saqatiyya, which supplies meat, fruit, and vegetables, has sustained its role. Spices, which are very famous in Aleppo, are sold in abundance, especially in Suq al-'Attarin. Jewelry retained its position in the Suq, however, becoming more popular since fashio-nable articles have their place now in the modern quarters. Ropes, now made up of artificial as opposed to natural fibers, are always in their suq; and leather works are mostly replaced by articles of artificial materials. Blacksmith workshops stopped producing here, but selling continues. Suq al-Zarb which almost lost its specialization of Bedouins' equipment, became the most touristic part, as well as Suq al-'Attarin's selling the soap of Aleppo, spices, aromatic, and medicinal plants (figures 12 & 13).

The clientele
The clientele of Suq el-Mdineh come from different areas. Textile and goldsmith sectors attract mainly people from the city and its surroundings, with a large part from the middle class and the rural areas.

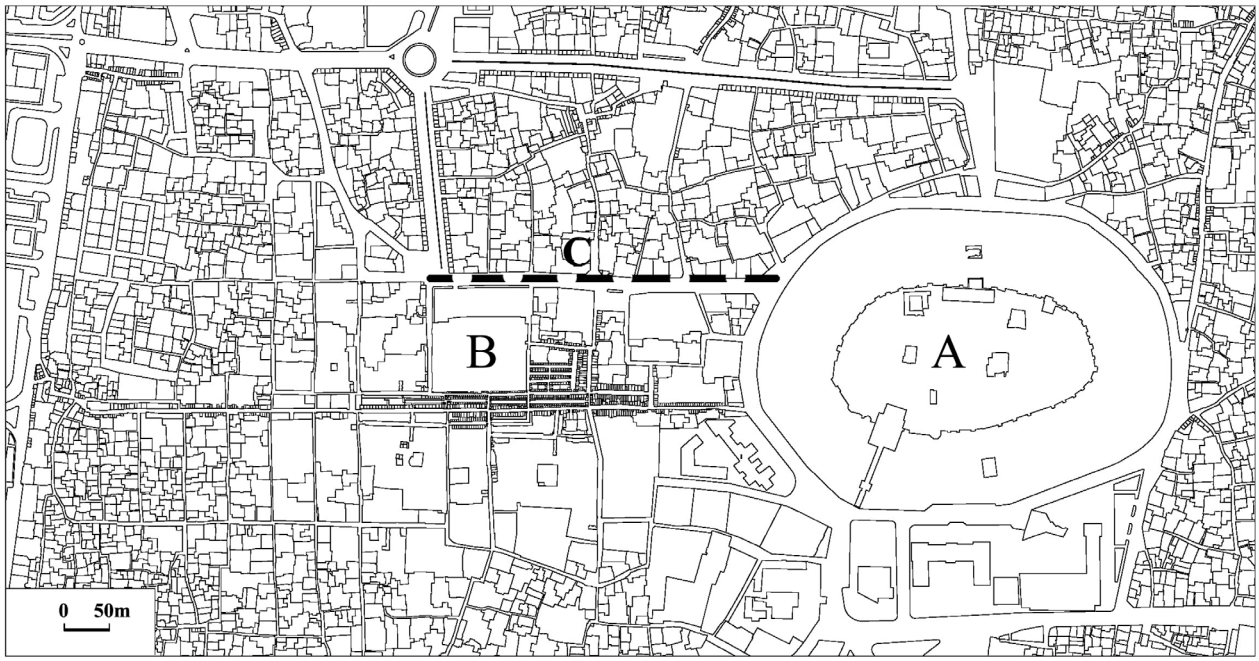


Fig. 8: General plan showing the streets' network in the old city after the partial execution of the Master Plan in the years 1950s. A: the Citadel, B: the Great Mosque, C: al-Umawy Street. (Base plan: archive DOC Aleppo).

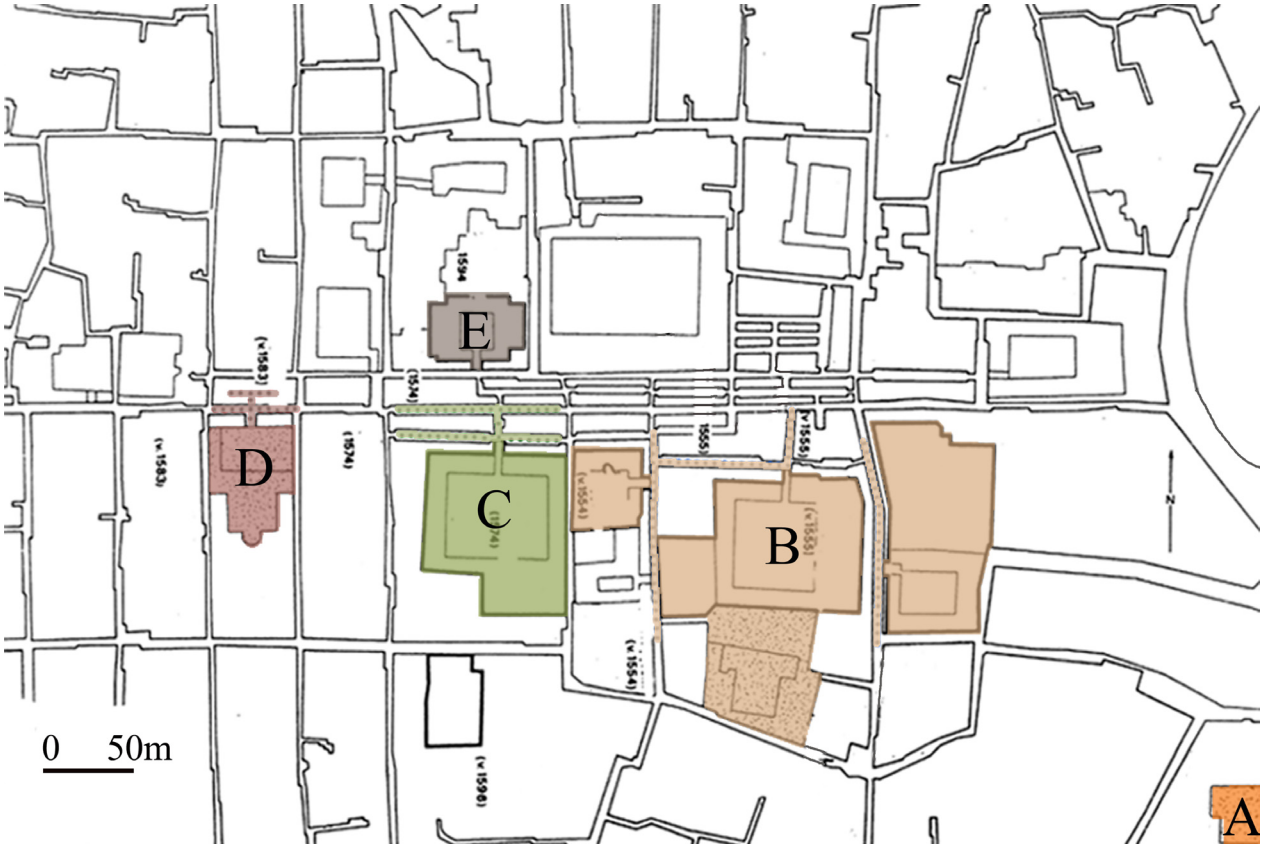


Fig. 9: Waqf constructions in el-Mdineh of Aleppo from the 16th century. A: Waqf al-Khusrawiyya, B: Waqf Dokagin, C: Waqf Ibrahim Khan Zada, D: Waqf al-Bahramiyya, E: Waqf Khan al-Hibal. (Base plan: Raymond 1979: 176).

Food suqs serve the city, while the little remaining nomadic equipments serve for seasonal local nomadism. Huge numbers of tourists come from all over the world, fascinated by the architecture and the atmosphere sustained by the persistence of local products as well as others with an oriental imprint.

Business and use of space

The mechanism of commerce is directly reflected in the use of space of Suq el-Mdineh. Goods brought by merchants on camels were unloaded in the peripheral caravanserais as transshipment points including large open halls around central courtyards, then transported on donkeys into inner khans where foreign merchants rented rooms to launch the wholesale process (figure 11) (Gaube & Wirth 1984: 146–8). Inner khans are different from peripheral ones whereas they are mainly composed of rooms serving as stores where merchants deposited their goods, and accommodation cells in the first floor (Raymond 1985: 250). According to Jean-Claude David, a French geographer and expert on the urbanism of Aleppo, khans soon witnessed transformations to accommodate European signor merchants with hardly a big khan escaped it . Starting from the early twentieth century, shops of retail sale and modern workshops of spinning, weaving, and finishing were installed there (David 1979a: 254), but, as the mechani-

Fig. 10: Puche house at Khan al-Nahhasin, the former seat of Venice consulate.(Photo J.C. David 1980s).

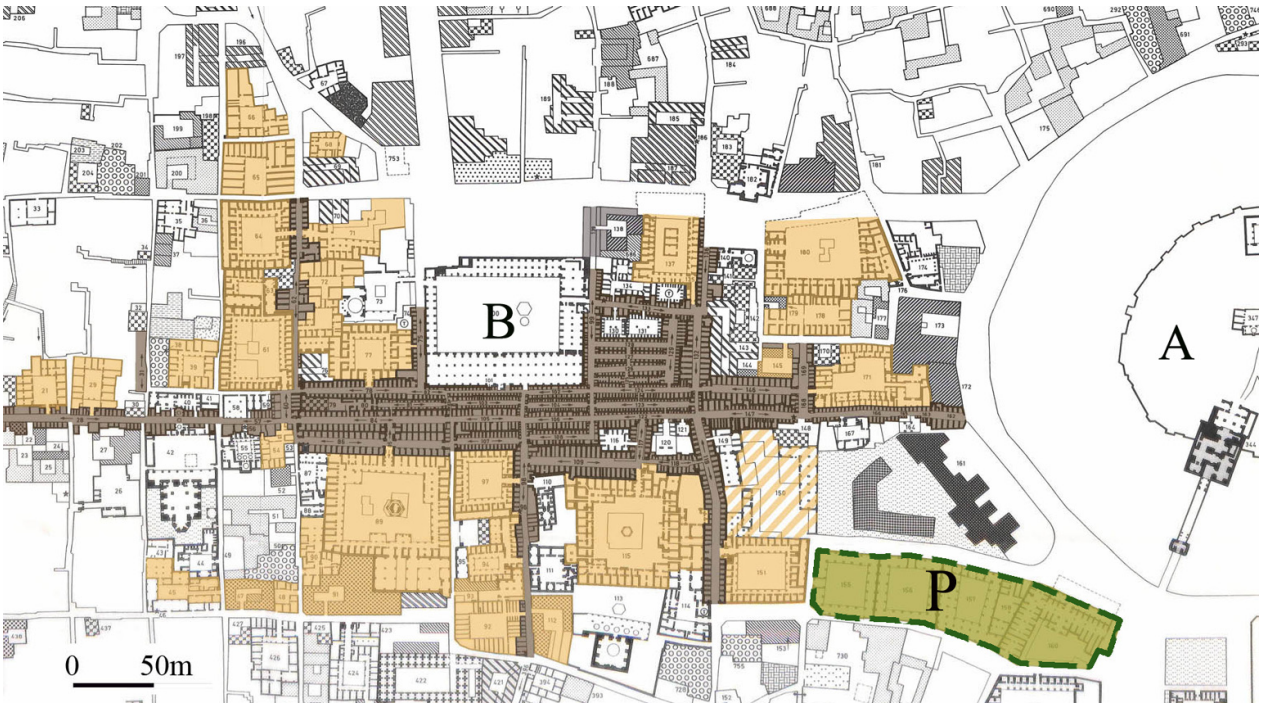


Fig. 11: Plan of Suq el-Mdineh showing the linear suqs mostly extending in the direction east-west, the inner khans around them, and the peripheral khans (P). A: the Citadel, B: the Great Mosque. (Base plan: Gaube& Wirth 1984).

Fig. 12 (top): Suq al-Zarb (Photo I. Al-Hajjar 2011).
Fig. 13 (bottom): A shop in Suq al-'Attarin (Photo I. Al-Hajjar 2011).

zation prospered by the end of the century, those workshops almost disappeared from the khans.
Linear suqs were specialized. For example, Suq al-Hibal (ropes market) is very narrow with tiny consecutive shops where merchants sit cross-legged, surrounded by their goods (Hreitani & David 1984:31). Linear suqs generally maintained their use which has not been deeply altered as is the case of khans.

Beyond business

Within the urban structure of Suq el-Mdineh runs a system of social life which maintained some authentic aspects despite the big recent changes. With the modern growth of the city and the development of trade, the khans have witnessed a dramatic decline in their original function. Likewise, a lot of hammams were abandoned (David 1979b: 139–40). However, Suq el-Mdineh has remained an organized space, perfectly mastered, and of a lifestyle which could be described as sophisticated, with reserve, silence, and discretion, where every word is weighed (David & Degeorge 2002: 234). Three main components of suq's life can be observed: the merchant's life, the relationship between them and the customer, and the visitor life.
For the merchant, the shop is the place where he stays longer than at home, where he could have lunch and take a nap (David & Degeorge 2002: 234). A simple, but delicate and animating part of

the Suq ambiance, is the movement of the food delivery stemming from the small restaurants of traditional food and concluding at shops during lunch time.
The relation with customers is mostly acted in a friendly way; the merchant can be seen to even share a tea or coffee with the guests. As for attracting the client, he can do it directly or through his assistants, by calling the tourists, touting to, or even by adapting to the extrovert behavior of western foreigners by acting in a modern way. In the small shops of the linear suqs, the merchant and most of the goods are inside where the client cannot enter which makes the transaction process visible to the public. Little goods are displayed within the small shop's area so, very often, a short dialogue between the customer and the client brings out the items, developing a negotiation process (David & Degeorge 2002: 234–5).
The visitor also has his suq's ritual. He, very often, enjoys a break at the Great Mosque for a rest or doing the prayer. Besides, tourists often have in mind a bigger plan for visiting further buildings where the normal customer is not so interested in accessing. They can also enjoy a traditional meal in one of the small restaurants of the Suq.
The peddlers of traditional aperitifs, desserts, and drinks are also part of the audiovisual landscape. The architecture of Suq el-Mdineh has always maintained within it a social life stemming from the function of the Suq and from other socio-cultural aspects related to customs and religion.

Statement of historic value
The persistence of Suq el-Mdineh over time is a clear evidence of its great cultural significance encompassing within it aspects related to the history of its architecture, art, aesthetics, science, spirituality, and society. Until recent times, this very historic value has been still evidenced through the fabric and the setting of the Suq, and can be summarized in the following points:

1. Aleppo was an important commercial center on the Silk Road and its Suq is the longest of its kind in the Arab-Islamic world.

2. Evidences from old historical periods are still present through the surviving parts of the layout of the Classical orthogonal streets' network, the alignment of the Roman colonnaded street, and the fragments of the Byzantine cathedral integrated into the building of al-Madrasa al-Halawiyya. Al-Shu'aybiyya is the oldest mosque in Aleppo, while the Great Mosque contains contributions from different Islamic periods starting from the Umayyads. Other historic buildings, including mosques, madrasas, hammams, etc., date back to different periods, with typical features characterizing each of them.

3. The urban structure of Suq el-Mdineh remarkably developed in the 16th century due to the prestigious Ottoman waqf complexes with their system of sustainability for both commercial and non-commercial buildings can be linked to other localities elsewhere in the former Ottoman Empire.

4. The architecture of the main components of the Suq, including the khans and smaller suqs, is mainly Ottoman and Mamluk, with mostly vaulted and domed parts. In the khans, the Mamluk style with the strong Syrian tradition has influenced the later emerging Ottoman architecture in terms of layout and decoration.

5. Additions and modifications can be seen, including post-disaster reconstructions and later subdivisions of shops in some parts like in Suq al-Hor. This reflects economical, political, and social changes at the level of the Suq, the city, and the territory.

6. The emergence of residential architecture in the khans as a significant historical contribution, which influenced the architecture of the then emerging quarters, and remained the main reference for domestic architecture in Aleppo until the 1950s.

7. Modern interventions from the middle of the 20th century altered the streets' network resulting in: the square, the wide street (al-Umawy Street) and the emergence of modern high buildings at the northern limit of the Suq; and the partial amputation of two important khans.

8. Stone workmanship of the Suq's architecture is exemplary of Aleppo. The decoration, together with the interior vaulted and domed spaces and the traditional lighting system, provide picturesque perspectives with fascinating light and shade effects.

9. The presence of two typical architectures of inner and peripheral khans with definite roles for both of them.

10. The khans and linear suqs were specialized and functioned as real corporations with particular management systems.

11. The Suq was once a place for prosperous handicrafts which do not exist anymore (the hand woven silkor the woodwork), or have declined (marketing of tents' tissue and traditional leather shoes), or have been mechanized (carpets and textile manufacturing).

12. The architecture of Suq el-Mdineh is an evidence of two essential types of sale process:

a. The retail sale held in the almost persistent structure of the linear suqs slightly adapted to emerging needs and in parts of the khans.

b. The wholesale held in parts of the linear suqs, but more essentially, in the khans. This activity has continued despite the change of its mechanism.

13. Suq el-Mdineh has housed particular rituals and customs related to merchants and visitors encompassed within the structure of the Suq and the other buildings integrated in it.

14. The social aspect of the clientele is inherent in the essence of the Suq, and has witnessed changes over time. The different products have attracted people coming from Aleppo and its surroundings. Aleppine products, particularly textiles and soap, have been demanded by Syrian, Arab, and international markets.

Conclusion

From this study, it is evident that Suq el-Mdineh in Aleppo has immense significance from the historical point of view and the assessment of this significance, carried out in this paper, is vital before starting any action in the postwar recovery phase. The different aspects of the historic value inherent in the Suq are not limited to the age of its old architecture, but also to the very important stratification of the different historical layers. This accumulation includes the valuable additions and modifications, as well as other intangible aspects related to the socio-cultural practices of the Suq's society over time, which awards to the architecture further value beyond age and style.

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Credits

Fig. 1: author on the base of photo archive J.C. David.
Fig. 2: Graduation workshop 'Aleppo 1' under the supervisions of Prof. Attilio Petruccioli & Giulia Annalinda Neglia – dICAR Politecnico di Bari.
Fig. 3: author on the base of plan: archive DOC Aleppo.
Fig. 4: I. Al-Hajjar 2011.
Fig. 5a: Plan in archive DGAM Damascus; photo Sauvaget 1941: pl. xxii.
Fig. 5b: Photo I. Al-Hajjar 2011; plan David &Grandin 1994: 104.Fig. 6: Above: Sauvaget 1941: pl. xi. Below: photo H. Qabbani 2006.
Fig. 7: author on base of plan: archive DOC Aleppo.
Fig. 8: author on base of plan: archive DOC Aleppo.
Fig. 9: author on base of plan: Raymond 1979: 176.
Fig. 10: Photo J.C. David 1980s.
Fig. 11: author on base of plan: Gaube& Wirth 1984: map 1. © Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden.
Fig. 12: Photo I. Al-Hajjar 2011.
Fig. 13: Photo I. Al-Hajjar 2011.

METHODS AND TOOLS

Emma Cunliffe

Heritage Destruction

Lessons from the Middle East and North Africa for Post-Conflict Countries

Abstract

Based on the work of the Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa Project (EAMENA), this paper presents a number of observations that can be applied to some of the issues faced in post-conflict reconstruction, such as the extensive levels of damage and lack of resources (both financial and in terms of staff capacity). The paper begins by introducing EAMENA, before discussing the hallmarks of post-conflict countries that can be seen in other areas which are not in conflict, using case studies from Libya and Egypt. Within this framework, it then presents the EAMENA approach for documentation and working towards the protection of archaeological sites in countries that are experiencing unrest and where the security situation is complicated, to highlight observations that can be applied to post-conflict countries. In particular the paper recommends: the early collection of baseline cultural heritage data; the use of satellite imagery for documentation and interpretation, and assisting in prioritisation; a more comprehensive understanding of the types of damage likely to occur, together with broader post-conflict heritage management plans; the necessity of conducting work during conflict if possible; and reconstruction programmes targeting not only built cultural heritage, but the wider cultural heritage sector, including the local community.

Keywords:
Heritage destruction, archaeology, post-conflict, conflict, EAMENA.

The intentional destruction of cultural heritage during ongoing conflicts has once again risen to international attention. The widespread utilisation of social media and access to satellite imagery has vastly increased both the information about the extent of the destruction, and the speed with which information becomes available during conflicts. Concurrent with the increase in information about the extent of destruction (and the number of areas in need of reconstruction) is the increasing awareness amongst heritage professionals of the need to prioritise the increasingly limited resources available, and to incorporate the variety of local, national and international valuations of heritage. Given the improved access to information, it is now possible to begin to assess 'need' and even to plan reconstruction earlier than ever before. The amount of available information can be overwhelming, and therefore there are risks that this will be poorly utilised. In addition, the focus of post-conflict reconstruction has remained firmly on specific types of conflict-oriented damage, and methods of dealing with it. Lastly, such work is largely conducted after the conflict is over, with ethical debates continuing even now about the legitimacy of operating during a conflict. For example, in

a recent letter published online 'Absolute despair with UNESCO: An Open Letter'[1], the writers express concern about UNESCO's proposed reconstruction work at Palmyra given the ongoing conflict:

"*The only operations that we can consider in the present context are an inventory and emergency intervention, certainly not restoration. How can we speak of restoration of cultural property when the conflict is still ravaging the country?*"

Based on the work of the Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa Project (EAMENA), this paper presents a number of observations that can be applied to these issues. The paper begins by introducing the EAMENA Project, before discussing the hallmarks of post-conflict countries that can be seen in other areas which are not in conflict, using case studies from Libya and Egypt. Within this framework, it then presents the EAMENA approach for documentation and working towards the protection of archaeological sites in countries that are experiencing unrest and where the security situation is complicated, to highlight observations that can be applied to post-conflict countries.

Introducing EAMENA

The EAMENA project is based in the University of Oxford, in partnership with the Universities of Leicester and Durham, funded by the Arcadia Fund until 2020 (Bewley et al. 2015). The project operates across the entire MENA region, in both countries that are not in conflict, and in those that are.

The project aims to:[2]

- Identify, document and monitor the endangered archaeology of the MENA region.
- Create a record of sites and monuments for each country in MENA.
- Train and empower heritage professionals in the region.
- Make information freely accessible.
- Help to protect and conserve the MENA region's archaeological heritage.
- Raise awareness and encourage informed debate.
- Create networks and share knowledge, within MENA and beyond.
- Assist customs and law enforcement agencies tackling looting and the illegal trade in antiquities.

The scale of EAMENA's work across the region has enabled observations of cultural property destruction and heritage management in countries with complicated security situations that are similar to post-conflict countries. Given this, EAMENA's approach in these countries may provide suggestions for approaches in post-conflict countries.

Conflict and Post-Conflict Countries

Firstly, in order to understand what is understood by 'post-conflict', it is necessary to consider the term 'conflict'. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) defines 'armed conflict' as the point at which customary international law comes into play, and has proposed the following definitions (ICRC 2008), which reflect strong prevailing legal opinion:

1. "**International armed conflicts** exist whenever there is *resort to armed force between two or more States*.
2. **Non-international armed conflicts** are protracted armed confrontations occurring between governmental armed forces and the forces of one or more armed groups, or between such groups arising on the territory of a State [party to the Geneva Conventions]. The armed confrontation must reach a *minimum level of intensity* and the parties involved in the conflict must show *a minimum of organisation*."

Under that definition, the post-conflict period is the point at which the level of violence is no longer sufficiently high (i.e. it is sporadic) or the people resorting to violence are not organized as armed groups. 'Post-conflict', therefore, is not the same as peace. Violence can – and does – continue to recur, often for many years.

An examination of both post-conflict countries and countries with complicated security situations has suggested there may be several trends which both share:

- There will still be civil tension that can break out into violence, which will affect heritage work and reconstruction – for example, the Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka Mosque, Bosnia, indicates how long it can impact such work. Destroyed on 7 May 1993, it was finally reopened in 2016 – 23 years to the day after it was blown up as part of a campaign of ethnic cleansing (Borger 2016), after many social and political complications. In fact, the proposed reconstruction of the mosque perpetuated the violence, sparking planned riots (Walasek 2015), despite occurring in the 'post-conflict' period.
- The violence of the conflict may still occur sporadically, threatening both the wider population, and heritage sites and heritage workers.
- Together, the civil tension and sporadic violence contribute to a wider lack of security, hindering both reconstruction and the daily management of sites (as seen in Devlin 1983), potentially resulting in enforced neglect.

- The problems with ongoing violence, and the social and political difficulties in site management and reconstruction, will also be exacerbated by economic hardship, both at the national level, where there will be little money for cultural projects or the recruitment and training of staff, or the local level, when people may turn to looting to provide income (as seen in Iraq in the 1990s, and post-2003, for example in Stone & Farchakh-Bajjaly 2008).
- All sectors will have experienced damage – sites and their supporting infrastructure will be competing alongside other civil projects (as seen in Beirut, later in this article).
- Everyone will have a different idea of what matters most, and what should be done first (or at all).

These characteristics can be seen in countries that are not in a state of 'conflict', or 'post-conflict': here two case studies are used to highlight some observations. The first case study is Libya, a country that is clearly in conflict, but where much of the damage to cultural property is not occurring as a result of fighting, but is occurring elsewhere as a result of the security situation. The second country is Egypt, which is also experiencing damage to cultural property as a result of a complicated security situation, but which is not in conflict. However, the situations in both countries share similarities with post-conflict countries.

Libya: A Case Study

After the fighting in 2011, Libya entered a period of unrest, if not peace. Armed conflict broke out again in May 2014 when the 'Libyan National Army' launched a military assault against militant groups, which rapidly deteriorated into widespread fighting. Given this, at its 2016 World Heritage Committee meeting, UNESCO placed all five Libyan World Heritage Sites on the World Heritage in Danger list (UNESCO Press 2016).

The Committee noted the high level of instability affecting the country and the fact that armed groups are present on these sites or in their immediate surroundings."

However, whilst large parts of Libya are experiencing fighting, and presumably many buildings are suffering the types of damage traditionally associated with combat (e.g. shrapnel scarring, ballistic damage, etc.) (Elhawat 2016), the fighting is localised, and focussed in certain areas. In many areas of Libya the damage that is occurring to the cultural property has very little to do with the conflict. Instead it arises when the security situation and economic difficulties prevent the laws from being enforced, and prevent heritage staff from accessing sites. It is this lack of security, rather than direct combat, which both hinders, and helps, site protection. In fact, according to an interview conducted by The Spectator newspaper at the World Heritage site of Leptis Magna (Sengupta 2015), in some cases the armed groups intend to protect the site:

"As the gunmen approached, they looked less threatening and began to speak. They were, they explained, not ISIS but a group of local volunteers protecting the site from the Islamist terrorists: Neighbourhood Watch, with Kalashnikovs."

Damage occurs as a result of the enforced neglect of sites that may need maintenance, and from increasing illegal development and illegal agriculture. In such cases, the ubiquitous bulldozer can cause more damage more quickly than any military campaign, even on supposedly protected sites. The large World Heritage Site of Cyrene, for example, would need a large number of guards to manage the entire site. Although it has not been involved in direct fighting, satellite imagery analysis by the EAMENA team reveals steady increases in development in the archaeological areas of the site, such as a large number of buildings (figure 1) and increasing agriculture. Photos obtained by Dr Hafed Walda (Kings College London) also demonstrate that an illegal road has been built through the necropolis. Heritage staff have been unable to prevent the illegal development. EAMENA's Dr Louse Rayne has analysed CORONA satellite imagery and aerial photographs from the 1950s, mapping the impact of expanding agriculture in the protected Jufra area. It continued to threaten the archaeology of the area after 2011 – the unrest has not halted it.

This destruction is – in many ways – worse than that seen during conflict. Ballistic damage, for example, only affects buildings above ground level, and it leaves rubble that can be often be used in reconstruction, but the bulldozing required for development also removes sub-surface remains. The flattening of ground and removal of stone in order to expand agriculture has a similarly destructive effect. Analysis of numerous sequential satellite images by the EAMENA staff suggests that damage of this type was widespread before conflict and continues to expand during conflict when the difficult security situation allows opportunities for such illegal expansion. Although this damage is more usually associated with peacetime, it can be devastating during conflict, and yet is rarely considered in post-conflict programmes.

As a result of the inability of guards and heritage staff to access and protect sites, and perhaps exacerbated by the economic issues, looting has also increased during the conflict. A flurry of reports in 2016 suggested that illegally excavated

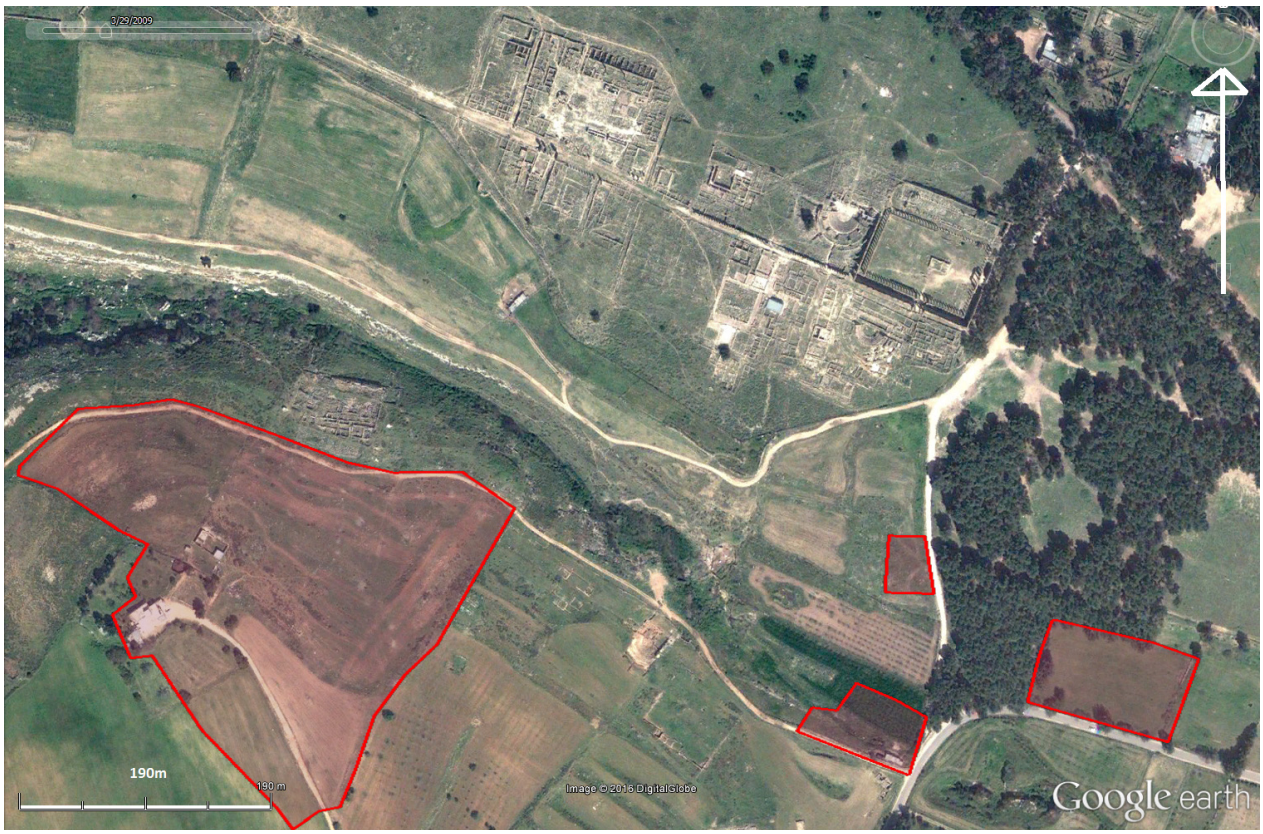

Fig. 1a: Development at a part of the World Heritage Site Cyrene, Libya (DigitalGlobe image, dated 29 March 2009 on Google Earth).

artefacts are "gushing out" of Libya (Cornwell 2016). Whilst that may be a journalistic exaggeration, it was estimated by one Iraqi expert[3] that up to 60% of the sites in southern Iraq were looted in the post-conflict coalition occupation period after 2003. The severity of the problem in Iraq – and the devastation caused – was borne out by number of satellite imagery studies (Stone 2008; Stone 2015; van Ess et al. 2006). Although similar studies have yet to be carried out in Libya to determine the scale, the problem was serious enough by 2013 to necessitate an emergency UNESCO workshop in Tripoli (Brodie 2015).

Areas of Libya which are not in conflict also demonstrate heritage destruction from increased sectarian tensions. The EAMENA team have collated hundreds of reports (verified and unverified) of shrine/marabout destruction between 2011 and 2016,[4] ranging from major shrines in cities, to small local shrines. Whilst conducting other satellite imagery analysis, Dr Martin Sterry noted evidence that shows this phenomenon is more widespread, but the true number of incidents is unknown (Sterry, pers. comm. 2016). Although such destruction is traditionally associated with fundamental extremism in conflict zones (and as such, considered for reconstruction), the local nature of many of these incidents may force us to reconsider our assumptions about the nature of such events. In these situations, community participation in reconstruction agendas will be paramount, to determine the extent to which such incidents reflect local agendas, or just a small, unwelcome, minority. They also hint towards civil tensions that may make reconstruction difficult, and which may break out into violence: for example in one shrine destruction case

"'*A large number of armed militias carrying medium and heavy weapons arrived at the al-Sha'ab mosque with the intention to destroy the mosque because of their belief graves are anti-Islamic,' a government official said. He told Reuters that authorities tried to stop them but, after a small clash, decided to seal off the area while the demolition took place to prevent any violence spreading.*" (Al-Jazeera 2012)

In the cases highlighted, it is not the conflict that directly causes the damage. Political/religious tensions (expressed at both the local and the national level) are expressed in heritage destruction; staff cannot access sites due to the security situation, leading to looting and illegal development (poten-

Fig. 1b: Development at a part of the World Heritage Site Cyrene, Libya (DigitalGlobe image dated 31 March 2016 on Google Earth).

tially exacerbated by economic hardship); and there is the lack of adequate site guards (particularly on very large sites). These problems are also exacerbated by the lack of money for the recruitment, training and resourcing of the heritage sector (highlighted by the UNESCO emergency workshops, and by the fact two of the UK's 2016 Cultural Protection Fund projects were to train Libyan staff).

Lessons for post-conflict: Egypt

The heritage destruction demonstrated in Libya may have occurred while the country was in conflict, but the conflict was not solely responsible for it. Similarly, Egypt is not classed as a country in conflict, but the complicated security situation bears many of the same characteristics of Libya, and of a post-conflict situation. To date, preliminary reports of 75 (verified and unverified) incidents of heritage destruction with a religious (or partly religious) motivation occurring between 2011 and 2013 have been collected by the EAMENA Project. Again, many of these are attributed to local people, rather than extremist groups, highlighting the civil tension that is also often seen in post-conflict countries. These incidents of destruction are sometimes accompanied by outbreaks of violence, acting as a stark reminder that violence and heritage destruction do not only occur during conflict. For example, the day after President Morsi was ousted, there were reports of as many as 52 attacks on Coptic Churches as a form of reprisal (Sirgany & Smith-Spark 2013), in addition to houses and businesses, of which Human Rights Watch were able to verify 42 (2013). Such attacks continue still: the most recent attack in December 2016 was considered "one of the deadliest attacks carried out against a religious minority in recent memory", killing at least 25 people and wounding 49 others (Wise 2016). In addition, the economic hardship facing many Egyptians, coupled with a lack of local investment in their heritage, has led to a marked rise in looting of sites (Teijgeler 2013; Parcak 2015), as seen in post-conflict Iraq. Cemetery sites like El-Hibeh, for example, have been decimated (Redmount 2014) (figure 2), a phenomenon recorded throughout the country (Paul 2016). In fact, the lack of security has become so problematic that Mohammed Younes, head of antiquities for Dahshour, noted:

"looting has become more brazen in many places. Just a few weeks ago, several guards at Dahshour were shot and wounded when they confronted thieves doing an illegal dig during the night." (Nasser & AP 2013)

Inadequate resourcing of heritage staff, partly due to financial constraints, can result in unchecked development that also causes significant damage to sites, even major protected sites. A satellite imagery comparison using sequential DigitalGlobe imagery on Google Earth from May 2003 to May 2016 demonstrates the encroachment of quarrying/mineral extraction in the north of the Saqqara pyramid fields (part of the World Heritage site) (figures 3). Media reports also indicate the World Heritage site is experiencing illegal development and use as an illegal cemetery around Dashour, threatening the Giza pyramids. According to Associated Press interview with Younes:

"'*The cemetery expansion is the most dangerous encroachment yet, because of how close it comes to the Dahshour monuments, which are on the UNESCO World Heritage site list', Younes said. 'Moreover, Dahshour is largely unexcavated, since the area was a closed military zone until 1996. What remains buried is believed to be a treasure trove shedding light on the largely unknown early dynasties.* […] *When you build something over [sic] archaeological site, you change everything. We can't dig in and know what is inside,' Younes told The Associated Press. 'This is the only virgin site in all of Egypt'*'" (Nasser & AP 2013).

The situation became so bad that in 2017 the bulldozers entered the actual necropolis itself. Reprisals were swift:

"*The Administrative Centre for Antiquities in Cairo and Giza, in collaboration with the Tourism and Antiquities Police, Cairo Governorate, the army forces and General Security, succeeded in removing all recent encroachments made on the archaeological site and its safe zone. The ministry, he continued, will also build a long wall to separate the archaeological site from the neighbouring quarry as well as establishing a small security unit of the Tourism and Antiquities Police in the area adjacent to the quarry in order to prohibit any future encroachment onto the site.*"
Two people were arrested (El-Aref 2017).

Site damage caused by modern development is even more pronounced in areas where only minimal archaeological survey has been conducted. The EAMENA team is surveying the Eastern Deserts of Egypt using satellite imagery, and have located a number of previously unknown settlements, many of which are assumed to be related to the mining activities the area has long been known for. However, imagery indicates that since 2011, the area has seen a resurgence in modern mining, and – as it reoccurs in the same locations where mineral and metal deposits were previously worked – it has decimated documented and undocumented sites alike (Fradley & Sheldrick 2017).

The situation in Egypt bears many of the same hallmarks of a post-conflict area, despite not being in conflict. Egypt is experiencing significant financial difficulties as the fighting in other countries, and recent terrorist attacks within Egypt itself, have decimated the tourism economy on which the country was heavily reliant (Plummer 2016; Trading Economics 2017a; Trading Economics 2017b).[5] Linked to this, there is significant political unrest, which spills over into violence, expressed in – amongst other forms – heritage destruction as an expression of identity. In the cases cited above, this manifests as attacks on Coptic Christians and their heritage as an expression of political/religious views. The Egyptian government has numerous competing and conflicting priorities, making heritage low on the list. In addition, as in many post-conflict countries, the staff lack appropriate training to deal with the situation, another problem noted by Younes (Nasser & AP 2013).

