



**The cultural heritage of Asia and Europe:
global challenges and local initiatives**

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Background document

Adèle Esposito; Inès Gaulis

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Authors would specially thank Martin Kovan for his precious help

Image on the cover page: Bayon temple, Cambodia (photo by Kanitha Tan, 2005)

Table of contents

Authors	p.5
Introducing the Roundtable	p. 6
Introducing the Background Document	p. 8

1. Heritage values and the construction of national identities

p. 11

- 1.1 The nature of heritage values: the contribution of Riegl
- 1.2 The emergence of heritage notions in European countries
- 1.3 Which one is the “historical monument”? Negotiating values and practices at Puy de Dome, France
- 1.4 The chronological, conceptual and geographical expansion of heritage notions
- 1.5 The building of the nation- state in Greece and the predominance of Antiquity
- 1.6 From “national” to “public” interest: heritage construction in Indochina

2. The emergence of an international dimension of heritage theories and conservation practices

p. 32

- 2.1 The origins: protecting heritage from armed conflicts
- 2.2 The Athens Conference: a first step in the internationalisation of heritage policies and practices
- 2.3 The idea of “universal heritage” and the foundation of international co-operation in heritage conservation and management
- 2.4 The establishment of the “World Heritage list”
- 2.5 Contested interventions by the international community

3. Shared or contested values for an international heritage?

p. 46

3.1 The so-called “universality” of historical monuments

3.2 The evolution of heritage categories: questioning the notion of “authenticity”

3.3 New threats, new values: from the “universal” to the “local”, from “unity” to “diversity”

3.4 Case study: initiative for the safeguarding of the *Phnong* language in Monduliri Province (Cambodia)¹

3.5 Case study: restoration of the Buddhist Monastery at Dechenpug (Bhutan)

3.6 Cambodia: the impact of international heritage norms on national legislation and conservation practices

Conclusions p. 70

From the Background Document to the Roundtable p. 73

Bibliography p. 78

Annexes p. 83

¹ Based on the testimony by Sylvain Vogel, PhD (coordinator, linguistic department, Royal University of Phnom Penh (Cambodia), “Information Gathering and analysis on Oral History”, personal communication, July 2010.

Authors

Authors

Adèle Esposito is an architect specialising in architectural and environmental heritage conservation. She is a PhD candidate at the doctoral school, Ville, Transport Territoire (City, Transport and Territories) of the 'Pôle de recherche et d'enseignement supérieur (PRES) of the University of Paris Est. Her dissertation project deals with urban development for tourism in Siem Reap, the town situated at the doorway of the archaeological site of Angkor.

Inès Gaulis is an historian of art and PhD in city planning. She is a researcher at the L'IPRAUS (Institut Parisien de Recherche Architecture Urbanistique Société), department of the UMR AUSSER 3329/CNRS (National Centre for Scientific Research). Her research deals with cultural heritage issues, notably in Greece and Asia (specifically, Cambodia and Bali).

Both authors are involved with L'IPRAUS, the Parisian Institute of Research Architecture, Urbanism and Society of the Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris-Belleville. Under its auspices, they participate in several collective programmes of research focused on architecture, heritage and tourism. The research is approached employing interdisciplinary methodology at the intersection of architecture, urban planning, anthropology and sociology. The authors teach undergraduate programmes at the Architecture School of Belleville.

Authors' notes on methods

The content contained herein is based on: extensive review of academic literature related to cultural heritage in Europe and Asia; review and analysis of international charters, conventions, recommendations, reports and other normative documents by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). Supplementary information comes from the fieldwork conducted in relation to the authors' respective research and their participation in collective research programmes under the auspices of IPRAUS. An extensive bibliography is included at the end of this document.

Introducing the Roundtable

The cultural heritages of Asia and Europe: global challenges and local initiatives

2-3 September 2010

VOC Building, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

The Roundtable, *The cultural heritages of Asia and Europe: global challenges and local initiatives* is being co-organised by the Asia-Europe Foundation and the International Institute of Asian Studies.

The two-day Roundtable will bring together academic and civil society experts from Asia and Europe to openly discuss the multifaceted aspects of cultural heritage and the various challenges experienced. The objective is to recommend concrete, contextualised strategies towards development and social empowerment through cultural heritage.

Objectives

As the only permanent institution of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM)², the Asia-Europe Foundation has an important function in connecting reflections on the ASEM level with the concerns of civil societies in the two regions. The recommendations from the Roundtable will be presented at the Fourth ASEM Culture Ministers' Meeting (8-11 September 2010, Poznan, Poland), which will focus on the theme of "Heritage and the Challenges of the Present".

A second purpose of the Roundtable is to assist the International Institute for Asian Studies (based in Amsterdam and Leiden, the Netherlands) in identifying potential

² The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) was initiated in 1996 when the ASEM leaders met in Bangkok, Thailand. ASEM is an informal trans-regional platform for dialogue and co-operation between the two regions and has arisen out of a mutual recognition that the relationship between Asia and Europe needed to be strengthened in light of the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century.

The ASEM process is based on an equal partnership and its activities are grouped into three pillars: political, economic and socio-cultural. It brings together Austria, Belgium, Brunei, Bulgaria, Cambodia, China, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Laos, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Malta, Mongolia, Myanmar, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom, Vietnam, the ASEAN Secretariat and the European Commission.

ASEM holds a Summit every two years, alternately in Asia and in Europe. This is the highest level of decision-making in the process. Besides the attendance of the Head of States, the Summit also features accompanying Ministers, the Head of the European Commission and other stakeholders. Apart from the Summit meetings, the ASEM process is carried forward through a series of Ministerial and working-level meetings, as well as a number of activities arising from it. (www.aseminfoboard.org)

research and policy-relevant topics focusing on global interaction and local agency in the areas of culture and the politics of cultural heritage in Asia.

Organising institutions

The Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) promotes greater mutual understanding between Asia and Europe through intellectual, cultural and people-to-people exchanges. Through ASEF, civil society concerns are included as a vital component of deliberations of the Asia-Europe Meeting. ASEF was established in February 1997 by the participating governments of ASEM and has since implemented over 450 projects, engaging over 15,000 direct participants as well as reaching out to a much wider audience in Asia and Europe. www.asef.org

The International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS) is a postdoctoral research centre based in Leiden and Amsterdam. Its objective is to encourage the interdisciplinary and complementary study of Asia and promote national and international cooperation. The institute focuses on the human and social sciences and on their interaction with other sciences. IIAS acts as an international mediator and as a clearinghouse for knowledge and information. www.iias.nl

Introducing the Background Document

Heritage has been defined as a social process, through which legitimate stakeholders attribute values to a particular object, space, and artefact, or to a manifestation of human expression (Amougou, 2004). These stakeholders promote the dissemination of values among a larger group of people constituting civil society, through the institutional mechanisms controlled by them. This process gives a durable renown to heritage in a particular social configuration. Hence, identification of heritage implies a selection that is done according to certain values. However, as explained by Jokilehto (1994), values “are subjected to cultural and educational processes, and may change over time” (p. 19). Poulot (2003) termed these values “dominant meanings.” He argued that they are used as arguments and justifications for political projects. Hence, the history of heritage is inextricably linked to the strategic objectives of a few legitimate stakeholders. Poulot goes on to regret the lack of a history of heritage theories/practice, which would have served to analyse the place of heritage in the constitution of knowledge and legitimate representations.