The EAMENA Approach
The areas examined in Libya and Egypt are not in conflict, but the complicated security situations enable the circumstances in which heritage destruction can continue to occur. The types of heritage destruction that takes place – and the conditions in which they can happen – are the same as those seen in post-conflict countries, and which should be accounted for in post-conflict planning. The EAMENA project has developed a number of approaches to deal with the threats facing the heritage of the region.

Baseline data
In order to protect something, you must know where it is, and this in turns enables the prioritisation of needs. Therefore our first and perhaps most important step is the creation of baseline data: we are using satellite imagery to document, identify and record sites, and assessing the damage and threats to them. These data are input into an open-source ARCHES database (Zerbini 2016) which will be made available online. Basic data will be open-access, with more detailed information made available through a request-based log-on. Building on this collection of information, we are looking at how to assist countries like Syria build a digital, geo-located Sites and Monuments Record (see Azadeh this volume).

Watch Lists
Utilising the baseline data, the EAMENA team is developing 'watch lists' of key locations, and here satellite imagery plays a key role. Key sites are selected in advance, pre-empting the post-conflict discussion when time is critical. Through regular monitoring of these sites, basic damage assessments can be conducted, and – if necessary (or possible) – stabilisation efforts can be directed to the sites, and financial resources prepared for

Fig. 2: The image shows looting at El-Hibeh Cemetery site in April 2012 (Photograph courtesy of Dr Redmount, Andy Daily, and the Save El Hibeh Facebook Page).

when the site can definitely be visited and the consideration of restoration is possible. In many cases, it will be critical to stabilise sites as soon as possible, and preparations should be made in advance. For example, the preliminary damage assessments of Aleppo's historic buildings (retaken by government forces in Autumn 2016) suggest that damage from winter storms could cause extensive further damage to the already fragile damaged buildings (Stoughton 2017; Burns 2017). A satellite imagery based approach also allows preliminary assessments of the scale of the necessary reconstruction efforts to begin, even if sites cannot yet be accessed. Such assessments can then be refined as more information becomes available.

Understanding damage and threats

Discussions of damage can be over-simplified and widely generalised, focussing on certain types of heritage sites, and statements that are only applicable to one type are sometimes indiscriminately applied. Studies are hindered by a lack of comparability of different data sets:

- different data sets cover different geographic areas (but are nonetheless often extrapolated to areas with completely different circumstances);
- the selection methodology for the sites included in data sets is rarely stated, despite its obvious effect on the resulting analysis;
- the data source (and whether it has been verified) is also often unstated.

Whilst post-conflict damage assessment tends to focus on buildings and the ballistic damage they have experienced from fighting, Middle Eastern tell sites, for example, are more likely to be damaged by development, or to be occupied as military locations (which can lead to extensive bulldozing for trenches, gun and tank emplacements, and road construction). Sites on flat land, and below the surface (buried over time), such as Roman lower towns are particularly threatened by agriculture, development and looting, but are largely unaffected by ballistic damage (Casana & Panahi-

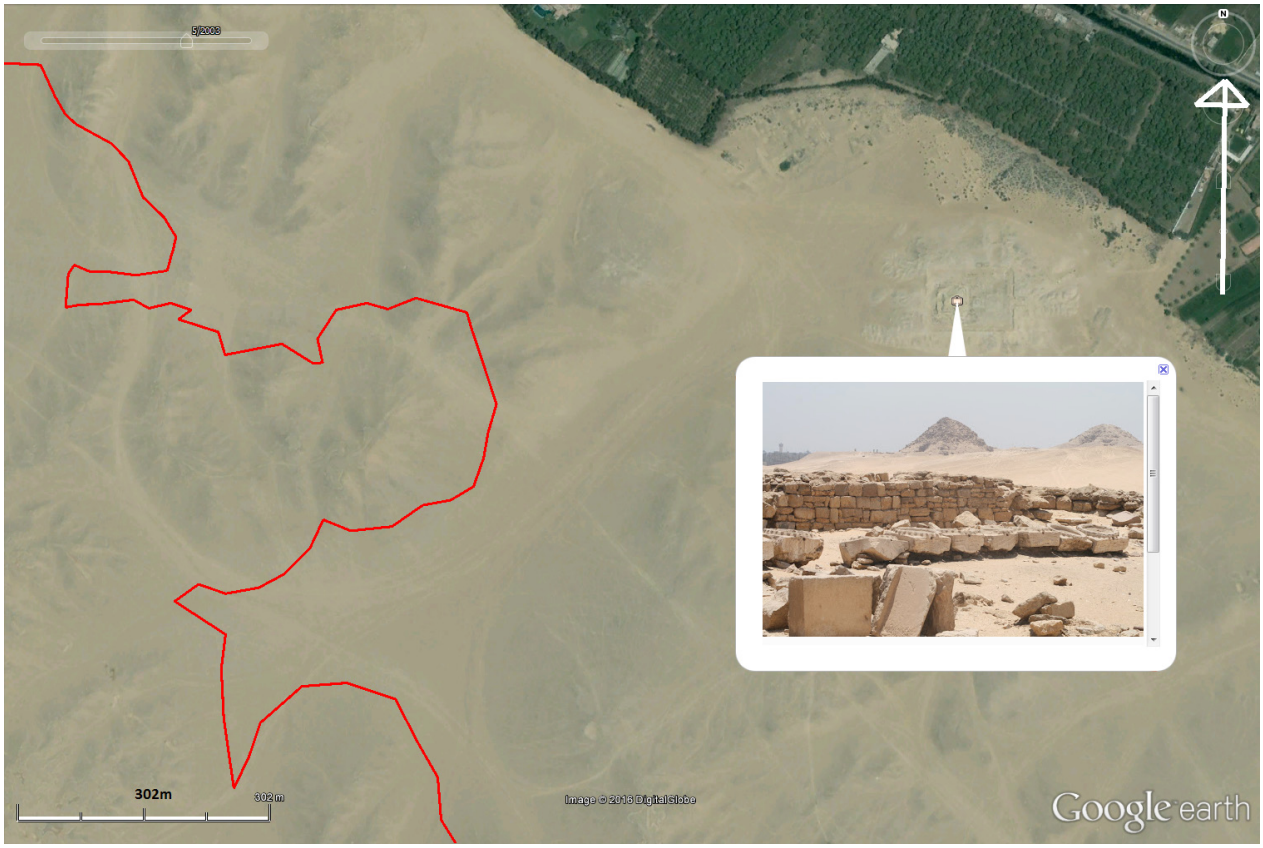

Fig 3a: Mining approaching the Sun Temple of Niuserre (Abu Ghorab), Egypt, that appears to have started in 2003. The Sun Temple is within the World Heritage Site of Memphis – the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur. Digital Globe image, dated 24 March 2003 on Google Earth. Photograph is part of the Google Earth 'Places' overlay.

pour 2014; Cunliffe 2016). Cemetery sites are most at risk from and are devastated by looting, as at El-Hibeh.

Even reconstruction work can cause damage if the scale and type of problem is not fully understood. In Beirut, for example, the reconstruction process failed to take account of the exceptional amount of archaeology beneath the modern streets, and extensive destruction occurred. The rebuilding plan also failed to take account of the substantial post-excavation work required, and the significant storage that would be needed: the legacies of these problems still face the Lebanese heritage staff today (for a number of references on this subject see Cunliffe 2015). Such lessons are no less applicable today. A media interview with a group tunnelling under Damascus noted that they were digging through the Roman levels of the city (Ketz 2014), and Aleppo – like Damascus and Beirut – contains many thousands of years of archaeological remains under the modern streets. These remains will become accessible, and even visible, when the rubble is cleared, and which will be threatened by the urgent need to rebuild. EAMENA are working to develop a comprehensive comparable understanding of the threats facing sites in conflict, and in peace, and the full spectrum in between.

Training

Given the lack of trained staff in many countries, the EAMENA Project has a significant focus on training. So far, we have run two successful training workshops; one for Libyans at Leicester University, and one in Iraq, training heritage professionals, academic staff, and students in remote sensing and site recording methodologies. They were not intended to be detailed enough for comprehensive damage assessments: instead they enabled heritage professionals in these countries to identify and map their heritage, encouraging the creation of comprehensive inventories, and enabling them to assessment of the scale of the site damage. With the money from the successful bid to the newly launched UK Cultural Protection Fund,[6] the EAMENA project will expand its training programme to six MENA countries (both in conflict, and not), using a combination of introductory and advanced courses for heritage professionals in the region.

Local collaboration in projects

Crucially, the EAMENA team is also working with local heritage bodies and other NGOs and university projects. Coordination and collaboration are key to prevent overlap and duplication of work in field filled with organisations determined to help. For example, organisations such as the

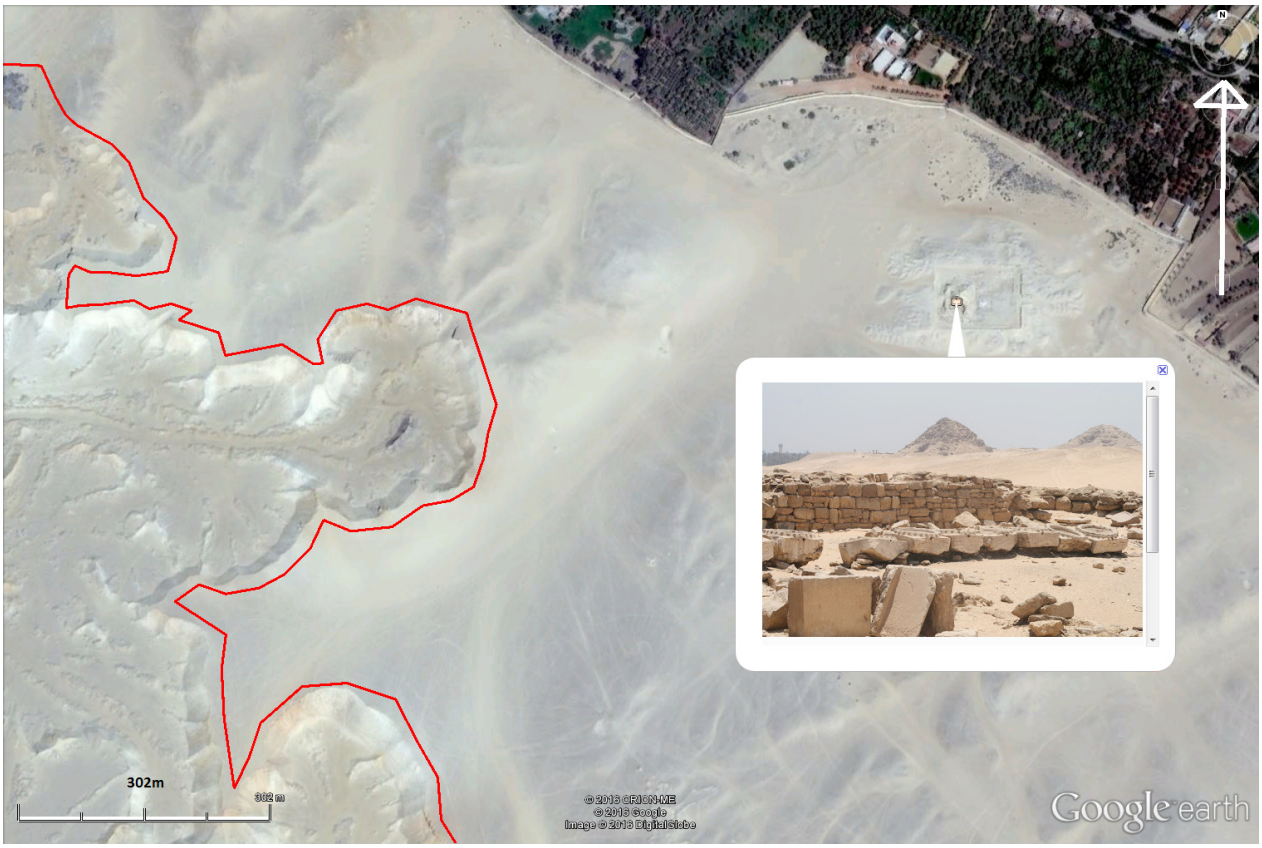

Fig. 3b: Mining approaching the Sun Temple of Niusere (Abu Ghorab), Egypt, that appears to have started in 2003. The Sun Temple is within the World Heritage Site of Memphis – the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dashur. DigitalGlobe image, dated 2 Oct. 2006 on Google Earth. Photograph is part of the Google Earth 'Places' overlay.

ASOR Cultural Heritage Initiative are already comprehensively mapping conflict-related damage to sites in Syria and Iraq, leading EAMENA to focus their damage assessment efforts elsewhere. We recently – in October 2016 – held a successful conference *Protecting the Past: Towards a Better Future with Cultural Heritage* – in Sulaimaniyah in Iraq,[7] to provide the opportunity for international projects operating in Iraq to come together with numerous representatives of the Iraqi State Board for Antiquities and Heritage, and the Kurdish Directorate of Antiquities to discuss the problems facing Iraq's heritage, aiming to avoid duplication, encouraging collaboration, and allowing those engaged in heritage protection efforts in Iraq to gain a deeper knowledge of the problems from those on the ground. Although the offensive to retake Mosul, and the commensurate risks to Mosul's heritage featured heavily, the majority of the discussions focussed on the ongoing threats from development and agriculture, and the need to work to develop comprehensive approaches to protect Iraq's heritage, both during and after the conflict. Nonetheless, many of those present felt it would be important to conduct damage assessments of Mosul at the earliest opportunity, and to begin to restore as much as possible as soon as safely possible to do so, even though they acknowledged it was unlikely that the conflict would have ended. In order to maximise the utility of the conference, trilingual podcasts and written summaries of the talks were made available online for those unable to attend the conference,[8] acknowledging the financial constraints of many of the heritage professionals working in Iraq.

Observations

Given the extensive destruction that occurs during and after conflict, and in regions that are not in conflict, heritage workers are faced with many challenges and tough decisions. Before we can begin to rebuild cultural heritage we need to know what was – and still is – there; we need to record it; to understand it; and then to prioritise work affected it.

Observation 1

Building on already collected baseline data (i.e. knowing what is where), satellite imagery assessment of damage could provide an initial overview to direct damage assessments to the worst affected areas post-conflict. EAMENA's work focusses on using open-source data and software where possible, such as Arches and Google Earth: this minimises some of the costs and information availability issues usually associated with

remote sensing work. Given the scale of heritage destruction in today's conflicts, even such assessments must be prioritised before they can be conducted, and before reconstruction can be considered. Here, we can take an example from the methods employed by disaster recovery teams, who utilise high quality imagery to direct their response teams. Similarly they can also enable preliminary needs assessments to indicate the scale of finance that could be necessary, in order to assist prioritisation of work. Lastly, through use of targeted Watch Lists, preliminary data will already be available for the most important sites.

Observation 2
Without a comprehensive understanding of the extent and types of damage to sites, policies aiming to tackle damage may fail to take account of local circumstances and the local types of damage. Ballistic damage may be prioritised over many others, regardless of the wider condition of the local heritage. However, in the post-conflict period, a lack of security can also exacerbate looting, uncontrolled development and increasing agriculture, and inhibit access to sites, which can cause continued degradation. Trained staff can identify these threats, and they should be addressed in post-conflict plans. Heritage staff should be trained in site recording methodologies and GIS-based approaches, to assist in identifying, locating, and clearly delineating protected site extents; sufficient security should be provided for sites identified as being at risk; and heritage staff need to have the support of law enforcement and prosecution agencies when confronting those who intend to damage sites. However, given the economic needs of many who loot sites, local education and engagement with heritage is the only long-term solution to improve site protection.

Observation 3
Given that damage and destruction to cultural property can occur not only during conflict, but after it and outside it, some work to damaged sites should be conducted during conflict, if it is safe to do so. Stabilisation of damaged buildings, for example, (and the provision of the resources to do this), is vital during conflict; after the conflict it may be too late. However, it is important to understand that damage will not stop once the immediate conflict is over. It is therefore vital to plan for the post-conflict period during conflict, and it may even be acceptable to begin reconstruction work once the site is clearly no longer at risk, as long as work conducted is chosen and carried out with sensitivity. Such work can give people a sense of hope, and strength, as witnessed at the second Protecting the Past conference.

Observation 4
Lastly, it is important to remember that there will be a lack of money, a lack of trained staff, and little infrastructure to support heritage professionals working in those countries affected by conflict. The University in Mosul was recently targeted in airstrikes as Daesh were using it to manufacture chemical weapons, devastating the Chemistry Department, and pictures circulated on the internet of the University Library, gutted by fire after fighting.[9] Daesh had already closed the Archaeology Department, and numerous books in the Mosul Library were burned, echoing an earlier event there in 2003, from which it was unlikely to have fully recovered (Baker et al. 2010; Knuth 2007). The lack of facilities hinders the training of new staff for the future but also hinders current staff, removing opportunities for work inside the country by those who are responsible for their heritage.

The need for rebuilding and reconstruction extends now beyond the buildings themselves. Our approaches must be comprehensive, and collaborative, working to restore not only the buildings, but to build up our colleagues in the affected countries with training, and the necessary infrastructure to effectively manage their heritage. Our rebuilding programmes must not only take account of the local circumstances, but must actively include local participation in the rebuilding, developing local connections to sites to encourage local interest, and enhance site protection. The total loss of previously-recorded artefacts from sites that have been looted, and the destruction of unrecorded archaeological layers that the looting entails means that, although heavily damaged, they cannot be reconstructed. Therefore their protection must also be included in post-conflict planning to prevent further deterioration. Given the extent of the heritage resource in any given country (numbering many thousands of historic buildings and archaeological sites) it will never be possible to protect them all: local community engagement is key and reconstruction provides an opportunity to develop it. In addition, such work will provide much needed alternative legitimate income for possible looters who may be struggling without work in poor economic conditions while the country rebuilds.

As our understanding of heritage value develops, designing reconstruction plans that fit local, national and international priorities becomes increasingly complex. To this complexity, we must add the continuing damage that occurs to sites in the post-conflict period, and the devastation sustained to the wider heritage sector responsible for its management. If we are to succeed in protecting the heritage we need to show its relevance in today's society. By using the term

'heritage' we are referring to more than just buildings, but to a wider cultural heritage that includes archaeological sites, traditions and intangible heritage. In order to achieve this, our plans should be as comprehensive, as inclusive, and as collaborative as possible, drawing on the expertise of multiple groups and based on detailed baseline data. The EAMENA approach to documenting and understanding the cultural heritage of the region makes a significant contribution to this goal.

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Endnotes

[1] A copy of "Absolute despair with UNESCO: An Open Letter" is available here: https://www.academia.edu/24344292/Absolute_despair_with_UNESCO_An_Open_Letter (accessed 10 Jan. 2017).
[2] http://eamena.arch.ox.ac.uk/ (accessed 10 Jan. 2017).
[3] Dr Abdelamir al-Hamdani. 2016. Digitizing the Past: A New Atlas and Database of the Archaeological Sites in Iraq. Presentation at Protecting the Past (II): Towards a Better Future with Cultural Heritage Conference, Sulaimani, Iraq 30–31 October. http://www.protectingthepast.com/PtP/podcasts-sulaimani/ (accessed 10 Jan. 2017).
[4] Data has been collected from media sources and extensive imagery analysis, and has not been independently verified.
[5] At its height, tourism accounted for 12.5 billion USD in revenue. In 2014 (the last available figures) it was only 7.5 billion and tourism arrivals were far lower in 2016 than 2014 Plummer, R. 2016. Can Egypt's tourism recover from latest blow? BBC News, 21/05/2016. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-36340581 (accessed 10 Jan. 2017], Trading Economics 2017b: Egypt Tourist Arrivals 1982–2017; Trading Economics 2017a: Egypt Tourism Revenues 1982–2017.
[6] https://www.britishcouncil.org/arts/culture-development/cultural-protection-fund/projects (accessed 10 Jan. 2017).
[7] The conference was a collaboration between the American University in Iraq, Sulaimaniyah (AUIS) and the University of Sulaimaniyah.
[8] www.Protectingthepast.com (accessed 10 Jan. 2017).
[9] Picture posted by Al-Monitor, Photo of the Day, (REUTERS/Ahmed Jadallah), 31 Jan. 2017. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/al-monitor/photos/a.378041322246259.103473.236829849700741/1382861188430929/?type=3&theater (accessed 31 Jan. 2017).

Credits

Fig. 1: Author on base of DigitalGlobe image/ Google Earth.
Fig. 2: *Photograph courtesy of Dr Redmount, Andy Daily, and the Save El Hibeh Facebook Page (https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10150767915049354&set=oa.364071873645130&type=3&theater)*.
Fig. 3: Author on base of DigitalGlobe image/ Google Earth.
Fig. 4: http://www.judgmentofparis.com/board/showpost.php?p=488&postcount=1.

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Azadeh Vafadari – Graham Philipp – Richard Jennings

A Historic Environment Record

for Heritage Condition and Risk Assessment in Post-Conflict Syria

Abstract

Over the past decade, cultural heritage in the Middle East and North Africa has been at risk of irreparable damage through conflict and neglect. While various organizations are seeking to monitor and record the extent of damage through satellite imagery and media reports, it is also essential to have tools and methods in place for field condition assessment. These tools will be essential in meeting post-war challenges including initial assessment and prioritization of efforts and resources. To work effectively, the authorities must have access to a dataset which will inform them on the number, location, type, period, nature, and importance (in multiple senses) of heritage places, as well as the level of associated damage and risk. This paper presents the approaches used in the development of a Historic Environment Record (HER) for Syria.[1] It describes the methodologies used for systematic emergency recording of data, assessing, and measuring of damage and risk as well as the level and category of heritage resource significance. Given the large number of heritage places damaged by conflict, the implementation of rapid assessment methods to quickly identify and record levels of damage and condition is essential, as it will provide the evidence to support effective prioritization of efforts and decisions on methods and levels of intervention. The predefined data entry categories, use of a data standard, and systematic methods of assessment, will ensure consistent and comparable assessments across different sites and regions. Given the general lack of appropriate emergency response and assessment databases, this system could also be applied in other countries facing similar threats and damage from conflict or natural disasters.

Keywords:
Emergency Recording, Heritage Database and Inventory, Damage and Condition Assessment, Risk Preparedness, Syria, Cultural Heritage and Conflict.

In recent decades, and in response to an increasedfocus on disastrous events ranging from armed conflict to natural events that impact cultural heritage, there has emerged a need for methodologies and approaches to better manage the effects of disasters on sites and monuments. In order for decision makers to address these challenges and make effective response and mitigation decisions, improved tools and mechanisms need to be established. In this context, it is important to develop and implement a database system with a methodology embedded in it to provide a systematic way to record and measure the extent and severity of damage and threats. By knowing the severity of damage and importance (in multiple sense) of heritage places, intervention activities could be prioritized and limited resources could be directed to where they are most needed.

Since 2011, in Syria alone, thousands of heritage sites have suffered significant damage from conflict, looting, and the cessation of official monitoring and development controls. In preparing for the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation stage in Syria, implementation of the type of database system described above can have a crucial role in safeguarding Syria's cultural heritage. It is with this in mind that the Syria Historic Environment Record (HER) is being developed. This paper presents an introduction to Syria HER and the approaches used in its development.[2]

Syria Historic Environment Record (HER)

Role of inventory and documentation systems

Documentation and inventory is a foundation of heritage management. Inventories hold collections of documents and records in order to inform heritage professionals of what needs to be protected, where it is, and why its protection is important. Well-regarded heritage inventory systems contain information on the location, characteristics, and condition of heritage places. They are searchable, thereby allowing users to analyse and manage heritage data. A good inventory not only improves the understanding of cultural heritage, it is also essential for heritage interpretation, protection, preservation and management (ICOMOS 1996; Council of Europe 2009). An inventory and monitoring system is vital for heritage decision making and planning, which includes evaluating the condition of heritage in the aftermath of natural disaster, helping to guide what should be protected on the ground in the case of armed conflict, and helping to guide new developments such as construction of highways, gas lines, etc. Such systems also enable the comparison of heritage places (based on assessment of value, condition, etc.) to assist decision makers and heritage professionals in identifying those sites most in danger. Based on this information, preservation and intervention activities can be prioritized and more informed decisions can be made for the allocation of resources.

Potential uses of an inventory and management system could include the following:

- Tools for recording and understanding heritage places
  - Records containing information about location, characteristics, and condition of heritage places, and that facilitate search, analysis, and management of the heritage data
- Tools for protection, conservation and planning
  - Provides a standardized approach to assess damage and threats to sites and monuments
  - Permits prioritization of emergency and conservation responses based on available information about the sites, their condition, and their significance and values
- Tools for decision making
  - For decision makers (governmental authorities) and international donors, provides a tool to prioritize intervention activities and emergency actions, and to mobilize available funds
- Tools for developing national research strategies
  - During the rebuilding and reconstruction stage, one possible use is to distinguish between areas with limited cultural materials and areas that have simply not been surveyed.

From Arches to Syria HER

For the Syria HER project, it was a logical choice to build on an existing system that is designed specifically for heritage management, is standards-compliant and is easy to use, rather than to develop a database from scratch. Arches, an inventory and management system purpose-built for handling information on immovable cultural heritage, was selected for this purpose.[3] When deployed, Arches can be used as a tool to create digital inventories describing types, locations, extent, periods, materials, and condition of heritage resources. Furthermore, Arches was designed knowing that users of the system were unlikely to be technically proficient in spatial database. The software is open source (i.e. freely available) and can be independently deployed. It can be customized, updated, and extended with new features by an international community of heritage professionals and IT specialists (GCI & WMF 2016). More importantly, Arches adopted international standards for heritage inventory including the International Committee for Documentation – Conceptual Reference Model (CIDOC - CRM) which is designed to provide a consistent semantic framework of heritage terminologies (ICOM / CIDOC 2015).

In addition, Arches is being used by leading organizations in the field of archaeology and heritage management – including Historic England, City of Los Angeles, and by Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa (EAMENA)[4] project among others.

The EAMENA project has customized the Arches database for use in the Middle East and North Africa region. The project identifies archaeological sites and records their condition using satellite imagery. The Syria HER is being developed at Durham University within the EAMENA framework and uses EAMENA's version of Arches while further customizing it to enable on the ground emergency recording, assessment and measuring of damage and risk and prioritization.[5]

Syria HER main functionalities

In the Syrian context, given the threats and damage to archaeological sites, museum collections, libraries and archives, it is essential to develop strategies for recording and preserving heritage, to build up local expertise, and provide technical assistance in order to safeguard Syria's rich cultural heritage.

Various organizations are seeking to monitor and record the extent of damage through satellite imagery and media reports. While the remote assessment of sites and monuments has the advantage of allowing for the monitoring of cultural heritage properties from afar, its main limitation is the reduced level of certainty and accuracy in the assessment. It is therefore also essential to have tools and methods in place for on-the-ground condition assessment and systematic recording of data, for use as, and when, opportunities arise. Ac-

cordingly, the Syria HER intends to allow heritage professionals to conduct not only remote assessments but also to record on-the-ground rapid assessments of sites and monuments.
With this in mind, the functionalities of both Arches and the initial version of the EAMENA database were examined to identify the main required functionalities of the Syria HER. This system will be designed to:

- be used mainly as a Cultural Resource Management (CRM) tool and only secondarily as a research tool
- be used as a tool in an emergency and disaster contexts
- allow recording of on-the-ground assessment (in addition to remote assessment)
- embed within it methodology and procedures for rapid damage and condition assessment
- to record and locate damage and threats, their causes, severity and extent
- to assess level of damage and risk
- allow for rating/prioritizing sites and monuments based on the levels of damage and significance
- provide a list of possible intervention, preservation and mitigation activities and needs that could be implemented when possible
- record sufficient information to be able to prioritize required conservation/reconstruction activities based on level of emergency and value
- (If possible) identify and apply a weighting system to each category of assessment to produce scores for damage, risk, and value

Methodology
Condition assessment identifies damage and threats in order to estimate the physical condition of a heritage place. In light of gathered information on the physical condition, decision makers can determine the best way to preserve the values and integrity of heritage places and develop strategies to respond to any changes of the condition and damage that have been detected. Condition assessment and monitoring is the act of recording the status of cultural heritage places and measuring changes over time. The first time a monument is assessed its condition or status is recorded. On subsequent occasions that the same monument is assessed, the changes over time are measured. A condition assessment could be implemented as part of the regular inspection of heritage places (e.g., twice a year, yearly, every 2 years, etc.). Gradual decay is one of the main causes of destruction. The detection of such damage, if monitored and treated as soon as it appears, can prevent irreversible destruction.
A condition assessment can, and should, be conducted after a natural and/or human impact event as part of emergency inspection. Examples include after war or conflict, an earthquake, or an even more routine or foreseeable events such as after a rainy season or construction works near a heritage place. In the case of sudden destruction and post disaster interventions (both anthropogenic and natural), carrying out an emergency survey will allow the experts and decision makers to understand the damage and threat, to identify and record damaged and threatened heritage places and to implement suitable immediate responses to secure and stabilize them. A rapid condition assessment followed by an emergency assessment will allow identification and ranking of the intervention activities to be based on needs and importance, and to prepare an appropriate recovery and rehabilitation plan. Once the heritage places in need are identified, available funding and resources can then be allocated where emergency actions and interventions are most needed.

Elements of emergency and disaster assessment
As already mentioned, the Syria HER is being adapted for use in the context of disaster events (specifically for post war Syria) and to set procedures for rapid and emergency assessment of heritage places. One of these measures is to develop a standardized approach in the assessment. In emergency assessment, such as the case in Syria, a standardized approach in identifying, recording and assessing damage and threats will allow heritage professionals to compare data and make informed decisions. Therefore, a standard format and set of information (i.e. data fields) for data collection must be developed, defined and implemented. Different people with different backgrounds have various ways to record and describe damage and threats to heritage sites and monuments. If different recording methods of assessment are used, it is more likely that the scale, standards and the quantity of information in each will be different, and perhaps incompatible. Analysing and comparing these different types of data becomes complicated and inhibiting its effective use in making management and conservation decisions.
A significant amount of research has already been carried out in the field of damage and risk assessment for cultural heritage (Waller 2003; Walton 2003; FISH 2004; Council of Europe 2005, 2009, 2012; GCI and WMF 2010, 2016; NCPTT 2011; Vafadari 2015). There has also been a recent surge of new projects reacting to the disaster caused by ongoing conflict in the Middle East. We build on this research and employ the most appropriate and suitable practices to identify the required elements for the Syria HER. Particular attention has been paid to the Disaster Risk Management (DRM) cycle for cultural heritage to ensure that the components of assessing risk and identifying mitigation strategies and responses in pre-disaster, during disaster, and post-disaster phases are represented in the Syria HER (see figure 1 for the components and stages of the DRM cycle).

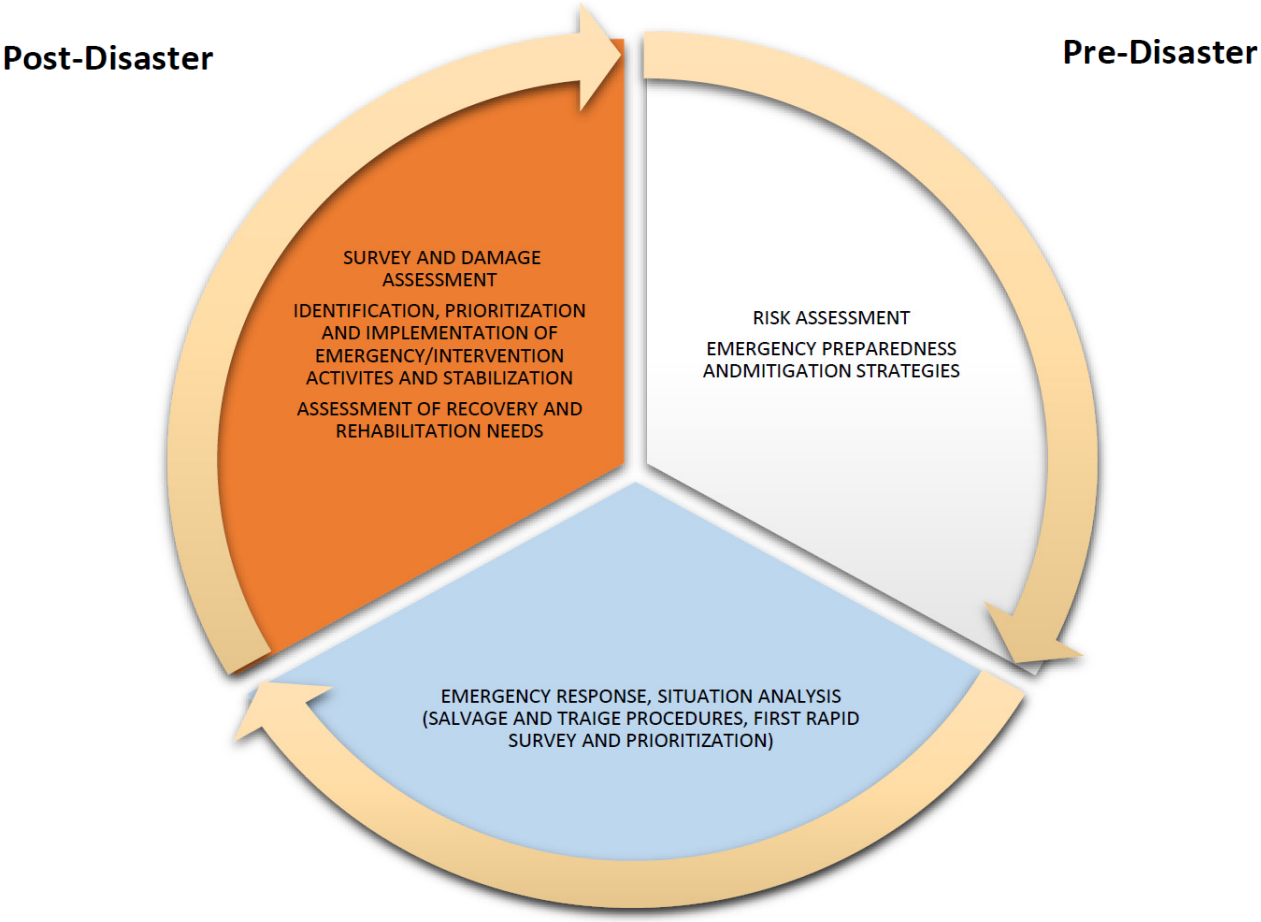

Fig. 1: Disaster Risk Management (DRM) Cycle for Cultural Heritage.

The Syria HER allows the following main elements to be recorded and assessed:

1. Condition (level of damage) of the heritage place
2. Level of risk and vulnerability
3. Significance and value of the heritage place
4. Prioritization of heritage and activities and assessment of recovery needs (as well as identification of required interventions and responses)

The new entry fields have been developed for each of these elements (these elements are briefly introduced in the following sub-sections). For each data field, drop down lists of controlled vocabulary are developed to standardize data entry.[6]

Damage Assessment
Ideally, the initial phase of damage assessment involves the collection of all existing documentation and information, including old images, previous reports, assessment records, archived documents, etc. (though this may not be applicable in emergency recording where time is limited). The second step is a rapid field survey during which the actual state and condition of heritage places are assessed based on visual inspection (main focus of Syria HER). In a final stage, which may not occur in rapid assessments, an in-depth assessment can be conducted, ideally using an interdisciplinary approach with knowledgeable experts from relevant fields, to identify causes of damage and assess the severity and rate of deterioration (Demas 2002; Paolini et al. 2012).
In conducting a rapid assessment, the surveyor needs to first identify and (1) locate the damage (this step is called component/location in figure 2) and (2) identify the damage (i.e. actual visible effect of disturbances). If possible (3) the cause of damage/disturbance could be recorded. Then the surveyor needs to assess the (4) extent and the (5) severity of the problem. The severity represents the strength and seriousness of the damage. The extent of damage represents the fraction of the assessed area affected by the disturbance. It is also important to differentiate between new and stabilized (and old) degradations by defining the

(6) stability and trend of the damage. (7) The level of damage is calculated based on the level of extent and severity. In the end, any (8) additional description and remarks and (9) photos could be added. figure 2 displays these main fields that need to be recorded when recording and assessing damage.

Risk Assessment

A condition assessment records existing damage and disturbances and provides information about the actual state of the heritage place, however, a risk assessment identifies and forecasts possible future damage and potential agents of deterioration (i.e. threats) (Taylor 2005). As defined by Ball and Watt (2001), risk assessment is aimed at identifying threats and assessing the probability of their impact. Once threats are identified, the risk level can be assessed based on the probability and the severity of the identified threat interacting with the pre-existing vulnerabilities of a heritage place.

In the Syria HER, after identifying the related vulnerability factors increasing the risk impacts for each heritage place, the surveyor identifies the threats and potential impact of said threats (part of the risk identification step in the figure 3 below). For each identified threat the level of impact needs to be estimated (risk assessment step in the figure 3). For the pilot stage, the level (magnitude) will be calculated as a product of probability x extent x severity (where probability is defined as likelihood of risk occurring; extent is a total amount of assessed place to be affected by risk; and severity is defined as a product of the fraction of the assessed area susceptible to the threat and the potential loss in value of the area (Waller 1995)).[7]

Significance and value factors

In the rehabilitation and restoration phase, the question of value will heavily influence the conservation decisions and response. Identifying and assessing values and significance assists in the prioritization of heritage places and conservation and intervention activities. When decisions need to be made at a regional or country level in a post-disaster context, for example on where to start the rehabilitation work, and choices need to be made between different possible actions (from reconstruction, restoration or not touched), a holistic and clear method of assessment is needed. Should the decisions and prioritization be solely based on the degree of damage, the degree of rarity of a place, or the importance of destroyed and damaged sites and monuments for recovering tourism and the economy of the country? Or should they be based on the importance of the place for a population's identity and memory; the importance of the place in the post-war healing process and rebuilding of the cultural memory? Assessing values is neither an easy nor rapid task; the process is challenging and debatable. It needs a

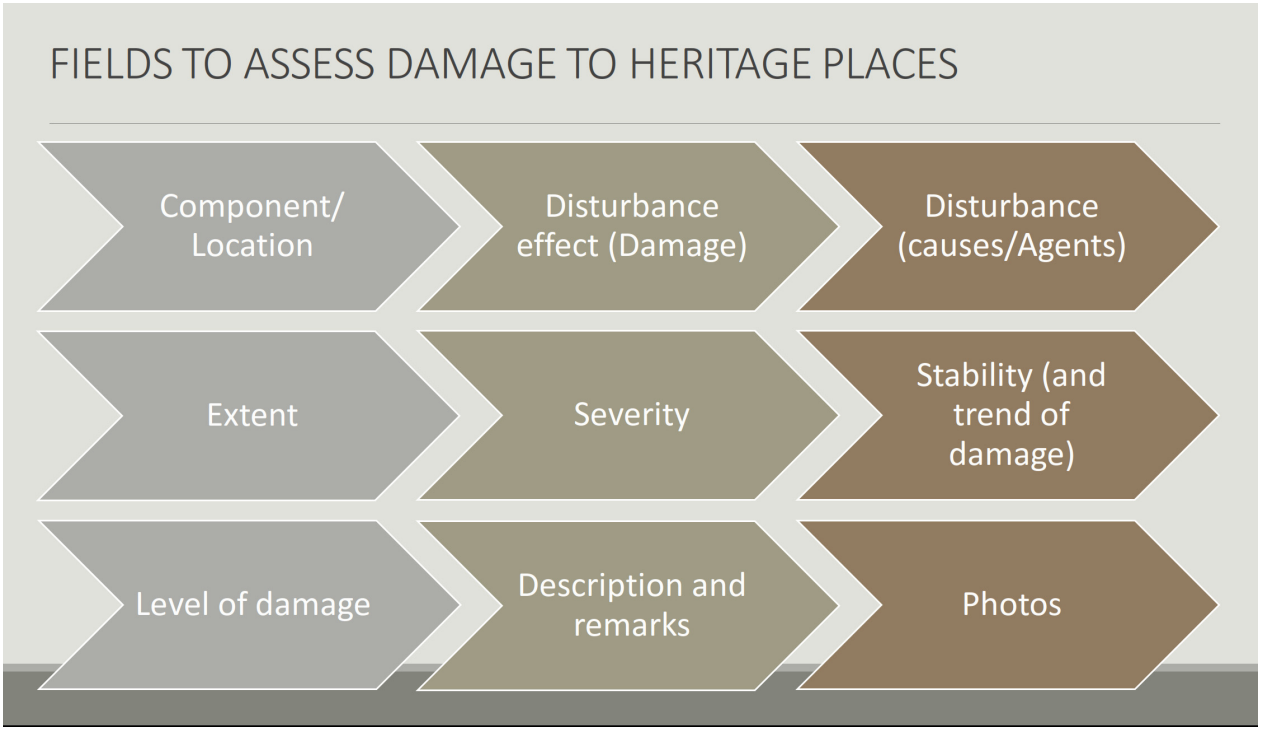

Fig. 2: Data fields used to assess damage to heritage places in the Syria HER.