This document questions the social projects with which notions and practices related to heritage have often been enmeshed. The authors argue that the evolution of the notion of *heritage* has been dominated by Eurocentric conceptions of art, history and science. Such notions were born in European countries where they supported the building of national identities. Later, they were exported to newly independent nations (such as Greece and the Balkans), wherein also they contributed to the same process. The European and Greek examples demonstrate that heritage selection reflected a particular vision of history that was strategic for the construction of national identities. The examples also reflect the selective nature of the process; they often protected the signs of a particular historical period/regime, while erasing that of other cultural periods from collective memory and neglecting or destroying their remains. A similar cultural schema is observable in the European colonies. The case of French Indochina illustrates the particular vision of history and art that the French were able to impose in Cambodia. Colonisers used this vision as a tool for legitimising their territorial control through the production of knowledge and the preservation of a reified Angkor.

The evolution of the notion of heritage in the European context is described in the document. Its progressive expansion, from the isolated monument to the urban area, is analysed in relation to the social projects which supported it. This analysis is useful both when we evaluate the initial export of notions and practices in different contexts and the

part they later played in the emergence and development of an international dimension of heritage. Since the 18th century, the existence of a common heritage of mankind has been postulated by European jurists as an argument for fostering international cooperation and, thereby, preventing armed conflicts. However, this conception had little influence on practices until World War II, when UNESCO was established (1945). The authors demonstrate that the construction of the idea of “World Heritage” was based on notions born and matured in Europe. These notions gained new international impact when they became the dominant discourse proposed by international organisations in the field of heritage field (including UNESCO, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property [ICCROM] and International Union for Conservation of Nature [IUCN]). However, while claiming universality, this discourse is, in fact, undermined by the arbitrary nature of values and criteria for the selection of heritage specific to a socio-cultural context.

International theories and practices of heritage promoted by international organisations have recently transformed. The rationale of Western knowledge (upon which recognition for heritage was founded) as well as the World Heritage list have been critically analysed in the UNESCO framework. Asian countries (in particular Japan), which joined the Convention of World Heritage during the 1990s, have fostered questioning of the notion of authenticity as well as the introduction of cultural landscapes as a new heritage category and of intangible heritage as a UNESCO priority. The authors argue that the very nature of values has changed. As a result, universal heritage cannot be selected any longer on the basis of values whose claims to validity are in question. On the contrary, universality is found in the diversity of cultural expressions. As Western knowledge does not cover the multiplicity of these forms, new knowledge has to be produced by adopting the perspective of local values. The schema described by Amougou (2004) seems to have been reversed: before, dominant stakeholders imposed their values and disseminated them among civil society; presently, these stakeholders are asking local communities to propose their particular values and forms. Grassroots initiatives are increasingly replacing the hierarchical imposition of “high” artistic values on exceptional cultural and natural heritage. Hence, the only criteria for claiming universality for a particular heritage would be its capacity to represent human creativity and genius. Yet, forms have to be recognised as “representative”. As Kirhenblatt-Gimblett has argued (2004), the broadening of the notion of heritage does not prevent a new system of domination from operating through a selective process. Given that earlier notions of heritage were strategic for the building of national identities, and the later establishment of World Heritage served the project of international cooperation, what emerges as the social project underlining this shift in heritage theories?

This background document aims to illustrate the multiple natures of theories and practices of heritage. The plural voices in the field of heritage justify the atypical title of the Roundtable, which refers to cultural “heritage-s” in plural. As Nathalie Lancret (2009) has argued, heritages are characterised by a plurality of connotations: “local meanings which may be linked to cultural or spiritual conceptions, national significations supported by the building of national identities and the international senses attributed to the term heritage” and which involve both “material aspects and knowledge, know-how and cultural aspects to which a people refer for establishing and organising its space” (p.9). The aim of the authors is to demonstrate the inextricable link between social projects and the meaning of heritage in Europe and Asia.

1. Heritage values and the construction of national identities

This chapter deals with the emergence of the notion of heritage in European countries and its expansion in three directions: chronological, conceptual and geographical. It relates the forms of the values, the objects to which values have been referred and their evolution, led by intellectuals, architects and urban planners. Values are analysed in relation to the social project that heritage theories and conservation practices supported: in Europe, and later in Greece and in the Balkans, this project was intrinsically linked to the building of national identities in the recently created nation-states. In French colonies, the production of knowledge and the promotion of conservation practices served the establishment and legitimisation of foreign control.

1.1 The nature of heritage values: the contribution of Riegl

The notion of *cultural heritage* comes from the concept of the historical monument, first established from a historical point of view. Françoise Choay defined the historical monument as an artefact to be protected for its historical and aesthetic values. In the beginning³, the monument was an artefact built by a specific community to remind the present and future generations, of people or events considered to be of capital importance by and for this community. The monument's function is to maintain the memory of the past and thereby, the identity of the community of individuals who recognise it. Monument construction is intentional and its value commemorative. This is the oldest meaning of monument first identified by Alois Riegl in his essay "The modern cult of monuments" (*Der moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen, sein Entstehen*) where several values categories are recognised in relation with the notion of "artistic will" (*Kunstwollen*).

The concept of the historical monument was born in a few European countries, namely France, Italy, and England. During the Renaissance, European scholars and artists rediscovered Greek and Roman antiquity. Artefacts, books, thoughts, paintings and architecture were invested with special meaning and considered models of inspiration and imitation (Choay, 1992). Considering productions of the past as models brought new sense to the perception of history: each human artefact or event became an expression of a general and progressive development from the past to the present. This modern perception of history was born in the Renaissance and fully expressed in the 19th century. The notion of 'historical monument' is the cultural expression of this perception of history emerging in Europe at the time. "Historical value" - the second value that Riegl defined - came from this innovative way of perceiving history as a linear development. This value is the ability to consider an artefact as a testimony and a stage inscribed into historical development. This latter value appeared in a second time, succeeding the previous one.

Riegl distinguished a third value relative to history and commemoration which appeared in the late 19th century: the "Age value". This value researches and appreciates the visible traces of passing time and the monument's degradation and decay. If, according to the historical value, the monument seeks to recall a specific moment in human or national history, the evocation of the past - made through age value - remains unclear. John Ruskin developed this particular concept, which recommends consolidation instead of restoration, and very few interventions in terms of practices.

³ According to Riegl, commemorative monument has universal meaning and can be found worldwide. This "beginning" is also European. Indeed, the concept of the historic monument comes from Greek and Roman Antiquity. The "demosion Sema" in Athens, the public cemetery of the city, which was situated just outside the Dipylon gate, can be considered a commemorative monument. From the time of Solon, it was being used as a cemetery for public figures and those who had fallen in war. The Triumph arches in Rome, as well as the Trajan's Column, can be included in this monument category.

The evolution of values was accompanied by a shift in notions and practices of heritage. This refers to a transition in the terms of heritage protection from the research of precise and symbolical moments in history (often relative to national history) to policies of preservation, which, these days, tend primarily to maintain a historical continuity rather than just the memory of a moment. Pierre Nora suggests the following two aims in protecting heritage: commemorating a specific moment of national history and looking for historical continuity. The objective is not the same. The latter probably explains, in part, the increasing importance of the notion of cultural heritage; while, the former was born out of the revolutionary vandalism that led to the recovery of the past under the banner of "national". This first step could involve a choice: what do we want to remember? What do we want to forget?

Riegl also distinguishes contemporary values. These values do not assign a role or a function to the age of the monument and to its relative commemorative value. Amongst these, the "Art Value" is the ability to consider the aesthetic quality of an artefact. This ability depends on the artistic sensibility of the time. According to Riegl, an eternal "Art Value" cannot exist. Hence, this value has a relative nature and is, therefore, contemporary. Since it is determined by the contemporary gaze on an artefact that has been built in the past, it cannot be a commemorative one. The second contemporary value is the way an artefact is used by people. As changes and adaptations may have occurred, the function of the artefact may be different from the original one. This value has to be considered with regard to restoration practices and issues.

According to Riegl, giving the status of monument to a building on the basis of "Age Value" inevitably brings it into opposition with contemporary values. Through the "Age Value", people appreciate traces of passing time and believe that buildings and artefacts, like organisms, experience growth and decay and should hence be given up to their fate. Therefore, the continuing use of artefacts is in contradiction with this kind of quality. The conflict can only be resolved by the sacrifice of one of the two values. "Historical value" and "use value" can be easily adapted: a compromise can be found both in terms of concept and practice.

1.2 The emergence of heritage notions in European countries

Even if the interest in the past was aroused during the Renaissance, conservation and preservation practices started only a few centuries later. Premises can be found in the rediscovery of Antiquity and in the first initiatives for monument preservation at the end of the 18th century. Conservation practices at historical monuments date back to the French Revolution. Italy, and then France, played an important part in the development of these concepts and practices. According to François Loyer, the monument had a wide

meaning in the 18th century, broader than even the modern definition. It was understood as a testimony from the past. During the Revolution, architectural monuments were not respected even though there were some protests against their destruction. Demolitions offered good economic opportunities, as the materials and lands on which they stood were sold and re-used for new constructions. While the destruction of buildings (such as abbeys, monasteries and castles) continued for thirty years, some parts of them - often fragments - came to be conserved in museums alongside paintings and sculptures, coherent with the testimony conception of cultural heritage (Loyer, 1999).

In England, conservation practices commenced at the end of the 18th century under the influence of private associations and societies involved in the defence of monuments. These societies played an important part before the State began to act in heritage conservation; the two have been working together since. The society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings of London was founded in 1877 by William Morris and others, while the authorities started to intervene in 1882.

In the 19th century, the Industrial Revolution stoked fears of deep change that could lead to the disappearance of the traditionally-known world. At the same time, European States began to look at heritage as an instrument for forging national identity. These two developments contributed to the emergence of heritage theories and preservation practices.

When conservation practices started in France, monuments were identified with religious buildings (such as churches, abbeys and cathedrals) dating back to the Medieval Age. This particular identification with religious buildings implied the recognition of the value of Gothic architecture. This focus on a particular period, a specific kind of monument and a single architectural style was linked to the process of constructing national identity. These monuments represented the national past. This fact implies two kinds of restrictions in terms of policies and practices.

Policies and practices were limited to public buildings. Private properties, such as castles or mansions, were only included in preservation policies later, as the State considered them to be the responsibility of their owners.

In contrast, no interest was accorded to the ancient architecture of towns and villages that surrounded the monuments. Groups of buildings, ancient urban areas and quarters were not taken into account. While churches were protected, their built environment was destroyed. This situation corresponds to the first aim in protecting heritage identified by Pierre Nora: namely, recalling a specific moment in national history.

At the same time, Prosper Mérimée and his successors were listing and inventorying monuments. Haussmann was transforming and modernising Paris. The first defenders of historic monuments agreed with his interventions in the French capital. The modernisation of old cities and the urban fabric generated a large consensus. According to

Françoise Choay, considering old cities or quarters as heritage was the result of a long process that started with a new perception of ancient urban fabric, which emerged as a result of the Industrial Revolution.

This Revolution caused dramatic transformations in the process of urban development, which now took place on a larger scale and in strong contrast with the old, traditional mode of development. As new developments were fundamentally distinct from the existing settlements, old quarters and cities could become objects of observation and study. According to Choay, the ability to consider old cities as historical objects was a necessary premise for conservation practices. The concept of *urban heritage* was formed in this period of upheaval and intense urbanisation. The first stakeholders of in this process had different origins. Some of them, such as John Ruskin and later William Morris, had little professional connection with architecture. Others, such as Camillo Sitte or Gustavo Giovannoni, who were among the first architects specialised in urban fabric, participated in the emergence and development of the new discipline of city planning. According to Françoise Choay: ... “[The concept of heritage] is the result of dialectic between history and historicity played between three successive approaches to the ancient city”. She termed these “memorial, historic and historical” approaches. They mostly corresponded to three characters and stakeholders, writers or theorists of urban planning.

The consciousness that contributed to the emergence the urban heritage debate was linked to the nostalgia for the disappearing world of the past and of a picturesque environment. John Ruskin was one of the first theorists of this consciousness. He expressed a particular interest in domestic architecture, which constituted the major part of ancient cities. In his conception, the city was an organism made of the strata and accumulation from successive centuries. This continuous sedimentation made up the urban landscape and had to be protected and conserved. Hence, the entire ancient city could be regarded as a historical monument.

Since then, protection has implied a choice of some periods of time, whose heritage ought to be protected. In Ruskin’s conception, the city is an organism; it is the result of the accumulation of human action and looks for historical continuity. Thus, all monuments are documents of their own history and should be preserved. This conception is the beginning of new conservation practices in the field of urban cultural heritage.

Between the end of the 19th and 20th centuries, city planners and architects explored the aesthetic dimension of city planning. Noting the ugliness of modern urban expansions, the Camillo Sitte wondered whether it was possible to create a beautiful urban environment in his time. With the purpose of finding the answer, he analysed "historic cities" from the point of view of their organisational rules; the connections linking closed and opened spaces that constitute the urban fabric; and, different dimensions of buildings.

The pre-industrial city appears as an object coming from the past. The historicity of the urbanisation process that transforms the contemporary city is assumed. Sitte develops a vision that is opposite to Ruskin's and even to that of Hausmann. The old town is an object of inquiry. It can be examined as a fact that offers lessons and answers to contemporary stakeholders involved in city development and the modernisation process.

Gustavo Giovannoni, the Italian theorist and city-planner of the early 20th century used for the first time the expression "urban heritage". In his opinion, this expression not only represents the physical remains of the ancient, but also its values and meaning. Giovannoni studied the connection between modern and ancient cities, questioning their compatibility. He distinguished two kinds of urban fabric: the traditional and the modern. The traditional city is characterised by its limits; fortifications or traces of vanished fortifications; its slow speed of development; the small scale that organises the connection between empty and built spaces; and, the interdependence between buildings. In contrast, the modern city is characterised by a fast pace of development; great possibilities of extension; its large scale; and, the paramount role of communication networks that integrate the city into a vast territorial system. According to Giovannoni's theoretical position, these two morphological urban systems can be organised together. The ancient and modern cities had to be separated, but kept linked together at the same time, through two tools: the establishment of a global circulation system and the implementation of an organic development plan.

According to Françoise Choay, Giovannoni attributed two forms of value to ancient cities: their use value (produced by their inhabitants and by economical functions) and their historical value. Through conservation, the two values are conciliated. Three principles had to guide conservation of urban heritage. Firstly, every ancient part or quarter of a city must be integrated into local, regional and land planning in order to ensure connection with its present life. Next, the 'historic monument' concept is widened and encompassed in its surroundings. Giovannoni outlines the fundamental connection between monument and surroundings. This fundamental connection constitutes the urban context - the *ambiente* - that must be preserved. In particular, the scale and the morphology of historic areas and cities have to be respected, even in new interventions.

Giovannoni argued that the connection between the elements of the urban fabric constitute a whole that is the urban context. This context is assumed to be urban heritage. Another important point is that ancient and the modern urban systems can be compatible and exist together. Giovannoni neither rejects the modern city, in order to protect and preserve the ancient one, nor defends the modern urban model.