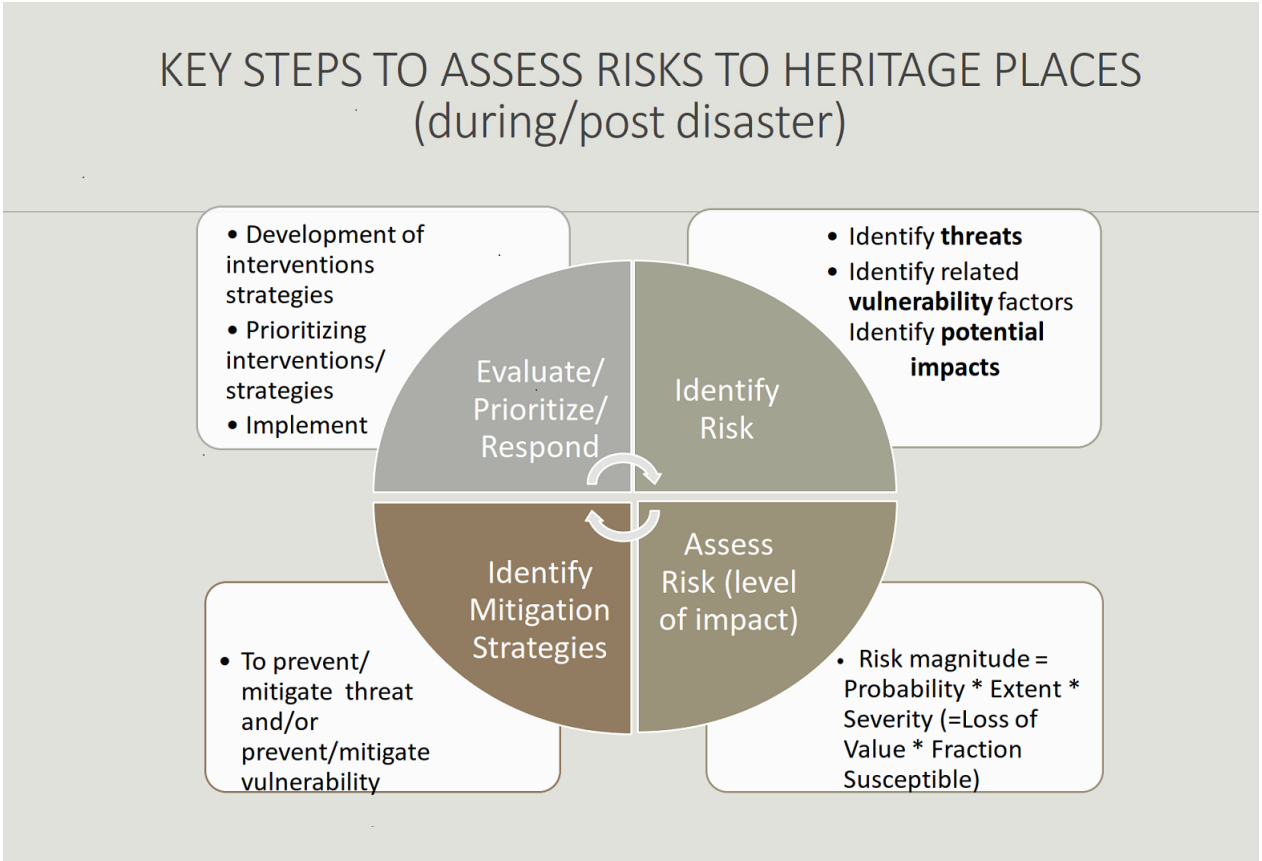

Fig. 3: Risk assessment cycle.

holistic approach in order to include all the above questions in the calculation. People and communities with varied beliefs and ideas, define and assign values differently. Values should capture the various components and interpretations of heritage and should include the sometimes conflicting (and changing) values identified by different stakeholders (and their conflicting interests). The process needs to be clear and transparent. For maximum effectiveness of the Syria HER, identifying the most damaged and at-risk sites by itself is not sufficient to prioritize them for protection and conservation activities. In order to go to the next (admittedly challenging) level, components and categories of values need to be developed and a weighting system needs to be adopted on how to rank values assigned to a cultural heritage place (Isakhan 2014; McManamon et al. 2016).

Traditionally, in value-based approaches to conservation, different lists of heritage values have been developed (i.e. value typologies) to assess heritage values and significance.[8] In order to allow for more transparent and detailed evaluation of heritage values and assessment of potential conservation impacts on authenticity of heritage places, the Raymond Lemaire International Center for Conservation has developed a grid system called the Nara Grid. Based on the Nara Document on Authenticity, the Nara Grid introduces aspects of the sources (i.e. different layers or perspectives of a cultural heritage place) for each type or dimension of heritage value (artistic, historic, social, and scientific). Aspects of the sources defined in Nara Grid are: form and design, materials and substance, use and function, tradition, techniques and workmanship, location and setting, spirit and feeling. In this way values can be assigned and assessed for different perspectives (or aspects) of cultural heritage. Accordingly the impact of each intervention activity on any of the assigned values and layers can be understood and compared (van Balen 2008).

Similarly, Fredheim and Khalaf (2016) suggest a transparent, explicit, and holistic way of understanding and assessing significance by deconstructing the assessment into three stages of 1) what is the heritage or what they call features of significance to identify the features (layers) of significance, 2) why the heritage is valuable or aspects of value to identify why each feature is significant (value typologies) and 3) how valuable the heritage is or what they call qualifiers of value to assess the degree of significance.

By comparing these new studies, and examples of more explicit and holistic practices in significance assessment and value evaluation, the aim is to choose an appropriate method for the Syria HER to identify the layers and categories of value and rank the level of significance. This work is ongoing.

Intervention/Mitigation Strategies and Prioritizations
As a result of the methodological approaches described above, heritage places will be prioritized based on the significance of the assessed area, the extent of damage and overall condition, and the risk magnitude. The higher the damage (and/or risk) and the higher the value of the heritage place, the higher the priority should be. Such a system, when properly implemented, will eventually produce a list of sites and monuments of significant importance which are considered to be in urgent need (i.e. prioritization list).
A possible list of interventions and mitigation measures has been developed for the Syria HER. Based on the identified damage and threat, and their level, emergency and intervention actions are identified. These responses and actions could be recorded during different phases of assessment: 1) emergency response and strategies and 2) rapid assessment response and activities.
The actions classified as intervention activities would record those conservation, preservation and management actions suggested to correct and treat the damage (in case of identified damage) or mitigate the threats (in case of identified threats and risks) that have been identified as part of the condition and risk assessment process. In choosing which intervention activities to be utilized, criteria such as complexity and feasibility, given the available resources and local staff capacity, would need to be considered.
While prioritization on the basis of the above would already be an important achievement, the prioritization abilities of the system could potentially go even further if the identified intervention activities and actions were also prioritized (again based on extent and severity of damage, the level of risk, significance of the assessed area, the overall impact of each different activity on the totality of identified values and features of the heritage). In this way, all the identified management, conservation, and intervention activities could be listed based on their level of priority and the system could combine prioritization of needs and responses.

Types of analysis: quantitative vs qualitative
The assessments and analysis explained in the previous sub-sections can be done based on qualitative or quantitative approaches and factors. In the qualitative approach, words are used to describe and measure the elements of the assessment (e.g. level of severity and extent of damage). The quantitative approach uses numerical values to do the same. The decision between choosing the quantitative or qualitative approach is based on the degree of the detail of analysis sought, its purpose, and the information and resources available. The quantitative approach is more complicated and its development requires more time, resources, and research. Given the impact that the quantitative approach can have on subsequent data analysis, a quantitative system needs to be based on a higher level of expertise and scientific data (Standards Australia and Standards New Zealand 2004: 18–9).
At this early stage of our project, a qualitative approach using ordinal measuring scales (i.e. rankings such as High, Med, and Low) is planned for measurement and analysis. These scale levels are defined and described in order to ensure users have a similar understanding of the terms. In order to produce an even more accurate system and facilitate the use of the system for prioritization decisions, it is envisaged that at a later stage of the project a numerical weighting will be developed for each assessment field and level.

Conclusion and Next Steps
In order to effectively manage sites and monuments, a method is needed to rapidly assess the level of damage, threat, vulnerability, and to set the heritage place's conservation priorities (at the site, local, and national level). In times of natural or man created disaster, if a country does not have baseline documentation of cultural heritage places, it is unable to set strategies and priorities for post-disaster response. This can leave sites open to rapid removal by developers and/or land owners. The absence of documentation and prioritization systems also complicates the potential post-disaster support of donors and international heritage professionals.
In Syria, specifically at this time, sites are being damaged, destroyed and looted. In the eventual post-war environment, major decisions will need to be made on where to start, how to implement the recovery phase and plan emergency measures, and how to allocate resources. Tools and methods need to be in place to quickly meet post-conflict challenges.
The aim of this research at this stage is to develop a methodology embedded in an inventory database, the Syria HER, to give the national authorities and national and international heritage experts a powerful tool to document, assess, and identify the sites and monuments that are in most danger and in need of rehabilitation. Such a database will also facilitate better prioritization by local authorities in their protection, conservation and restoration activities.

Next Steps
The next steps will involve both practical and technical steps to complete the work and further research on methodological issues. They are to:

- Complete the design of the Syria HER database and integrate it with the EAMENA database model, on which it is based, in order to have the system up and running and start the testing stage of the project
- Share this beta version of the Syria HER with select colleagues and experts for peer review and collect their comments and recommendations
- Update the system based on received feedback
- Organize a training session with Syrian / Syria experts if possible; try to create conditions for Syria HER to be widely adopted and used post-conflict

Questions emerging from the work to date that require more research:

- What is the best way to quantify assessments of damage, risk and value? How can a suitable and effective numerical weighting system be developed to make comparisons and prioritization as between heritage places more meaningful?
- How should the potentially controversial issue of value assessment and significance be handled within a prioritization tool?
- Identifying and studying the reference case studies and examples of post conflict recovery in the past century (e.g. Balkan countries, Lebanon, etc.). What lessons can be learned from how these countries have previously dealt with post disaster recovery, restoration and reconstruction? How can new technologies such as a GIS and digital databases (such as the Syria HER) better address identified issues of past experiences?

When can it be used?
While the current situation in Syria limits on-the-ground recording, assessment, and intervention, the Syria HER database will enable planning in preparation for post conflict stage. This will be principally be done by providing a platform for archaeologists and researchers to both:

i. Integrate existing datasets of heritage sites and monuments into a single database platform
ii. Record and consolidate remote condition assessments being conducted by different institutions using satellite imagery and media reports

The Syria HER will also provide a systematic recording tool based on international standards for local archaeologists to document and assess the scale of destruction using field assessment for safe and accessible places.

Endnotes

[1] The Syria HER is a modified and customized version of the Arches Heritage Inventory Package database developed by the Getty Conservation Institute and World Monument Fund (http://archesproject.org/) and EAMENA database (http://eamena.arch.ox.ac.uk/). The core dataset incorporates information from archaeological surveys undertaken in Syria by research projects in recent decades and began life as a development of the Shirīn initiative.

[2] Historic Environment Records (HERs) in England are records of archaeological and historical sites, monuments, buildings, finds, and landscapes usually in the form of a database attached to a GIS (Geographic Information System). The same term is used to describe this project's database.

[3] Arches has been developed by the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) and World Monuments Fund (WMF) for the inventory, monitoring, and management of heritage resources. It can be accessed at: http://archesproject.org/.

[4] Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa (EAMENA) was established in 2014. The current partners are the School of Archaeology at the University of Oxford, University of Leicester, and Durham University (http://eamena.arch.ox.ac.uk/).

[5] As of January 2017 and following the receipt of a British Council Cultural Protection Fund grant, the project and the Syria HER have now become part of the broader EAMENA project. The capabilities developed for Syria HER are now being adapted and developed for the wider EAMENA database.

[6] Harpring defines controlled vocabulary as "an information tool that contains standardized words and phrases to refer to ideas, physical characteristics, people, places, events, subject matter, and many other concepts. Controlled vocabularies allow for the categorization, indexing, and retrieval of information" (Harpring 2010: 1).

[7] The calculation and addition of 'loss in value' and 'fraction susceptible' needs more time and study and will be considered for addition at a later stage.

[8] Values and value-based approaches to conservation have been at the core of site conservation and management plans and preservation practices and principles (Sullivan 1997; Demas 2002; Mason & Avrami 2002).

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Barbara Caranza, Cristina Muradore

Cultural Property as a Tool for Building Resilience

The Psychological Reaction toward Catastrophes, the Victim and the First Aider

Abstract

Training first aiders to respond to cultural heritage destruction in areas of crisis is extremely important both for cultural goods and the communities affected by disaster. In this regard, first aiders should be prepared to tackle with the material characteristics of cultural properties, including how to conduct risk assessment, site documentation, and how to secure and evaluate the stability of a site.
This paper is an attempt to present the psychological dimension of what connects cultural heritage in areas of crisis to the communities and those professionals who intervene to manage and coordinate after an emergency. This paper will stress the crucial role that first aiders play when it comes to promoting an active participation of local communities to the revival of their cultural sites and the symbols of their land and identity.
Through an awareness intervention, first aiders can use cultural heritage as the actual place where people build resilience and strengthen their sense of belonging. When it comes to the protection of cultural goods, it is important that local communities are involved in decision-making processes as this can help them to recover positively from the tragedy. This concept is still highly underdeveloped by both the institutions and the rescuers themselves. Humanitarian aid often comes in the form of preparing makeshift camps, which are, in the short term, a good shelter but in the long term they can turn into places of isolation where the victims lose their connection with their native land. Therefore, first aiders to cultural sites will need to develop a deeper understanding of ethics and principles of conservation in crisis situations and they will also need to be able to be empathic with the victims avoiding the burn out.

Keywords:
Emergency, resilience, first aid, local communities.

This short paper aims at reaching a deeper understanding of the bonds between a population that has been shocked by a traumatic event and the following intervention that is needed in order to restore the social fabric of the community.
It is difficult to address this topic without discussing on the one hand, the international treaties protecting cultural heritage in regards to humanitarian law and heritage destruction during armed conflict, and on the other hand, risk management and the good practices needed to reduce damages during a natural disaster. However, here we are concentrating on the delicate phase of first aid to cultural heritage, since the symbolism inherent in heritage is a powerful means to help victims recover from the psychological impact of disasters. The key concept we intended to analyze is the particular role cultural heritage can play to strengthen the feeling of resilience in a community affected by the disruption to their everyday lives.
The recent Special Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change entitled, "Managing Extreme Events and Disasters to Advance Climate Change Adaptation" (IPCC 2012) defines resilience as: "the ability of a system and its component parts to anticipate, absorb, accommodate,

or recover from the effects of a hazardous event in a timely and efficient manner, including through ensuring the preservation, restoration, or improvement of its essential basic structures and functions." (p. 50) From this statement, we can understand that the concept of resilience applies to both people and the built and natural environment and is shaped by both physical and social factors. In an area struck by a natural disaster or armed conflict, its people tend to identify themselves and the tragedies they face with the destroyed symbols of their land, performing involuntarily the transference phenomenon. The medical science defines this phenomenon as "a process in which individuals displace patterns of behavior that originate through interaction with significant figures in childhood onto other persons in their current lives. It is a powerful determinant of patient behavior in medical encounters. Transference can affect the kind of physician-patient relationship a patient seeks and his or her response to interventions prescribed by physicians. Rather than approach every patient in a uniform way, tailoring the approach to fit the relationship needs of the individual patient is advocated."[1] So, in a crisis area, victims often recognize their fate in their own surroundings and for this reason with both their body and their environment and not being forced to leave the "trauma scapes". Therefore it the role of first aiders is fundamental in leading this process. This is the first important step first aiders have to consider in order not to increase the victim's vulnerability and to raise the feeling of belonging to their land and their community notwithstanding the trauma.
In such situations, people search desperately for identity and self-esteem in order to cope with personal loss and the feeling of estrangement that comes from the destruction of their built environment, such as city infrastructure and cultural sites.
When people start to realize the trauma they underwent, they often begin to feel uncomfortable both with themselves and towards their own environment and they may also feel ashamed for what happened. "I survived but I couldn't help my neighbors" or "I lost everything I had, my life has gone" are the most recurrent impressions and these feelings can lead to isolation, apathy and detachment. To overcome such involuntary sensations, these people need to find the right professionals to address. In this regard, first aiders to cultural heritage can also be the ones who act to support the psychological reaction of the victims by involving them in the performance of some practical operations linked with the rescuing of cultural property. Too often, local people are portrayed as victims who are passive recipients of international assistance or even as a liability to be neutralized rather than an asset to be utilized. In reality, their own participation is of critical importance in the rebuilding process and their contribution is vital for the empowerment of the society itself. In this sense the role of the first aid teams is fundamental because their members are not only called to physically rescue heritage sites, they also have to recognize and be able to manage people's attachment to those sites so that their feeling of belonging won't be uprooted during the reconstruction phase (Dal Maso 2013). Keeping a balance between what was before the disaster and what will be done in order to overcome it has proved to be vital for keeping the community alive and the people close together. In this regard, first aid is not only interpreted as a scientific and technical subject ranging from the field of conservation to the one of damage assessment but it also requires psychological training involving principles of stress management and team building.
This particular combination will allow the aiders both to avoid burn out and to best interact with local institutions and those communities' members who were appointed to the management of cultural properties. Moreover, their presence will be better accepted by the local community, who will perceive their role as positive and fundamental in the recovery process.
Protecting heritage promotes resilience mostly because it contributes to social cohesion, sustainable development and psychological well-being. This is particularly true when heritage is intended in all its significances, from monuments to folklore because both the tangible and intangible features of heritage can empower a traumatized society. A positive example of this integration can be seen in the "Haiti Cultural Recovery Project" which was set up to rescue, recover, safeguard and help restore Haitian artwork, artifacts, documents, media and architectural features damaged or endangered by the 2010 earthquake and its aftermath. The initiative has not only provided skills to a new generation of artisans, it has also hastened the psycho-social recovery of the community.[2]

Clearly each situation is different and will require a tailored approach, however there is a common starting base, which is the consideration that cultural heritage recovery needs to go beyond the 'limits' of the physical restoration and address the wider social, psychological and economic dimensions which is the basis for community life itself.

The need to raise awareness about the potential of cultural heritage as an asset for building resilient communities and the necessity to integrate heritage concerns in disaster mitigation plans has already been underlined during the meetings which led to the publication of the Declaration of Venice in 2012 which interprets cultural heritage as a driver of resilience that can support efforts to reduce disaster risks more broadly.[3] Recent years have seen greater emphasis and commitment to protecting heritage and leveraging it for resilience and the international institutions are demanding its

inclusion in the post conflict/post disaster recovery strategies. Such commitment must involve the following interpretation of heritage, for it has to be intended as a combination of two aspects: on the one hand heritage is the living tissue of familiarities accumulated around language, custom and tradition through which a community recognizes itself and in which it finds continuity – the culture of daily life. On the other hand, heritage is the collective identity which has been constructed and often unquestioningly accepted around objects of so-called high art – our cathedrals or mosques, our monuments, libraries, portable antiquities, famous paintings and so forth (Ascherson 2007).
With such approaches heritage can easily be identified with the medium that allows first aiders to get closer to the traumatized community and to recognize those key elements which will be fundamental to train the people to be resilient and to keep their bond with their very own cultural identity without denying what may have happened. In fact there are two important basic needs for human recovery in the aftermath of conflict/disaster: to reaffirm a sense of identity and to regain control over one's life (Barakat 2007).

In conclusion, investing in culture and heritage in the post-conflict/post-disaster phase yields dividends in fostering a genuine culture of prevention and creates good practices and guidelines to be applied to those situations in which cultural heritage is involved as casualty.

Endnotes

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[2] The project is organized by the Smithsonian Institution with the Government of Haiti, Ministry of Culture and Communication and the Presidential Commission for Reconstruction, in partnership with the U.S. President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities. To learn more about the initiative: http://www.haiti.si.edu/ (accessed 1 Dec. 2016).

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Milica Božić Marojević

Questioning the Impact of Contemporary Post-War Reconstruction Ideas on World Heritage Sites

Abstract

When we look at the current situation in the field of heritage protection and care, we can easily conclude that the adoption of numerous conventions, laws and orders concerning its safekeeping, value for the society and rules of conduct in the event of armed conflicts and hostilities did not provide significant results. The deliberate destruction of heritage, as well as collateral damages, in the former Yugoslavia, East Timor, Darfur, Cambodia, Peru, South African Republic, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen and Iran have shown us that it is not enough to make a decision and give expert recommendations, but it is necessary to expand our front of operation.
This paper attempts to take a step towards sketching the scope and the depth of the problems of World Heritage Sites at war and criteria for their recovery. In addition, through thorough analysis of the legal data, recent reports from international organizations in charge of heritage, and the political implications of their recommendations and decisions, we will provide insights into approaches to cope with these problems. Is it enough to assure the existence of heritage when something is declared a World Heritage site? What does that mean for the site itself? Is there any guarantee that the monument from the List of Heritage in Danger is going to have special, additional treatment? Why is it important that heritage becomes one of the priorities of post-conflict reconstruction? How can it contribute to the quality of co-existence and development of intercultural dialogue? These are just some of the questions that we will try to give answers to. As a case study, we will examine four World Heritage Sites in Kosovo*,[1] monuments that have been part of the Heritage in Danger List for several years.

Keywords:
heritage in danger, post-war reconstruction, World Heritage Sites, Kosovo*.

"The idea that anything is going to be protected by putting it on the List of the world heritage sites is completely senseless, since - despite all the bureaucratic effort - life can not be stopped."
(Gavrilović 2010: 45)

A few years ago, when I read this sentence in an article written by a very respected Serbian anthropologist and professor Ljiljana Gavrilović (PhD), I was stunned. In the scientific world she is well known for her sharp tongue and my first thought was that she wanted to raise awareness of this issue. But, in a way, since then, this statement has always been on my mind. Could she be right? Since, we can easily conclude that until now, the World Heritage List (WHS)[2] has not helped to stop, for example, the intentional destruction of heritage? Perhaps "[...] too much is asked of heritage. In the same breath, we commend national patrimony, regional and ethnic legacies and a shared global heritage and sheltered in common?" (Loewenthal 1997: 227) And if this List does not have any concrete impact on the future life of our legacies, what is its purpose? Are we as guardians of heritage and museum professionals wasting our time and energy? Can our concerns about the inheritance of the past and present life somehow meet and reconcile?

Since 1972, when the World Heritage Convention was adopted, the World Heritage List has been continually growing and evolving. With this expansion, a critical need has emerged regarding the implementation of the Convention. Numerous meetings and reports have shown that World Heritage Site managers need greater support, which involves more focused training and capacity development in specific areas. Heritage disasters are combinations of various factors, and some of them are within human control. Therefore, it is possible to prevent them, or at least considerably reduce their effects.[3] Also, there are numerous benefits from the admission to the World Heritage List. In addition to greater media attention and increased number of tourists, listed places are able to receive cash from the UNESCO's preservation fund. Though only developing countries can apply for the grants, listing can also attract other donors.[1] Yet, in general public, a site's status of being on the List can not be regarded as something that guarantees better for its preservation. For example, most of the monuments on the List of World Heritage in Danger[5] are those that have been damaged during war. With this in mind, the recognition of their value to society by an international body, in this case UNESCO, clearly does not automatically mean their protection from harm. In such circumstances, they stand shoulder to shoulder with other monuments that are not special enough to be on the list, even though they were also ruined with premeditation. For the nations whose heritage the sites represent, being on the list or not does not diminish their value or their right to be reconstructed.

In recent years, the international and regional human rights mechanisms have strengthened the link between cultural heritage, cultural diversity and cultural rights.[6] The right to cultural heritage, as well as the right to participate in cultural life and cultivate your own way of life, are internationally recognized and regulated in the various documents.[7] However, all this remains a dead letter if citizens have no awareness of the importance of heritage to (global) society and that is something that requires intensive work in the future.

Time Present and Time Past

What happens, though, with the restoration of the WHS in danger? How can post-war reconstruction ideas help? Post-war reconstruction usually has different meanings. Its first objective is to allow the community to function normally. In the minds of people, that usually means that everything is organized in the same way as it was before the catastrophe. Every disaster, particularly one caused by war, involves not only the physical damage, but, moreover, a serious social impact that includes psychological, demographic, economic and political components (Lindell 2013). For this reason, conflicts destroy two types of identities, which are often intertwined. With the disruption of daily life, people lose their sense of belonging to a certain group. In addition, that kind of situation undermines collective identity formed around high art that constitutes national heritage (Ascherson 2005).

While this may not seem realistic at first glance, nor vital to human survival, cultural heritage restoration must be recognized as a key element in the process of reconstruction after armed conflicts. When there is death and suffering, it is obvious that human lives have priority, followed by a need for shelter and food. However, experience has shown that all these basic needs have a better chance to be established if they are in an appropriate cultural context and in this sense the "impulse to preserve the thread of continuity is thus a crucial instinct of survival" (Stanley-Price 2005: p. 1). So, we can conclude that, since the re-establishment of continuity in everyday life is also priority, and given that it includes restructuring the elements of cultural identity, the restoration of national monuments can not be considered a luxury. Moreover, the active involvement of heritage has positive effects not only on social reconstruction, but also with reconciliation.

So far, the post-war reconstruction was largely followed by data on how many buildings were destroyed during the war (Memory of the World project, UNESCO). What could be the future direction of its development is changing the approach. To be exact, detailed description of the destruction or the scale of destruction of cultural heritage is useless, if not followed by the reconstruction of the society as a whole. In addition, next to the values that we recognize and reconstruct in the museums or other important buildings and monuments, restoration should be directed towards perhaps globally less significant places and objects, but very important for individuals, as they hide their personal and family histories and they can help in establishing a daily routine.

On the other hand, many experts think that heritage is dividing instead of connecting societies, and that it is much better when we have a situation which is actually a 'tabula rasa'. David Rieff 's recently published book *In Praise of Forgetting* stands for this position and this is in stark contrast with the memory boom phenomenon. However, even though it is very difficult to measure effects of the post-war reconstruction in short terms, certain impacts are clearly seen only after several years. Still, some important figures remain problems: there are not enough experts, there is no money, there is no universal solution and each situation requires an individual approach (Stanley-Price 2005). But, all of this should be seen as a challenge rather than an obstacle.

The Council of Europe often emphasizes 'rehabilitation' rather than 'reconstruction' as a method and key condition for reconciliation:

"The purpose is to preserve a certain lifestyle that could help convince inhabitants to remain in (or return to) their villages, making sure that affected regions do not face post-conflict trauma with progressive impoverishment or even abandonment. Reconstruction and development is therefore a priority in conflict areas, not only for accommodating the inhabitants and ensuring the right conditions for the return of displaced persons, but also for preserving the spirit of the communities. This must include restoring the social cohesion that prevailed before the conflict in order to re-establish and maintain the living and development potential of the communities. The reconstruction process means resuming development processes on the basis of the past reference framework and its ensuring continuity. In line with human rights, the restoration of the social and cultural environment is the key condition for sustaining the objectives of the reconstruction process."
(Council of Europe 2013)

In other words, public participation in restoration projects improves the chances of achieving sustainable heritage development by strengthening reconciliation between and within communities through the management of conflicting interpretations.

The Case of Kosovo* – World Heritage Sites at War

"The entanglement of the cultural and the political that led to the widescale destruction of historic architecture in Kosovo, then, was less an avoidable anomaly of the conflict than one of the conflict's constituent elements. As such, the war in Kosovo* is characteristic of a new form of conflict that is produced not out of geopolitical or ideological disputes, but out of the politics of particularistic identities."* (Herscher & Riedlmayer 2000: 109)

Understanding the Context

Throughout its long history, thanks previous wars and their subsequent population migrations, Kosovo and Metohija have always been multiethnic environments. Favourable geostrategic position, as well as mineral resources, made this territory interesting for different invaders. Kosovo and Metohija were part of the Serbian state in the 13th century. After the fall of despotism in 1459, the area was included into the Ottoman Empire until 1912. In 1918, this territory became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Between 1941 and 1945, Kosovo and Metohija were added to the Kingdom of Albania under the Italian protectorate. At the same time, smaller parts of Kosovo were occupied by Germans and Bulgarians. After Italy capitulated in 1943, the Germans occupied Albania and Kosovo as a whole. When the war ended, Kosovo and Metohija were returned to Yugoslavia and became part of the People's (later Socialist Federal) Republic of Yugoslavia. In the spring of 1981, massive riots took place in Priština, less than a year after the death of Josip Broz Tito, when protesters carried Tito's pictures and chanted 'Kosovo-Republic'. Conflicts with students erupted in late March / early April 1981 in Priština and it was expected to be solved through negotiations. However, when the demonstrations spread to other parts of the country, the army was sent to put an end to the rebellion.[8] The consequences of the violent quelling were very serious and reinforced ethnic differences among citizens. Eight years later, changes in the Constitution of Serbia were announced and that provoked a general strike by Kosovan Albanian miners in Stari trg mine (Trepča) near Priština. Police forces raided the mines and crushed the strike. After that, the Serbian Parliament adopted constitutional amendments. Kosovo lost its former autonomy and the name Metohija was added to the title. The first declaration of independence happened in 1990 when Albanian political representatives declared the independence of the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo, which was recognized only by Albania. Four years later, the Albanian terrorist organization 'Kosovo Liberation Army' (KLA) was founded. Clashes with Serbian police started in 1996, and by 1998 the situation turned into a full blown war. This led to strong reactions from the Serbian police and military involvement in the conflict (Bombardovanje n.d. a). Intense fighting between the police forces of Serbia and KLA lasted from February to October 1998. In this armed conflict, both sides committed major atrocities. In October 1998, Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and US envoy Richard Holbrooke reached an agreement on the deployment of the observing OSCE Mission in Kosovo and the withdrawal of part of the military and police forces. This agreement was regrettably short-termed. After the Račak case in February 1999, a peace conference known as The Negotiations in Rambouillet was held, but after three weeks no agreement was reached. This was the last attempt to resolve the Kosovo crisis by peaceful means and its participants sent an open ultimatum to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) authorities. After the FRY refused their proposal, on 24 March NATO bombing started (without the consent of the UN Security Council). The bombing ended after 78 days when the Kumanovo Agreement and the Resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council were signed (Bombardovanje n.d. b). After the NATO bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999, Kosovo and Metohija came under UN administration. According to resolution 1244, the territory is part of the FRY, or under the control of the UN. However, in 2008 the Kosovo Parliament unilaterally declared the independence of Kosovo from the Republic of Serbia.

This paper does not analyze the condition of the heritage destroyed during 1998–1999, when

Islamic heritage was mostly ruined. Concerning this topic there are detailed reports by Andrew Herscher and András Riedlmayer (2000) as well as the Sence Agency Dossier. The focus of this research is on the monuments that were damaged in 2004 and later, at the end of hostilities and despite the presence of international forces. Since the monuments were added to the List of World Heritage in Danger much later, the aim is to determine whether they are privileged or made more secure by that action.

Analysis of the Current Situation

At the moment, Kosovo* has four Serbian Orthodox Christian churches and monasteries inscribed on the List of World Heritage Sites (in Danger) as Medieval Monuments in Kosovo*. These monuments represent the fusion of the eastern Orthodox Byzantine and the western Romanesque ecclesiastical architecture. The first one recognized by UNESCO for its outstanding universal value was the Dečani monastery in 2004. Two years later, the site of patrimony was extended as a serial nomination to include three other religious monuments: the Patriarchate of Peć, Our Lady of Ljeviša and the Gračanica monastery. In 2006 the property was inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger due to difficulties with its management and conservation which were a result of the region's political instability. Even though cultural heritage is defined as one of the priority sectors of the Government of the Republic of Kosovo*, as determined by the Programme of the Government of the Republic of Kosovo* (2015–2018) and the Medium Term Expenditure Framework 2015–2018, putting it on the List looked like the only way to preserve the monuments.[9]

However, this legal procedure apparently did not have the expected results. Despite the fact that more than 5 million dollars were invested, the situation is still not enviable.

Although Kosovo*'s legal framework is in line with global standards, international reports highlight certain difficulties. As the main problem, OSCE Mission noted the lack of a clear division of responsibilities between the different institutions. The trouble is also that there is no comprehensive inventory for the protection of cultural heritage and that cultural heritage sites are not included in local spatial plans. Due to the rapid urban development of Kosovo*, it is important to ensure that any proposed regional plan takes into account the need to protect cultural heritage sites. This is especially important for the cultural sites of non-Albanian communities and those displaced people who can not participate in the public consultation process (OSCE 2014). Also, contrary to the legal framework there was no inspection of cultural heritage sites, particularly of Serbian Orthodox Church monuments, which led to the failure to prevent illegal construction. Cooperation between local and central institutions was minimal, as well as between various line ministries. Furthermore, there were only a few joint institutional initiatives to promote the conservation of immovable cultural properties, particularly of non-Albanian communities (OSCE 2014).

There are currently three decisive factors that affect the condition of the mentioned monuments. The first concerns the deliberate destruction caused by explosive devices and fire, followed by vandalism and looting as second. The third one implies the passage of time and the current inadequate maintenance. In most cases, the act is the work of several factors simultaneously.

Concluding Remarks

"Heritage can both stimulate and act as a symbol of political struggle, and how ownership of heritage objects, places and practices might be considered to give their possessors political power. It shows what happens when the World Heritage List and the ideas it perpetuates about heritage come into conflict with alternative views of heritage and its role in the production of national histories and local religious and cultural practices." (Harrison 2009: 154)

Is the World Heritage Convention (WHC), dating from 1972, sufficiently well equipped to deal with the recent conflicts that may arise between local communities and national authorities when it comes to the safeguarding of the WHS in Danger? Regrettably, the WHC and different listings and conventions are not sufficiently strong and effective international tools to assure a better preservation of the world's most impressive heritage sites during and after war. Moreover, heritage is rarely taken into account by adequate post-war reconstruction policies and strategies. Its historic, cultural and identity values are usually neglected and its social and economic principles are not recognized or even understood. Keeping this in mind, we would dare to say that WHS listing is primarily for informational purposes. It actually represents just the first step that can help in further raising awareness of the international community and experts regarding the situation on the ground. Listing can be of assistance in securing funds for its reconstruction, too. That scheme is especially important in cases of heritage damaged during war as well as for the post-war reconstruction. That said, we do not mean solely the physical restoration of monuments and buildings, but also the development of a culture of remembrance, and the use of heritage for the reconciliation processes. When it comes to the monuments that are part of the world heritage, their renovation should be one more motive to be considered for the conflict resolution within local communities. By managing the crisis and by implementing post-conflict strategies, monument reconstruction can normalize

societies through social and economic activities, which define the principle of sustainable development. Moreover, the contribution of past legacies to the local development can be measured not only by the immediate impact on the economy and on employment in several sectors (restoration of buildings, urban regeneration, rural development, cultural activities and tourism), but it can also be measured by the various benefits for the community, such as improvement of image, well-being, a feeling of identity as well as social cohesion.

Despite all the efforts, hopes and aspirations of those groups working towards peace in Kosovo* through cultural understanding and dialogue, the political situation in the region is still complex and Kosovo* remains in an extremely weak state. The lack of political commitment, continuous neglect, vandalism, theft, adverse decisions of municipal bodies, unplanned urban development, limited professional staff, and paying attention to the issue of inter-ethnic balancing of the cultural and religious heritage protection are the main reasons for the current situation. When we talk about monuments on the World Heritage List, it would be expected that they are (due to their great economic potential) in the focus of reconstruction, but this is generally not the case. The Government in Priština did very little in that direction. Non-governmental organizations in the region working on the protection and promotion of cultural heritage have not been dealing with the monuments on the List. Conservation and restoration, as well as other works on the sites are mainly implemented by the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia, and the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) is also taking care of them. However, due to the specific situation on the ground, perhaps the Church's and the Community of Serbian Municipalities' fear of destruction is justified. With the exception of the Dečani monastery, there are no plans for post-war reconstruction and extensive use. Taking care of the heritage of all communities is in the public interest of all citizens in Kosovo*. Preserving cultural heritage is not just about maintaining and increasing, its value it is also necessary to make it available to everybody. That is the only proper way for heritage to become a living part of the community. In the case of Kosovo*, protection and restoration of cultural goods can and needs to play a key role in strengthening inter-ethnic relations, reconciliation and dialogue. By basing social, economic and cultural policies on the human rights and entitlements of all stakeholders, we are empowering the actors involved and contributing to building more peaceful environment.

Therefore, the UNESCO's six-year strategy (Strategy for Reinforcing UNESCO's Action for the Protection of Culture and the Promotion of Cultural Pluralism in the Event of Armed Conflict, 2021) provides two main objectives – to strengthen the ability of Member States to prevent, mitigate, and recover the loss of cultural heritage and diversity as a result of the conflict, the development of institutional and professional capacities for enhanced protection; and to include the protection of culture in humanitarian action, strategy and security of peace-building process by engaging with relevant stakeholders outside the domain of culture. This also means that we have to claim and ensure severe penalties for those who have arrogant attitude towards heritage and that we should become the partners of local decision-makers. With this in mind, even our role in post-war reconstruction needs to be more proactive. Documenting the situation on the ground and making a list of damages with further recommendations is necessary, but it is not nearly enough. We have to be certain that proposed ideas will be taken into account and implemented at the right moment. Moreover, we need to be present there and be dynamically involved in educating, raising consciousness and advocating the importance of heritage to humanity and each of its individuals.

If admission to the World Heritage List means just that – a dead letter – and if it does not encourage professionals and the community as a whole to preserve our inheritance, to develop it and use it in accordance with modern trends in society and current ideas about the protection of heritage, then professor Gavrilović was right. However, we want to believe that the inscription on the List is a (necessary) first step towards raising awareness of the existence of our common heritage. With the proper care, use and presentation, its importance for the development of mankind becomes even greater. In that sense, even the influence of the contemporary post-war reconstruction ideas is possible and helps us to create the heritage that we proudly guard, develop and live with.

Endnotes

[1] This label does not prejudge the status of Kosovo and is in accordance with Resolution 1244 and the opinion of the ICJ on Kosovo's declaration of independence.

[2] The term 'World Heritage' refers to the specific places (such as a forest, mountain ranges, lakes, deserts, buildings, architectural complexes or cities) which are inscribed on the World Heritage List and managed by the World Heritage Committee. The idea of the program is to make a list in one place, to collect, protect and preserve the sites of exceptional cultural or natural importance as a unique heritage of humanity. The program was established by the Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 16 November 1972. This Convention is just one of the several UNESCO conventions that deal with cultural heritage. There are also The Hague Convention, adopted in 1954, followed by the Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property in 1970. The recent are Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005). Among the ratified international conventions are also the Council of Europe's European Cultural Convention (1954), the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1985), the European Convention on the protection of the archaeological heritage (1992), the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the value of cultural heritage for society (2005) etc.

[3] More on this issue in: UNESCO 2010.

[4] More on this issue: Hambrey Consulting 2007. Also see: PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP 2007.

[5] From the huge number of monuments that suffer every year from the consequences of negligence, lack of money, natural disasters etc. there are 55 properties which the World Heritage Committee has decided to include on the List of World Heritage in Danger, in accordance with Article 11 (4) of the Convention. This article says: *"The Committee shall establish, keep up to date and publish, whenever circumstances shall so require, under the title of 'List of World Heri-tage in Danger', a list of the property appearing in the World Heritage List for the conservation of which major operations are necessary and for which assistance has been requested under this Convention. This list shall contain an estimate of the cost of such operations. The list may include only such property forming part of the cultural and natural heritage as is threatened by serious and specific dangers, such as the threat of disappearance caused by accelerated deterioration, large- scale public or private projects or rapid urban or tourist development projects; destruction caused by changes in the use or ownership of the land; major alterations due to unknown causes; abandonment for any reason whatsoever; the outbreak or the threat of an armed conflict; calamities and cataclysms; serious fires, earthquakes, landslides; volcanic eruptions; changes in water level, floods and tidal waves. The Committee may at any time, in case of urgent need, make a new entry in the List of World Heritage in Danger and publicize such entry immediately."* More on the issue: http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/#Article11.4 (accessed 11. Aug. 2016).

[6] E.g., through the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity, 2 November 2001.

[7] See: Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), UN General Assembly of the United Nations 217 A (III), 10 December 1948. See also: Article 15, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), UN General Assembly United Nations 2200A (XXI), 16 December 1966, entry into force 3 January 1976.

[8] More information from: Mamula (n.d.).

[9] More information available from the official Website of the Kosovo Government: http://www.mkrs-ks.org/?page=3,10 (accessed 10 Nov. 2016).

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PROCESSES AND PEOPLE

Johanne Bouchard

Living Heritage

Cultural Rights as Tools to Apprehend and Comprehend Cultural Heritage from its Human Perspective

Abstract

In post conflict recovery, countries frequently need to address the intentional destruction of tangible and intangible cultural heritage suffered during the conflict period, as well as strengthen relevant protective regimes. Such targeted destruction can have devastating consequences on human rights and on people's capacity of resilience and agency to establish and maintain peaceful and democratic societies. The aim of such destruction, whether it is declared or not, is often to eradicate parts or the totality of the memory, identity and existence of the 'other'. Several million people and innumerable communities, particularly minority communities, have been affected over time by this violation of fundamental cultural rights. For many of them, the post-conflict recovery period has focused mainly on other human rights and dedicated too little attention to the cultural aspect , especially their human right to take part in cultural life , understood as including issues of access, engagement and contribution to cultural heritage.

This paper analyses how a human rights approach that focuses on cultural rights can be an operative tools to foster participation of various stakeholders and loci of accountability and interaction in post- conflict recovery in the field of cultural heritage. A human rights approach in this context, often including intentional destruction of cultural heritage, has the potential to strengthen a society's legitimacy and stability, as well as advance social justice and peacebuilding.

In order to do so, the paper reviews the state of the human rights discourse at the United Nations and UNESCO concerning cultural heritage in general and the threat to cultural heritage in times of conflict in particular. An important aspect of such an approach is the participation of concerned people in pertinent decision-making and processes, taking into consideration the power struggles that may exist between and within each group and the specific needs of vulnerable communities. But a cultural rights approach to heritage has an important impact on the conception of what is considered heritage, reconciling their tangible and intangible dimensions into 'living heritage'. The presentation will therefore also extend the analysis of post-conflict recovery in the field of cultural heritage to examine the conditions necessary to promote an human rights approach that includes not only reconstruction and rehabilitation of damaged heritage sites and assets but to also address the damages inflicted on living traditions and significations .

Keywords:
Human rights, Cultural rights, Living heritage, Participation, Identity.

The field of cultural heritage is a complex one. To understand and address all the challenges it raises, interdisciplinarity is essential. However, as each discipline has a specific focus, making them work together and ensuring coherence in the policies and measures taken is often an additional challenge. A human rights approach has the advantage of identifying fundamental values and rights that can provide guidance and common orientations for the diversity of actors and disciplines involved in the field.

In recent years, with the increased work on cultural rights, the international human rights system has dedicated more attention to the question of heritage and integrated it as a human rights issue. This paper will draw from the latest developments to sketch what a human rights approach to heritage in general implies and what it can bring to post-conflict recovery situations more specifically.

Context and issues at stake

In post-conflict recovery, societies frequently need to address the intentional destruction of cultural heritage suffered during the conflict period, as well as strengthen relevant protective regimes. Targeted destructions, whether it is declared or not, often aim at eradicating parts or the totality of the memory, identity and existence of the 'other', at hurting symbolically people who refer to this heritage. This can have devastating consequences on human rights and on people's capacity of resilience and agency to re-establish and maintain peaceful and democratic societies.

Definitions of key terms:
'culture' – 'cultural heritage'
This is the fundamental strength of cultural goods and heritage, which makes them a target. To show the relationship with a human rights approach and to cultural rights more specifically, it is important to have in mind the definitions of some key terms that structure the field, namely what is intended under 'culture', 'cultural goods' and 'cultural heritage'.
The most common used definition of culture was adopted in the 1982 Mexico City Declaration on cultural policies. It states that "[…] culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs." (UNESCO 1982: preamble). It is a broad, 'anthropological' definition.
For this definition to be human rights compatible and more operational, a group of international experts called 'group of Fribourg' slightly modified it in their 2007 Declaration of Fribourg on cultural rights to put individual persons as acting subjects at its core.

"*The term 'culture' covers those values, beliefs, convictions, languages, knowledge and the arts, traditions, institutions and ways of life* ***through which a person or a group*** *expresses their humanity and the meaning they give to their existence and to their development*"
(Fribourg Group 2007 [Declaration of Fribourg]: art. 2 a – emphasis from the author).

This definition coherently integrates the elements provided by UNESCO in the 2001 *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* to describe cultural goods and services as "vectors of identity, values and meaning" (UNESCO 2001: art.8). For international human rights law, cultural heritage is part of those cultural resources. It also integrates the definition of cultural heritage elaborated in the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005), stating that: "[…] cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past **which people identify**, independently of ownership, **as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions**." (Council of Europe 2005: art.2 – emphasis from the author)

In 2009, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights[1] integrated these developments in its General Comment No. 21 on the right of everyone to take part in cultural life, saying that "[…] the concept of culture must be seen not as a series of isolated manifestations or hermetic compartments, but **as an interactive process** whereby individuals and communities, while preserving their specificities and purposes, give expression to the culture of humanity".[2] Heritage is a process, more than a static result, in which form and meaning are inseparable.
On the basis of the above, we can define heritage as a series of fundamental resources – memory, values, knowledge, identity, meanings, beliefs, language – translated in a diversity of forms of expressions – places, communities, things, sounds, representations, practices, institutions – that link the past, the present and the future, and which people want to maintain alive, develop and transmit.[3] This is what is at stake. This is why heritage in all its forms is important and why it is under attack in times of conflict or tensions.

Cultural rights as understood
in international human rights law
Through the interpretation of the right to take part in cultural life, General Comment no. 21 maps the range of issues that can be understood as belonging to cultural rights and provides an important basis for the work of the UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights.[4] Throughout her mandate, the first expert, Farida Shaheed, defined cultural rights as protecting:

"[…] *the rights of each person, individually and in community with others, as well as groups of people, to develop and express their humanity, their world view and the meanings they assign to human existence and development through, inter alia, values, beliefs, convictions, languages, knowledge and the arts, institutions and ways of life. They also protect access to tangible and intangible cultural heritage as important resources enabling such identification and development processes.*
Cultural rights encompass a broad range of issues, including self-expression and creation; information and communication; language; identity and simultaneous belonging to multiple, diverse and changing communities; the pursuit of specific ways of life; education and training; taking part in cultural life, and the conduct of cultural practices."
(UN A/HRC/14/36: para.9, and UN A/67/287: para.7)

Several million people and innumerable communities, particularly minority communities, have been affected over time by violations of their fundamental cultural rights. For many of them, the post-conflict recovery period has mainly focused on other human rights and dedicated too little attention to this aspect, especially their human right to take part in cultural life, understood as including issues of access, engagement in and contribution to cultural heritage.

The change of paradigm that a human rights approach implies

Approaching the field of heritage with a human rights perspective has many implications, as it changes the focus on the object considered and places the emphasis on people and processes. The following pages will first present four main features of a human rights' approach[5] and then discuss how these change our way of apprehending heritage and the implications of their implementation on designing policies and programmes related to this field.

Needs vs capacities

The first important feature to consider is that a human rights approach does not merely respond to a need or address a lack of something by bringing resources from outside. Even if needs are fundamental, responding to them in this manner is not sufficient. A human rights approach rather focuses on *enhancing each person's capacity to be an actor* towards their legitimate and fundamental needs, their capacity to freely choose and act according to their values. It concentrates on ensuring the conditions that will reinforce and connect the resources that are already present.

The aim of the right to food, for example, is not to take in a certain amount of calories so the body can function correctly: this is the aim of the *need* for food. The aim of the *right* to food is for each person to be in the capacity to feed oneself and others with dignity, in accordance with what is important to them. This shift in perspectives changes the measures one puts in place to respond to a food crisis or even to organize a market-place, by placing the focus on the enabling conditions that need to exist for people to exercise their rights in a meaningful and sustainable manner.

Individual vs collective

A human rights approach affirms that each person counts and is accountable. It places the persons at the centre of all decisions and actions, as a guarantee of respect for their individual dignity and of engagement of their responsibility. Discrimination on whatever ground is therefore not acceptable.

However, it also recognises that each person is not an isolated individual, but develops and maintains relationships – with others, with things, with institutions and landscapes. The approach therefore affirms that the subject of human rights is always each person, but that their exercise is invariably linked to others.

Indivisibility and interdependency of rights vs social complexity

Because universal human rights are indivisible and interdependent,[6] a human rights approach cannot consider only certain rights and ignore the context. It has to consider social complexity, which implies the need to conduct an evaluation of the impacts that decisions and actions will have on all human rights and on everyone's capacity to enjoy them.

It has been a long standing principle that "one cannot invoke the exercise of a right to infringe upon other human rights recognized in international law" (United Nations 1948: art. 30), just as one cannot invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon human rights, nor to limit their scope.[7] Even with the best intentions in mind.

Participation and accountability

The fourth important feature derives from a legal approach and focuses on rights holders and duty bearers. Both need to be identified clearly because there is an obligation of accountability. It is the right holders' capacity to exercise their rights, alone and in community with others, within their respective and complex environments, that is at stake. So the duty bearers, and especially States as parties to international human rights instruments, have the obligation to respect these rights and to protect, develop and ensure the conditions enabling their exercise.

In the field of culture, States need to ensure through public policies the conditions for everyone to continuously create culture, for their informed and meaningful participation in all the questions that concerns them. This is what guarantees the legiti-macy of public policies and the sustainability of the process.

Heritage through the perspective of cultural rights

The question is now to understand how these four features apply to the field of heritage and what they imply in terms of its governance.

The UN special procedure's mandate in the field of cultural rights dedicated one of its first thematic reports to the access and enjoyment of cultural heritage , and continued to address this issue throughout its work; namely when considering the cultural rights of women, access to the benefits of scientific progress and its applications, history textbooks and memorialization processes, the implications of copyright policies and patent policies for the human right to science and culture and, intentional destruction of cultural heritage.[9] The framework of this paper does not go into the details of each of these reports, but rather draws from them the main implications concerning the features of a human rights approach mentioned above.

Needs vs capacities: the capacities to choose and express one's identity

It is mentioned in their definition that cultural rights protect access to tangible and intangible cultural heritage as important resources enabling identification and development processes. In ac-

cordance with the first feature of a human rights approach, the Special Rapporteur repeatedly emphasized that the mandate is about protecting the rights of people, and not about protecting cultural heritage cultural heritage per se.
The rights and capacities at stake are those

- To express and develop one's cultural identity, which implies the right
- To access and enjoy cultural heritage in its diversity, in order to be able to choose, and
- To participate in the identification, interpretation and development of cultural heritage and in the formulation of the contents and contours of cultural identity.

Each person makes his/her identity by referring to multiple resources and heritage. Some of these are shared with a certain group, like a family heritage; some, with another group, like the knowledge of a professional community. Cultural rights protect this freedom to build one's identity by referring to different cultural resources and heritage and not to be forced to identify in terms of a singular aspect of one's identity, such as being of a particular ethnic, religious or linguistic background. It also protects the freedom to express one's identity, with all its different and complex references.
In the physical sense, access[10] to and enjoyment of cultural heritage will imply access to cultural infrastructures, sites and institutions. This raises questions regarding the freedom of movement, but also social norms and prohibition that may exist to access certain sites or assets for certain people.[11] This is true for women, but it also questions the capacity of persons living in extreme poverty (financial and symbolic access) or with disabilities to freely access heritage. Access also concerns the right to know and understand cultural heritage in order to enjoy it. Is the knowledge made available through education and information about the codes? Who teaches and transmits this knowledge? Who is allowed to practice, for example a ritual or play a certain instrument?
Accordingly, the article of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, according to which access should be ensured "[…] while respecting customary practices governing access to specific aspects of such heritage" (UNESCO 2003: art.13 (d) (ii)), cannot be interpreted as permitting gender-based or any other type of discrimination. Whereas distinctions may be legitimate, they should not lead to indirect or structural discrimination (UN A/HRC/17/38: para.63 and 76).
Access also encompasses the right to freely engage with people and to benefit from ideas, events and information beyond those of one's own community(ies), regardless of frontiers and without fear of punitive actions, including from non-State actors (UN A/67/287: para.30). This is where cultural diversity is particularly important, to ensure the right to access and enjoy not only the cultural heritage of one's group, but also that of others.

Individual vs collective:
reviewing the role of heritage communities
Cultural rights are not limited to 'access' – this would be the aim of the need for heritage. They also imply the capacity to be a subject and an actor, to choose to refer more or less strongly, to act, to develop meaning and to transmit it. The right to actively participate in the identification, interpretation and development of cultural heritage is fundamental in this sense.
It includes participation in deciding which cultural traditions, values or practices are to be kept, reoriented, revised, (re)negotiated, modified or discarded. It also protects the freedom to join and leave any given cultural community and be associated with different communities simultaneously,[12] and the freedom to create new communities of shared cultural values around any markers of identity. This is the dynamic, the 'process' that is intended in the definition of heritage.
Participation in cultural heritage is an universal right that needs to be respected for everyone. Even women. Even persons with diverging opinions. Essentializing culture, making it static and immutable diverts attention from specific actors, institutions, rules and regulations that keep certain persons or groups of persons subordinated within patriarchal systems and dominant structures. A human rights approach reminds us that power relations exist within communities and may create discrimination and exclusions.
This is particularly important when considering memorialization processes in post-conflict recovery. Shared heritage resources are important because they express the identity and history of a place and people, continuity from past to future. However, preserving the existence and cohesion of a specific cultural community, national or subnational, through memorialization processes should not be achieved to the detriment of part of this community or through the exclusion of the memory of others. Access to, enjoyment of, and participation in cultural heritage remain individual rights, exercised alone or with a community of one's choice.

Indivisibility and interdependency vs social complexity: reconciling 'tangible' and 'intangible'
From a cultural rights perspective, what makes cultural heritage important as a resource for identification and development processes is the meaning, values and identity it carries for persons who refer to it, individually or collectively. Therefore, the distinction established between 'tangible' and 'intangible' cultural heritage, especially in UNESCO instruments, needs to be reconsidered. Cultural rights strongly reunite these two forms of heritage by reminding us that:

- what makes a monument, temple or site heritage is the meaning it carries, the values and history of humanity it testifies to and that people still want to preserve and transmit;
- what makes it possible to preserve and transmit values, meanings, a sense of belonging to a certain space or community are the many supports and expressions, incarnated in people, music, but also knowledge on how to use objects, instruments and places.

Without the meaning it carries, 'tangible' heritage is just an object; without its incarnation in people and things, 'intangible' heritage cannot be appropriated and transmitted. In order to respect, protect and implement the rights related to cultural heritage, the form cannot be separated from the meaning and both have to be considered together. It is impossible to adequately rebuild a site without the meanings and knowledge relating to it, be it that of an architect, an art historian or a craftsman. So if it is legitimate for operative purposes to differentiate the disciplines involved and the methods used to ensure access, protection and transmission of different forms of heritage, the complexity remains the same. The values and meanings and the people carrying the knowledge about them are essential to maintain heritage alive.
This shifts the perspective and raises questions about the human rights adequacy of all the protection and conservations measures that have been designed around solely 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage assets.

Participation and accountability: continuous interactions for dynamic, living heritage
One example often discussed of inadequacy with human rights is the identification and nomination processes for the World heritage list. In certain instances, the non inclusion of concerned people has lead to a low level of social participation into the heritage management and its transmission. This in turn led to it losing its significance as a living resource people identify with, and preventing its dynamic. Participation is essential to maintain cultural heritage alive. The risk is to empty heritage resources of their meaning, making them static and reducing them to mere objects – which is the opposite of respect, protection or transmission.
The other risk that may arise when not respecting the rights of concerned people to participate in what they consider their heritage is tension or conflict. Because of their sensitive and meaningful status, mismanagement of heritage can lead to confrontations between conservation authorities or those in decision-making positions and the heritage communities. This has occurred for sites, but also in cases of cultural assets. Many of these assets are today stored or displayed in cultural institutions (such as museums, libraries and archives) without the participation or consent of the concerned communities, and/or in a manner that does not respect the significance and interpretation they give to such heritage. These are difficult questions that require reconsideration in the light of cultural rights. Similar issues concern calls for repatriation of objects and even wishes expressed by the concerned groups to destroy certain heritage assets to respect their usage (UN A/HRC/17/38: para.16). During and after a conflict, it also raises questions about the management and decisions concerning assets removed from conflict areas by third parties for their protection.
Finally, since heritage is a living resource, it should be open to constant interpretation and re-interpretation. This becomes particularly delicate when handling questions of memorialization and transmission of historical narratives. The challenge is to distinguish the legitimate continuous reinterpretation of the past – as well as the values, traditions and practices inherited from this past – from manipulations for political ends.[13] When considering these questions, the Special Rapporteur recommended fostering multiple perspectives and narratives, to show the internal diversity of each heritage – how rich they are - and as recognition of the human dignity these represent for concerned persons.[14]
The new paradigm resulting from a human rights approach to heritage and the obligation to be accountable for everyone's cultural rights, unachievable without their freedom to choose and actively take part in cultural life, requires the review of existing governance practices in the field of heritage to re-evaluate participation of concerned people as the source of their legitimacy. It is also a way to ensure culturally vibrant and diverse societies. This is as true in time of peace, to prevent destructions linked to development projects or neglect, as it is following a natural disaster or during an armed conflict.

Specific questions and concerns during post-conflict recovery
Considering that heritage will have been targeted during conflict in order to hurt, humiliate, negate or destroy the traces of the existence of groups of people, post-conflict recovery needs to dedicate specific attention to the questions raised above. Cultural rights can be particularly empowering to overcome the damage inflicted to people through their heritage. Having in mind the singularity and complexity of each situation, a human rights approach does not provide a finalized tool kit, but rather a method to ask the right questions that will orient the actions. The challenge is to ensure that heritage will contribute to rebuilding peace and trust in the society, and not to creating, encouraging or maintaining tensions and mistrust.
The first set of questions one should have in mind relates to the identification of the persons concerned. This includes asking who defines what cultural heritage is and what should be protected and conserved. If this question was not asked before a

conflict, it should definitely be asked before taking any action post-conflict. In particular when considering destroyed cultural heritage, the place and legitimacy of experts or foreign persons in the process should be carefully considered. Even with the best of intentions, who has the right to restore or rebuild, and in the name of who? This cannot be done without asking who the concerned persons are, those who refer to this heritage and what it means to them. Further questions will need to consider those actively taking part in the decision making process, and those absent or excluded from it. Considering power relations or interests at play, it is important to carefully evaluate who is entitled to speak on behalf of a group or community to avoid instrumentalisation for political purposes.

A second set of questions concerns possible impacts on other rights and implies conducting a human rights assessment of any heritage conservation or restoration programme prior to any actions: have differences about meaning of heritage been considered within or between communities? Is one narrative or interpretation so dominant it excludes others? This is particularly important when considering persons who fled a conflict and may want to return: How will the decisions or actions around heritage impact these persons? Will it encourage their return, or rather send them the message that they are not welcome anymore? As they may be cut off from the resources of their heritage for a longer period, what are the impacts this may have on their ability to transmit them to the next generation as well as on all their other human rights?

A third set of questions concerns the enabling conditions to foster and maintain meaningful participation and diversity of narratives. Are the people themselves empowered, or are the heritage programmes confined to preservation/safeguarding and dissociating people from their heritage? This implies giving particular attention to the many ways, spaces and times when the people concerned are able to contribute to the process, take part in decision-making and on which aspects. It also implies creating or maintaining spaces of debate where eventual conflicting interpretations about the significance of cultural heritage can exist, and designing methods of presentation of cultural heritage that respect the diversity of interpretations.

A last set of important questions concerns how the actions will foster social hospitality and peaceful interactions. As stated above, the first concerns needs to be whether peace-building processes have dedicated enough attention to the recognition and repair of the symbolic meaning of destroyed heritage. In restoration or rebuilding actions, the intention of letting communities express their identities and enjoy their cultural heritage should also make sure to not head towards a situation in which people create separate, hermetically sealed worlds, mutually exclusive of the identities of others. The information and education processes allowing access to heritage, one's own and that of others, should also be considered, to make sure that the heritage of others is not presented in a stereotypical manner and that all is done to promote intercultural dialogue regarding cultural heritage.

Elements of conclusion

International law started to develop norms to protect cultural heritage as a consequence of massive intentional destructions that happened during conflict.[15] Over the last 60 years, consciousness about the importance of cultural heritage has grown to integrate protection also in times of peace and to be considered as one of the resources of our common humanity.[16] Gradually, international law also recognized a more important role to persons and communities, moving from a preservation approach to one that links the value of heritage to the meaning people grant it.

Finally, over the last seven years, heritage has become a matter of human rights and dignity. This year's reports from the SR in the field of cultural rights are dedicated to the intentional destruction of cultural heritage (UN A/HRC/31/59 and A/71/317 – both from 2016) and link international humanitarian law and law pertaining to human rights during armed conflict, just as UNESCO explicitly is, in its new 'Strategy for Reinforcing UNESCO's Action for the Protection of Culture and the Promotion of Cultural Pluralism in the Event of Armed Conflict', which integrates human rights and respect for cultural rights as guiding orientations and aims of actions.[17]

However, much still needs to be done before we can speak of an integrated human rights approach to the field of cultural heritage. Many of the questions raised in this paper remain without definite answer. Not because human rights are not operational, but because an approach that respects, protects and implements them is demanding and requires constant adaptation to the context and the people concerned. But even so, or precisely because of this, a human rights approach points in the right direction.

While recognizing the urgency and necessity of acting in a number of territories today, too much is at stake in terms of cultural rights and human dignity not to give these questions the time and attention they deserve. And because each of these situations will have its own complexity, all the creativity, intelligence and experience of heritage professionals from the many concerned disciplines will be needed to invent appropriate, human rights based approaches that will help restore the capacities of persons, their human dignity and the conditions to enable them to create, develop and transmit values through heritage, for themselves, for all humanity and for generations to come.

Endnotes

[1] Committee of experts created by the United Nations to monitor the implementation by States parties of the 1966 *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. The Committee is also legitimate to elaborate interpretation of the various articles of the Covenant, which are called 'General Comments'.

[2] UN E/C.12/GC/21: para.12, emphasis from the author. This document integrates many of the works done on the thematic so far, including all the rights presented in the *Declaration of Fribourg on Cultural Rights*.

[3] Reformulation from the author on the basis of UN A/HRC/17/38: paras.5–6.

[4] Reformulation from the author on the basis of UN A/HRC/17/38, : paras.5-6. The expert mandate was created in 2009 by Human Rights' Council resolution 10/23. The current mandate holder is Karima Bennoune (USA); from its creation until 2015, the mandate holder was Farida Shaheed (Pakistan). More information about the mandate and its thematic work can be found on www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/CulturalRights/Pages/SRCulturalRightsIndex.aspx (accessed 28 Feb. 2017).

[5] The main features of human rights approaches are discussed in Meyer-Bisch et al. (2016).

[6] These two characteristics, together with universality, were expressed in the 1992 *Vienne Declaration and programme of action* and have been since reaffirmed in all major international human rights instruments since.

[7] UNESCO 2001 (*Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*): art. 4; UN HRC Res 10/23: para. 4.

[8] Report UN A/HRC/17/38 from 2011, presented to the Human Rights Council.

[9] In order of mention: the cultural rights of women, UN A/67/287, (2012); the right to benefit from scientific progress and its applications, UN A/HRC/20/26, (2012); the writing and teaching of history, UN A/68/296, (2013); memorialization processes, UN A/HRC/25/49, (2014); copyrights and cultural rights, UN A/HRC/28/57, (2014); the impacts of patent policies on the right to culture and science, UN A/70/279, (2015); intentional destructions of cultural heritage, UN A/HRC/31/59 and UN A/71/317. The 4 dimensions mentioned by the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural are physical access, economic access, information access and decision-making and monitoring access, UN A/HRC/17/38: para. 60.

[10] According to the 2014 UNESCO report on *Gender equality, heritage and creativity*, nearly all heritage sites such as those listed on the UNESCO list of World heritage, are gendered, including for example segregated entrances to buildings, different places assigned to men and women in religious monuments or sacred natural spaces – see UNESCO 2014.

[11] As stated by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, "no one shall be discriminated against because he or she chooses to belong, or not to belong, to a given cultural community or group, or to practise or not to practise a particular cultural activity", UN E/C.12/GC/21: para. 22.

[12] Adapted from UN A/68/296: para. 7.

[13] See in particular UN A/68/296: para. 7, 52 and 86, as well as UN A/HRC/25/49: para. 74, 76 and 105.

[14] The first stand-alone instrument is the 1954 *Hague Convention on for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*. Previous to this date, prohibition to target cultural properties and some obligation to protect it could be found in specific dispositions of existing instruments.

[15] In particular with the various UNESCO instruments, the most prominent being the 1972 UNESCO *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, which gave way to the listing of world heritage sites.

[16] UNESCO, 17 August 2015, 197 EX/10.

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Obafemi A.P. Olukoya

World Heritage Sites and Armed Conflicts

A Case of Sukur Cultural Landscape and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria

Abstract

Deliberate aggression and cataclysm against cultural heritage sites/properties in times of war or armed conflict is without a doubt, an age long phenomenon. This assault on heritage seems to be getting more aggravated and it is perpetuated in various dimensions, under different umbrages with the different global precincts experiencing its concomitant pillage. Against such a background, this descriptive paper makes a case of the Nigerian experience of aggression against the United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) World Heritage Site by the Boko Haram insurgent group. The canonical argumentation of this paper stems from the fact that the case at hand – Boko Haram insurgency and Sukur Cultural landscape – has not received comparative attention in research vis-à-vis the mainstream media.
To achieve its main argument, this study is organised into three parts. Firstly, this paper attempts to move beyond the existing blanket assertions on the discourse of Boko Haram insurgency by positing an academic theory to interrogate and analyse the emergence of the insurgent group in Northern Nigeria. Secondly, this paper frames the activities of the insurgents in Nigeria and discusses the attack on Sukur Cultural Landscape. Thirdly, this paper posits an argument as to why the insurgents attacked this particular World Heritage Site. Conclusively, the paper discusses the methodologies as used by the State Party – Nigeria – in synergy with the local community to ensure recovery of the World Heritage Site and reiterates that such approaches can be adopted by countries under similar scales of insurgency.

Keywords:
Armed Conflict, World Heritage Sites, Boko Haram Insurgency, Sukur Cultural Landscape, Criteria for Recovery.

The destruction of cultural heritage site/property in times of conflict – even during intervals of relative peace – is an age long phenomenon. It has been a functional component of humankind's historical process. It is simply a perverse means by which new rulers affirm and establish their own ideologies, without tangible and intangible perturbation by the experiences of the past that created identity (Albert 2002). Invigoratingly, classical authors allude how Persepolis was burnt in 330 BC by Alexander. Also, during the Middle Ages, the disastrous effects of the Mongols on the cultural heritage in several precincts of the Central Asia and the Middle East have been well-documented (Chinwe 2015). However, the philistinic absurdities against cultural heritage which represent collective memories and identity of a people seem to be an aggravated global phenomenon in recent times, with different parts of the world experiencing their own shares of such atavism, in various degrees and dimensions.
In such context, Nigeria as a sovereign entity is no tabula rasa to this overarching phenomenon. Nigeria is one of the African nations which gained independence in 1960. Throughout her national history – pre/post-colonial context – Nigeria has experienced the deliberate destruction of her cul-

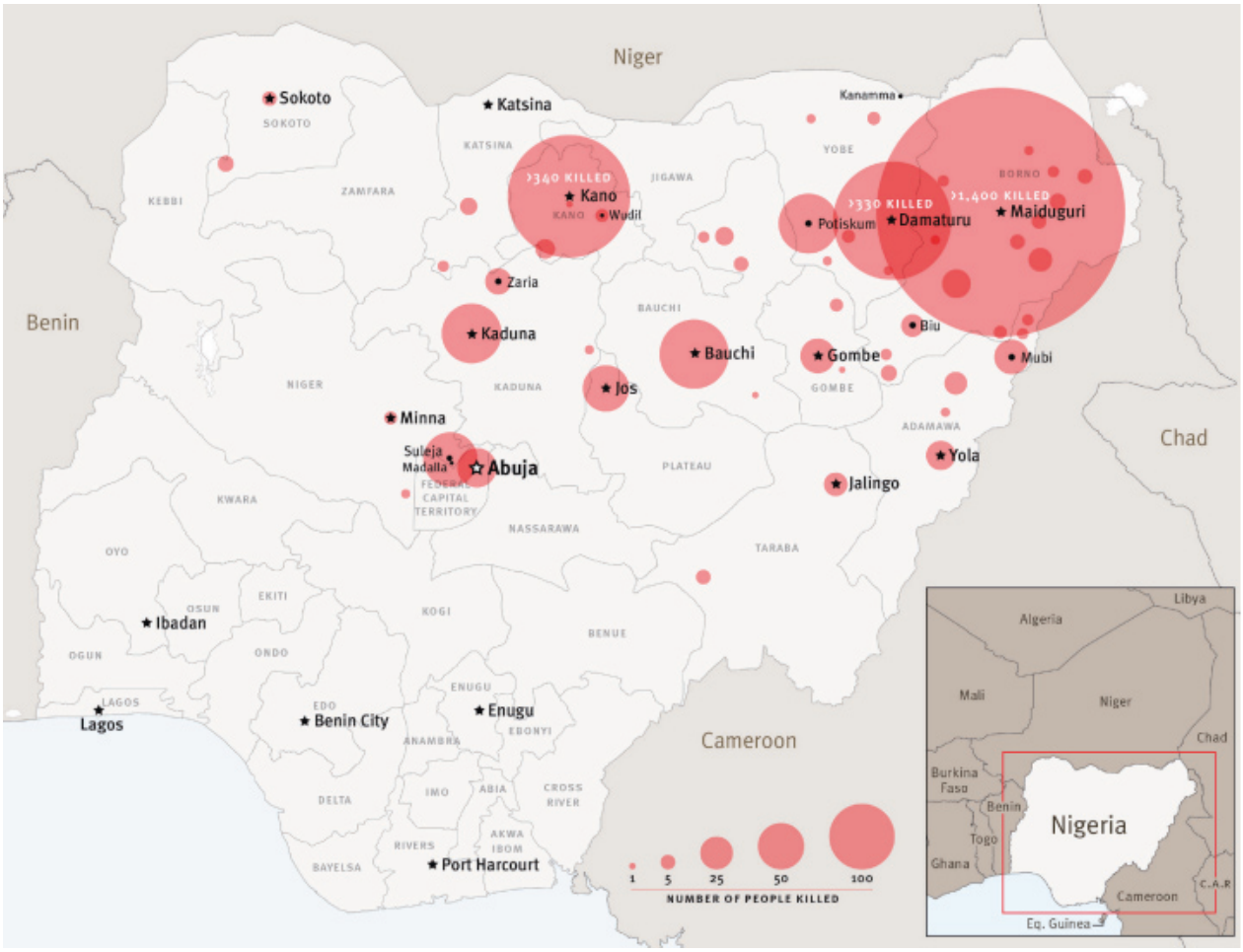

Fig. 1: Map of Nigeria indicating the concentration of Boko Haram attacks (John Emerson/Human Rights Watch).

tural heritage under different umbrages, mould and dimensions, ranging from supposed peace times to war periods (Chinwe 2015). The most recent of such destruction to cultural heritage within the Nigeria national space today is perpetuated by a radical Islamic group – Boko Haram. These insurgents who have already destroyed numerous local heritage sites and killed thousands of people with careless abandon, with the intent of propagating their perverse philosophies, launched a carefully orchestrated attack on Sukur Cultural Landscape – a UNESCO World Heritage Site – which is located at the heart of their pillage in Northern Nigeria. Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to attempt to provide a theoretical perspective to understanding how this insurgent group emerged and why they attacked this site. The paper argues that in spite of the fundamental creed palpable in the Hague convention (UNESCO, 1954) "[….] being convinced that damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world", the attack on this Nigerian World Heritage Site has not received comparative attention in contemporary research and has been largely absent from mainstream media. Therefore, this descriptive paper attempts to fill the void which exists on the case of Boko Haram and Sukur Cultural Landscape and discusses the recovery procedure used by the State Party. This paper concludes by positing a recommendation for preventing the occurrence of such events in the near future.

Boko Haram Insurgency: A Synopsis

Boko Haram is a radical Islamic group whose tentacles of operation is basically centred in six States in Northern Nigeria. Literarily, the word 'Boko Haram' is taken from the Hausa lexicon and it translates as 'Western education is a sin' (Loimeier 2012; Chothia 2012). The Islamic tie of the group is made evident by their creed – 'Jama'atu Ahhus Sunnah Lid Da'await Wah Jihad', which in Arabic means 'people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teachings and Jihad' (Babalola,

2013; Anonymous 2016). The group shares its fundamental creed with the likes of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), al-Qaeda and other radical Islamic insurgencies by propagating Salafist-ideology – an affinity for violence against non-Muslims and Muslims alike, and a desire to establish a global caliphate centred on Sunni Islam (Christopher 2014).

However, there are diverse positions regarding the exact date of emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria. While several articles have alluded that the radical Islamic group emerged in 2002 (Pate 2015; Christopher 2014; Babalola 2013), others opined that it dated back to the 1990's (Awodola & Ayuba 2015; Suleiman & Karim 2015). However, while there are multiple dimensions to the precise emergence of the insurgency, the year the Nigerian Government launched a military aggression against the radical group was in April 2009 (Kristensen 2016) and thus marks the turning point in the discourse of Boko Haram insurgency. 2009 also witnessed the apprehension and summary execution of the cleric leader of the group – Mohammad Yusuf.[1] The execution of Yusuf was preceded by a series of suicide bombings, which targets churches, Mosques, Governmental Institutions, Nigerian Police and Federal Military, women and children alike. Over the period of seven years (2009-2016), the Boko Haram insurgency has displaced over 2.8 million Nigerian people and killed over 15,000 people (Blanchard, 2014: 1) (see fig. 1). Given this outlook, this paper attempts to provide in the following, a theoretical perspective to the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria. The purpose of this is to understand the activities of the group and why they eventually attacked Sukur Cultural Landscape.

Theorizing Boko Haram Insurgency

Generally, insurgency – both as a concept and as a phenomenon – is an encyclopaedic compendium which requires some critical reflection and analysis. Literarily, however, the United State Counter-Insurgency Initiative (2009: 2, 9) defined insurgency as:

"the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political control of a region. [….] Insurgents seek to subvert or displace the government and completely or partially control the resources and population of a given territory."

The place of scientific research in the discourse of insurgency, therefore, cannot be substituted or relegated to a secondary role. In that vein, over the last few decades, diverse materialist, cultural and biological positions have been posited as theoretical perspectives to understanding armed conflicts. This paper adopts a materialist theoretical perspective as a lens for the analysis of the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency. The reason for choosing a materialist approach is motivated by a careful investigation of the nature of available diachronic and synchronic data from the environmental and cultural behaviour of the plebs in the Northern region of Nigeria. In that context, cultural and biological perspectives cannot necessarily provide the kind of analysis needed. Therefore, amidst the numerous dimensions of materialist theoretical perspectives which exist in research, this paper adopts the tenets of ecological anthropology to attain its imperatives.

Ecological Anthropology Perspective: The Basic Premises

In concise words, ecological anthropology provides a materialist explanation of human society and culture as products of adaptation to given environmental conditions (Seymour 1986). Also, it primarily entails the discussion of the reciprocal relations that exists between people and their immediate environment (Salzman et al. 1996). The approach in ecological anthropology argues that human behaviour is a function of its environment (Nettings, 1996). It explains that human populations constantly have an exchange and subsequently, an impact upon the land, climate, plant, and animal species within their proximities. Consequently, these elements of their environment have reciprocal impacts on humans (see figure 2). Therefore, ecological anthropology addresses the ways that a population shapes its environment and how these manners of relation form the population's social, economic, and political life.