Numerous factors contributed to the recognition of old quarters and cities as heritage. Some of them were legal and others, political. One of the first steps taken for the actual protection of urban areas seems to have been a consequence of the establishment of

protection perimeters around listed monuments. This measure was introduced by the French Law for the protection of historical monuments (1913). For instance, this legal constraint implied the protection of urban fabric surrounding a monument and initiated conservation practices in urban contexts.

1.3 Which one is the “historical monument”? Negotiating values and practices at Puy de Dome, France

The Puy de Dome is a dormant volcano of the Chaîne de Puys in the Massif Central (in south-central France) and a major tourist destination in the region. Its archaeological remains, dating back to the Roman time, were listed as historical monuments, according to the law of 1913, while the whole hill received the label of “natural site” from the French Government in 2000.

The volcano was a sacred site in ancient times: in the 2nd century, a Gallic-Roman temple was built for the god Mercury on the previous implantation of a Gallic sanctuary. The new temple, built at 1432m and measuring 3600sq. m, was visible from the provincial capital Clermont Ferrand (called Augustonementum at that time). It was famous even outside the Auvergne region, but was abandoned in the 3rd or 4th centuries. Later, the site hosted the cult of Saint-Barnaby which was known for eliminating profane idols. A chapel was built here in his name during the 12th century. Worship continued until the 18th century, after which the church was abandoned and fell to ruins.

The ancient temple was rediscovered in 1873 during the construction of an atmospheric observatory. Since then, the Puy de Dome became an important site for scientific inquiry and technological advancements: in 1876, a station for meteorological research was established. Later, a prize (the Michelin prize) was announced for the first pilot flying in from Paris to land on the mountain; such a long distance had not been covered by air at the time. The prize went to Eugene Renaux and Albert Senouque in 1911.

In 1956, a 73-meter high pylon was built on the site of the ancient chapel by a French company in charge of audiovisual communication (Télédiffusion France, TDF).

Hence, the abandonment of religious buildings provoked a deep transformation of the value attached to the site: from the sacredness of the pagan and, then, Christian cults that survived through renewed foundations from the 1st to the 18th centuries, to, a scientific value introduced by the symbolic meaning of technological advancement attributed to the volcano.

More recently, in 2000, the chain has been inscribed as a “natural site” by the French Government according to its official label “listed natural sites”⁴ (Fr. sites naturels classes). In 2008, the Puy de Dome also received the label “Great sites of France” (Fr. Grands sites de France) by the Ministry of Environment, Energy and Sustainable Development. A new kind of value was attached to the volcano, thanks to its rich flora and fauna. As a consequence, a regime of protection was put in place, forbidding visitors to step on the fragile soil outside managed paths. However, tourists to the Puy de Dome are mostly attracted by these very qualities. Once they arrive at the top of the mountain after the long walk across the forest, the imposing tower is first object they see and compromises the aesthetic quality of the hill’s landscape. While the hill is admired from a distance, it stops being the object of interest of tourist’s looking for nature. Indeed, the hill cannot be explored by tourists, who are not allowed to sit down outside the picnic areas. The tourists’ search for nature is satisfied not by the domesticated environment of the summit but by the surrounding valley which are gazed from the Puy de Dome. When questioned on their experience, tourists praised the hill for its role as a belvedere, but not for other values recognised by the French authorities and the scientific community.

If the tower actually disfigures the aspect of the mountain’s landscape, it is perceived as a tiny arrow from the surrounding valleys and makes the volcano recognisable. While walking around Auvergne myself, I was able to distinguish the volcano among the other hills and felt a certain pride for having climbed it. The tower is an archetype of the monument as a visual mark soaring up towards the sky. The tourist could use it as a point of reference; local people and tourist guides have, however, designated it as the symbol of the scientific value attached to the Puy de Dome. The construction of the antenna corresponds to the advent of television in the region. Hence, in the view of locals, it represents the opening up of the particularly isolated Auvergne region, thanks to the development of telecommunications. While contradicting the artistic and aesthetic qualities of the historical monument, the tower’s meaning establishes a connection with the original meaning of the “monument” as defined by Choay (1992; 1994), namely, as the commemoration of a significant event for the community that built it. In this vision, the object’s form is not relevant; only its function for the social group is paramount. However, this value literally “tramples upon” the historical and archaeological value of the site as it has been built on the site of the medieval church and inside the perimeter of protection established around Mercury’s temple on the base, as per the historical monuments law of

⁴ The listing implies that further interventions on the site which may modify the state or the aspect of the site will require formal authorisation. When a natural site is listed, no new buildings are allowed unless they are granted special authorisation. In this case, building permits are evaluated and delivered by the Ministry of Environment.

1913. If the antenna was evaluated, it would have been considered contradictory to the law's principle, it would be considered as an offence. Tourists generally disregard both the antenna and the ruins while on the hill, preferring instead to gaze upon the valley, the only postcard representing the ruins associates them with the tower in a unique architectural ensemble. Silence is passed over contrasting values even when one compromises the other.

If the historical value could be said to have been eclipsed by the environmental and scientific ones, the listing as a "natural site" and recent administrative changes contribute to its renewed blossoming. When the site was listed, research was conducted by the University Blaise-Pascal of Clermont Ferrand from 1999 to 2003⁵. The Roman temple could be dated back to the second quarter of the 2nd century and the presence of a more ancient temple built in the middle of the 1st century was ascertained. Archaeological digs revealed that the temple was actually associated with a human settlement reachable by a road. A medieval chapel was discovered⁶. This interest in archaeological remains on a "natural site" is justified by the broad definition given by the French legislation. Indeed, a natural site can include "natural spaces which have to be protected from urban development" remarkable landscapes for their natural features or human intervention; as well as parks, gardens and the surroundings of monuments, for which the perimeters established by the 1913 law do not seem to be enough to safeguard their integrity. Then, in 2007, in the framework of the decentralisation process, the complex passed from direct authority of the State to the joint responsibility of the department (French lower administrative unit) and of the Regional Management of the Cultural Affairs (*Direction générale des affaires culturelles Auvergne - DRAC*). These institutions are presently organising on a project in collaboration with the Historical Monuments Service for restoring the ancient temple.

The Puy de Dome is a representative case study of the plural nature of heritage values given to the same site by different social groups. Each group has a particular vision of the site and carries on a specific project. While archaeologists work for the establishment of historical knowledge and the discovery of the remains of ancient buildings, the Ministry of Environment cares for the safeguarding of the biological equilibrium of the hill. However, tourists look for the sight of beautiful landscapes. Their experience is limited by the regime of site protection while little attention is paid to the ruins. Finally, the local

⁵ The programme was directed by F. Trément of the Laboratoire d'archéologie du centre histoire, espace et culture, Department of Archeology, University of Clermont II

⁶ The last digs took place between 2000 and 2006. The small medieval establishment was uncovered in the temple cella. It comprised of a chapel with apse and several adjoining rooms.

population is not genuinely concerned with the advancement of historical knowledge as religious practices on the hill have been extinguished several centuries ago. In contrast, people are attached to the tower's symbolic meaning as an emblem of regional economic development, even if its presence is considered an offence for all the other values. Thanks to the generalising definitions of the French law (1930), contrasting heritage significations are conciliated under the same broad definition: according to the law natural sites can be recognised for their archaeological, artistic, historical, scientific, legendary and picturesque interest or for the quality of their landscapes. The encompassing heritage categories, while recognising different types of values, "juxtapose" meanings and regimes of protection without discussing their interaction.



Figure 1 Puy de Dome, France (photo by author, 2010)



Figure 2: The antenna is situated in the immediate surroundings of the archaeological remains. The sign reminds the reader of the protection of the ruins according to the 1913 law (photo by author, 2010).

1.4 The chronological, conceptual and geographical expansion of heritage notions

According to François Loyer, the new consideration accorded to the historic quarters and areas quickly became a political question. The first stakeholders in protecting urban cultural heritage were (as Ruskin was) utopians and socialists. In the beginning of the 20th century, protecting old urban areas came to be associated with an anti-modernist vision of the city, as with stakeholders such as Maurice Barrès in France. The protection of old cities and their conservation became an alternative project to the modern one and were defended by bourgeoisie elite. This particular vision was influenced by an activity which was socially circumscribed: tourism. Old centres should be conserved and protected for the visitor and the setting they offered to tourists.

It took time for the notion of “urban cultural heritage” to be questioned politically. According to François Loyer, geographers like Albert Demangeon in France, who was neither socialist utopians nor reactionary bourgeois, considered “urban cultural heritage” as “common good”, a meaning we completely accept in present times.

From the French Revolution to the 20th century, the concept of historic monuments evolved from the conservation of architectural elements in museums to the protection of historic centres and sites. This evolution was marked by successive choices. In the 18th century, some architectural “fragments” were protected as a testimony of the past. A century later, monuments - in particular, religious buildings - were conserved, while their surrounding urban environment was destroyed, thus allowing the monuments to stand out. During the 20th century, protection rules and practices were progressively introduced and involved old city areas and historic centres. So, the old centres were preserved while the surrounding areas could be destroyed in the name of modernisation. Modernisation must now take place outside the historical centres with as little visual connection as possible, and, must be far from such centres. This observation contradicts Giovannoni’s theories, which failed to dominate. This observation also questions the economic functions and role given to historical centres and the part their inhabitants can play. The existence of historical centres has been recognised; however, they have been gradually transformed into tourist “reserves”. Meanwhile, the modern urban environment developed around that core. According to François Loyer, this is the third choice of cultural heritage’s practices and has been made since the 1930s.

The town of Provins is a good example of this situation. It is a small medieval town of approximately 12,000 inhabitants, situated south-east of Paris in the former territory of the Count of Champagne. It has been listed as a World Monument site since 2001. The old town was close to falling into ruins in the late 1980s before being listed. The old town is

composed of an upper and lower town, surrounded by ramparts. Because of its isolated location with regard to contemporary urban development, it has been considered - by ICOMOS experts - as having homogenous historical characteristics and being well-protected from a visual point of view. Therefore, it came to be listed. Even if the civil administration tries to maintain inhabitants in the listed area, the old town has been gradually transformed into a museum city with specific attractions organised for tourists⁷. While tourists come to visit and enjoy the medieval settings and associated events, life continues outside the ramparts in the form of the urban modern development. Recently, the civil administration adopted a new urban plan, which will allow the disappearance of a green area by transforming it into an area where urbanisation is now permitted. This green area is located between the World Heritage perimeter and the modern urban development. Since Provins was listed due to the absence of visual connections between ancient and modern urban surroundings, some experts now consider that guarantees of preservation will not be ensured. This is the reason why Provins could lose its inclusion in the World Heritage listing.

According to Stéphane Yerasimos (Yerasimos, 1995), the evolution of historic monuments is characterised by an expansion that occurred in three main directions.

The first direction is chronological: from Antiquity's artefacts to more recent architecture (medieval, Renaissance, baroque, classic, neoclassical etc.) until modern architecture. Greek and Roman Antiquities were the historical references that progressively gave birth to the concept of the "historical monument" during the Renaissance. At the start of the 19th century, the invention of a national cultural heritage (in countries such as France and the United Kingdom) fostered the chronological expansion of the concept of cultural heritage.

After the Industrial Revolution, some monuments lost their original functions. Cultural heritage gave these monuments new significations and meaningful roles in the construction of national identity. The State quest for a common origin characterised this process. A step back in the past encouraged the integration of the entire cultural heritage located within the national territory. According to Lowenthal (1985), nationalist doctrines in emerging European nations assumed that states had existed for centuries without social and political systems. The proof was linguistic coherence, considered a sign of cultural continuity (Munz quoted in Lowenthal 393). The interest in popular literature and the expression of a common language appeared in Europe in the late 17th century. It developed gradually and was progressively used as a demonstration of cultural continuity during the 18th century with personalities such as Herder or the Grimm Brothers in the

⁷ These attractions consist of tournament organisations and other typical "medieval" events.

Germanic countries. This interest was fully expressed in the 19th century because of its importance in the process of nation building in Europe. Public ceremonies, the cult of monuments and the implementation of heritage legislation invented and, then, massively produced tradition.

In 1900, the list of classified artefacts published in France included nearly 1,700 monuments spread throughout the French territory. These monuments were classified into three historical periods: Prehistoric, Antiquity and Medieval times. Only monuments built between prehistoric times and the 16th century were taken into account by the French listing policy. Renaissance, Baroque or Classical artistic movements were neglected, while the megalithic artefacts represented a monument category. According to France Mangin, the recognition of prehistoric artefacts which were so distant from present life relativised the temporal distance of monuments built after the 16th century. In turn, these were assimilated in to contemporary architectural production that did not merit protection.

However, the emergence of urban heritage could have contributed to the transformation of this notion. The buildings which constitute urban heritage are from several different periods. Even if this heritage remains “ancient”, it is less defined from a chronological point of view. Taking into account the surroundings of the monument, the old quarters of the cities also signify a closer approach to the present time. Thus, buildings from the recent past could progressively be listed. An example of this chronological extension is given by the Athens Conference of 1931. Louis Hautecoeur, a French delegate, considered the need to inventory and document historic monuments. He proposed to collect the design plans of recently constructed and potentially meaningful buildings that could be listed later. The possibility of listing recent monuments was already conceived at that time; the present was thought to be able to produce architectural masterpieces. Thus, preserving heritage was not a refusal of contemporary production.

Industrialisation followed by deindustrialisation, in the last decades, has fostered an increased interest in recent architectural artefacts. Le Havre, rebuilt after the Second World War by Auguste Perret, was listed as a World Heritage site in 2005. In protecting their heritage, European nation states first looked back to a distant past before considering a very recent past (Yerasimos, 1999).

The second expansion of heritage notions is conceptual: as explained, the concept of the “historic monument” evolved into the notion of “cultural heritage,” which not only included new artefacts such as urban areas and historic centres, but historic gardens, vernacular and ethnological architecture, landscapes, sites and, since 2003, “intangible heritage” as well. Thus, the numbers and categories of artefacts to be protected as “cultural heritage” have grown dramatically. This second direction cannot be completely

separated from the previous one. Each nation state, while looking at its past, recognises new categories of objects (such as, for instance, megalithic structures) as historic monuments. Including artefacts originating from the recent past produces the same consequences. As we have seen, protection measures have been extended to new artefacts at the same time.

The third expansion of “cultural heritage” is geographical: heritage concepts were born in European countries and progressively expanded to the rest of the world. The first step of this geographical extension appears to be in the constitution of new national European States, especially in the context of the disruption of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. As a result, the concept of “historic monument” was disseminated into new European territories such as Greece and the new Balkans states of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. However, the process is still linked with the construction of national identity and pursues the same purpose. The construction of national identity in Greece will be the focus of the following section (1.4).