Ecological anthropology as a theoretical perspective owes its narrative to a couple of reactionary stages through classical to contemporary research. The term 'stage' in this context means group of works which shares theoretical perspective, mode of explanation and research questions. Hence, the evolution of ecological anthropology was basically in three stages. The first stage was characterised by the works of the foremost Protagonists of Materialism in Anthropology namely Julian Stewards and Leslie White (Hatch 1973). The second stage was reactionary to the tenets of these two scholars. It was a school of thought which championed a movement called Neoevolutionism and Neofunctionalism (Orlove 1980). This stage is characterised by the influence of theorists like Marvin Harris, Rappaport Roy, Vayda Andrews and Netting Roberts. The third stage is characterised by the concepts of a movement called the processual ecological anthropology, which was a widely accepted theory from the late 1970s (Orlove 1980). To validate the aims of this paper therefore, Julian Steward materialist theory of cultural ecology is adopted to analyse the emergence of Boko Insurgency and their modus operandi. The reason for choosing Julian Steward's perception is due to the suitability and applicability of his methodology to the case at hand. His methods fit perfectly into analysing a localised situation, while the other

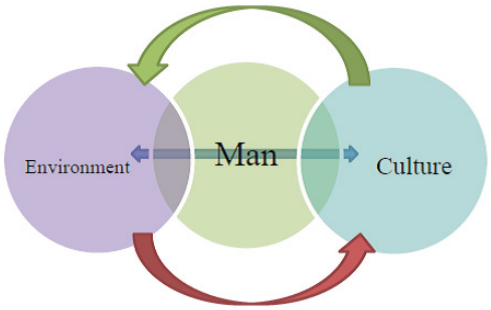

Fig. 2: A Venn diagram showing the interdependent and reciprocal relationship between man, culture and the environment (Author, 2017).

school of thoughts of ecological anthropology acknowledges the impacts of multiple factors, and therefore, the conception can no longer fit into analysing a localised situation.

Boko Haram –
ISM from a Cultural Ecological Perspective

Generally, Julian Steward is the proponent of cultural ecology who advocates multilinear evolution. Steward's theory was a reaction to environmental determinism by positing possibilism of cultural behaviour (cultural core) owing to environmental conditions (Barfield 1997: 448). He asserts the concept of adaptation follow a regular sequence of change under similar environmental conditions, even while in different geographical locations. He developed the concept of 'cultural core' which he defines as certain elements of culture which influences the environment, while other elements of culture are subject to autonomous process of culture history. In his book *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution*, he describes multilinear evolution as

"[…] *an assumption that certain basic types of culture may develop in similar ways under similar conditions but that few concrete aspects of culture will appear among all groups of mankind in a regular sequence.*" (Steward 1955: 4).

Steward sought the causes of cultural changes and attempted to devise a method for recognizing the ways in which culture change is induced by adaptation to the environment. He termed this adaptation 'cultural ecology'. Steward argued that the cross-cultural regularities which arise from similar adaptive processes in similar environments are synchronic in nature (Steward 1955: 4). The main aim of cultural ecology is to identify whether the adjustments of human societies to their environments require particular modes of behaviour or whether they permit latitude for a certain range of possible behaviours and this concept was later developed as possibilism in contemporary research (Steward 1955: 36).

To buttress the above assertions, the Nigerian Cultural Policy document of 1998 defined culture as

State	Geographical Region	Land Area		Population (2006)		Rate of Desertification
		(km^2)	% of Nigeria	Number	Density ($/km^2$)	
Sokoto	North West	27,825	3.06	3,702,676	133	Severe
Zamfara	North West	37,931	4.17	3,278,873	86	Severe
Katsina	North West	23,561	2.59	5,801,584	246	Severe
Jigawa	North West	23,287	2.56	4,361,002	187	Severe
Kano	North West	20,280	2.23	9,401,286	464	Moderate
Kebbi	North West	36,985	4.06	3,256,541	88	Severe
Kaduna	North West	42,481	4.67	6,113,503	144	Moderate
Borno	North East	72,609	7.98	4,171,104	57	Severe
Yobe	North East	46,609	5.12	2,321,339	50	Severe
Bauchi	North East	41,119	4.52	4,653,066	113	Moderate
Gombe	North East	17,100	1.88	2,365,040	138	Moderate
Adamawa	North East	38,700	4.25	3,178,950	82	Moderate
Taraba	North East	56,282	6.19	2,294,800	41	Moderate
Niger	North Central	68,925	7.58	3,954,772	57	Moderate
Plateau	North Central	27,147	2.98	3,206,531	118	Moderate
Total		**580,841**	**63.83**	**62,061,067**	**107**	

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, 2010; National Population Commission, 2006. *Moderate: 26 to 50% of plant community consists of climax species, or 25 to 75% of original topsoil lost, or soil salinity has reduced crop yields 10 to 50%. *Severe: 10 to 25% of plan community consists of climax species, or erosion has removed all or practically all of the topsoil, or salinity controllable by drainage and leaching has reduced crop yield by more than 50%.

Fig. 3: Incidence of desertification in North-eastern States of Nigeria (Olagunju 2015).

"[....]the totality of the way of life evolved by a people in their attempts to meet the challenges of living in their environment, which gives order and meaning to their social, political, economic, aesthetic and religious norms and modes of organization thus distinguishing a people from their neighbours." (Federal Republic of Nigeria 1998: pp.5).

Furthermore, Schaefer (2002) defines culture as the totality of learned, socially transmitted customs, knowledge, material objects and behaviour. It includes the ideas, value, customs and artefacts of a group of people. Owing to these definitions and more, it is palpable that the perception of culture from the Nigeria has an environmental and material inclination. Therefore, the question to be asked is; what are the factors responsible for environmental changes which have triggered the change in culture? This question can be answered by analysing a complex of factors, however, this paper analyses the following tripartite factors.

Climate change

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change identified Nigeria as one of the climate change vulnerable countries in Africa which is likely to experience colossal shifts in weather conditions over the twenty-first century (Boko et al. 2007: 435). It further stated that Third World countries such as Nigeria are likely to be at the fore of risk concerns, owing to their weak adaptive capacity and lack of political will to take action against climate change. Recent studies also demonstrated the practical perturbation in the geophysical equilibrium of the country in the last decade. The northern part of Nigeria where the Boko Haram Insurgency broke out, is already experiencing drought and a severe drop in crop yield and production over the last decades (Odjugo 2009) (see figure 3). However, climate change should not be viewed as the only factor responsible for conflict and the birth of Boko Haram. While the connection between climate induced desertification and conflict cannot be totally substantiated, climate change nonetheless has increased the vulnerability of the citizen to adapt in an autonomous manner, thereby giving rise to a new culture.

Population Growth

Climate change cannot be analysed as a singular factor for environmental degradation cum change in land use pattern and subsequently, the rise of conflicts in Northern Nigeria. Climate change which is a recent phenomenon, only precipitated existing environmental challenges and dynamics. Such existing challenges also include population growth in Nigeria. At independence in 1960, the population of the country was 45.2 million people. Today, the population has risen to 182 million people and is forecasted to surge to 201 million people by the year 2021.[2] According to the

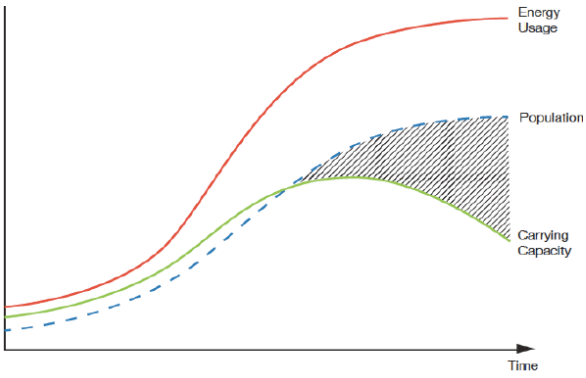

Fig. 4: Population, energy use and carrying capacity (Plag 2016).

Thomas Malthus theory of population (Malthus 1959), population grows exponentially and resources grow geometrically. Hence, carrying capacity decreases as population increases. In that vein, the population growth in Northern Nigeria has outgrown the available resources to manage the subsistence. For instance, a piece of land which was shared between family of six in the 1960's, today it is being shared by a family of twenty. Therefore, people have to look elsewhere for subsistence. Again, while the linkage between population growth and armed conflicts cannot be totally substantiated, the degradation of such land increases the vulnerability of the people and can cause them to adapt in an autonomous manner. Such autonomous adaptation[3] opens them to accept any means for survival.

The Nigeria Land Use Act

The Land Use Act of 1978[4] is another existing problem and cause of environmental degradation. This act transferred ownership of land from individuals and ceded all land to the federal government. Therefore, every individual seeks to rent from the government. It is a generally known phenomenon in Third World countries that there is always prejudices when the citizens have to depend on the government of the day for the distribution of resources. The biases experienced in the Land Use Act of Nigeria has also given rise to inequalities and vulnerability of the poorer families. Therefore, an autonomous adaptation becomes a way out. Hence, a birth of a new culture in the attempt for survival becomes plausible.

Considering all these factors are relative to the theory of ecological anthropology, it can be asserted that the change of culture was triggered by attempt to adapt and survive. Such adaptation gave birth to a new violent culture as a means of survival and provided the wherewithal for the vulnerability of the citizens to the preaching of

Fig. 5: Maps showing and localizing Sukur Cultural Landscape (Chinwe 2015; Onukwube 2013).

radical Islamic cleric – Mohammad Yusuf – who indoctrinated the people with hopes of subsistence. It is also worth stressing that the group started as a reactionary movement against the ineptitude of the Nigerian government before it was borrowed by religion which gave the movement the necessary inertia. As opined by Karl Marx (1844),[5], religion is the soul of the soulless (vulnerable soul) and the opium of the people (vulnerable people). By and large, the Boko Haram insurgency broke out in the northern part of Nigeria and consistently launched attacks on every culture contrary to their perverse beliefs. Soon in 2014, the account of Boko Haram took a remarkable twist when it attacked Sukur Cultural Landscape – a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Sukur Cultural Landscape and Boko Haram Pillage

According to the National Commission for Museum and Monument (NCMM 2006) Sukur is a community consisting of ten wards with a population of 12,000 people. It is located within the Madagali Local Government Area of Adamawa State on the north-eastern border of Nigeria with Cameroon. In 1999, the 23rd Session of the World Heritage Committee in Marakesh Morocco inscribed the property – Sukur Cultural Landscape – on the World Heritage List based on criteria (III), (V) and (VI) as a model of a continuing landscape with associative, powerful and religious values, kept alive over the centuries through customary law and practice (UNESCO 2005).

The cultural landscape of Sukur is an eloquent testimony to a strong and continuing spiritual and cultural tradition that has endured for many centuries. The Site which has amazing historical, spiritual, cultural and economic values is characterized by particular artefacts (stone architecture, iron smelting technology, landscape and physical relief) and attributes (Hidi's Palace, stone walls, paved walk ways, stream, domesticated landscape with sacred trees, agricultural terracing, and other spiritual features, vernacular structures, traditional grave yards, stone wells) respectively.

The management of the World Heritage Site is vested in two authorities, namely; the Nigeria National Commission for Museum and Monuments (NCMM) and National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) which has the mandate on handling disaster management issues.

Sadly, the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents are around the perimeters of Sukur Cultural Landscape in Adamawa State. In fact, in 2016, Boko Haram came into a full control of the Madagali Local Government area for several months. Owing to the presence of the insurgents, villagers fled to the hilltop of the World Heritage Site.[6] The presence of the population which fled to the landscape had already posed various degrees of challenges to the site and decreased the carrying capacity. Subsequently, on the 12th December 2014 (Musa 2016: 146), Boko Haram insurgents entered Sukur Cultural Landscape, burnt the Hidi Palace, the palace square, the black smith homestead, cow pens, granaries and threshing fields. They also desecrated ritual sites, the festival ground and community structures such as primary health care centre, schools and the interpretation centre

Fig. 6: Building burnt by the Insurgents (Photos: Stefan Kiehas & Simon Zira).

among others.[7] The insurgents were recorded to have also killed a few persons and carted away foods and a few cultural items.
However, according to Onukwube (2013), the evaluation of the policy frameworks of the two agencies – NCMM and NEMA – indicated the lack of any anticipatory Disaster Risk Management strategy for the protection of Sukur Cultural Landscape in spite of the heavy presence of Boko Haram insurgents. The policy framework also showed no contingency for the mitigation of such events through adequate resources nor was there a strategic plan for the World Heritage Site. Furthermore, the participatory involvement of local communities in the implementation of policies were not strategically defined in order to allocate roles they should play in cases emergencies or disasters.

Responses of the State Party and UNESCO
The Nigerian military responded by organising the local community members into para military units which were essentially vigilante groups. These groups relied on their belief in cosmic powers in order to wage spiritual war fare against the insurgents. Locals worked in synergy with the Nigerian military joint task force and as result, the insurgents were successfully driven out of the Madagali Local Government by April of the subsequent year. Normalcy returned to the site, although, tentative. The incidence was also reported to the 39th session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee meeting in Bonn on the 6th of July 2015 by the State Party. The Committee mandated the State Party to consult the World Heritage Center and the Advisory Body to prepare and submit a State of Conservation report by on 23rd of March 2016.[8] Furthermore, the State Party is also requested to submit to the World Heritage Centre, by 1st of December 2017, an updated report on the state of conservation of the property to the World Heritage Committee at its 42nd session in 2018. More importantly, the reaction of the State Party emphazised the importance of community involvement in the discourse of World Heritage Site management. The resilience demonstrated by the community members also emphasises their willingness to sustain their living traditions and culture. By September 2016, they were able to celebrate 'BER',[9] biannual festival in the cultural landscape.

Boko Haram Attack on Sukur Cultural Landscape: The Argument
The reason Boko Haram attacked Sukur Cultural Landscape remains a largely contested discourse in contemporary research and even secular discourse. While on the one hand, there is a populist position which argues that Boko Haram insurgents attacked the World Heritage Site to make a political statement, on the other hand, some claimed Boko Haram was mirroring the modus operandi of ISIS who are also destroying World Heritage Sites in Syria and Iraq. It was said to be a proof of their allegiance to the internationally recognised Islamic Group, ISIS. However, from a more scientific point of view, these positions are not necessarily true and can, in fact, be contested. Relative to the theoretical perspective adopted, this paper argues that the interpretation of Boko Haram violence against Sukur Cultural landscape is a means of propagating new ideologies cum cultural way of life and this position is buttressed by the position of Professor M.-T. Albert (Albert 2002),

"[…] *Destruction of cultural assets by later generation is a function component of humankind historical process, because destruction of heritage is tantamount to destruction of identity and destruction of identity gives new rulers the scope they need to firmly establish their own ideologies, undisturbed by the experience of the*

past that created identity. It is in the very nature of society's developmental processes that elements of material and nonmaterial culture that have been handed down from former generations are rejected, forgotten or replaced [….]" (pp. 24–5)

Also, going by the appraisal classical antecedents in Nigeria, for every time a new ideology is born in history, it is often preceded by attempts to eradicate or subjugate the existing philosophies and institutions. This is often the primary aim and one of the approaches to enforcing a contemporary ideology. Also, Boko Haram made their perverse ideology known in the statement in 2011,

"[…] *We will never accept any system of government apart from the one stipulated by Islam [….] we do not believe in any system of government, be it traditional or orthodox except the Islamic system and that is why we will keep on fighting against democracy, capitalism, socialism and whatever* [....]" Mohammed Yusuf, BBC Online (Anonymous, 2011)

The structuring principle of Boko Haram is therefore self-evident. The group is attempting to enforce a new culture and ideology which this paper argues and linked with an ecological anthropology theory of cultural change. Enforcing a new culture through such perverse means of destruction is also not new in the history of Nigeria. During the colonial era, Christian missionaries also burnt down several traditional shrines of gods in Nigeria, which they claimed represented an affront to their biblical 'truth' and religious ideologies (Soyinka, 2002).

Conclusion

Destruction of cultural heritage properties in Nigeria is not a new phenomenon, through pre/post-colonial periods and even to the modern day society. Such embers and affinity for destroying cultural heritage which represents the collective memory of a people is a functional component of propagating a new culture and ideology. In this case of northern Nigeria, it is therefore incumbent on the Nigerian Government to institute policies which can alleviate poverty and reduce vulnerability of citizens to autonomous adaptation and culture change. In the light of these positions, this paper concludes by encouraging the State Party to also develop risk preparedness framework for the World Heritage Site, to mitigate the occurrence of such events in the future. Such framework should prioritize the involvement of local community in line with the dictates of the Budapest Declaration on community involvement. Furthermore, the Nigeria military should also prioritize the protection of World Heritage Sites as stipulated in the Military Manual (1994)[10] which incorporates the content of Article 47 of the 1949 Geneva Convention and emphasizes that "marked cultural objects must be protected" in the conduct of defence.

Endnotes

1 According to The Anti-defamation League (2011), Mohammed Yusuf also known as Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf, was a Nigerian Muslim sect leader and founder of the militant Islamist group Boko Haram in 2002.He was its spiritual leader until he was killed in the 2009 Boko Haram uprising. Available from https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/combating-hate/boko-haram-jihadist-threat-west-africa-2013-1-11-v1.pdf (accessed 07 July 2017).

2 According to the Nigerian population statistics available at http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/nigeria-population/ (accessed 03 July 2017).

3 "Autonomous adaptation: constitute not only conscious response to climatic stimuli, but is also triggered by ecological changes in natural systems and by market or welfare changes in human systems. It is driven by how environmental change and scarcity present livelihood risks, rather than physical risks alone." (McCarthy et al. 2002: 982).

4 The Nigeria Land Use Act. Available from http://www.nigeria-law.org/Land%20Use%20Act.htm (assessed 8 Feb. 2017).

5 „Die Religion [...] ist das Opium des Volkes". This statement appears in Karl Marx' *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* which appeared in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, as published in Paris on 7 & 10 Feb.1844.

6 Sukur and Boko Haram. This account is available at http://www.sukur.info/BokoHaram.htm (accessed 08 Feb. 2017).

7 Ibid.

8 World Heritage Committee 40th session. Report online available from http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/40COM/documents (accessed 08 Feb. 2017).

9 The celebration of ‚BER', is the biennial male initiation ceremony. It constitutes an important marker in the recovery not only of Sukur but also of its region. For further information on 'BER' see http://www.sukur.info/BokoHaram.htm (assessed 08 Feb. 2107).

10 ICRC. Customary IHL. Available at https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/customary-ihl/eng/docs/v2_rul_rule39 (accessed 08 Feb. 2017).

Credits

Fig. 1: John Emerson/Human Rights Watch, cited in: Williams & Guttschuss, 2012: 16.
Fig. 2: Author, 2017
Fig. 3: Olagunju 2015: 200, table 1.
Fig. 4: Plag 2016: 140.
Fig. 5: Chinwe 2015: 379 fig. 1; Onukwube 2013: 51, fig. 2.
Fig. 6: Photo: Stefan Kiehas & Simon Zira, *cited in: Musa 2016: 144, fig. 1.*

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Mary Kupelian

Armenian Cultural Christian Heritage Sites in Syria

An Overview of the History and Post-Conflict Recovery Challenges and Strategies

Abstract

The topic of this paper addresses the destructive effects of the Syrian conflict on the Armenian Cultural Heritage and particularly the deliberate targeting of cultural sites found in Aleppo and Deir al-Zor. It examines the nature and complexity of the conflict and argues the exceptional challenge for Heritage Conservation together with the social and economic factors that could affect the reconstruction and recovery phase, once the conflict is over. This paper introduces two unique Armenian churches in Syria; the Armenian Genocide Memorial Complex at Deir al-Zor and the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Aleppo.
In 1915, after the Ottomans forced thousands of Armenians on death marches, the city of Deir al-Zor became a major destination point for Armenian refugees. A memorial complex commemorating this tragedy was opened in the city and officially inaugurated in 1990 with the presence of the Armenian Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia. The complex – which served as church, museum, monument, unique archive center and exhibition site – has become a pilgrim destination for many Armenians in remembrance of their dead. On 21 September 2014, the Armenian Memorial Complex which commemorates the memory of the Genocide victims was blown up and is now in a state of complete ruin. The Forty Martyrs Armenian Cathedral of Aleppo is a 15th century Armenian Apostolic church located in an old Christian quarter. It is significant among the Armenian churches for being one of the oldest active churches of the Armenian diaspora and the city of Aleppo and frequently became a temporary seat for many Armenian Catholicoi of the Holy See of Cilicia. On 26 April 2015, this church with its neighborhood was subjected to bombing and suffered massive damage.

The aim of this paper is to illustrate the impact of the present conflict and its huge destructive effect on these two irreplaceable cultural heritage sites. It gives insights into approaches to the problem and a clear vision for Post-conflict recovery, reconstruction, and provides future prospects by giving comparative studies to similar sites in Armenia.

Keywords:
Memorial complex, Armenian, Genocide, conflict, Post-conflict recovery, Forty Martyrs Cathedral, Aleppo, Deir al-Zor.

The nature and complexity of the present Syrian Civil War is too dense to be comprehensively examined in the context of this paper; instead, the author will focus on its destructive effects on the Armenian cultural heritage, and particularly, on the deliberate targeting of cultural-religious sites in Deir al-Zor and Aleppo. Aleppo is known for its cultural diversity, but the cruelty and length of the current war has resulted in the loss of much of its cultural heritage. The author plans to expand this paper with a focus on a comprehensive overview of Armenian cultural sites in Syria, including destroyed and fully functioning sites.

The Assyrian International News Agency (AINA) has released a list of Christian churches and monasteries in Syria that have been destroyed, including three Armenian Churches.[1] These are the St. Rita Tilel Armenian Church in Aleppo which was bombed on 28 April 2014, the Armenian Genocide Memorial Church in Deir al-Zor destroyed in September 2014, and the Armenian Catholic Church of the Martyrs which was torched in the same year.[2]
The major challenge which the author faced in preparing this paper was the lack of sources: the researcher had to rely on the personal narratives of Syrians who fled to Cairo. My main informants

here are Syrian emigres whom I have met in Cairo, specifically, the Sarkissian and Kelleian, Shakarjian, Degirmenjian, Haserdjian, Panoyan, Karamanougian, Zeitounsian, Yeramian families. Attempts to gain information from church authorities in Damascus met with little success.

Historical Background

The actual crisis in Syria has reminded Armenians who are living there of their own tragic history. And this history reminds them of their moral and historic duty to push Syria to open its doors and to offer a safe place to those fleeing war and persecution. The majority of these Syrian Armenians are descendants of Armenians who escaped the Genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks in 1915 and were given refuge in Syria, yet Syrian-Armenians tend to emphasize their Syrian identity. They often say that they have lived in Greater Syria since before Christ. True, their numbers increased greatly after the Armenian Genocide, but Armenian convoys had always passed through Syria, including through areas like Deir al-Zor and al-Raqqa. Syrian-Armenians have called the area where they now live, near the Armenian capital Yerevan, New Aleppo. In effect, it is Armenia that is a host country for Syrian-Armenians, pending their return to their real home, Syria.[3]

The number of Armenians living in Syria before the conflict was estimated to be 80.000, of whom up to 80% lived in Aleppo, 10% in Damascus, and 10% in Deir al-Zor, Hassakeh, Qamishli, and al-Raqqa. Armenians in Syria are Syrian citizens of either full or partial Armenian descent. Syria and the surrounding areas have often served as a refuge for Armenians who fled from wars and persecutions such as the Armenian Genocide.[4]

Attacks on Christians in Syria began almost immediately after the Syrian civil war began. The attacks have targeted villages, churches, monasteries and the clergy. The devastating events, especially in Aleppo, forced them to flee to other areas within Syria including Damascus, Latakia, and Tartous, or to Lebanon and Armenia. Many historical churches have been ransacked by extremist groups in Syria – three Armenian churches have been destroyed in Aleppo, Deir al-Zor, and al-Raqqa.

After the introduction of two unique Armenian churches in Syria – the Armenian Genocide Memorial Complex at Deir al-Zor and the Ancient Armenian Church of the Forty Martyrs in Aleppo – the researcher will illustrate the impact of the present conflict and its huge destructive effect on these two irreplaceable sites, and suggest steps for possible post-conflict recovery. Needless to say that specific steps will have to be defined and postponed as long as conflict continues. Looking at comparative studies of similar sites in Armenia and in the world can help to define the future prospects of comparable sites. Although there are a number of Armenian churches in Syria (Arme-

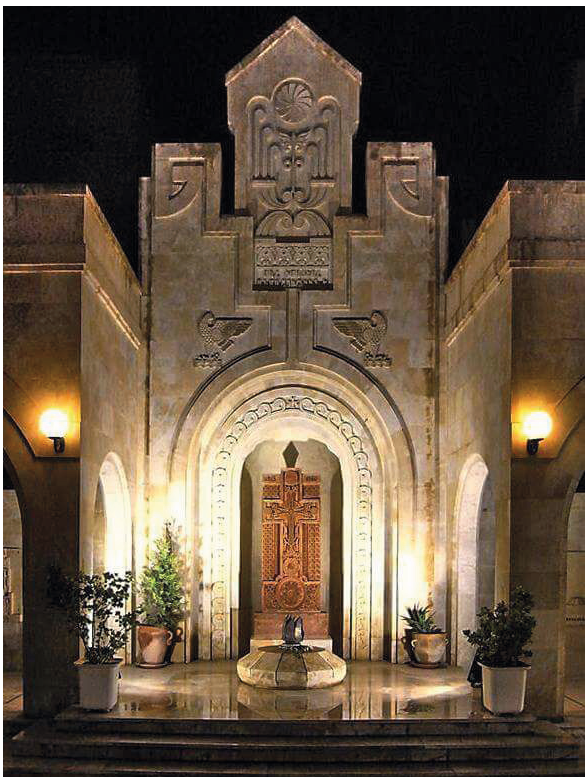

Fig. 1a & b: Deir al-zor, Armenian Genocide Memorial Complex (Armenian Holy See of Cilicia 1991).

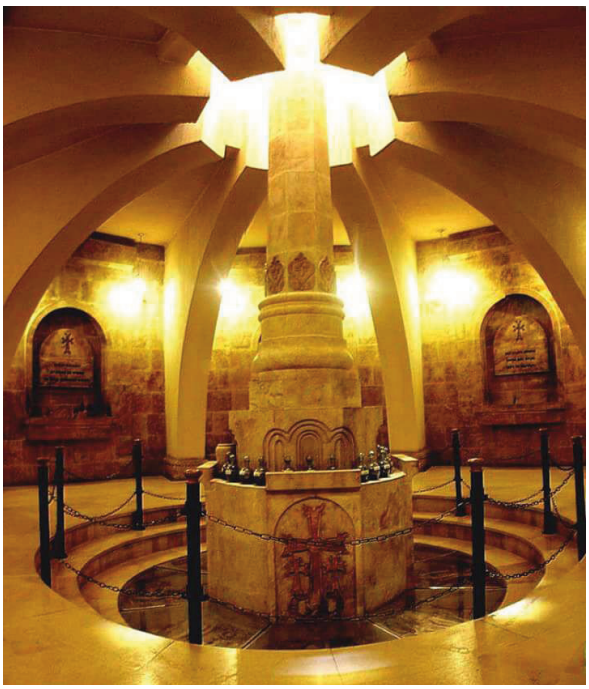

Fig. 2: Deir al-zor, the column of resurrection flanked by cross-stone display of the victims' remains (Armenian Holy See of Cilicia 1991).
Fig. 3: Human bones of the victims of the genocide collected from the Syrian Desert around the base of the column of resurrection (Armenian Holy See of Cilicia 1991).

nian Catholic, Armenian Apostolic churches, the Armenian Evangelical Martyrs' Church, and the Armenian Evangelical Emmanuel Church), this paper will focus on the Armenian Apostolic churches in Syria, specifically, the Armenian Genocide Memorial Church, Deir al- Zor, and the Forty Martyrs Cathedral (Aleppo).[5]
In 1915, the mainly Syrian desert region of Deir al-Zor near the Turkish border became a final destination of Armenians who escaped from slaughter there. A memorial complex commemorating this human tragedy was inaugurated in the city in 1990 with the presence of the Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia (figure 1). In the words of Aram I, actual Head of the Catholicosate of the Holy See of Cilicia (Giligia) Lebanon:[6]

"We view this [atrocity], committed in the run-up to the Armenian Genocide centennial and on the 23rd anniversary of Armenia's independence, as an act of barbarism. Many of those standing behind this plot know that Deir al-Zor, which symbolizes our martyrs' memory and our nation's struggle for justice, will never be destroyed as a sacred place in our nation's collective memory." (Aram I)[7].

The complex contains bones and remnants of Armenian victims recovered from the desert of Deir al-Zor, and became a pilgrim destination for many Armenians in remembrance of their dead. Every year, especially on the 24th of April, tens of thousands of Armenian pilgrims from all over the world visited the Deir al-Zor complex to commemorate the victims of the Genocide (Garibian 2015). The memorial complex dedicated to the victims of the Genocide served as Church and Museum with a unique permanent collection, memorial and archive.[8]
The Memorial was a large, freestanding sculptural work. At its base, the remains of the victims were buried (figure 2). The complex consisted of a circular glass display of the victims' remains. These remains form the basis of a white, marble column known as the Column of Resurrections and flanked by cross-stones (figure 3). Most of the cross-stones, which were brought from Armenia, were placed in this church. The basement hall which housed the small museum contained rare books, special publications and unique documentary photographs exhibited to narrate the story of the sufferings during the Genocide[9] (figure 4). On 21 September 2014, the memorial complex was deliberately blown up. The situation of this previously wealthy city is described by the locals as 'unlivable' (figure 5).
Moving to our second example, the ancient Armenian Orthodox Church (sometimes called, Cathedral) of Forty Martyrs, in Aleppo, was named in honor of a group of Roman soldiers who were victims of the persecutions of Emperor Valerius Licinianus Licinius, the 58th emperor of the Roman

Fig. 4: Deir al-zor, the small museum in the basement of the Armenian Genocide Memorial (photo: Alexandra Avakian).

Fig. 5: Deir al-zor, the Armenian Genocide Memorial Complex after destruction (http://hyperallergic.com).

Empire 308–311 AD, near the city of Sebastia present day Sivas in Turkey) in Lesser Armenia (so called to distinguish it from Greater Armenia), a region in the upper reaches of the Euphrates. These victims were venerated in Christianity as the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste or the Holy Forty.

This 15th century Armenian Apostolic church is located in the old Christian quarter of Jdeydeh and is significant among the Armenian churches for being one of the oldest active churches in the Armenian diaspora and the city of Aleppo (figure 6). It is a three-nave basilica church with no dome. Its bell tower is considered to be one of the unique samples of baroque architecture in Aleppo (figure 7). The church has three altars, an upper story built in 1874 and a baptismal font placed in 1888 (figure 8). The church was originally surrounded by an Armenian cemetery. A guesthouse

Fig. 7: Aleppo, view of the interior of the Armenian Church of the Forty Martyrs (photo: Daniel Demeter).

Fig. 6: Aleppo, bell tower of the Armenian Church of the Forty Martyrs, Aleppo (Wikipedia).

was added to accommodate Armenian pilgrims traveling to Jerusalem, and the bell tower was constructed in 1912. It is the See of the Armenian Diocese of Beroea, a city of the Hellenic Hellenistic and Roman era known as Veria in Northern Greece, also known as Veroia and Beroea Veria.[10]
The church was famous for housing several historic icons, many dating to the early 17th century. It also housed numerous cross-stone relics, and icons, including 'The Last Judgment', a painting that dates back to 1708 AD.
On 28 April 2015, although parts of the Forty Martyrs church complex were destroyed in a bombing, the church itself survived the attack.[11] Only the outer enclosure wall of the building of the Archbishopric was destroyed, as well as a room outside the church where the women of the community used to do some work. A new wall has now been built around it and the Archbishopric was transferred temporarily to El-Salmaneya area.1[2] This information comes from a conversation with the Secretary of the Church Counsel in Aleppo, as well as from an interview with Bishop Krikor Augustinos Coussan the primate of the Armenian Catholic in Egypt.

Post Conflict Recovery Strategies

It is imperative to realize that there are no quick fixes. Postwar recovery is a long and arduous process, particularly when it attempts to address the

Fig. 8: Aleppo, the Armenian Church of the Forty Martyrs, Aleppo, (a) The baptism font, (b) northern altar (http://placeknow.com).

Fig. 9: Dresden, Frauenkirche before war between 1860 and 1890 (Wikipedia).

Fig. 10: Dresden, Frauenkirche post war (www.judgmentofparis.com).

need to restore cultural heritage. Compounding this problem, there are no templates for postwar recovery. The challenge is always to transform ideas into action. Each situation requires an approach tailored and sensitive to intra-regional cultural differences. It is critical that we do not lose sight of the social and economic factors that could affect the reconstruction and recovery phase once the conflict is over.

At its central pillar, the recovery of cultural heritage demands the active participation of the affected communities. Furthermore, the obstacles to successful postwar reconstruction and peacebuilding are not only located within the war-torn societies themselves: enormous international energies and resources must be devoted to postwar construction. Due to the deeply rooted obstacles located in the policies and priorities of the international community and in the donor agencies, it must be said, that effective aid for the reconstruction of war-torn societies requires the rethinking and reconstruction of current aid policies.
For a post-conflict recovery phase to be successful, a clear vision is needed. The challenge is to bring actors involved from local and international organizations together in order for them to agree on a shared vision, to develop strategies for implementing that vision, and, more importantly, to ensure collaboration with members of the community.
In Aleppo, the damage to cultural heritage is massive and the on-going fighting will surely result in even more losses. Once the conflict is over, a full assessment of damage will take several years to complete and some of the lost heritage will probably be irreplaceable.
Each site requires specific plans, depending on the level of destruction. Although we can point to many examples of post-conflict recovery, most of them would only apply to the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Aleppo which was only partially destroyed.
An example of post-conflict recovery which was applied to the Frauenkirche at Dresden (Joel 2012) (figures 9–10) has been seen by the international community as a way of facing conflict effects and could have lessons for work on the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Aleppo, as both buldings were only partially destroyed. Research has shown that reconstruction is never just a matter of physical design and resources, but is also about enabling societies to recreate a vision of themselves and reclaim their identities.

Propositions for the Recovery of the two Armenian Heritage Sites in Syria

Based on this insight, propositions are made for subsequence steps in the recovery process at the two Armenian sites in Syria, which are considered necessary due to learnings from previous experiences in the recovery of conflict affected communities:

Proposed steps for the restoration of the Armenian Genocide Memorial Complex at Deir al- Zor

1. Documenting damages the current situation at Deir al-Zor is the groundwork for any recovery project, as further conflict is still possible.
2. Researching the extent to which the community continues to survive in situ, and would seek to make contact with any members of the community who have fled.
3. Compiling an inventory of the affected parts.
4. Establishing contact with the Mother Church in Armenia in order to access the many stories of the Genocide. Such contact could serve as an alternative to experiencing the history and spirit of the destroyed church.
5. Gathering and publishing photographic documentation of the sites as they were before the bombing.
6. Depending on the results of the primary research, we could consider establishing a museum based on the architectural plan of the church for 'collecting memories' and in-tegrating the same material of the Church. This would serve as a memorial, not only to the Genocide and its impact on Syria, but a memorial to Armenian history and culture in Syria.

Proposed steps and alternative models for the restoration of the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Aleppo

1. Stabilizing structures and making them safe.
2. Repairing, maintaining, restoring and reconstructing structures so that we can help people to live with the monument.
3. Finding a concept for longterm preservation of physical remains. For example, adapting buildings to new uses (known as adaptive reuse). In some cases, a strong case can be made for replicating destroyed heritage fabric where this would contribute to preserving the spirit of a specific cultural heritage.
4. Retaining damaged heritage buildings as ruins.
5. Reusing parts of heritage buildings in new structures in order not to lose their connection to its history.
6. Relocating heritage buildings from damaged to more stable land if this enables conservation of buildings that would not otherwise be saved.

Future reconstruction initiatives:

1. Ensuring full community participation and agreement for the reconstruction process in order to bring consensus within the community.
2. Aiming for authenticity in the process, again with community agreement.
3. Committing to long term engagement with and monitoring of cultural heritage reconstruction projects to ensure greater integration of reconstructed sites with local communities.
4. Using storytelling in raising awareness of the value of cultural heritage and its ongoing development.
5. Aiming to make transparent the political and social objectives of reconstruction projects and the meanings that are being promoted through the sites.
6. Working with tradition to ensure continuity.
7. Compiling a historical record specific to each site.
8. Prioritizing the key steps in terms of urgency.

The challenges to restoration are:

1. Continuing conflict
2. Funding
3. Bringing all the actors together in a shared strategy of commitment
4. Uncertainty regarding the situation on the ground
5. Absence of information and unwillingness to communicate with interested people on the part of the clergy in Syria, resulting in incomplete data.

Endnotes

[1] Source: Public Radio of Armenia, http://www.armradio.am/hy/ (14 Dec. 2015).
[2] http://asbarez.com/142979/three-armenian-churches-in-syria-destroyed / (accessed 2 Dec. 2016).
[3] http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/18563 (accessed 2 Feb. 2017).
[4] http://www.huffingtonpost.com/luna-atamian-/armenia-and-the-syrian-re_b_9361844.html (accessed 4 Jan. 2017).
[5] https://levantreport.com/der-zor-diary-a-pilgrimage-to-the-killing-fields-of-the-armenian-genocide-by-lucine-kasbarian/ (accessed 3 July 2017); http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/index.php (accessed 3 July 2017).
[6] Armenian Holy See of Cilicia 1991, pp: 9–25.
[7] http://asbarez.com/127199/etchmiadzin-cilicia-denounce-destruction-of-memorial-church-by-isis/ (accessed 23 Nov. 2016).
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[10] Diocese of Aleppo, History. Diocese of Aleppo, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Archdiocese_of_Aleppo (accessed 29 June 2017).
[11] https://armenpress.am/eng/news/803726/forty-martyrs-church-of-aleppo-destroyed.html (accessed 29 Nov. 2016).
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Credits

Fig. 1: Armenian Holy See of Cilicia 1991, p: 40.
Fig. 2: Armenian Holy See of Cilicia 1991, p: 46.
Fig. 3: Armenian Holy See of Cilicia 1991, p: 46.
Fig. 4: Alexandra Avakian.
Fig. 5: http://hyperallergic.com/162080/who-blew-up-the-armenian-genocide-memorial- church-in-deir-el-zour/.
Fig. 6: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forty_Martyrs_Cathedral#/media/File:Forty_Martyrs_kev.jpg.
Fig. 7: Daniel Demeter.
Fig. 8: http://placeknow.com/attractions/syria/aleppo/forty-martyrs-cathedral-43180.
Fig. 9: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dresden_Frauenkirche.
Fig. 10: http://www.judgmentofparis.com/board/showpost.php?p=488&postcount=1.

Céline Yvon

First Aid to Cultural Heritage in Crisis

Ethics for an Emerging Field

Abstract

Cultural heritage is at the heart of our humanity – preserving it during crisis and integrating it as early as possible into recovery processes may strengthen the resilience of war-torn societies. On the back of this, ICCROM and others advocate for First Aid to Cultural Heritage in Crisis (FACH), that is: the securing and stabilising of endangered cultural heritage during complex emergencies in a way that is both relevant to the societal context and does no harm. This article argues that as legitimate and promising as FACH may be, one ought to remember that good intentions may sometimes (also) have negative effects; or, that they may bring distorted benefits. This particularly holds true in highly volatile contexts such as complex emergencies, and for a professional field that has little experience in dealing with conflict situations. Drawing on the experience of humanitarian aid, this article identifies some of the ethical challenges that may arise in relation to missions deployed to protect cultural heritage during major crises. It then argues that "the right thing to do" will require a whole web of complex considerations and most importantly, will depend on the ethical compass, values and priorities that the field will have set for itself. Such work has yet to happen, in a collaborative, genuine and robust manner – and as a contribution to this process, the author proposes the following. First, that protecting cultural heritage during conflict may be conceived as an act that is primarily about safeguarding diversity, that is: diversity of cultures, of identities, and of ways of organizing and valuing the world. And second, that the moral compass that ought to guide any Cultural First Aider be a concern about people's dignity, suffering and rights. Advocating for coherence, the author illustrates what the operational consequences of such ethical framework may be, proposing red lines for the field and arguing that Cultural First Aiders should be framed as active and well-rounded intellectuals rather than just as technicians focused on saving "things" i.e. objects, monuments or sites.

Keywords:
cultural heritage, complex emergencies, ethic, first aid.

An ancient church, or at least, a building that used to be an ancient church, now the building has no roof, walls are collapsing, but something stands, against all odds – the ancient church's walls are standing in the middle of the wounded city of Homs, Syria. The church is a ruin yet it is packed with people: the community gathered around a newborn who, like any other baby in any other part of our world, is about to be ritually anointed.

Why did they choose to do this here instead of in any other (safer?) place, I ask.

She answers: Because this place is their past and their future, because it is their act of resistance – because this place has and will always overcome chaos and violence.[2]

Cultural Heritage matters in times of crisis – and one may argue, especially so. Whatever its nature – religious or secular, whether a site, a monument or an object – the sheer number of people who every day, on every continent, put their lives at risk in order to protect it, speaks for the value of cultural heritage to humankind. Until recently, this value seemed not to be acted upon by the international community. Both policy-makers and professionals devoted to helping people affected by wars and catastrophes tended to either underplay the importance of culture during crisis, or they argued that 'basic' needs such as shelter, food or security needed to all be catered for first. This understanding has evolved, mostly thanks to visionary individuals or institutions such as the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation

and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), The Smithsonian Institution, the Prince Claus Fund, and UNESCO. Tragic events such as the bombing of the Bamyian Buddahs by the Talibans in 2001 or the intentional targeting of cultural heritage by ISIS made it also impossible not to realise the relevance of cultural heritage to political and humanitarian crises. Today, we all shudder at the news of another exaction committed by ISIS or when gazing at the photos of World Heritage sites damaged by earthquakes. Today, States such as France or Abu Dhabi plan to invest hundreds of millions in protecting cultural heritage during conflicts, Italy is setting up an Emergency Task Force for Culture with heritage experts to be deployed during crisis, and UNESCO has a dedicated organisational unit to this problématique.

This said, protecting cultural heritage during major conflicts and catastrophes is challenging and does not come without ethical questions. For example: Is it right to devote time, energy and resources to anything else than ensuring security and providing humanitarian relief in a context where needs are immense and resources limited? How to ensure the legitimacy and accountability of a 'cultural salvaging action' in a context plagued with weak and/or contested governance structures? Is it justifiable to collaborate with anyone, including actors of a conflict with dubious agendas, for the sake of saving cultural heritage?

The present article will identify some of the ethical challenges that may arise in relation to missions deployed to protect cultural heritage during major crisis; it will do so on the basis of the relevant framework coined by ICCROM. This article will then propose a moral compass and central values that could frame the action of so-called Cultural First Aiders (term according to ICCROM). It will not put forward a comprehensive ethical framework for the field, for this would require a level of analysis (including case studies) and consultations that are beyond the present work. The present article has only a modest ambition, namely to contribute to catalysing an important discussion for the future of the field.

First Aid to Cultural Heritage in times of crisis

The concept

ICCROM advocates for the protection of cultural heritage in the midst of the most horrific times – wars and natural catastrophes – on the grounds that cultural heritage may contribute to human development processes in general (UNESCO 2012) and help strengthen the resilience of war-torn societies in particular (UNESCO et al. 2014). As a repository of symbols and identities, cultural heritage has the potential to unite and reconcile (but also and conversely, divide); it may play a role in communities' sense of belonging to a place and hence, in their (e)migration decisions; it may enable the conservation and further development of traditional knowledge and skills; it is a source of jobs and income. Tapping into such potential may positively impact communities' ability to cope with and recover from violent conflict and destruction. Consequently, cultural heritage must be both preserved during difficult times and integrated as early as possible into any recovery processes: doing so may bring elements of trauma-management and community building to the people affected by war and disaster (e.g. bringing people together to develop a common vision and work on a joint project); it may offer opportunities for and strengthen peace-building or reconciliation processes (e.g. allowing to symbolically tackle issues that may not be addressed explicitly); and it may be essential for economic recovery (e.g. bringing back tourists).

First Aid to Cultural Heritage in times of crisis (hereafter FACH) is a concept developed by ICCROM in the early 2010s. It refers to the 'initial actions taken to secure and stabilise endangered cultural heritage during a complex emergency' (ICCROM 2016).[2] Rather than just focusing on salvage, triage and stabilisation actions and techniques, the innovation of ICCROM is in its attempted development of a framework of action aimed at embedding cultural heritage emergency work *in the relevant societal context:* step 1 of the FACH framework ('situation analysis') includes, for example, analysing the actors in presence; step 2 ('on-site survey') puts forward community consultations; and step 3 ('security and stabilisation actions') calls for preparing for recovery.

FACH has a narrow definition in the sense that it only refers to the first (time-wise), basic (technically-speaking[3]) measures that ought to be taken in order to prevent further damage and loss to cultural heritage affected by a crisis – for example, immediate stabilization of a damaged building rather than a full architectural conservation project. FACH's ambition is *not* the implementation of comprehensive and robust recovery plans. ICCROM draws a parallel with the field of medicine and, using the terminology of 'first aid', states its ultimate purpose very clearly: preventing full loss of cultural heritage through a 'triage' process that results in 'stabilisation' actions. Here one shall make an important note: if FACH may compare itself to medical, humanitarian aid, the timeframe for its deployment differs: while humanitarian aid takes place during or in the immediate aftermath of a crisis, FACH is likely to do so slightly later, once the most pressing human needs have been addressed (Tandon 2016).

One may argue that FACH is suffering from two important ambiguities. Firstly, ICCROM (2016) has repeatedly stated that FACH should be understood as addressing both tangible and *intangible* heritage – while focusing almost exclusively on the former and not elaborating whether

and how its 'first aid' conceptual framework may apply to the later. Secondly, ICCROM advocates for integrating cultural heritage into the international response system to complex emergencies and 'interlocking' it with humanitarian aid; but beyond calling for collaboration and cooperation, it has not addressed in a systematic manner questions of legitimacy and accountability (e.g. who may mandate such missions), terms of engagement (e.g. would such missions be able to engage non-State actors) and responsibilities (e.g. what would be the realm of international vs. national actors). These ambiguities may result in different understandings of what FACH is or may be; they also complicate the present reflexion on ethic.

Complex emergencies

The context in which FACH is meant to deploy itself is very particular. A so-called 'complex emergency' is a conflict situation – possibly in conjunction with a natural catastrophe such as an earthquake, floods or a hurricane – that poses severe, complex, and often durable, humanitarian challenges. In such a situation, conflict "co-occurs with multiple additional, and often intractable, demographic, environmental, economic, and social instabilities" (Macias 2007: 1).[4] State authority breaks down, if not totally, then to a considerable extent. The humanitarian crisis is extreme and characterized by "extensive violence and loss of life, displacements of populations, widespread damage to societies and economies" (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies n.d.). Consequently, the situation is so dire that local response capabilities are overwhelmed; it requires a large-scale international humanitarian intervention that can only be delivered through multiple, specialized agencies.

During complex emergencies, humanitarian actors face significant security and access issues. The reasons are both political (humanitarians may for various reasons be prevented to provide help to populations in need) and security-related (actors may not be able to access those populations because it's too dangerous for them to do so). Moreover, navigating such situations, including with a benevolent purpose in mind, is highly challenging because of the non-transparent, ambivalent and sometimes fast-changing web of connections and roles of local (and sometimes, international) stakeholders. Anyone 'wanting to help' during a complex emergency will find herself operating in extreme conditions and – especially if not conversant with the local society – doing so without fully comprehending the operational context. This particularly holds true for professionals who lack the political, social and economic expertise to understand the nature of the conflict and the dynamics in place, and in the case of fields of intervention that are not (yet) fully integrated in and supported by the current, comprehensive framework of international interventions. In such situations, third parties may fail to appreciate the full extent of challenges that complex emergencies may pose to their enterprise – their action may be ineffective, inefficient or even, have unfortunate consequences.

The political dimension of cultural heritage in conflict

Because conflict is about politics and resources, any external intervention that comes with a substantial transfer of resources or touches on symbolic capital becomes part of the context and of the conflict dynamics. This is a lesson that the humanitarian field has learned the hard way. The political dimension of any intervention – however benevolent or/and neutral it may be portrayed – may be particularly manifest when such intervention touches on cultural heritage. Archaeological sites, religious structures, historic fortresses etc. encapsulate and underpin historic, group and political narratives; they are laden with values and symbols; and they are often used in the process of acknowledging, representing and legitimising different (single, 'purified') identities, ways of living, being, and making meaning (LeBaron 2003). In effect, in a situation of conflict, working on cultural heritage is bound to been seen and analysed through the prism of the conflict. By extension, 'any notion that [a Cultural First Aider] may insulate himself or herself from the myriad of political and ideological influences in armed conflict is disingenuous and deceptive.'[5]

In sum, Cultural First Aiders are expected to operate in and be able to navigate situations that most likely, are fundamentally different from the ones that most of these professionals are used to. While acknowledging this reality may be one thing, assessing the full extent of its operational implications and agreeing on what this means in terms of the role of Cultural First Aiders may be quite another – I will revert to this.

Ethical issues

Ethic is about what we ought to do in difficult situations – and depending on the approach, the 'right' thing to do may be expressed in terms of "rights, obligations, benefits to society, fairness or specific virtues" (Velasquez 2010). Ethics are based on well-founded standards of right and wrong, that is, on standards that are adequate because "supported by consistent and well-founded reasons" where wide acceptance, authority, custom or general consent may play a role. Identifying what may be the ethical principles that ought to underpin FACH is therefore a challenge: the FACH concept has neither

been firmly and definitively delineated yet, nor has it been implemented on a large scale. In other words, the hypothesis and examples in the sections below are largely untested because of the relative newness of FACH; more exchanges (between relevant actors) and actual practice are needed to help identify, flesh out an illustrate the spectrum of relevant moral challenges. This said, one may argue that the lack of lessons learned and well-founded standards of what constitutes a 'good' or 'effective' FACH is precisely why the present exercise may be useful, even if it remains general and largely theoretic.
The field of humanitarian aid operates in the same context as FACH. It has gathered a wealth of experience and analytical depth in terms of understanding armed conflicts and in terms of the role, perception and impact of well-intended third parties. While its mission is evidently different from that of FACH, it would be unreasonable not to consider what the humanitarian field has experimented, learned and codified in more than a hundred and fifty years of work and reflection. The following sections draw on this acknowledgement.

The risk of doing harm to cultural heritage
In his seminal book on Humanitarian Ethics, Hugo Slim identifies the risk of maleficence as the first 'persistent ethical problem' faced by humanitarian aid: he frames it as the possibility of doing harm "instead of or as well as its intended good" (Slim 2015: 184). By definition, FACH may be conducted by non-professionals and/or without the appropriate analytical, planning and technical tools. So, it may indeed run the risk of doing more harm than good to a given site, object or monument – to continue the comparison with medicine, someone without proper training may further injure a person who is already hurt, even when trying to help. In terms of heritage, one may recall the recent and mediatised case of a Spanish woman who, without any training, tried to 'conserve' a medieval fresco by herself and ended up ruining it (Minder 2012). Such a risk may be a major one during a complex emergency where needs are massive and means, limited – and where information and communication means are often lacking or constricted.
The risk of doing harm is also compounded by the fact that conservation standards in place for cultural heritage are most often unfeasible for 'first aid' type of actions. This leads to a gap in standards that FACH, as an emerging field, has not addressed yet: professional benchmarks and quality assurance (i.e. processes, procedures and responsibilities for achieving quality) are unclear. This gap may be exacerbated by a possible, well-meaning resistance of heritage professionals to any sort of 'separate' standards for emergencies (Eaton 2017).
In other words, the risk of doing harm may be both a relevant and important one to be considered by Cultural First Aiders.

Risks of association[6]
Risks deriving from one's association with parties in conflict constitute the second set of ethical problems that are often encountered by humanitarian actors. In order to get access and provide assistance to people in need, humanitarians need to engage with parties of the conflict. Such engagement may take very different forms (e.g. from negotiating access to civilians to working under military protection) and be more or less overt. Be it as it may, engaging with parties in conflict may affect the way humanitarians are perceived, i.e. how other conflict parties and civilians view the humanitarians' identity (e.g. are they truly impartial third parties?), the nature of their work (e.g. could it also serve political interests?) or their accountability (e.g. who do they report to? whom do they take their orders from?). Humanitarians constantly try to avoid being associated with one single party of the conflict in order to gain and maintain trust – a prerequisite for fulfilling their mandate. Along affecting their capital of trust and hence potentially, their operational room of manoeuvre, working closely with one party in a conflict may also affect humanitarians' professional integrity. Whoever may control a given territory – State or non-State authorities – usually (seek to) retain strong control over both the local populations and third parties; they also seek to influence, manipulate or restrain third parties' working along lines that may advance their own cause (Slim 2015: p.189). Resisting political/military interference and protecting ones' professional space is a constant challenge for humanitarians.
Risks of association not only apply to FACH, too, – they may well also present themselves in a more acute manner. The field has a limited legitimacy and legal basis – compared with the humanitarian field, grounded in a well-developed and recognised body of international law and actionable standards, of which the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) is both the central organisational emanation and steward. In contrast, any FACH mission is likely to have a much weaker mandate, narrower mission and lesser room forof manoeuvre – not to speak of means and resources. As a consequence, FACH will be more dependent on the goodwill of parties in power, will probably have to work much closer in association with them and be potentially more vulnerable to their agendas. While actors in power may understand their responsibility toin protecting cultural heritage, they may first and foremost consider the political value of doing so; they may seek to substantially influence what cultural heritage needs to be protected, who Cultural First Aiders may consult, seek advice from and collaborate with, what kind of measure may be acceptable to implement, etc.

Cultural First Aiders are likely not to have the latitude to engage with all sides of a conflict – including non-State actors: Their 'inviting party' (e.g. a given State's Ministry of Culture and Antiquities for example) will probably tend to pay more attention to the risks associated with such room of manoeuvre (e.g. competing views and directives, manipulation and surveillance by other parties, security-related risks, etc.) than to related opportunities (e.g. access to information, trust-building, etc.). This compares negatively with the broad engagement policy that humanitarians nurture, and which greatly helps protect their (real or perceived) impartiality, integrity and capital of trust.

Actors with power may be pursuing illegitimate agendas, pursue inhumane policies, or even, commit war crimes (e.g. intentional killing of civilians or prisoners, use of torture, use of child soldiers[7]). In such cases, working closely with their representatives or agents (for example working with a Ministry of a highly contested regime, accepting some of their staff helping with the stabilising of a site) may pose two sorts of risks. First, there is the risk of being tainted by their reputation (Slim calls it the risk of 'pollution', p. 196): such close association may influence negatively people's views and attitudes, whatever one's actual role and action. How would Cultural First Aiders have been perceived if at the paroxysm of the war, they had partnered up with the regime to protect Syrian heritage in a concrete emergency action? Second, there is the risk of altering political perceptions and conferring these actors 'undue political legitimacy' (Slim 2015): some conflict parties may come across as less 'inhumane' thanks to their collaboration around a FACH mission, irrespective of their actual behaviour towards civilians and their respect of/ infringement upon humanitarian law.

The risk of fuelling the conflict

As mentioned previously, working on cultural heritage during conflicts is not a neutral act: revealing the badly-damaged status of a shrine, triaging precious paintings and discovering that very few can be saved, advising which areas, from an ancient market, can be stabilised, which ones can't – all this has the strong potential of stirring up despair, resentment or greed. Reaching a critical mass, such emotions can easily spill over into violence, particularly where root causes of a conflict are not addressed; in such situations, some actors in conflict tend to be very quick in manipulating emotions and turning them into proximate causes of conflict (*Do No Harm Framework*). More fundamentally, protecting cultural heritage in times of crisis means having to make difficult decisions about what needs and/or deserves to be protected, something that is most likely to depend on who is being asked to decide and who is not, and on what terms – something, again, that has the potential of fuelling tension and violence.

If Cultural First Aiders don't have a fair understanding of the conflict in which they operate, if they are not made aware of dividing factors or conversely, of what still connects people together, if they don't analyse what may be the impact of their intervention – symbolically, in terms of resource transfers or in terms of legitimising potential – Cultural First Aiders may well end up unconsciously and unwillingly exacerbating existing divisions or undermining local capacities for peace. One may think of a situation where Cultural First Aiders fail to comprehend that by working on salvaging an ancient monument that symbolises the resilience and continuity of a minority group, they may be seen as bringing grist to the mill of their agenda (e.g. political autonomy) and lending them unfair financial and symbolic resources. Failing to mitigate such perceptions and transfer of resources (for example through actively engaging other communities or by devising smaller actions that may benefit others as well) may actually negatively impact the conflict situation.

In sum, FACH is likely to have a political dimension. The extent of such dimension and its potential for harm will depend on many factors, both intrinsic and contextual, the most obvious ones being the type of heritage in question – a religious artefact may not bear the same symbolic force as a market. In the messy context of complex emergencies, the ethical question may not be how to avoid FACH becoming part of the conflict situation (it seems hardly possible), but how to avoid FACH having a negative impact on the conflict dynamic. This is likely to depend on the nature of the cultural heritage at stake; the mandate that underpins a FACH action, including its rules of engagement (e.g. are Cultural First Aiders allowed to consult and involve representatives of minorities?); and the adroitness of Cultural First Aiders in navigating local divides.

Handling privileged information

Cultural First Aiders may get access to sensitive information as to the exact location, status and value of cultural heritage. Either directly, because as professionals, they are being granted physical access to such heritage while other actors aren't, or indirectly, thanks to intermediaries, i.e. their professional network or referrals. Such information may not be widely known – and if shared in an unmanaged manner with third parties, may fuel tensions and even stir violence. The following cases come to mind: How would members of an ethnic minority react to the news that their century -old religious site has been destroyed or looted by 'the other side' during or in the aftermath of hostilities? How would members of a community feel when told that one of their most iconic objects has been found seriously damaged – most probably through mishandling or negligence – by State custodians that they have never recognised

in the first place? The point is: by being able to access a site and professionally assess its state, a Cultural First Aider may unwillingly become the holder of divisive if not potentially explosive information. How is she to handle it, whom is she to pass it on to and ultimately, be accountable to? These questions may become even more critical in conflicts where identity issues and/or ideology play a significant role, for cultural heritage is likely to be used in and become a victim of the propaganda war that is being fought by the various conflict parties – the intentional targeting of cultural heritage by ISIS springs to mind. If a group claims to have destroyed an ancient site as per their ideological war for example, and archaeologists discover – let's say through satellite imagery – that in fact, the site is only superficially touched, what are the risks and opportunities to correct the group's statement and who is responsible for weighting them? What to tell journalists who ask for an official statement? More generally, information about the exact localisation, value and state of cultural heritage may spur the interest of looters or traffickers of all sorts – actors who are particularly difficult to contain in a situation where law enforcement and governance structures are weak.
How is a Cultural First Aider to deal with such information in a context where she may not be clear about local responsibilities ("who ought/needs to know?"), where these responsibilities may be contested, and where local counterparts don't have the needs and latitude to protect that heritage? Theoretically, these questions should have been clarified ahead of her mission, at a political-bureaucratic level. But in situations of complex emergencies, mission statements may not contain such guidance, for various reasons relating to the haste in which they have been drafted to the compromise – and hence ambiguous wording – that may need to underpin such mission statements. Even in the case where mission statements may include such guidance, it may not be enforceable in the field. On the back of this, the responsibility of how to deal with such information may rest on the shoulders of the Cultural First Aider.

The risk of fuelling neo-colonialist patterns
In the case where FACH is framed as a response to a crisis given by the international community, its efforts and investment are likely to focus on exceptional sites that matter for a global audience. A World Heritage site is more likely to attract the attention and eventually, resources for a comprehensive stabilisation action than a regional marketplace, no matter the latter's importance for the economic, social and psychological resilience of thousands of local families. One may also reasonably assume that an international response will tend to rely on Western expertise and/or be based on a Eurocentric approach to heritage and heritage management, with a precedence given "to the architectural and artistic value of old buildings and monuments over their contemporary religious and social value" (Denis Byrne – see: University of Western Sydney, Institute for Culture and Society n.d.). If these assumptions are true, FACH may not necessarily primarily benefit those it claims to do (e.g. local communities and country); it may divert attention and resources from more legitimate local concerns; and it may undermine local practices and conceptions of cultural heritage. Last but not least, some critiques may point at the risk of performing an act of 'symbolic appropriation' by declaring a given cultural heritage a 'globa' (in fact, Western) heritage (Hamilakis & Duke 2007: 31–2).

The risk of undermining the concept of cultural heritage (protection)
Let's now briefly imagine how a major FACH action may be perceived if it were to be conducted against the backdrop of an insufficient humanitarian response, or of a blatant failing of States to uphold their so-called 'Responsibility to Protect' (in short: R2P[8]). How would such action look like to the victims of the conflict who have been suffering without having received adequate protection or help? When States and U.N. agencies have not been able to marshal an effective response to civilian devastation yet are envisaging and eventually, implementing a major FACH action, they may be seen as caring more about stones than about human lives. This would not only negatively affect their capital of trust but it would also massively undermine the legitimacy and credibility of the concept of cultural heritage protection. Such a critique was already voiced, for example in relation with the Bamyan Buddhas: their destruction caused an outcry across the world and eventually led to a comprehensive stabilisation endeavour by the international community. The systematic attacks on and killings of the ethnic group associated with the Buddhas – the Hazaras – however, attracted much less attention. The same observation may be made with regard to the destruction of the city and monuments of Palmyra on one hand, and the fate of civilians on the other.
All six sets of the ethical issues mentioned in this section highlight the existence of possible, substantial negative by-effects of FACH; no matter the legitimacy of FACH, such potential 'collateral damages' – whether actual, political or symbolic – speak for a careful weighing of risks against the opportunity of doing good. None of these issues are new, nor do they only apply to FACH (as opposed to 'standard' cultural heritage management for example). But these issues do gain in intensity during complex emergencies, and they do need to be unpacked and addressed by an emerging field that is only beginning to reach out to those who have had wealth of experience to effectively and comprehensively reflect on them.

Toward an ethics for First Aid to Cultural Heritage

The ethical imperative

Navigating the issues sketched in the previous section requires first and foremost clarifying where FACH is taking its moral inspiration and imperative from. Much is currently being written about why it makes sense to care about cultural heritage from a conflict transformation and human development point of view (see second section above), and why this needs to happen as early as possible during the conflict cycle (International recovery Platform (n.d.). This is encouraging. But much less has been formulated as to first, the symbolic value that such work may carry when conducted amidst the extreme suffering that characterises complex emergencies, and second, what ought to be the ethical compass against which to judge FACH, irrespective of the 'good' that it is supposed to bring about in the long term (e.g. securing avenues for reconciliation processes, generating income from tourists, etc.). In other words, what are the central values that FACH may be defending and celebrating in the midst of chaos?

Reflecting on wars and catastrophes, Hugo Slim suggests that in situations where there is so much suffering and loss of lives, and where the very concept of humanity is under exceptional attack, there is no ethics more legitimate than the humanitarian one, namely one that embodies "the struggle for dignity, preservation and safety of all human life" (Slim 2015: 10). In other words, this ethics of fundamental respect for and celebration of each human life should trump all other concerns, no matter one's professional focus and personal expertise: in extreme situations, we should all be primarily concerned by humanity – both as a value (i.e. "humanity capturing our moral sense of the great importance of a human life" – Slim 2015: 49) and as a virtue (i.e. "humanity as a virtue to preserve and assist human lives" – Slim 2015: 50). It makes both logical and intuitive sense, for the sake of this discussion, to align FACH to this moral compass, not the least because of ICCROM's use of humanitarian references and its call for FACH to be included in international humanitarian frameworks. Doing so implies conceiving Cultural First Aiders as professionals deploying their expertise on cultural heritage *in relation to people* and as human beings driven by an overarching concern about people's dignity, suffering and rights.

This moral compass being (tentatively) set, what may be the values specifically embedded in cultural heritage that FACH may need and seek to protect during major conflicts, irrespective of the nature of sites, monuments or objects that are being concerned? One may ask: what is it that makes cultural heritage so vulnerable during complex emergencies? And if it is central to our humanity, does this hence require specific attention and protection? Without elaborating on it, Mourad (2007) makes the following, seemingly evident yet fundamental, suggestion: during modern conflicts, it should be the history of human experience in the sense of its *diversity* that cultural heritage professionals should seek to protect (p. 166). Indeed, cultural heritage embodies the rich complexity of humanity in the sense that it provides evidence of alternatives, e.g. in terms of conceiving life, organising society, etc. It symbolises both the uniqueness and plurality of identities, experiences and groups that make up humankind. Cultural heritage embodies many other values but diversity and pluralism are probably the ones that are both most at risk and most relevant during complex emergencies, for modern conflicts are often associated with identity politics, ethnic exclusivism or/and religious fundamentalism. In sum, protecting cultural heritage during conflicts may be conceived as an act that is primarily about safeguarding diversity, that is: diversity of cultures, of identities, and of ways of organizing and valuing the world. The *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (UNESCO 2001) comes to mind: "The defense of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, insepa-rable from respect for human dignity" (article 4).

Operationalizing values

Any reference to values may come across as lofty or naive. More crucially, such reference may remain without any concrete effects. In order for an ethical framework to have operational consequences (and actually, be useful in the sense of providing guidance to professionals when difficult choices need to be made), such values need to be translated coherently from the high level of a mission statement down to the definition of FACH's priorities, roles and actors, methods of operation and red lines. The present section envisages the potential strength and effects of a robust ethical system that first, would put forward diversity and pluralism as central values that drive, frame and underpin FACH – and second, that would regard human dignity as the absolute compass that shall guide any Cultural First Aider's decision.

Let's start with the role of Cultural First Aiders, and whom they should be primarily accountable to. ICCROM puts forward FACH as 'people-centred', inviting to approach cultural heritage not only in terms of its scientific, historic and esthetical value but also (and probably, primarily), from the angle of its relationship to given groups and communities.[9] To do so, ICCROM's framework (2016) foresees 'community consultation & consensus building' as part of any FACH action (p. 5). This said, it does neither specify the objective and scope of such consultations (e.g. co-defining the mission's mandate? 'Just' endorsing a proposal for action?) nor does it elaborate on the tensions that may arise from the claim of being 'people-centred' while

likely being completely dependent on a State with a weak/contested legitimacy (e.g. local communities may want different things than the State's apparatus).
Robust and coherent endorsement of the values and principles outlined in the section above would alter the conception of what Cultural First Aiders ought to be; it would also clarify their priorities and red lines. In effect, it would entail recognising that in extreme contexts, cultural heritage professionals, archaeologists and their likes may have an extraordinary (in the literal sense of the word) role to play, and that this role may primarily relate to the preservation and celebration of our humanity – beyond the safeguarding of the 'things' that embody such value. In other words: in complement to more technical tasks, working in a FACH mission may entail consciously and strategically speaking up for what cultural heritage once meant and still means, both for local communities and for the world, as well as for past, present and future generations. More fundamentally, in situations where accessing cultural heritage may not be possible, *or when intervening may bring about risks that outweigh opportunities* as in some of the cases briefly sketched in the section on 'ethical issues' and risks above – a Cultural First Aider's role should not necessarily be about safeguarding physically an object or a site. Rather, it should be about actively using her knowledge, intellectual integrity, legitimacy and networks to make such cultural heritage speak (Hamilakis & Duke 2007)[10]; education or advocacy may then take various forms, ranging from public advocacy to low-key and targeted dialogue depending on the sensitivity of the matter. Such understanding would significantly modify the current conception of a FACH mission and would have consequences in terms of the skills and competencies that its members should bring.
Let's now turn to the sensitive interplay of local and international concerns and of their respective representatives and advocates. If, again, one postulates that it is everyone's responsibility to acknowledge, if not address, the extreme suffering of the population affected by complex emergencies, if one further envisages the primacy of this suffering over other more global concerns, one then needs to be consistent when it comes to identifying who any FACH action should benefit to primarily – and design such action accordingly. If one further recognises the legitimacy of different yet complementary views on cultural heritage and cultural heritage management, the baggage of (neo-)colonialism and the risk of perpetuating unfair models of intervention, one then also needs to think carefully about who should (co-)conceive and lead a FACH action. Concretely: who shall prioritise what deserves an emergency action?
Recognising that the societal dimension of FACH is what matters most i.e. that FACH is not merely a technical intervention, one ought to absolutely resist the urge of 'fixing things' in a quick manner. As with peace building – process matters as much as result, i.e. FACH should spend enough time, effort and expertise in working out how it does what it wants to do, and with methodologies of practice that are 'socially progressive'.[11]

Red Lines
Last but not least, an ethical framework for FACH ought to be explicit and clear about what may constitute 'red lines' for the field – in other words, it should identify the situations where one would believe it unethical and/or irresponsible to conduct or continue a FACH action. Based on the ethical imperative and core values put forward in the precedent sections, one may suggest the following. FACH should be halted when it may: (I) hinder life-saving operations; (II) cause harm to people or violate human rights; (III) strengthen the legitimacy of groups/regimes responsible for atrocity crimes; (IV) distract attention from humanitarian needs and/or the need for a political/diplomatic resolution of the crisis.
The first two propositions of 'red lines' above seem self-evident. For example, common sense dictates that no FACH operation should ever deprive humanitarian actions from crucial human resources or vital material and equipment. One would imagine that if that were to happen, the issue would immediately be identified – and probably easily addressed (by simple measures such as delaying a cultural salvage operation for example). Causing harm to people or violating human rights constitutes an equally self-evident 'red line' for any FACH operation, although the messy reality of wars may not necessarily allow such issue to be acknowledged that easily, i.e. the role cultural heritage management may play, directly or indirectly, in human rights violations (for example forced displacement of people[12]). This could be even more of a challenge considering that the field of cultural heritage has not been particularly proactive in terms of mainstreaming human rights.[13]
The third 'red line' proposition relates to the renouncement of FACH in cases where it may contribute to strengthen the legitimacy of groups/regimes responsible for atrocity crimes – or put differently, when it may impact positively such actors' justification of exercising power, and the acceptance of such authority. The rationale for this red line directly derives from FACH's moral compass, namely that nothing justifies turning a blind eye on atrocity crimes and on related responsibilities – nothing, even the urge that one may feel to physically protect incomparable treasures listed under the UNESCO World Heritage List. Of course, such a red line does not imply avoiding collaborating in any manner with any dubious actors in conflict – rather, it means carefully weighing the political significance of a FACH action in terms of potentially conferring respect to actors who

don't deserve it under the angle of their (in)humanity, and who urgently need to be side-lined in order for people to regain their dignity. Bellamy's call for caution with regard to applying the concept of 'Responsibility to Protect' to cultural heritage may actually have a wider relevance (2015: 5–6):

"Armed groups responsible for atrocity crimes may seek to garner international legitimacy by making concessions on the protection of cultural property. Once a protected zone is negotiated, past experience suggests that armed groups may then use that fact as a leveraging tool to secure concessions from the international community."[14]

One may argue that this call for caution applies to any actor responsible for atrocity crimes, and not only in relation to armed groups. Be it as it may, it would be unethical for FACH to become a pawn in conflict resolution negotiations, at the expense of civilians.

Last but not least, the present article recommends discussing whether FACH may have the potential to distract attention from humanitarian needs and/or from the need for a political (diplomatic) resolution of the humanitarian crisis. One may imagine a scenario where for various reasons, members of the international community succeed in marshalling a FACH intervention in a particularly dire context: civilian suffering is massive but for strategic and political reasons, the humanita-rian assistance is not appropriate; and if it is, such assistance is not sustainable, for nothing is being done to adequately and effectively address the causes of the complex emergency (e.g. no robust mediation framework, manipulation by powerful third parties, impunity of spoilers to a peace-process, etc.).

Let's further imagine that such context would see the deployment of a FACH intervention *that is substantial in scope and time, as well as appealing in form and objective* (e.g. to the media and global citizen). If so, FACH may well turn into a distracting factor, for protecting cultural heritage may have the potential to concentrate media attention and political capital at times where such attention could and should be invested to do good for people. Arguably, such a scenario may be quite unlikely; moreover, one could turn such risk into an opportunity: media attention may magnify – rather than distract from – the need for advancing peace and/or humanitarian agendas, and a FACH mission may be purposely leveraged in that sense. Be as it may, such scenario needs to be further explored and considered.

Conclusion

Culture is at the heart of our humanity – and cultural heritage, no matter how contested it may be in its definition and scope, is more and more understood in its potential to strengthen human resilience, including at times of war and catastrophes. This evolution, of which FACH is a symptom, opens up new and effective opportunities to foster human development and should be commended. This said, good intentions may sometimes (also) have negative effects; or they may bring distorted benefits. This reality applies to FACH, as briefly sketched above: despite their good intentions, Cultural First Aiders may end up harming cultural heritage; they may contribute to altering political perceptions and confer conflict actors undue political legitimacy; they may fuel resentment among communities and even, conflict – either because Cultural First Aiders are being manipulated or simply because they are insufficiently aware of the socio-political or symbolic dimension of their work; FACH may also carry a neo-colonialist taste or have the paradoxical effect of undermining the very concept it is meant to draw from and protect: cultural heritage.

These risks and the ethical questions that come with them are complex and will not lend themselves to an easy resolution. The 'right thing to do' will be context-specific and require a whole web of complex considerations. Most importantly, it will ultimately depend on the ethical compass, values and priorities that the field will have set for itself. Such work has yet to happen, in a collaborative, genuine and robust manner – and it is time for other actors with similar interests as FACH to join forces with ICCROM in developing further its pioneering framework. In doing so, they may be well advised not to jump too quickly into developing yet another code of conduct or professional guidelines, for such instruments tend to fail professionals when they need them the most – as Williams provocatively wrote (2013: 263): they represent the 'death of thought' (p. 263). Instead, one should first and foremost answer the questions of 'why' and 'for whom' does FACH benefit. The field is in need of active intellectuals who are not only committed to celebrating our humanity but also, who are capable of 'due deliberation' (Slim 2015). Be it as it may, working on the ethical framework of FACH is a prerequisite for its successful and actionable integration into the international humanitarian framework. Interesting times are ahead.

Endnotes

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[1] I am indebted to Lama Abboud from the Syrian Heritage Conservation Committee for her touching account of the war-related destructions in and around Homs. She inspired this short text.

[2] This definition is currently being elaborated to "Aid as the initial and interconnected actions taken to assess, document, prioritise, secure and stabilise endangered cultural heritage (both tangible and intangible)" (Tandon 2016).

[3] According to the Framework Document: "protection measures that are easy to implement, and most of the time, do not require sophisticated equipment or special conservation materials" (Smithsonian Institution & ICCROM 2016: 2).

[4] While the concept of complex emergency is not without "ambiguities and incoherencies" (see Allen & Schomerus 2012: 26 for a critical overview), it remains a reference in the international relations system and as such, provides the basis for the present analysis.

[5] Paraphrasing Prof. Jack F. Williams – the original quote refers to archaeology in conflict – (Williams 2013: 9).

[6] The formulation 'risk of association' is by Hugo Slim (2015: 189).

[7] War crimes are serious violations of the laws or customs of war as defined by international treaties (e.g. the Geneva Conventions of 1949) and customary law. There are three categories of war crimes: crimes against peace (involving conducting a war of aggression), crimes against humanity (include amongst others genocide or mass systematic rape and sexual enslavement), and conventional war crimes (include for example the killing of hostages or the ill treatment of prisoners of war).

[8] "The Responsibility to Protect doctrine is the enabling principle that first obligates individual states and then the international community to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. R2P, as it's commonly known, is a set of principles based on the idea that sovereignty is not a privilege, but a responsibility. R2P was universally endorsed at the 2005 World Summit and then re-affirmed in 2006 by the U.N." (United Nations Regional Information Centre for Western Europe n.d.).

[9] "Giving preference to people's needs and enhancing their ability to secure and recover their own heritage is integral to the design and approach of [FACH]" (Smithsonian & ICCROM 2016: 4).

[10] See calls formulated by Hamilakis (in 1999) and Said (in 1994) in this regard (Hamilakis, 2007: 33).

[11] Refer to Slim (2015: 10) who advocates for "methodologies that respect people and gives them […] autonomy instead of simply bossing them around" when writing about humanitarian aid.

[12] Cf. the case of 'conservation refugees', i.e. of whole communities forcibly resettled away from heritage monuments. Denis Byrne: "Locals are displaced from around heritage sites or restrictions are imposed on the way they live there – for example, they may not be allowed to farm in the vicinity of the monuments or to place devotional candles or incense sticks next to the stone sculptures of deities they continue to worship." (University of Western Sydney, Institute for Culture and Society n.d.).

[13] Mainstreaming Human Rights is here understood as the integration of a human rights perspective in all decision-making, policy and evaluation processes.

[14] The author of the present article is the sole responsible for this extrapolation.

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MEMORY AND IDENTITY

Leo Schmidt

The Cottbus Document

Guidelines on Safeguarding Cultural Significance of Urban Structures Damaged by War and Aggression

All through the ages, cities have suffered under enemy attacks. No doubt the twentieth century has been somewhat more destructive than most others. The First World War saw many cities and towns ruined. Neither venerable antiquity nor much-admired artistic value provided any protection against deliberate attack, as in the case of Reims Cathedral which was shelled and badly damaged by German artillery in 1914. The old city of Ypres with its spectacular Gothic Cloth Hall was completely flattened, Arras and many other towns suffered huge losses in historic buildings.