Additionally, we can distinguish two other dimensions in the expansion of this particular concept of heritage: export and internationalisation. Export has much to do with colonisation. This historical and political phenomenon played an important part as artefacts of non-European cultures were considered and progressively recognised as historic monuments for the first time. However, this recognition is otherwise subject to political objectives. The next chapter will look at this particular form of geographical extension. Internationalisation began just after the First World War with the sharing of practices and theories current in various European countries. A major part of this document is dedicated to this phenomenon.

1.5 The building of the nation-state in Greece and the predominance of Antiquity

Cultural heritage played a considerable part in the construction of national identity in the Balkan states in general and in Greece, in particular. In 1830, after nine years of uprisings, Greece acquired its independence. The newly-formed country constituted of only a very small portion of territories that had historically been part of the Hellenic expansion, namely the Peloponnese, Attica, Aetolia, Phocis, Euboea, the Cyclades and other islands in the Aegean Sea. Nevertheless, an ancient people had recovered their independence and cultural autonomy after four centuries of Ottoman occupation.

Greece is the centre where classical Greek civilisation developed and from where it expanded. This classical culture is older than the Roman one and was considered as more prestigious. Modern Greeks have asserted their independence as the descendants of the ancient Greeks, with reference to Antiquity. Europeans supported them on behalf of this

vanished civilisation through the artistic, literary and cultural models of the West since the Renaissance.

Greece has another particular characteristic. If the origin of Greek civilisation can be found in Antiquity, and if the Byzantine Empire can be considered in some kind of historical continuity, then, the Greek people lived under Ottoman rule for centuries, having lost their political and cultural independence. The reference to Antiquity forms the fundamental basis for the modern Greek state.

From urban and architectural perspectives, the reference to Antiquity generated the importation of the neoclassical model and was accompanied by a rejection of architecture produced under the Ottoman occupation. It also generated the dedication of ancient monumental remains as the only legitimate historic monuments in Greece. The first law to protect historic monuments, which only took into account the remains of antiquity, was enacted just after Greece's independence in 1834; thus, demonstrating the preponderance of these monuments in the ideology of the modern Greek state. Their protection is a concomitant of its creation.

Antiquity, which is also a universal heritage, thus symbolically represents the Greek national heritage. The ancient Greek Heritage is of profound importance for both Europeans and Greeks. Europeans consider it as a part of their own heritage which thus acquires universal recognition. For Greeks, cultural heritage dating back to Antiquity is a symbol and a significant element of their national identity. It proves their right to possess this territory and testifies to their origin. Therefore, we can consider "cultural heritage" from classical Greek civilisation, along with the Roman one, among the first heritages and as both national and universal heritages.

The laws for heritage protection outline the importance given to the remains of Antiquity in Greece. The first law of 1834 was followed by a second in 1899. Between 1899 and 1932, this legislation was further amended. Protection was gradually extended to Byzantine heritage and to some monuments dating from the Ottoman rule. Civil services in charge of heritage protection were progressively organised. Two main laws presently protect heritage in Greece: Law 5352/1932 "On Antiquities," which mainly deals with monuments dating from Antiquity and Byzantine times; and, Law 1469/1950 "On the protection of buildings of special merit and objects of art later than 1830". Legislation concerning urban heritage has been finalised since the 1970s by measures incorporated into urban legislation. Heritage is also protected by the State Constitution of 1975.

This legislation creates an order of value of heritage depending on the date of origin of the heritage. The first law protects all "Antiquities". The term "antiquities", according to Article 2 of the Act, refers to "all works, without exception, architecture, sculpture, graphic arts and art in general". Properties dating from "the beginnings of Christianity and Hellenism in the Middle Ages" (Article 3 of Law 5351) as well as places of worship and

other historic monuments and buildings built before 1830 are also included in the scope of the Act. For these latter categories, protection is governed by the provisions of Article 52.

Until 1950, only buildings of origin prior to the year 1830 (i.e. before the independence of modern Greece) could be protected by the state. The Act which includes Byzantine monuments is the result of the evolution of the first laws to gradually include new categories. These new categories are mostly based on chronological criteria. Law 5352/1932 also protects what Greeks term “post-Byzantine monuments,” namely, monuments built during the Ottoman rule. However, legislation introduces differences between “Antiquities” and this latter category of monuments. Only one Article treats this latter category (52). Consultation is required for post-Byzantine monuments to be listed as against artefacts considered as antiquities, which are automatically protected without requiring any legal decision. Even if it provides for the protection of all movable and immovable antiquities, the Law 5351/1932 is essentially a “code” for archaeological excavations, establishing procedures to protect antiquities against illicit trafficking with emphasis placed on movable heritage.

With the enacting of Law 1469/1950, the state’s protection has been extended to more recent monuments, built after Greek independence. Law 1469/1950, composed of only eight articles, can be considered as a supplementary law to the provisions of Article 52 of Law 5351/1932. Law 1469/1950 protects sites of specific natural beauty as well as buildings and housing built there. The monuments and housing built after 1830 can be listed as works of art requiring special protection from the state as well as historic buildings or sites. This latter law may provide protection to natural sites and buildings or groups of buildings dating from 1830, according to their artistic or historical values. This law takes into account the categories of heritage that correspond to the recent developments in the field of “cultural heritage” with its present focus on international conception values.

However, this law which could have implied an evolution incorporating the present international conception of heritage still maintains critical differences between categories of heritage. While Antiquities (i.e. artefacts and architectural masterpieces dating from Antiquity, later Antiquity and the Byzantine period) are automatically protected and the protection ensured by law includes a protective perimeter of 500m around the monuments or sites, all monuments dating after the Byzantine period have to be listed, and the more recent ones do not have their surroundings protected by a specific perimeter except when listed for historical reasons⁸. These historical reasons have to be understood

⁸ Law 5532/1932 does not indicate a specific date determining which building is considered Byzantine or post-Byzantine. A general opinion considers this to be 1453, the year of the fall of Constantinople; this is also the year to which the Lawmaker tacitly referred to. This date has no meaning for present-day Greek territory and the buildings standing therein. When Mehmet the Conqueror won his battle some Greek regions were

from a nationalistic point of view. Recent historic monuments are only monuments of specific and primarily national meaning.

The legislation has recently evolved with the addition of new laws in the fields of urban and city planning. Greek legislation reflects the importance given to Antiquity and illustrates the difficulty of including heritage categories that do not have a place in national history writing and identity building. The search for historical continuity cannot be found in tangible heritage. The heritage that architectural artefacts represent reflects the historical development in which an "Ottoman gap" exists. Greeks have to live with it but are reluctant to identify with it. This is the reason Greek scholars (especially folklorists) developed a major interest in Greek language and its literary productions in the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Greek Antiquity was considered the cultural origin of Greek culture and civilisation and modern Greek language played a primary role. It demonstrates the continuity of Greek culture and the right to possess and to ask for possession of new territories still remaining under foreign occupation. The main objective of folk studies in Greece, then, would become the demonstration of a cultural continuity between Greek Antiquity and Modern Greece (Herzfeld, 1982). This is the reason a well-known folklorist, Nikolaos Politis organises the study of popular Greek productions in two broad categories: "monuments of the language," and "activities and practices", outlining the capital importance accorded to popular literature. Since the 19th century, the state of Greece has mainly recognised two kinds of monuments or heritage: the remains of Antiquity (that include Byzantine monuments) and monuments of the language. New categories, such as the urban heritage, are gradually gaining recognition.

1.6 From "national" to "public" interest: heritage construction in Indochina

The process of national heritage recognition questions the ontological value of heritage as universal. In the 19th century, national interpretations of theories of heritage were instrumental in constructing national identities in many European countries. Selection of heritage was oriented by a particular image the nation wanted to give of itself, by privileging certain historical moments, while neglecting others. In European countries, there was correspondence between national territory, heritage and the people who built it.