All these cities suffered because they lay in the battle zone of the Western Front. It was only in the Second World War that cities, and their civilian inhabitants, became targets in their own right. Military strategist, particularly the advocates of air power, believed they could win the war by attacking the 'morale' of the enemy's civilian population by bombing them and destroying their cities. But there were also cases, as for example Warsaw, in which historic structures were laid waste in an attempt to extinguish the enemy's cultural identity – an approach that was also used in more recent conflicts, notably in the Balkan Wars.

The rebuilding of war-damaged cities in Europe after 1945 provides a mass of historical material that has of course already been studied by scholars from many disciplines but that still has many insights to offer. With hindsight one can see and discuss which approaches to ruined cities and their reconstruction worked in the long run, and which did not do so well. As always, one can learn most from the mistakes that were made, albeit with the best of intentions at the time.

The armed conflicts that have been ravaging the Middle East in recent years, notably of course Syria, have again caused grievous damage to ancient and valuable urban structures. Images of the destruction wrought in Aleppo have gone around the world. Although no-one can be sure when the time will come for healing the deep wounds not only to the historic fabric of this city and others but also to the urban society, there is no doubt that the time will come at some point, hopefully sooner than later, and one should be prepared for this moment. As a contribution to this preparation, a symposium was held at BTU in Cottbus in the summer of 2016 in which experts from many countries and institutions discussed possible approaches.

The Need for Guidelines

Apart from the Venice Charter and the Burra Charter, there are charters, documents and guidelines addressing all sorts of heritage issues. The new document 'ICOMOS Guidance on Post-Trauma Recovery and Reconstruction for World Heritage Cultural Properties' addresses its topic in great detail and with an impressive depth of thought. By contrast, the guidelines presented below have a far simpler and more immediate objective. Their purpose is to provide local politicians, urban planners, architects and engineers who are faced with the practical and immediate task of devising strategies for rebuilding war-damaged cities and towns of significant heritage value with easily applicable directions.

The guidelines are presented below but I would like to highlight and comment the main aspects.

'Second Destruction'

If there is one single main lesson to learn from the approaches to war-damaged historic urban structures in the last century, it is that no city is ever 'destroyed' by military action. However bad the da-

mage caused by bombs, artillery and fire, there is always a great deal of physical fabric that survives, even if it is only the shells of gutted houses with their sometimes valuable facades. Even if every house were razed to the ground, there are often historic basements that are sometimes much older than the houses that were rebuilt on top of them, there is still the street pattern, there is the infrastructure underneath the street and, not least, there are archaeologically relevant layers going back centuries and sometimes millennia. The grave danger of using the term 'destruction', of calling such a city 'destroyed', is that this gives carte blanche for the sort of radical approach that has caused, in all too many cases, a Second Destruction of cities far worse than the original one. Calling a city destroyed means there is nothing left to salvage, that one can go in with heavy machinery, dig up all the rubble and put it on a huge scrap-heap, a rebuild from scratch according to whatever urban concept happens to be the flavour of the day.
There can be no doubt that there is a great attraction for many people to call a city 'destroyed' because it is much easier and quicker, and probably more profitable as well, to clear the ground of any architectural and archaeological remnants and to build large-scale structures as on virgin soil. That should be sufficient reason for any person interested in cultural heritage, both above and below ground, to avoid the term and to be watchful when others use it.

Stakeholders
When we say that a place – a building, an urban structure or whatever – possesses cultural significance, we are inevitably posing the question: cultural significance for whom? Heritage value cannot exist independently. Like beauty, it lies in the eye of the beholder. Thus, cultural significance, whilst firmly rooted in the fabric and location of a place, is embodied also in the stakeholders for whom a place holds significance. One would tend to say that the primary stakeholders are the people who have been living in a town or city and who have inherited the place, and the responsibility for it, from their predecessors. But they should not be left alone with this responsibility. Particularly in places of Outstanding Universal Value, places that have World Heritage status, there can be no doubt that people all over the world can claim a stake in the survival and responsible treatment of these places as well.
This is not to diminish the precedence of the local population who, as a rule, will have a far more intense and detailed connection to a place than the world at large. Personal experience and familiarity of many years, oral traditions handed down from older relatives and many other factors combine to form close emotional ties between people and places and a sense of cultural identity that cannot be rated to highly. Therefore, every effort has to be made to enable and encourage the local population to remain in their town or, if they felt compelled to flee, give them every possible help to return so as to rebuild and continue the life and traditions connected to the place.

Decision-Making Processes
There will always be a variety of options in which direction to proceed when faced with a war-damaged city with many heritage assets. After World War Two, city planners and politicians often exclaimed in many countries: "What a catastrophe … but also, what an opportunity!" and set out to transform their cities, mostly in a top-down decision process which left little room for the views, feelings and priorities of the inhabitants at large. All too often, this has led to solutions that, in the shorter or longer run, have been recognised as unsatisfactory and therefore had to be revised and corrected as far as possible by later generations. In view of the complexity of stakeholdership, as described above, undertaking policy decisions should never be in the power of one person or group alone. Heritage Boards should be set up, in the manner of 'round tables', including not only experts and politicians but also representatives of all relevant groups, to debate and decide strategy as well as individual projects. Inevitably this will be difficult when conflict parties are expected to collaborate over issues of consolidation and rebuilding but there is no alternative when one is looking for sustainable solutions for a place.

Intervention Categories
In any city that has seen a long history there are areas of very different value, in heritage terms. This is particularly true for cities that have grown very quickly in recent decades. They typically contain an historic city centre where much of the oldest and most valuable fabric – buildings as well as archaeological layers – is concentrated, and which gives the city its specific and immediately recognisable character and identity through a number of highly prominent monuments and through the morphology of the urban structures in general. Apart from their value as architectural monuments, buildings in these historic cores very often have incredibly valuable historic contents – the interior structures of houses, their spaces, decorations and furnishings – which are also very sensitive to unsympathetic reconstruction approaches. Apart from the main central nucleus there may also be other, smaller but equally valuable historic cores and individual structures that were originally far from the centre but have been swallowed into the expanding tissue of a city. They should also be accorded the most careful attention.
Of slightly lesser, though by no means negligible value are usually the structures that surround the historic nucleus: buildings of more recent historic phases. In the belts around historic city centres

one often finds remarkable achievements of nineteenth and twentieth-century urbanism and architecture which deserve to be taken seriously in any reconstruction approach.
However, most of the fabric of a contemporary city typically belongs to the last few decades and although every architectural era has produced its own masterpieces one can, for the sake of pragmatism, assume that most of the recent building production need not be regarded as irreplaceable. In practical term this means that perhaps as much as 90 percent of the area of any war-damaged city can be rebuilt and even redesigned without the delay and the close attention that must be accorded to the areas of higher historic value. These areas outside the historic nuclei should provide sufficient space and opportunity for the creation of living space and infrastructure required to house the inhabitants of a war-ravaged city, in some cases providing temporary accommodation during the time that is required before the more historically valuable areas can be properly rehabilitated and resettled.

Monitoring Progress and Results
As a final aspect, one should always install a routine of reviewing the progress one is making and the results that the chosen policies have produced. There is no shame in abandoning a policy that turns out to be unsuccessful or counterproductive. One will always learn from practical experience and thus be able to refine one's approach, for the sake of the heritage places and particularly for the sake of the people who draw strength and a sense of identity from their historic surroundings.

GUIDELINES
ON SAFEGUARDING CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF URBAN STRUCTURES
DAMAGED BY ARMED CONFLICT
– The Cottbus Document

1 PREAMBLE

The destructive effects of war, and particularly the deliberate targeting of cultural assets, constitute an exceptional challenge for Heritage Conservation. The general principles of retaining cultural significance by continuous care and by minimal intervention may seem of little use when one is faced with catastrophic and wide-spread damage. Experience since World War II has shown that post-war rebuilding of historic cities has, all too often, resulted in a ‚Second Destruction' even more intense than the first, with valuable fabric and structures removed to make way for wholesale rebuilding, often on a much larger scale and on different street patterns. Furthermore, archaeological fabric that is sometimes thousands of years older than anything visible above ground, has often fallen victim to such rebuilding schemes. All these activities have frequently destroyed or seriously reduced the cultural identity and spirit of historic cities.
Aiming to help forestall such 'Second Destructions' of of war-damaged cities by overzealous and ill-considered activities, and to ensure that future generations will not be cut off from the age-old traditions and identity of the places, this document provides guidelines and describes approaches and policies for safeguarding the cultural significance which urban structures retain even in a damaged state.

2 BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 On 'Destruction'
Contrary to public perception and terminology, cities and other heritage places are rarely ‚destroyed' by war, in the sense that nothing of value is left. A city or place may suffer grievous and extensive damage, and this can mislead laymen to believe that it has been destroyed completely. However, war-damaged ruins, sometimes covered by the rubble of collapsed structures, invariably retain a wealth of Cultural Significance, such as the lower storeys of houses conserving their plan and layout, decorative features, vaulted spaces, cellars and other underground structures, as well as a wealth of archaeological fabric. Urban structures are shaped by the pattern of houses, streets and open spaces, their scale, shape, layout and materials; together with the dominant morphology they define the spirit of a place. They also form the locus of the history and the collective and individual memory of the people who live there, often looking back to a long family history.

2.2 On Cultural Significance and Stakeholders
The Cultural Significance of a place is embodied not only in its location, fabric, structure and visual aspects, but to a very large extent in the stakeholders for whom the place has significance. In the first instance this means the people who have lived there and who have inherited the place from their

forebears. It also includes those people all over the world who regard all cultural heritage and all places of cultural significance as the responsibility of mankind as a whole.
Thanks to their connection to the place through memory and experience, through oral traditions and many other influences, the members of the local population are bound to have a far more intense and more diverse understanding of, and connection to, the Cultural Significance of their town than other people. They should therefore be given every possible encouragement to stay in their place or, if they felt compelled to flee, given every possible help to return to it so as to rebuild and continue the life and traditions connected to the place.

2.3 On Decision–Making Processes
Decisions on post-conflict recovery of war-damaged towns should be made on a joint basis, taking into account the will and desires of the people who have a right to regard a place as their cultural inheritance as well as the internationally accepted guidelines of Heritage Conservation.
It is elementary that proper decision–making processes be established which ensure participation of all stakeholders. In post-conflict situations, this will typically raise the problem that parties that were at war until recently will need to embark of a process of coming to terms and and for gradually achieving reconciliation as a basis for collaboration. To achieve sustainable results, post-conflict recovery and rebuilding should be the outcome of a process of reconciliation, not a substitute for reconciliation.
For individual cities and places, Heritage Boards should be set up, composed of representatives of the cities or places in question as well as from international bodies and formed so as to ensure competent, fair and public proceedings. These Boards have the task to lay down binding guidelines as well as to make decisions in individual cases, and to monitor and review the ensuing activities. They should be empowered to do so by the legitimate state and local governments as well as by international bodies. They should be able to intervene if their decisions and policies are circumvented. They should be answerable to the stakeholders and to the public.

3 IMPLEMENTATION AND POLICIES

In war-damaged cities, one must distinguish between areas for different types of intervention. Typically, a very high proportion of a city area will be of low-to-medium significance in heritage terms. These areas, mainly residential in nature, will provide ample opportunity for the fast and intensive rebuilding that is necessary to secure housing and to get a city going again. By contrast, it is imperative to define the areas of highest cultural and historical significance. They must be exempted from rash and hasty interventions.
Intervention categories need to be defined on the basis of desk and ground assessment, as follows.

3.1 Assessment

Step 1: Desk preparation and assessment of Cultural Significance as it existed before the damage by armed conflict. This assessment should not only examine the immediate pre-war condition, but should take account of any problems (deformations, deterioration and their causes) of culturally significant areas before the impact of armed conflict.
The data collected should be made available in the shape of classification and mapping employing appropriate techniques.

Step 2: Whilst armed conflict continues, damage assessment should be made on the basis of available data, to be augmented by a ground survey as soon as the place is accessible. Remaining Cultural Significance after damage by armed conflict needs to be evaluated and assessed. The data collected should be made available in the shape of classification and mapping employing appropriate techniques.

As laid down in the Burra Charter, Cultural Significance should never be assessed and determined by one individual alone. Assessment should take into account all possible forms of Cultural Significance, not only aesthetic and historic values, but also emotional values. The Cultural Significance recognised for individual areas and places should be documented and explained in sufficient detail.
Documentations and assessments should be accessible for all concerned parties and for the public.

3.2 Intervention Categories
The assessments from the desk preparation and the ground survey need to be combined to chart areas requiring different approaches and falling into different categories of intervention.

3.2.1 Intervention Category A

Areas of Category A are characterised by the highest level of cultural significance. Typically, though not exclusively, they will include the oldest and most identity-forming structures of a city and the city centre.

Because of their outstanding cultural significance they should enjoy the highest degree of protection. As a first step after a ceasefire, a full documentation of the damaged area is to be conducted. No works (except protection and superficial salvage) are permissible in these areas before a complete project for a defined place or area has been approved by the relevant Heritage Board.

The following principles of rebuilding damaged places (street blocks, individual buildings, historic landmarks) are valid in areas of Intervention Category A:

- In clearing a site, the maximum amount of in situ fabric should be retained. Wherever warranted by the character and value of the damaged place, displaced fabric (rubble, fragments) should not be cleared wholesale by large machinery but should be sifted for significant architectural and decorative fragments that might be inventoried and stored properly to enable their reuse for the restoration of the structure they belong to, or kept in a museum if the building is considered a total loss.
- Rebuilding partially destroyed places need not necessarily take the form of reconstruction, although this is permissible where it is the best way to retain or recover Cultural Significance. In general, Rebuilding must be taken seriously as a design task, not a mechanical process of reproduction. New elements should be recognisable as such.
- Rebuilding projects should be based on a study and understanding of the morphology of the place as it existed before the traumatic event. Scale, rhythm, building materials, construction types and characteristic shapes of buildings and details are among the elements that define the identity of a place. They should be employed in designing replacement structures for lost buildings.
- In places where little or no architectural fabric of cultural significance remains, the site and shape of the plot as well as the volume of the lost building should be regarded as parameters for the rebuilding project.
- Urbanist modifications (such widening streets, public spaces, courtyards) should not be undertaken at the cost of valuable in situ remnants.
- In rebuilding damaged places it should be taken into account that the recent destruction is also a historic event worth remembering. I cannot be the aim of post-war reconstruction to obliterate all evidence of that traumatic event.

3.2.2 Intervention Category B

Areas of Category B are characterised by possessing a degree of cultural significance that warrants protective policies on a more generalised level.

In areas of this category, the general rebuilding scheme must be cleared with the Heritage Board. The Board can lay down rules and regulations governing such matters as the land use, the street pattern and the scale of rebuilding. The Board can also require particular approaches to selected places or buildings of cultural significance within the area.

3.2.3 Intervention Category C

Areas of Category C possess little or no cultural significance. In areas of this category, rebuilding can go ahead on the basis of the general planning bylaws valid for the area. Participation of the Heritage Board is not required.

3.3 Monitoring and reviewing processes

All processes of post-conflict recovery of heritage cities should be accompanied by a process of monitoring and reviewing. This includes proper documentation of all relevant discussions, of decisions and activities. It includes periodic reflection on the effects achieved and, if necessary, the willingness to change policies and approaches that turn out to be less than beneficial to cultural significance.

This document itself should be discussed, revised and updated on the basis of experience gained.

Esra Can Akbil - Georgios Psaltis

From Conflict to Reconciliation

A Case of Heritage Conservation in the Nicosia UN Buffer Zone, Cyprus

Abstract

In a critical location of the UN Buffer Zone (UNBZ) of Nicosia, Cyprus, stands a 'home', a space for encounters and dialogue. Promoted by the local civil society, the Home for Cooperation (H4C)[1] was envisioned and implemented by the intercommunal, non-profit and non-governmental Association of Historical Dialogue and Research between 2006 and 2011. This semi-abandoned and devastated building of inter-cultural significance was turned into a unique civic centre. With its conservation quality, as well as its contribution to the peace-building process and to the revitalisation of the UNBZ, the H4C was awarded in 2014 the Europa Nostra Award in the Conservation category. The remarkable success of the intervention has enhanced the increasing but yet blocked dynamic for socio-economic rehabilitation of the adjacent areas.[2]

The aim of this paper is to emphasise through this pioneering project what grassroots movements can achieve in a divided context and will investigate further the role of active civil society as a considerable stakeholder in the post conflict reconstruction process. In fact, the H4C is much more than just safeguarding the frozen and decaying cultural heritage of the capital's dead zone; it is the creation of an infrastructure to support lasting peace within a highly divisive context, leading the process from conflict to reconciliation and offering a space where the concept of common heritage puts official narratives into question.

The project sets out a unique case study in regards to its process; a careful balance between different sides: promoters, management, sponsors and all those involved in relation to the current political context. Its whole process contributes significantly to a guide of principles for post-conflict conservation of heritage.

Keywords:
Civil society-led initiative, conservation, peace-building through cultural heritage, post-conflict reconstruction, architecture of peace, intercultural dialogue, buffer zone, legitimisation of actions, Nicosia, Cyprus

The conflict between the two main Cypriot communities[3] date back to the 1950s during the last decade of British rule. At that time, the terms 'Turkish Cypriots' [TC] and 'Greek Cypriots' [GC] were not yet well conceived, as ethnicity and identity were determined by religious beliefs. As in other similar cases, the conflict was not driven only by local disputes of clashing actors but it rather appeared to be the result of interwoven synergies and antagonisms of external forces aiming to satisfy people's own interests.

Just three years after the birth of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, the armed clashes between the two sides resulted in the first demographic separation and the division of the capital Nicosia into two sectors. Division was strengthened in 1974 with the creation of two distinct geographical areas, one to the north administered by the TC community and still controlled by the Turkish army and one to the south administered by the GC community. A UN buffer zone dividing the island from east to west cuts the Renaissance walls of Nicosia into two. The 1974 division marked the absolute arrest of contact between the two main communities which lasted almost 30 years.

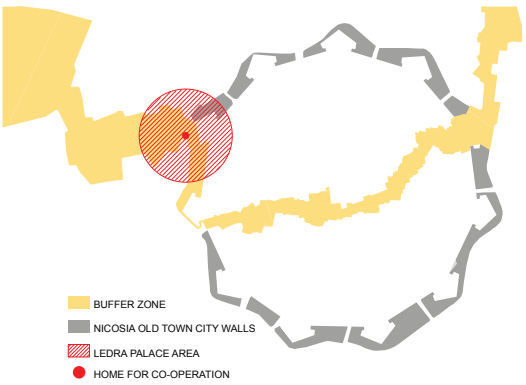

Fig. 1: Location of Home For Cooperation, AHDR Building in Relation to the Nicosia Old Town and UN Buffer zone.

Recent developments and initiatives

In 2003 several checkpoints were opened through the UN buffer zone establishing contact again. As more crossing points open across the divide, more people in the two communities seem to become aware of the complexities and fear the worst: the validation of the division.

In the early 1980s a series of initiatives on a local administration level took place with the aim of reducing the impact of division in the capital. The bi-communal Nicosia Master Plan has been operating ever since with remarkable results made more evident after the opening of the checkpoints in 2003. Ever since, the growing socio-political maturity and the intense negotiations have given space to a consistent number of official initiatives and technical committees in the fields of economy, cultural heritage, post-conflict reconstruction, environment, etc. formed with members of both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. The Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage, established after an agreement in 2008 supported by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and European Commission, however, is the most productive one, which had successfully accomplished conservation works on both sides of the divide. The Committee is comprised of an advisory board composed of archaeologists, architects, art historians and town planners from both communities. All its programmatic decisions are taken in line with the agreed principles and tasks as ascribed by the two leaders of the communities. The interventions of the committee are led by the emergency measures to avoid further deterioration or collapse of the monuments island-wide. The conservation works by the Committee is promoted as "monument(s) that belongs to our collective memory and heritage […]" (Hadjidemetriou & Tuncay 2015), an argument that generates an enabling environment for a constructive dialogue through cultural heritage.

The interventions of the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage, however, are located on two sides of the UN Buffer zone, but not yet for the area within. Driven by a common view and future in a shared country, some outstanding civil initiatives were also formed led by the island's young civil society, which developed a vision for the area.

An idea for revitalising the dead zone of Nicosia: A dream is conceived

As the need for rapprochement and dialogue was becoming more and more evident, the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR), an inter-communal, non-profit and non-governmental association, was founded some months just before the opening of the first checkpoints in 2003. In 2005 the Association was in desperate need for a base, a place somewhere in between the zones to use as an meeting point. With the support of the UN, which initially hosted the Association at its premises, an abandoned building in the UN buffer zone was designated. The project 'Revitalising the Dead Zone' started to take form.

A brief history of the building

The designated structure is located on a unique site attached to the walled part of the capital Nicosia, just by the Venetian walls and moat, the Djirit Hisari (Javelin Fort), the recently renovated Arab Ahmed quarter and the Armenian cemetery. The two storey structure was built between 1950 and 1952 opposite the prestigious Ledra Palace, completed in the mid-1940s. The wider neighbourhood itself became a living example of coexistence and multiculturalism hosting the homes and enterprises of all communities of Cyprus. The Ledra Palace area used to be one of the very first neighbourhoods developed in the first half of 20th century just outside the walls as an extension of the picturesque Arab Ahmed quarter.

This modern building was erected by two famous Armenian Cypriot photographers and brothers, Haig and Levon Mangoian, and was meant to serve the increasing residential and commercial needs of the expanding capital. On the ground floor five small enterprises were located along the busy street, strictly related to the Ledra Palace's clientele (taxi service, women's coiffeur, a photography shop, souvenir shop and car rental shop), plus a residential unit facing the moat. The first floor hosted three residential units with a small laundry located on the roof top. Access to all residential units and rooftop was provided through a central staircase with the entrance coming from the once cosmopolitan King Edward 7th street, the name given during British colonial rule.

Inter-communal clashes during 1963–64 left traumatic marks on the street and in the lives of its inhabitants. In 1964, barricades marking the separation of Nicosia into a Turkish and a Greek sector were set up very close to the building. In 1964,

Fig. 2: Home for Cooperation Building within the historically significant context of Ledra Palace Area, standing between the two checkpoints.

along with the barricades came a new presence in the area: the UN peace-keeping forces. Movement from north to south along the street and vice versa was limited until 1968. In summer 1974 the destiny of the street was marked in a dramatic way. The building was caught in the middle of a crossfire before it was left half-abandoned and devastated in 'no-man's land' between two checkpoints, at the centre of what came to be known as the Buffer Zone/Dead Zone. The owners and tenants had to evacuate the building. What was once a multicultural and cosmopolitan street became rigidly divided and its name was changed to Marcos Dracos (GC sector) and Suleyman II (TC sector).

From 1974 onwards the Buffer Zone became a symbol of confrontation. The Ledra Palace crossing was the route through which very few people could cross the divide. The Ledra Palace Hotel was the venue where negotiations for the 'Cyprus problem' were held and also one of the very few places for civil society from either side to meet and pursue common projects, as well as having the opportunity to meet people from other communities in Cyprus. On 23 April 2003, the dividing line opened some of the gates to the public, with the Ledra Palace crossing being the first to open. Hundreds of people queued at the checkpoint to cross the divide for the first time in over 30 years. The building, located across the first barricade to be opened at equal distances from the two checkpoints was loaded with further symbolical value.

Moreover, the building is an example of the transition to a newly imported construction method; it consists of a reinforced concrete structure with static contribution of the external and the central staircase masonry and is almost exclusively covered with local yellow stone. Its plan follows mainly along the plot's shape. The main building has a walled surface of 280 m^2 and 40 m^2 approx. of covered verandas per floor. The mainly transparent west façade becomes predominant as it opens with its large shop windows covered by an arcade along the only adjoining Marcos Dracos street. The ground floor arcade is supported by six free rounded columns while the other

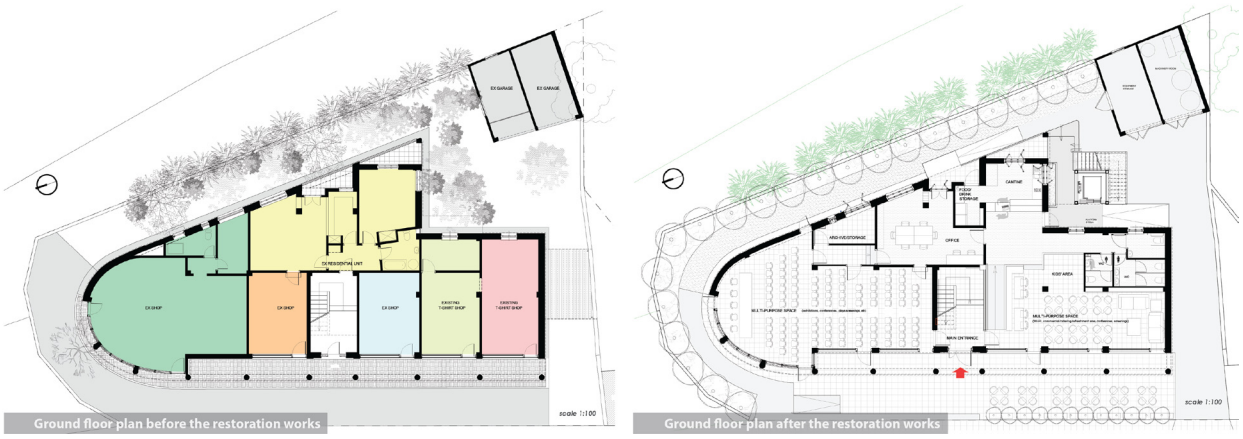

Fig. 3a: Ground Floor Plan, before and after the restoration works (Drawings courtesy of studio3 architects and etikastudio).

three are merged into the wall towards the north. The east façade facing the Arab Ahmed quarter is less transparent but still imposing while the north one vanishes in its roundness. The south façade bounding with another property is the least transparent and important (figures 3).

From an urban and town planning perspective, the potential destination/use of the buffer zone including its currently adjacent areas, has always been a great challenge for the Nicosia Master Plan. The Ledra Palace Area has been defined as a Multi-Dynamic Centre by the Regulatory Plans and declared a Special Character Area from the Department of Town Planning and Housing of the Republic of Cyprus due to its social, historical, architectural, urban and environmental importance. At the time of project initiation, numerous constructions in this area had already been listed by the same Department as cultural heritage. The chosen building stayed out of this procedure due to lack of access in the Buffer Zone at the time of the evaluation, i.e. before the opening of the Ledra Palace barricade. As part of the project activities and in collaboration with the Nicosia Municipality, the team convinced the previous owner back in February 2007 to apply for the inclusion of the building in the Cultural Heritage List receiving a positive reply a month later.

Until 2009, commercial activity had managed to survive in the building; a T-shirt shop, occupying the two most southern shops of the ground floor, continued to keep the building partially alive. As in the past, commercial activities were essentially related to the Ledra Palace Hotel's needs, only this time the hotel did not host tourists but the UN forces in Cyprus. The presence of the shopkeeper and her active T-shirt shop had mainly a positive impact on the project as it limited building decay through time and it kept utilities active obtaining thus easily the relevant certificates from the Authorities.

Preliminary research

Technical research was conducted through the Nicosia Municipality Archive from the early stages. The project was designed by Michaelides Bros Architects during 1950–51 in two – not well distinct – phases, since it appears that the decision to erect the first floor was taken during the construction of the ground floor. The final project – as this appeared on the deposited drawings – corresponded almost exclusively to the built situation. However, on the proposed façade, the cantilevered slab covering today the first floor balcony was supported from the ground floor columns which extended to the upper floor. Instead, the shift to a cantilevered balcony was the result of a project modification during the course of construction work, a probable consequence of the impulsive influences of the reinforced concrete's offered advantages. In fact, the two-storey structure is a remarkable example of the architectural transition process developing during those times throughout the island; structures experienced the shifting process from load-bearing masonry to reinforced concrete and to a simplification of façades with a gradual abandonment of neoclassical elements and pitched roofs. This phenomenon, rather than a movement (more evident between 1946 and 1960), was tightly interwoven with the island's modernisation procedure and was a precursor of the Cyprus Post-colonial Architectural Style. One of the movement's main characteristics was to exhibit and flaunt the achievements of the innovative construction technique. Emphasizing the structure became thus a basic façade design tool, often combined to the local yellow stone in an attempt to formulate a new local identity. The yellow cladding, vests the most typical façades of the 1940s and 1950s structures. In regards to the colours, a research was conducted comparing similar buildings while all colour layers found in the building were collected in order to reach the most appropriate choices.

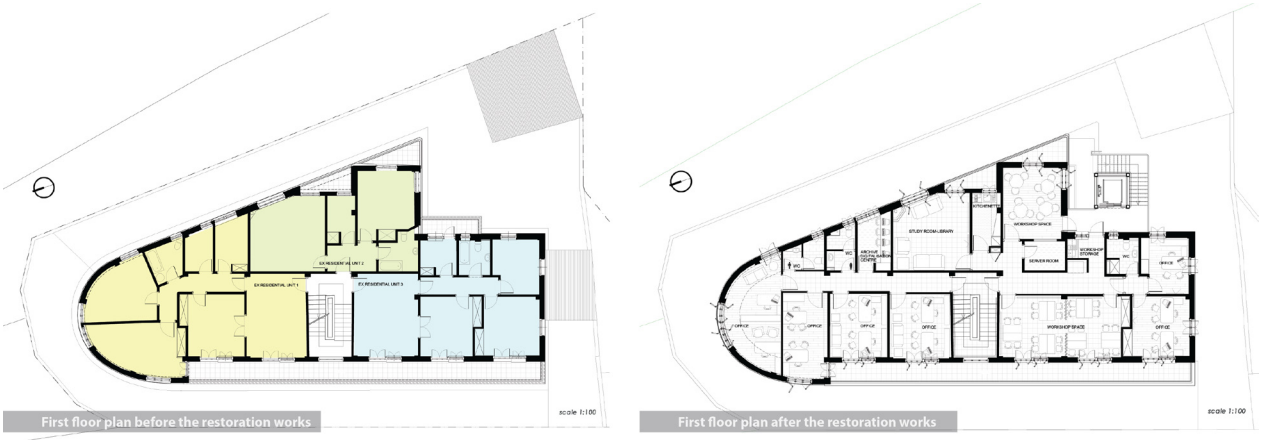

Fig. 3b: First Floor Plan, before and after the restoration works (Drawings courtesy of studio3 architects and etikastudio).

Accessing the building

During the first visits, the only accessible building sections were the T-shirt shop and the ground floor residential unit. After the official grant of authorisation by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) further access was provided. Due to the building's location, all visits were escorted by UNFICYP members. The upper floor and roof were accessible for short periods with an escort whereas the rest of the ground floor remained blocked by barbed wire or a wall. The back yard, totally inaccessible beyond the garage, was densely fenced with barbed wire due to the possible presence of active mines or bullets.

The above situation hindered the building measurements and the possibility of drafting an accurate evaluation of the structure's conditions which would correspond to a plausible restoration cost-analysis. However, the building was measured and redesigned almost completely with a series of assumptions and based on old drawings creating thus a first draft budget analysis.

The Home for Cooperation (H4C): from idea to implementation

By 2007, a proper project proposal had been drafted in order to seek funding. The overall aim of the project was to contribute to the revitalization and to the cultural heritage conservation of the buffer zone by restoring the building located in an area of multiple and symbolic values and by transforming the premises into a fully functional multicommunal educational and research centre. The centre's further aim was to offer opportunities for employment, education, archiving, research and production of cooperative ideas and publications, drawing on local resources. The project would also contribute to promotion of contact and collaboration between people from different ethnic, religious or linguistic backgrounds from local to European levels. The idea was to create a tangible example "[…] to transform what is currently referred to as the Buffer Zone or Dead Zone into a zone of cooperation" (Epaminondas 2011) where all 'dead zone' parts can become alive again

Fig. 4: Before and After Restoration Works, view from south (Photos Georgios Psaltis).

Fig. 5: Before and After Restoration Works, view from north (Photos Georgios Psaltis).

and turn from symbols of separation to unity, from conflict to reconciliation through a healing process. H4C aims to break the common perception of the buffer zone by enabling young people, educators, historians, researchers and activists to develop knowledge and critical thinking through hosting programmes on education, training and research. At the same time, it could provide a roof for NGOs and individuals to design and implement innovative projects for the empowerment of civil society, the enhancement of intercultural dialogue, the enhancement of awareness of the complexity and diversity of history and the importance of cultural heritage and its conservation.

Securing funding

The building remained in the above-described conditions until funds were secured and project advancement was guaranteed. At that point special requests were made to the UN squads to search and eventually defuse active mines from the plot. In November 2007, in the presence of Donors' representatives, the barbed wire was completely removed from the building and full accessibility was restored including the plot's back yard. As a result, completing the existing drawings and evaluating the building's condition became feasible as visit and photography restrictions were gradually reduced.

The acquisition, renovation and use of H4C were made possible upon receiving grants from Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein (through the EEA and Norway Grants). A major contract was signed, dividing the project into stages of three years and releasing funds upon the completion of each stage. The project also received monetary support from Sweden, Switzerland and the Netherlands and by the constant support of the Council of Europe. The Government of Cyprus as well as individuals, organizations and authorities in Cyprus and abroad, such as the United Nations Development Program (ACT) actively endorsed the idea of this project. The approximate total cost of the approved project was expected to be € 1.227.258. However the real cost reached to € 1.435.808 including purchase, restoration, labour, equipment and sustainability of H4C.

Design process and obstacles

Our design team, comprising GC and TC architects, both men and women, had an enduring and fruitful collaboration during the whole project duration. After a series of preliminary meetings with the local administration and other authorities, a first project proposal adjusted to the authorities' and donors' requests were drafted, which developed gradually into the final project. During these meetings, the main restoration and design guidelines were also provided: a strict 'maintenance approach' for the exterior and a 'free approach'for the interior. The design was thus based on two main aspects: space merging (given the advantages of concrete) and maximization of flexibility and adjustability for eventual future uses. Access to all floors and services was guaranteed to disabled people through the construction of ramps and the installation of an elevator securing access to the first floor and eventually to the rooftop (future use). All internal and external (usable) doors were reconstructed for the use of disabled persons and upgraded to the security standards in force.

The design process was conducted by taking into account the legislation and the particularities related to the project's sensitivity and the complications stemming from its location. The building's destination corresponded both to the regulatory plan provisions and to the UN view for the area. Measuring and drafting the 'current situation' drawings had been rather arduous due to the initial inaccessibility and safety issues as well as the

dominating bad health conditions. In addition, further problems deriving from its location had to be clarified such as who would be responsible in case of fire or for waste collection, general security and accessibility problems and other issues taken for granted in 'usual' projects. All procedures resulted time-consuming since no similar case had ever been initiated nor implemented in the Buffer Zone. A huge number of stakeholders and authorities were involved in the decision-making process making deadlines even tighter. Moreover, the idea was often not taken seriously since the promoter was an NGO with obvious funding limitations.
On a cadastral level, the official plot boundaries did not correspond to the built situation causing uncertainty in regards to the design of part of the plot, the waste point collection and the fencing. The military presence in the plot hampered official authorization. An UN military booth hindered roof works and a National Guard booth in the southern part of the plot inevitably involved the Ministry of Defence. The above-mentioned cases increased difficulties for drafting more accurate budget estimation, which was already tight, and extremely fluctuating since the initiation of the project.
The building's condition was evaluated according to a scale which concerned several points from structure (foundations included) to finishes (cladding, tiles) and fixed furniture. The condition of the construction was very bad after years of abandonment and neglect. Beyond decay, bullet holes, barbed wire and walled windows inevitably and significantly marked the building. The 'healing wounds process' concept developed by the design team was rejected by the local authorities. The idea suggested symbolically the passage from wound to scar, from concave to convex through the installation of crystal semi-spheres and tiny historic images in 3–4 bullet signs.

Construction and general project management
The restoration works lasted 15 months (February 2010 – April 2011) after a long procedure of tendering for contractors. The AHDR appointed a steering committee and hired a project manager to overlook the complex and sensitive procedures for a successful project implementation requested by its pioneer character and the high number of involved actors. Among others, legal and accounting services were hired while the assigned technical team carried out all the relevant issues. Simultaneously, the idea of the Home for Cooperation, its facilities and functions was disseminated by members and friends of the AHDR in Cyprus and abroad. The management team comprising AHDR members and the Technical Team supervised all the implementation stages.

Conclusions
The Home for Cooperation (H4C) has been operating actively, housing local and international events beside many bi-communal initiatives and collaborations since September 2011. As a result, it sets a strong example of how post-conflict restoration/reuse can bring wider urban fabric out of socio-economic decline. The building has officially assumed the role of an irreplaceable testifier to the history of the Ledra Palace area and together the carrier of its future. The bullet marks remain a unique storyteller of the turbulent clashes and the 'healing procedure' sending a clear message of choice for peaceful coexistence today.
Furthermore, the restoration contributes to the preservation of the 1950s architectural and urban legacy of Nicosia and constitutes an exceptional contributor to the island's architectural continuity. It contributes to the preservation of traditional neighbourhoods through the protection of the surrounding vegetation which was enriched with

Fig. 6: Before and After Restoration Works, building detail (Photos Georgios Psaltis).