Colonisation represents a second step in the geographical expansion of the concept. After the conquest of Algeria, French scholars inventoried Algerian cultural heritage for

already part of the Ottoman Empire; others were conquered a century or more later (such as Crete and Rhodes) or were never a part of the Empire (such as the Ionian Islands). This date, considered as a major event for modern Greek History, is thus completely ideological.

contributing to the knowledge of the country, but also drew a French representation of Algeria and its people (Oulebsir, 2004). France established its power in Indochina in the second half of the 19th century. The establishment of economic control by the exploitation of the colonies' resources (and, later, of territorial control based on an administrative structure and political power) were accompanied and sustained by the colonial interventions in the cultural domain.

In 1898, France founded the Mission archéologique d'Indochine (Archaeological Mission of Indochina). Its main aims were "to work at the archaeological and philological exploration of the Indochina peninsula" while fostering "the knowledge of its history, its monuments and languages" and "to contribute to the study of regions" and of Indian, Chinese and Malaysian civilizations⁹. In 1900, the Mission was re-baptised *École française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO). France Mangin describes its role as follows: "after military, religious and administrative colonisation, the scholar colonisation was organised". In the Indochinese context, the values of the monuments played a less important role in motivating cultural policies than the strategic interests of the French regime, which exploited culture as a new mean of domination. French monopoly on the production of knowledge was both a tool and an expression of that control.

This knowledge was mostly focused on the archaeological remains that corresponded to Western appreciation for monuments built in stone, carved and decorated with sculptures. Champ and Cambodian monuments were the major focus of French scholars. In 1901, a first list of monuments (of outstanding "Antiquities") was established. It was composed of buildings, inscriptions and sculptures, mostly coming from Champa. Cambodia was represented in this list by 300 artefacts (buildings and objects) from 32 provinces.

According to Mangin, this list reflected the French conception of historic monuments that privileged religious buildings, inscriptions, sculptures and carving. So, while inventorying these kind of artefacts, France neglected a huge part of local cultural expression constituted by the interaction between man and nature. However, at that time, lakes and mounds, rural landscapes, living legends and social practices attached to particular places and people were not objects of protection.

Legislation was required to ensure protection. The French Law of 1887 on historical monuments' protection was justified in the name of "national interest". As the term "national" did not suit the colonial context, it was replaced by the expression "public interest": these artefacts should be protected not only for the French nation, but for a larger "community". This new terminology corresponded to an earlier attempt at stating the existence of a supra-national heritage transposed in the French Law on cultural

⁹ In *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1901 (1), pp. 67-68, cited by France Mangin.

heritage of 1913 where the same expression is used (Mangin, 2006)¹⁰. This law, which was passed in Indochina in 1923, does not theoretically place any limit to the identification of different forms of heritage, which depends only on the recognition of their public interest (Dussaule, 1978). However, the notion of “public” can be questioned. The focus on archaeology and monumental artefacts from the ancient past marginalised contemporary cultural expressions. The community sharing this interest was not inclusive of local populations. It aimed at a European public that looked at these territories as new tourist destinations.

Angkor, the site of the ancient Khmer capital, had been under the Siamese rule until 1907. As soon as Siem Reap province was brought to Cambodia, Angkor became the most important site for scientific and archaeological research. When the French arrived at Angkor, they discovered that the Khmers ignored the history of the temples. Angkor was a place “sans mémoire” (“without memory”). In front of the grandiose temples, locals living in shelter houses seemed barbarians to Western eyes. Disregarding the role that Angkor still played as a religious site connected to popular belief-systems, the French considered themselves to be the legitimate heirs to this major heritage. They incorporated Angkor into French national heritage, whose boundaries encompassed colonised lands. Edward (2007) argued that “colonial intervention would subsume this multiplicity of meanings into a homogenising, national narrative” (p. 26). The establishment of historic knowledge disengaged the past from the legend. Dynasties of Khmer monarchs could be integrated into the linear conception of history which characterises rational Western mentality: “By inserting Angkor into a sliding scale of time, grooming, landscaping, restoring and depicting the ruins in ways that privileged European aesthetic standards, and authenticating it as a ledger of national history, the protectorate would first assert, and then sublimate, Angkor’s status as a national monument” (*Ibidem*, p. 26). This contributed to a fundamental shift in Cambodian perceptions in relation to the temples. In part the result of European scholarship and French propaganda, but also under the influence of Siam, Cambodians began to develop a national consciousness that played a central role in the fight for independence.

If scholars focused on ancient history, Georges Groslier’s work offered another perspective on the French interest towards Cambodian heritage (Abbe, 2008). Groslier was commissioned to found school of Cambodian arts by the General Governor of

¹⁰ The General Governor of Indochina played a major role in the classification of heritage in Indochina, assuming the charges of the French Ministry of Public Instruction. It was he who decided whether or not to authorise the export of antiquities; he was responsible for the country’s memory on behalf of the French state. The EFEO’s director assumed the scientific responsibility by supervising the historic monuments service of Indochina, proposing new monument for inventories and directing conservation practices and measures.

Indochina, Albert Sarraut, whose aim was to revive disappearing forms of artistic expression. In 1917, Groslier wrote a report in which he deplored the loss of Cambodian traditions and their miscegenation under foreign influences, while encouraging an urgent intervention for their safeguard. In 1919, a museum (which replaced a small earlier emplacement on the Wat Phnom) and a school were founded in Phnom Penh and were termed “the arts’ block” by Groslier. In order to protect disappearing traditions, Groslier sought old artisans in the countryside and invited them to teach at his school. While in the rest of Indochina, schools of art engaged in the dialogue between European movements/techniques and local traditions, Groslier promoted a purified artistic ideal in Cambodia, which excluded every form of innovation and defended the accurate reproduction of ancient models. This ideal was identified with “true Khmerness”. In order to maintain its “authenticity”, evolution was banned. Its slogan read: “we will make Khmer art and we will do it in Khmer”. The myth of the Angkorian past during which Cambodia experienced glory and the apogee of artistic expression permeated the relationship to “intangible expressions” of art.

Even if foreign teachers were forbidden, the teaching programme and the entire school were under the supervision of a French team, which decided “what” could be considered Khmer. The safeguarding of craftsmanship was controlled by the filter of the French perception of Cambodian arts. More than a safeguard, the process for “arts renovation” promoted by Groslier appears to have been a form of cultural interpretation through the filter of European conception. Manifestations of that control include re-establishing what seemed to be lost; mastering knowledge as well as artistic production; and, claiming to be conscious of what is valuable.

2. The emergence of an international dimension of heritage theories and conservation practices

This chapter is concerned with the emergence of an international preoccupation with heritage conservation and management. Since the 18th century, the existence of a common heritage belonging to the whole of mankind was assumed. This idea was used as a tool for international cooperation which should have discouraged armed conflicts between European countries. The first remarkable attempt for passing international regulation in heritage dates back to the First interwar period, when the League of Nations was created. However, no legal document was officially approved despite the rich intellectual debate that took place at the Athens Conference (1931). After the Second World War, the creation of UNESCO (1945) inaugurated international cooperation in the field of heritage. A number of conventions, charters and recommendations were carried out by these international organisations (UNESCO, ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM). The World Heritage Convention (1972) established a list of universal heritage possessing “outstanding value”. The relationship between the international community and nation-states in the ownership and management of heritage as well as the system of nominations and listing are discussed in this chapter.