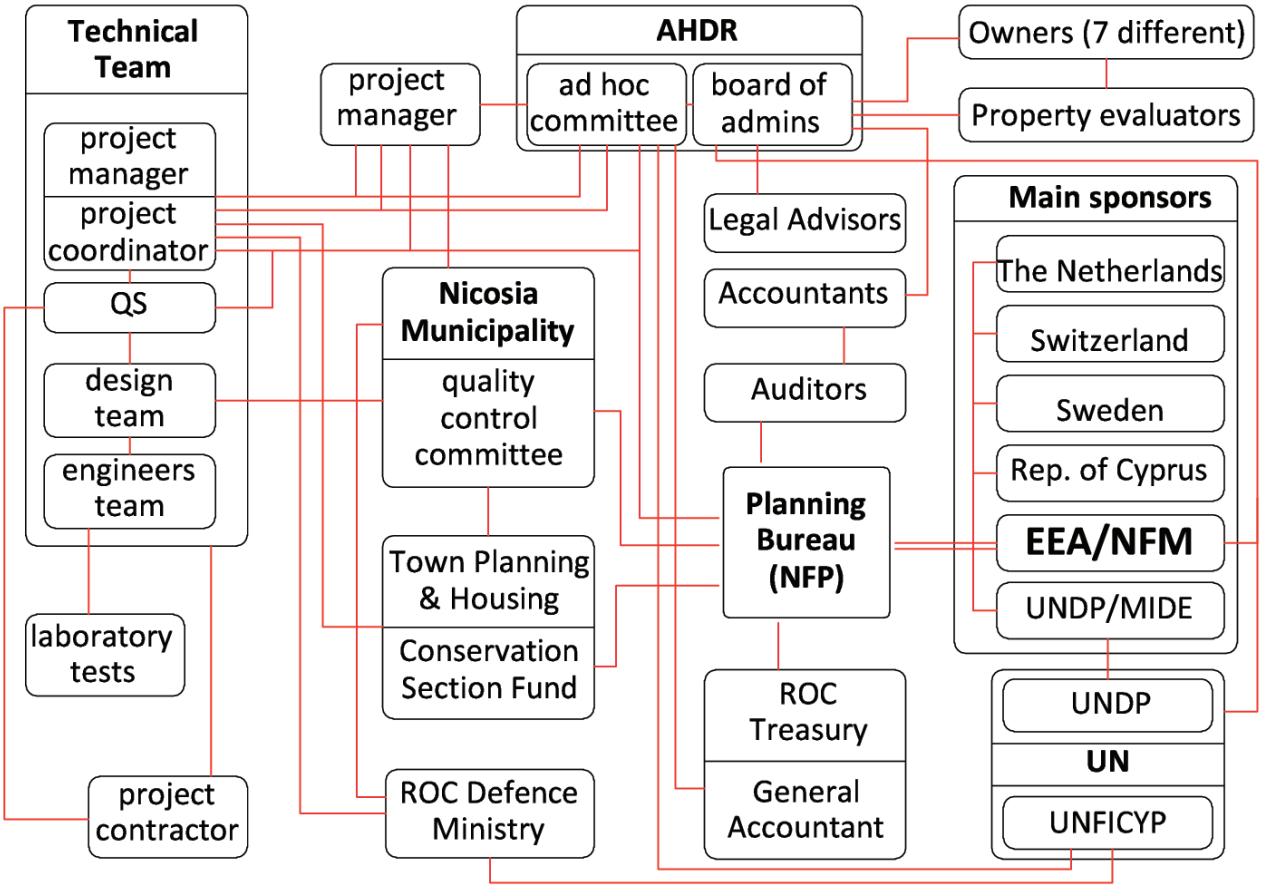

Fig. 7: Project Management, FlowChart.

native/typical species. The consequences of division and the initial deficiency in post-division regulations in regards to conservation of buildings other than monuments have caused the demolition of a considerable number of constructions, which would have been worth conserving. Despite the particular attention given lately to the modernism legacy and the outstanding economic incentives of the Conservation Department, the idea of demolition and reconstruction is still prevailing on conservation (where possible) given the impressive bonus of the regulatory plans and their unlimited buildable plots.

Values and legitimisation of actions

The remarkable success of the intervention has enhanced the increasing but yet blocked enthusiasm for socio-economic rehabilitation of the urban areas adjacent to the buffer zone. As for the heritage value of the UNBZ, it is subject to everyday decay; on the other hand, it is evident that part of such architectural and urban legacy might not even have existed today if it hadn't been 'frozen' in the buffer zone. This makes the H4C even more significant; it constitutes a tangible example of cultural heritage preservation and the rehabilitation of premises located within the buffer zone, which paves the way for an immediate safeguarding of this legacy and the shrinking of the UNBZ. Moreover, its pioneer character has filled an apparent legislative void and has also proven that similar actions can be implemented before an overall political solution.

The positive results of the multi-communal team's fruitful cooperation and efforts together with the interest of those who believed and funded the project are reflected in an everyday shift of the Buffer Zone from a 'no man's land' to a place for all, a fundamental value standing at the conception of the European dream. The Europa Nostra Award: European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage in the Conservation Category was given not only for the heritage value of the building but to 'its contribution to wider peace-making procedure' which contributed to the selection of the building amongst 160 projects from 30 countries:

Fig. 8: Home for Cooperation Entrance Door with proud presentation of Europa Nostra Award (Photo: Esra Can Akbil).

"The jury felt that the Home for Cooperation was something to be really proud of. It constitutes, they felt, a substantial contribution to the revitalization of Nicosia's UN Dead Zone as well as the wider peacemaking procedure." (Europa Nostra Awards 2014)

The Home for Cooperation is undoubtedly something more than a valuable and well-restored piece of cultural heritage as its values extend beyond the borders of architecture and conservation and beyond the physical borders of Cyprus. It is a place where multiple and fundamental European values are tightly interwoven and made available to all without discrimination, a place where society meets culture, where history meets education, a place where the ‚Other' goes from being the enemy to becoming a friend.

Endnotes

[1] Full Project Proposal Title: *Revitalising the Dead Zone: an Educational Centre and Home for Cooperation*.
[2] The restoration and re-use of the abandoned adjacent building is under study.
[3] 18% Turkish Cypriots and 78% Greek Cypriots, 4% Armenians, Maronites and others (Source: 1960 census).

Credits

Fig. 1–2: authors.
Fig. 3: studio3 architects and etikastudio.
Fig. 4–6: Georgios Psaltis.
Fig. 7: Assosiation of Historical Dialoge and Research (AHDR)
Fig. 8: Esra Can Akbil.

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Authors' Note:
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Ksenia Surikova

Memorialisation of the Events of the Second World War in Russia and Belarus

Abstract

Culture of remembrance about events associated with the Second World War in Russia and Belarus has its specific features. From early on during the Soviet period, the trauma of the war had entered the national consciousness and was felt as strongly as in no any other country.
Unlike in Europe, the process of creating a culture of remembrance which is based not only on a national model of self-glorification but also includes self-criticism addressed to the past has not even begun in Russia and Belarus.
Prevalent ways to talk about the traumatic past are characterized by the following features:

1. Winning is the main motive: Although the memory of the war is full of tragic stories they remain unexamined and are not involved in the process of constructing national memory about the Great Patriotic War. Narrations usually are focused on the triumph, while the trauma is mostly excluded from public debate. The result of the war is given more importance than the experience of the war itself. The fact of having gained victory finally is more important than all the negative aspects associated with the war: significant losses of life (military and civilian), collaboration, occupation, repression in the army, Soviet war crimes (Katyn, for examples), etc.
2. Homogeneity: In Russia and Belarus the culture of remembrance is static, almost sacred. Its main themes are patriotism and militarization. Individual fate in the Soviet Union and modern Russia plays a subordinate role.

Patriotism and militarisation form a special discourse of trauma, which may use only one visual language, generating a number of similar memorial sites (monuments, museums, memorials). This type of monument, which appeared in the USSR, continues to be reproduced in modern Russia and Belarus: Museum of the Great Patriotic War (Minsk, Belarus), Memorial Trostenets (Minsk, Belarus), Museum of the Great Patriotic War on Poklonnaya Gora (Moscow, Russia),etc.

Keywords:
Museum, Remembrance, War, Museum Architecture.

The key idea of this work is to show how the collective perception of the events of the Second World War is reflected in the museum projects accomplished in Russia and Belarus,[1] both at the level of architecture and at the level of exhibition. In Russia and in the countries of the former Soviet bloc, the cultural memory of the Great Patriotic War[2] is very different from the European tradition. Its key elements were laid down as far back as in Soviet times, and they still exist, virtually without any change, in today's cultural space of Russia and Belarus.

Sociologist Boris Dubin (Dubin 2008: 7) describes the creation of the myth of war as follows:
"Paradoxically as it may seem, it [the myth] may be called not only the major event of the Soviet period but the central 'event' of the Brezhnev Era, when it was created. The reason for and the justification (one might say, self-justification) of the Brezhnev fifteen-year period, as well as of the entire Soviet history taken as a whole is the victory in the war." In this regard, Dubin describes the role of the State as the 'exclusive memory holder' and 'designer of history'.

Fig. 1: Minsk (Belarus), The Belorussian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War, 2014 (Wikimedia Commons).

The creation of a culture of remembrance, which is not limited by the old, exclusive jubilation/mourning model based on national self-glorification and which includes as well self-criticism addressed to one's own past, was a very slow process in post-war Europe and continues today. In Russia, this process is long overdue.

Specific features of cultural memory in Russia and their effect on formation of museum image

In Russia, the cultural memory has many aspects, and a great number of studies by sociologists and historians (Dubin 2008; Etkind 2011; Etkind 2013) are dedicated to fixing its evolution and current state. For this work, there are mainly three key features of particular interest: firstly, the use of the victory as head motif, and secondly, as a consequence, the glorification of all war events, and finally the homogeneity of the war memory.

These specific features of the cultural memory have their impact on many aspects of the cultural and social policy, and on foreign politics. They are all visibly embodied (emerge full blown) in the museum buildings and exhibitions.

Winning as head motif

It is the key feature of the memory culture regarding the war: the result of the war – the victory – is given more importance than the difficulties of the war time. The victory proves to be more important than all negative moments associated both with the period of the active war operations, and with the post-war time: huge military and civilian casualties, the problem of Ostarbeiter (Eastern workers), the many war prisoners, collaboration, occupation, repression in the army, the Soviet war crimes (Katyn, for example), deportation of allegedly disloyal nationalities, etc.

The victory motif is repeated time after time again in the architectural forms of the museums, both on a central and regional level. The use of the victory motif in the architectural design of facades is independent as well from the period in which any of the museums were establishtimed. Elements of the triumphal architecture and heroic motifs were widely used in the Soviet period, in the perestroika period and in the 21st century.

The most recent example is the Belorussian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War in Minsk (figure 1) – the central and the largest museum dedicated to the Great Patriotic War in the country, which was opened in 2014. A concept of its own martyrdom is determinedly cultivated in today's Belarus. There, the Second World War became a national trauma of such intensity that it is not comparable to other countries in the world.

Fig. 2: Moscow (Russia), Central Museum of the Great Patriotic War, 1995 (Wikimedia Commons).

But for all that, the designers only kept the victorious and heroic motifs in the architecture and exhibition of the museum.

The museum building comprises four formidable blocks that symbolize the four years of the war. Between the blocks, there are spaces, through which one can see the main victory symbol: the Obelisk to Hero City Minsk. The building facade is made of steel and golden-hued glass – a symbol of golden splendor of the victors' medals.

According to the chief architect Victor Kramarenko (Voronkova 2011), the building architecture embodies the movement of the fight and the triumph of the victory. The west facade of the building is dynamic due to the incline towards the west, while the east facade is more stationary due to the mirror glazing, in which the Victory Park is reflected with its peace, landscape, trees and greenery. The facade is designed as a victory salute, whose beams break the facade like fireworks' flash exploding in the night sky. Each beam-like pylon is decorated with high reliefs dedicated to the selected episodes of the war: the sudden attack and the fighting at the border; the defense of the Brest Fortress, the defense of Mogilyov, the guerrilla movement, the liberation of Minsk, etc. The only reminder of the tragedy of military action is the images on the facades facing the Victory Park.

The exhibition space of the museum is built in the traditional way: ten rooms are arranged according to the chronology of military action. The exhibits, witnesses of the war, archives, photo and film documents, and multimedia should, as envisioned by the authors, help the museum visitors 'to experience' the war from its beginning up to the victorious finale. The conceptual culmination of the exhibition is the Victory Hall. It is a spacious room with a glass dome roof, through which the sunlight penetrates and falls on the white marble walls. Here, the names of the war heroes are inscribed in golden letters.

The humanity and tragedy of war, which are characteristic themes of many European military museums, are not addressed. However, there is the 'Roads of War' Room – the largest in the museum – where combat equipment, tanks, guns and vehicles are displayed.

The complex of Central Museum of the Great Patriotic War (figure 2) on the Poklonnaya Hill in Moscow is also one of the largest Russian museums dedicated to this theme. In its architectural solution, it includes all elements of the triumphal architecture: the obelisk, the multiple repeated arches of the facade suggestive of a triumphal gate and the ceremonial equestrian sculptures. The museum building is a cube topped

Fig. 3: Krasnodon (Ukraine), The Young Guard Museum, 1970 (Wikimedia Commons).

Fig. 4: Kolomna (Russia), The Military Glory Museum, 2010 (Wikimedia Commons).

with a huge dome with a 15-meter steeple, whose seven circular bases accommodate the dioramas of the major events of the Great Patriotic War.
The museum part of the ensemble comprises the Memory and Glory Hall, the Art Gallery and the six dioramas dedicated to the major battles: 'The counterattack of Soviet troops near Moscow in December 1941', 'The Siege of Leningrad', 'The Battle of Stalingrad. Joining of the Fronts', 'The Battle of Kursk', 'The Crossing of the Dnieper', 'The Berlin Attack', as well as the historical exhibition halls and a meeting hall for veterans.
Being logical for the Central Memorial Complex, the victory motif is raised there to a superlative degree and repeated multiple times in all elements of the Complex
The exhibition structure of any large military museum in the country includes, by all means, the memory and glory rooms, and in the Central Museum of the Great Patriotic War, the Military Leaders' Hall has been added.

Homogeneity
In addition to the glorification, the culture of memory in the post-Soviet states is characterized by a static and sacral nature. Its head motif is patriotism and militarization. The destiny of an individual in the memory space plays a subordinate role both in the Soviet Union and in today's Russia.
This uniformity, homogeneity of the war memory produces conventional and habitual monuments and museums, and a single visual language of the narrative for any story. It can be seen in the forms of many 'twin' museums that are reproduced regardless of a museum theme. As a rule, it is a simple – rectangular or circular in plan – one-storey building, the area around which is transformed into the exhibition space for military equipment. The only difference between such museums is in the decorative elements and, sometimes, in the color and lining of facades.

Even particularly tragic and symbolic episodes of the war such as the history of the Young Guard Underground Movement do not contribute to the creation of an imaginative architectural solution.

The Museum-Monument to the Defenders of the Caucasus Passes in Karachay-Cherkessia.
The Museum-Monument dedicated to the defense of the Caucasus Passes in the years of the Great Patriotic War was build in 1968. The memorial includes a complex of buildings on both sides of the highway that passes by: a reinforced-concrete building in the form of a round blockhouse 11 meters in diameter on one side and the steles in the form of fire slits 10 meters high on the other side, with the eternal flame between them burning at the collective grave. The steles are connected to the museum building through reinforced-concrete dragon's teeth of different sizes symbolizing the heroic deeds of the soldiers, who defended the Caucasus Mountains. The exhibition in its modern version was created in 1985 and includes historical documents, trophies, photographs and personal belongings of the soldiers.
As envisioned by the designers – Vahtang Davitai and Alexander Chikovani –, the memorial should symbolize the lofty Caucasus Mountains, the strength of the Soviet soldiers, the commitment of the military glory heirs to the feat of their fathers – heroes of the Great Patriotic War (Aliev 2002). This project combined the two specific features of the memory culture in Russia: the restrained concrete building, basically without decorative elements and any individuality, and impregnation with heroic motifs and themes.

The Young Guard Museum in Krasnodon
The Museum[3] (figure 3) was opened 6 May 1970 and is dedicated to the activity of the underground anti-fascist organization, which was functioning in Krasnodon during the Great Patriotic War from September 1942 through January 1943.

As already mentioned, this episode is one of the most heroic and tragic in the history of the Great Patriotic War: the organization of young people, which operated in the German-occupied territory, was discovered and almost all its members were executed. However, even in this case the visual language used remains very spare.

The museum complex comprises two rectangular volumes connected via a gallery. The main exhibition is arranged in the central volume, which is placed on a glass base. The building facades are faced with plates of sand color, and the only decorative element is the engraved names and surnames of the organization members that encircle the facade.

The entire ground floor of the museum is occupied by the hall of rituals decorated with the huge mosaic panel picture *The Victory Banner* and with the sculptural portraits of the Krasnodon Underground leaders. The museum exhibition arranged on the first floor consists of nine sections. The lower exhibition band includes the horizontal display cases where primarily the personal belongings of the members of the underground are exhibited. The upper main band made of the vertical display cases and showcards carries the principal narrative load of the exhibition and expresses its content. On display here are the primary documents, photographs and exhibits of a material nature.

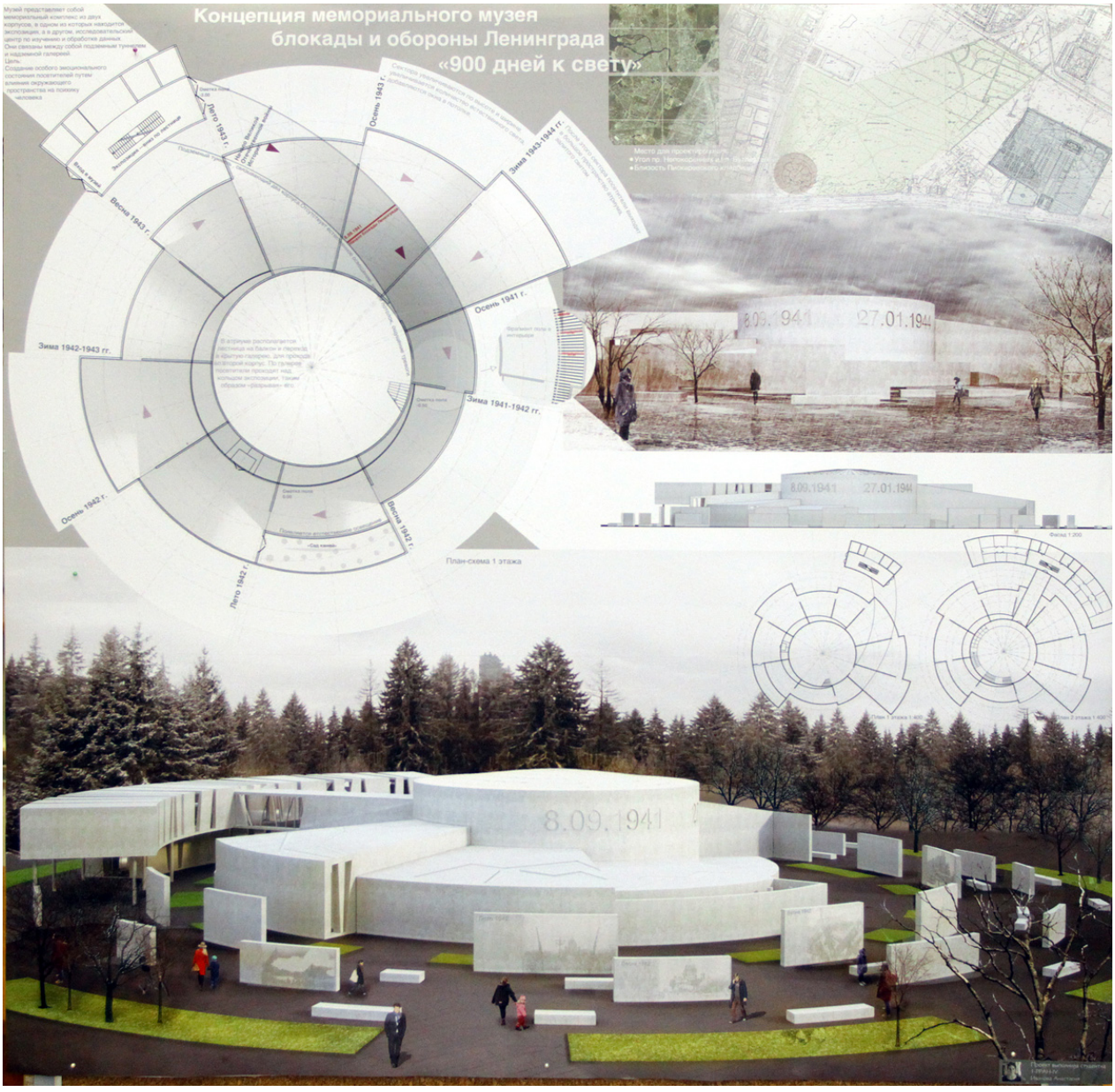

Fig. 5: Ivanova Anastasia. Project '900 Days Towards the Light' (Property of the author).

Fig. 6: Vinogradova Maria, Vinogradova Ksenia. Project '90 steps = 900 days of blockade' (Property of the author).

Such division illustrates the subordinate value of the destinies and stories of individual organization members, and their insignificance for the memory policy in the USSR.
The adjacent building accommodates a lecture room, library and exhibition hall. Initially made of glass and in contrast to the main museum building, it was tile-lined after the recent renovation and has absolutely merged with the neighboring structure. As a result, the museum complex has finally lost its individuality and has become indistinguishable from the typical Soviet residential buildings in Krasnodon.

The Military Historical Museum *Zaitseva Gora*
The Military Historical Museum *Zaitseva Gora* (Kaluga Region) is dedicated to the events of 1942–1943 when the Red Army troops drove the enemy from Tula, liberated Kaluga and reached the Warsaw highway where heavy fighting took place.
The Zaitseva Gora Complex includes a museum of military glory, a memorial with a monument and gun groups, a shell crater, which is preserved from the times of fighting for Height 269.8, soldiers' burials. The museum building is the same rectangular concrete volume, one of whose facades is lined with a decorative panel picture.
The thematic areas of the exhibition are also conventional and are not individualized at all.

The Military Glory Museum in Kolomna
The Military Glory Museum in Kolomna (Figure 4) was opened 7 May 2010, shortly before the celebration of the 65th anniversary of the Victory Day. The Museum is dedicated to the Kolomna military history from the Middle Ages to the modern times, as well as to the rear-area history of the town. Once again, what we can see is a parade ground with fighting equipment and a one-storey rectangular building of the museum, whose entrance area is accentuated with glass mosaic in red – the traditional symbolic color of the victory.

Alternative concepts
Of particular interest are the works submitted to the competition for a concept of the Museum of Leningrad Defense and Blockade. The City administration proposed to the students of the leading architectural universities in the country to reflect upon the architectural solutions for the museum dedicated to one of the most tragic episodes of the Great Patriotic War. These solutions differ substantially from the forms and meanings that were applied to the military museums before.
The first prize was awarded to the '900 Days Towards the Light' Project (figure 5). The project designer set a goal of creating a specific atmosphere: from 'the dark' toward 'the light', from 'the death and misery of the war' toward 'the peace'. According to that concept, the Museum is a me-

Fig. 7: Skitskis Aleksandr, Zemskaya Olga. Project 'Four Years of Blockade Life' (Property of the author).

morial complex consisting of two buildings. One of them accommodates the exhibition, and the other is a research center for data processing and study. Both buildings are connected to each other through an underground tunnel and an above ground gallery.

The second prize was awarded to the '90 steps = 900 days of blockade' Project (figure 6). The leading role in the architectural concept of the building plays a 90-step staircase. It symbolizes the suffering of the citizens of Leningrad during the blockade. The visitors can climb the staircase, the ten steps or which represent 10 days of the blockade. After having reached the top, the visitors can observe the whole panorama of the Piskaryovskoye Memorial Cemetery from the observation deck.

The museum is a four-story building. Each floor represents one year of the blockade. It is assumed that the exhibits would also be divided 'by years'. Such an approach allows creating a certain atmosphere for the visitors: climbing higher and higher up the main stairs, the person gradually overcomes the difficult years of the blockade and finds himself on the top.

To visit the museum in bad weather and for the disabled, another entrance is provided to the museum complex. To get through the second entrance to the museum, the visitors need to pass by a longitudinal wall – 'the street of the blockaded city'. This wall is a multimedia one: images are shown on it by means of a projector. Eventually, this plane may be used to show films about the Great Patriotic War.The third prize was granted to the 'Four Years of Blockade Life' Project (figure 7). The project is conceived as a monument to all of the Leningrad citizens; for those who died and those who survived in the blockaded city. The difficult years of the blockade are shown as four walls. Each subsequent wall is higher than the previous one, telling the visitor that the total number of war casualties was increasing with each year. The walls in two side corridors are painted gray. In the central part, they are black. There is no exhibition here – only a display case along the full length of the wall, which reflects numerous silhouettes of people due to the mirror surfaces that are directed towards each other and form an endless 'field'. Such scenes clearly illustrate a scope of casualties during the war years. Walking along the side corridors and looking at the exhibits(maps, medals, weapons, personal belongings, military uniforms and photographs); the visitors experience life through the war years.

Conclusion

Thus, the architecture analysis of several museum buildings demonstrates the features of the memory politics in Russia and Belarus, that is the area of the former Soviet Union. All changes that are

occurring today in the European memory culture – self-criticism, individualization of memory, expansion of 'criminal' and 'victim' concepts – have no effect on the Russian reality. At the state level, the perception and interpretation of the course of the war and its results did not change throughout the entire post-war history of the country irrespective of many private initiatives in the sphere of the war commemoration that show new approaches.
Unfortunately, even the competitive designs of the young architects, who could have demonstrated original solutions, are not different in terms of novelty of the visual language. They use basically the same elements that we saw in the previously implemented projects: concrete blocks, spherical shapes, restrained colors, etc. However, the ideas introduced by the young architects in their designs represent an important step forward – towards the humanization of the victory theme.

Endnotes

[1] In this context, the cultural memory in Russia and Belarus may be merged in a single memory space taking into consideration the fact that, since the establishment of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic on 1 January 1919 until today, Russia and Belarus is, culturally and economically, a single entity.

[2] In Russia and Belarus, the military action on the territory of the USSR from June 1941 till May, 1945 is called as the Great Patriotic War.

[3] At this date, the town is situated in Ukraine which was a part of the USSR before 1991.

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Credits

Fig. 1: Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Minsk_Kriegsmuseum.JPG; Photo Julian Nitzsche, 2015.
Fig. 2: Wikimedia Commons: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/46/Поклонная_гора.JPG; Photo by eugeny1988, 2008.
Fig. 3: Panoramio: http://www.panoramio.com/photo/32510812); Photo by annkimova, 2010.
Fig. 4: Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Memorial_park_in_Kolomna_1.jpg; Photo by Retradazia, 2015.
Fig. 5–7: Photos by Ksenia Surikova, 2016.

CLOSING LECTURE

John Schofield

People First?

Reassessing Heritage Priorities in Post-Conflict Recovery

Abstract

This concluding chapter critically examines the need to conserve historic fabric in post-conflict situations. While this need will sometimes be appropriate and necessary, it may not always be the case. I argue instead for recognising the possibility of prioritising people and their immediate requirements, which may sometimes include architectural restoration. In a sense, I am suggesting that historic remains may not always be that important in the greater scheme of things, and that other social and basic human needs maybe more pressing. Such views are grounded in an archaeological perspective that recognises the formation of the archaeological record and of our cultural heritage as a process, involving many factors and influences including deliberate destruction. It also recognises archaeology's interest in understanding people through the material remains left behind. This archaeological viewpoint makes it easier to understand the argument to sometimes leave war-damaged sites as ruins; to let them go.

Keywords: Archaeology, Post-conflict, Social value, Refugees, Identity.

There is significant concern about political instability around the world. This concern is nothing new, but it is growing as conflict comes closer to people's everyday lives through terror attacks and their online reporting in real time. Intentional cultural damage is a characteristic of recent warfare, the wanton destruction often for fundamental religious or strategic reasons (but for an overview of motivations, see Brosché et al. 2017). Many of the papers in this collection refer to examples of such motivations and the complex geopolitical factors behind each of them. But they also raise another important issue. It is very easy, as conservation and heritage professionals, to be saddened and outraged by such cultural vandalism and to be motivated to restore sites to their original state. It is our area of responsibility, and therefore, one might say, the 'duty of care' rests ultimately with us. Yet, as an archaeologist working within the heritage field, I take a rather different view. While I fully acknowledge the responsibility to act 'for the heritage', I do not accept that our responsibility is only, or even necessarily, towards its fabric. This view is shaped by an understanding that conflict has occurred over millennia, and on each occasion those affected have had to respond to it in the best way possible. Even thousands of years ago people might have buried their dead and mourned their losses, moved out of their territory to a safer place, or restored elements of their 'built environment', and perhaps even conducted investigations that resulted in perpetrators being brought to justice. Such early examples of human conflict will have left deep scars, just as they do today. But in each case there seems little doubt that, in society's response to the traumas of conflict, people come first.

The deeper history of conflict

Nataruk, at Lake Turkana in Kenya, East Africa, is an excavation site from 2012 in which the remains of 27 individuals were found. Twenty-one of the remains were identified as adults, including at least eight male and eight female, and others were categorized as children. Ten of the twelve skeletons found in situ show evidence of "major traumatic lesions that would have been lethal in the immediate- to short-term" (Mirazon Lahr et al. 2016). This archaeological site is described by the excavators as providing evidence for intergroup violence from around 9.500 to 10.500 years BC. Some 12.000 years later, this place, and the events that unfolded here, is in the news; people are interested once more in Nataruk and how the events that occurred here contribute to the human story. Some reading the report in the leading scientific journal Nature may be disturbed by the images and the descriptions of fatal injuries that it contains. Some may find comfort in an assumption that these people were not like us, they were not so emotionally 'sophisticated' – they would not have felt the trauma in the way we do. Mourning and emotional investment, however, has deeper origins than we once thought. We know that some animal species mourn their dead (eg. Bekoff 2000), and we are quickly learning, through combinations of archaeological and psychological research, how people tens of thousands of years ago felt emotions such as compassion, arguably much as we do today (Spikins 2015). Archaeology tells us that contemporary events are part of a longer process. All that is different is that events at Nataruk happened many years beyond memory. The passage of time allows us to distance ourselves from the impact of those left behind (Uzzell 1989).

This distinctly archaeological perspective causes me to take a rather different view of recent and contemporary conflict and how we, as archaeologists and cultural heritage professionals, should respond to it. This alternative and time-centred perspective revolves around two key points that each concern heritage priorities. First is the **desire to restore**, or the 'conservation obsession' as one might describe it. I am not suggesting that we should never restore war-damaged monuments as there are clearly instances where this is a desirable, if not a necessary, outcome. My point is that it should not be the default position. Perhaps conservation is simply not the priority for local people, for a site whose restoration or repair would not bring benefit to the local economy through tourism, or to the community through any 'pride of place' or social identity considerations. On the other hand restoration might be considered appropriate for creating or maintaining some tangible reminders of the conflict, for commemoration or memorialisation. It might equally be central to community rebuilding and the reconstruction of identity. The point is that we should neither presume this to be the case, nor should we impose our professional agenda over grieving and often fragmented local communities. Second is the need to prioritise people – that **people come first**. As archaeologists, we might think that we should leave dealing with people and social concerns to others better qualified than ourselves. But we should not forget that, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1954) famously stated, archaeology is all about people – of the past (through the ruins and the past communities they represent), of the present (those who may or may not have a degree of 'place-attachment' to those now war-damaged or threatened ruins), and of the future (those who will recall these contemporary events and the heritage decisions to conserve or manage their legacy in a variety of ways). Much of the heritage work I have been involved with (and arguably I would say the most socially meaningful work) combined understanding recent past behaviours with social anthropological working practices. From these experiences I am persuaded that archaeologists can do meaningful and distinctive work in these contemporary situations through a variety of motives and methodologies that are not always closely aligned with conventional archaeological practice.

In this short concluding chapter I will briefly explore these aspects of post-conflict heritage (the desire to restore, and putting people first), arguing that as archaeologists and heritage practitioners, we should always consider placing local people at the heart of heritage decision making, especially in situations that involve personal suffering and cultural hardship. One thing archaeologists understand better than most is the passage of time and its many influences and impacts on people and things. As archaeologists we also know that, except in extreme cases, ruins or archaeological layers will survive and that we can return to them later and decide how to act, with their local-interest or 'heritage' communities (after The Faro Convention, Council of Europe 2009). People may not be so resilient.

The desire to restore

Cornelius Holtorf (2016), in a recent essay on this subject, concluded:

"As far as the devastating war in Syria is concerned, for all the destruction taking place, its heritage as such is not 'at risk'. To perceive heritage as irreplaceable remains of the past, at risk of falling victim to present-day events, does not help in recognising the potential of a changing heritage to contribute to future-making as a legacy to be."

As stated earlier, there will be particular instances where there is consensus that war-damaged sites should be restored to their pre-war state. The re-

cently published 'Toolkit' (ArcHerNet), also known as the Cottbus Initiative (Schmidt n.d), states, correctly, that,

"[h]*eritage in all its diversity possesses unique restorative potential and can be instrumental in humanitarian relief, conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reaffirming cultural pluralities.* […] *Urban revitalisation can only successfully promote social reconciliation if it is inclusive, people-centred, and acknowledges the central role of heritage as a catalyst in the healing process.*"

Thus candidates for restoration might include iconic national or regional monuments that are symbols of pride and identity. They may have economic merit as sites of tourism (although I would follow Holtorf here in suggesting that the recent damage becomes part of the story, and the ruins are arguably more interesting and multilayered as a result). There may be cultural arguments around public benefit, such as restoring the historic souk of Aleppo or a war-torn library or similar cultural institution. A similar argument can perhaps be made for churches, mosques and other religious buildings, although I am reminded of churches bombed in the Second World War in England and Germany which have become national, if not international, symbols of peace and reconciliation, and catalysts of urban renewal.

Restoration will often be an appropriate response, even on some occasions a clear priority. But as archaeologists we are closely aware of an archaeological record that has been shaped by events and processes (natural and cultural) over millennia. This is what the archaeological record is – an accumulation of traces and evidence acted upon by various destructive (and in some cases constructive) processes to create the resource we have today. The archaeological record is not stuck in the present. It is constantly evolving, with things added and things taken away. One might add that, from the perspective of contemporary archaeology (see Harrison & Schofield 2010), far more is being added than removed – the archaeological record, in other words, is growing. To regard it as a diminishing resource is incorrect and misleading. That said, all ancient sites are precious and have cultural value, for the evidence they provide, their aesthetic qualities, their history and place in the present, and their social and communal significance. That does not, however, mean everything from the past must be preserved and kept in a pristine state, or restored to an 'original' state (whatever 'original' might mean). Restoration or conservation should not always be the default position. This will be the correct response on occasion, but not always and perhaps not even often. So if not here, where should the priorities lie; what is the default position?

Putting people first

Archaeology has always put people at the centre of its investigations. Until recently, archaeology has had a rather conventional (one might say narrow, and certainly literal) definition of being the study of the *ancient* past and thus only of *ancient* people. But more recently archaeological studies have extended into the contemporary world (eg. Harrison and Schofield 2010), and the people who inhabit it. Within the heritage sector a similar emphasis on people (ancient and contemporary) has recently emerged. In English Heritage's (2008) *Conservation Principles: Policies and Practice*, communal value is defined as, "deriving from the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory" (p. 31). A subdivision of communal value is social value, defined as being, "associated with places people perceive as a source of identity, distinctiveness, social interaction and coherence" (p. 32). Similarly, the 2005 'Faro' European Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, "recognises the need to put people and human values at the heart of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage", and is "convinced of the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage" (Council of Europe 2009).

Like archaeology, in my view, heritage is more about people (eg. in relation to identity) than it is about place (eg. monument protection, restoration etc), and certainly more about the present and the future than it is about the past. The problem with prioritising the restoration of war-damaged monuments in post-conflict situations is that it reverts us to a place- and past-centred version of cultural heritage. This is out of step with much current thinking.

So what would people-centred heritage practice look like in conflict or post-conflict situations? One example is work currently being undertaken by numerous archaeologists around the question of refugees. It is significant that archaeologists hold key roles in these projects, and while they are a small part of a wider range of projects and programmes that aim to benefit and support refugees, these archaeological/cultural heritage initiatives are distinctive for their focus on material culture, and their recognition often of refugees as research participants, not subjects. A recent issue of the *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* (Hamilakis 2016) is focused on archaeological responses to the current refugee situation. The 'Architectures of Displacement' project undertaken through Oxford University is documenting the places of displacement and seeking to inform policy, a project that began with an archaeological mapping of the Jungle Camp near Calais (https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/research/architectures-of-displacement). Working with another vul-

nerable and non-traditional community in the UK (and also now the United States), Operation Nightingale provides opportunities for war-wounded servicemen to use archaeological practice to help them towards recuperation and recovery post-conflict. The benefits of outdoor work with a clear structure and regimental discipline (recalling that many of the successful pioneers of archaeology had previously followed successful military careers) are clearly felt by the project participants. As for measurable impact, many examples exist of archaeological and heritage engagement projects that benefit their communities and participants. Analysis of the findings from the community-based DIG Manchester and DIG Greater Manchester projects has demonstrated clear success, even amongst the hardest to reach of non-traditional audiences (Coen at al. 2017). Work amongst homeless communities has had similar success (eg. Kiddey & Schofield 2011; Kiddey 2016). Archaeological and heritage work with vulnerable communities does work.

These and other similar projects were undertaken or led by archaeologists who understand archaeology to be a people-centred discipline. Extending the gaze from people of the deeper past to those of the present has not been a difficult transition for archaeologists to make (more so perhaps for non-archaeologists to comprehend).

Conclusions

There can be no universal panacea, no simple transferable methodology or blueprint for dealing with post-conflict situations. Every case is different. My argument here is that we must guard against knee-jerk reactions and the assumption that conservation is always the priority. In some situations (and these must always be closely argued and understood) this may indeed be the case. But in others there may be no justification for repair or restoration, beyond our own professional conscience. We should always begin by asking for whose benefit we seek to undertake this work? Is it to align with international or cultural expectations, reflected in guidelines and protocol? Is to satisfy our own consciences as professionals? Or is it, genuinely, to benefit the community most directly impacted by the 'loss' (if loss is what they see)? Instead, we could channel our expertise to involving those people directly in the decision-making process, from the initial discussions about priorities to the courses of action required for implementation. We can explain (from our archaeological perspective) the longer-term benefits of conservation, for rebuilding identity and promoting tourism, for instance. Understanding should always come first, but it is the community's understanding that should perhaps be prioritised, beyond that of professionals. Usually only then, and only where it is an agreed priority for the communities concerned, might restoration and other conservation actions become appropriate. This approach can also extend the responsibility to practitioners beyond the conflict zones, to the diaspora, to work with those displaced local residents living as refugees outside of their country. Liaising with diasporic communities has benefits, in helping people retain a sense of place, and of home. Furthermore, within the conflict zones and post-conflict, if restoration, excavation, survey or reconnaissance and monitoring is to be carried out, then this seems a good opportunity for training local people in relevant heritage skills, to help give them 'ownership' of the heritage, and the skills to manage it. This might mean pursuing a 'translational' agenda (Zimmerman et al. 2010).

Local people are a crucial ingredient to any situations where heritage (as broadly defined) has a role in post-conflict recovery. After all, these sites are their heritage, and they should have an important role in shaping its future.

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CATASTROPHE AND CHALLENGE
CULTURAL HERITAGE IN POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY

The destructive effects of war, and particularly the deliberate targeting of cultural sites, constitute an exceptional challenge for Heritage Conservation. The general principles of retaining cultural significance by continuous care and by minimal intervention may seem of little use when one is faced with catastrophic and wide-spread damage to culturally significant places – be they individual monuments, urban structures or archaeological sites. Post-conflict recovery encompasses a wide range of topics, many of which have not yet been studied in depth.

This puplication presents papers presented during the conference on »Cultural Heritage in Post-Conflict Recovery«. The conference, held in December 2016 was the fourth out of the series »Heritage Conservation and Site Management«, initiated both by BTU Cottbus–Senftenberg and Helwan University Cairo. The conference series is linked to their Joint Master Programme »Heritage Conservation and Site Management«. Adressing the subject of Post-Conflict Recovery, BTU Cottbus–Senftenberg and Helwan University Cairo are taking a first step towards sketching the scope and the depth of the problems of Heritage and War. Speakers from many countries are providing insights into approaches to cope with these problems.

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