2.1 The origins: protecting heritage from armed conflicts¹¹

During the 20th century, cultural heritage was embedded in a movement for Universalistic¹² ideals at the international level. In European countries, a Universalistic movement had developed as a response to the fear of armed conflicts. Universalism promoted the common property of cultural heritage to mankind. Sharing the responsibility of its conservation was employed as an argument for fostering co-operation between European states, an act which would limit the risks of war.

The origins of Universalism in cultural heritage can be found in the work of European jurists between the 17th and the 18th centuries. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), the Dutch jurist who founded international law, articulated a set of moral rules for military commanders in their handling of cultural properties. Later, Abbé Gregoire (1750-1831) priest, intellectual, politician and a formative figure of the French Revolution, considered cultural artefacts as common intellectual and aesthetic assets. In the 19th century, the Code for the Government of Armies by the German jurist and political philosopher, Francis Lieber (1800-1872) gave instructions for the protection of cultural heritage during armed conflict.

At the end of the 19th century, the Russian emperor Alexander II organised the first international conference on heritage issues, namely, the Brussels Conference, which led to a draft declaration regulating the customs of war (1874). Johilehto (1986:412, as cited by Titchen, 1995:14), stressed the importance of this conference which emphasised that cultural heritage was a common belonging. Artistic treasures once destroyed were considered irreplaceable and their cultural worth declared to be of value to all men, not merely the nation where they were situated. After the Brussels Conference, several conferences were held at The Hague (1899-1907) with the purpose of preparing international laws defining the rights, obligations and limits of military behaviour in warfare. However, these agreements did little to stop the destruction of cultural heritage during the First World War.

At the end of the War, the League of Nations was created with the main goal of avoiding future conflicts¹³. Again, the notion of a common heritage was fostered to promote internationalism. Co-operation was intended to contrast with the purely nationalist movements that had led to wars. Cultural heritage was a paramount field for

¹¹ This section is extensively based on the unpublished PhD dissertation of Sarah Titchen (1995).

¹² Universalism refers to a religious, theological and philosophical concept with universal application or applicability. It is a term used to identify particular doctrines considering all peoples in their formation.

¹³ The League of Nations was an inter-governmental organisation founded between 1919 and 1920; its main aim was to prevent war through collective security, disarmament and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration. Its first meeting took place in 1920. At its largest extent, the League counted 58 state members between 1934 and 1935. It was composed of three administrative organs: the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat. It created a number of institutions to undertake legal, social, political and economic tasks.

propaganda: if the intellectual class was convinced of the benefits of co-operation, the idea would then be disseminated.

The League created several institutions in the cultural field: the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC)¹⁴; the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), under which was placed the International Museums Office (IMO); and, the International Commission of Historical Monuments, which promoted a number of legal instruments for conserving cultural heritage (1920s-1930s).

The League's action was particularly concerned with the protection of historic buildings, works of art and archaeological remains. However, attention was also paid to "the beauties of nature"¹⁵ which included national parks, countryside, landscapes and historical sites. The goal was not to engage a campaign for the safeguarding of these "beauties", but to draw up an inventory and bibliography of the main sites and of actions already undertaken in this field at the national level. This institution attempted to offer practical solutions to problems linked to the conservation of archaeological remains. The aim was to respond to the growth of professional archaeological enquiry during the interwar period, with the establishment of international inventories and regulations. However, the project was abandoned owing to lack of funds.

However, while the ambitions of these cultural institutions were linked to international cooperation, its activities and interests were concentrated in Europe and around European affairs: "The League intellectuals loudly professed universal aspirations; but it was a particular sort of universalism. However conceived, it was in all its shades only the well-known European universalism pervaded with a strong feeling of European superiority" (Kolasa, 1962, p. 164; as quoted by Titchen, 1995, p. 18).

The IMO, whose main duty was to strengthen cooperation and exchanges between museums, was responsible for the organisation of the conference in Athens (1931).

¹⁴ In 1926, the ICIC was recognised by a resolution of the League of Nation's Assembly as one of its permanent technical organs and received a constitution. The institute was composed of 12-15 members. Among them were Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Madame Curie-Sklodowska and Aldous Huxley. The first chairman was Henri Bergson. National committees for intellectual life were established in some of the member states. ICIC had three main fields of action: the improvement of the material conditions of intellectual workers, the development of international relations between the members of the intellectual profession and the strengthening of the League's influence for peace.

¹⁵ As stated by the League of Nation's Committee eighth meeting of the ninth session (1927).

2.2 The Athens Conference: a first step in the internationalisation of heritage policies and practices

In 1931, the ICIC organised the first international conference on conservation with the assistance of the International Office of Museums (the “ancestor” of ICOM, founded in 1946). The conference took place in Athens. All the participants in the conference (118 in total) came from European countries, except one American archaeologist who lived in Athens. The paper presenters were as follows: 21 Italians, 14 French, 5 Belgian, 4 Greek, 3 Spanish, 3 Dutch, 2 Austrian, 2 English, 2 Polish and 1 German. There were also participants from Norway, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and Yugoslavia. The numerous Italian and French participants dramatically influenced the outcomes of the conferences by promoting widespread theories and practices from their countries of origin. There were very famous participants such as the Italian Gustavo Giovannoni and the Belgian architect, Victor Horta.

On the one hand, the Athens Conference of 1931 contributed to the evolution of the concept of heritage with a focus on topics related to the protection of urban areas (Choay, 2002). On the other hand, it contributed to the internationalisation of heritage theorisation. It was the first international conference wherein stakeholders of heritage conservation met and shared their practical experiences. According to Françoise Choay, this conference represented the culmination of a long evolution and of actions which had progressively established conservation and preservation policies in European countries. It also fostered the emergence of new conservation and restoration approaches and practices.

The conference looked at new themes that had emerged before the First World War. In particular, Gustavo Giovannoni’s theories were discussed: the way major and minor monuments complement each other; the fact that a monument could not be separated from its urban context; the emergence of the concept of urban heritage; and, finally, the integration of architectural heritage into city planning.

For the first time, conservation of cultural heritage and protection laws in force in different European countries were compared. The conference explored the doctrines and practices of restoration, which depended on the nature of materials and their degradation; the conservation of the surroundings of historic monuments; adaptive re-use of monuments (good and bad uses according to their artistic and historical values); and, the preservation of archaeological sites. The conference finally treated the initiatives that the IOM could take part in. The issues of the conference were of capital importance because they advocated further developments in heritage practices.

In terms of practices, the conservation of monuments seemed to be moving towards regular, permanent and global maintenance that would ensure preservation instead of

integral restoration, as practiced by Viollet-Leduc. The participants recommended the maintenance of the function of the monument with regard to their artistic and historic values.

The conference recommended the consideration for the old cities' characteristics and morphology in new buildings; especially, in the surroundings of historic monuments. This recommendation gave international recognition to ideas of urban heritage conservation, even if they were dominated by a priority for the preservation of monuments.

The conference raised the question of education: the position adopted by the conference participants was that educating children on heritage issues was the best way to form responsible adults with the view to implement more heritage preservation policies. Henri Nocq, a French chairman, made clear that the list of cases of heritage destruction would have great relevance for educational objectives: "Once these kids become men, the municipal civil services may hesitate to destroy interesting buildings. Engineers and colonial administrators ... would stop needlessly sacrificing ancient art remains... Who knows? If unfortunately new wars would break out, perhaps these men would divert the gunners from considering the cathedrals' steeples as the funniest targets?" This consideration influenced the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation to adopt a recommendation insisting on children's education on heritage issues (July 1932).

One of the conclusions adopted by the participants was on outstanding meaning. A new notion emerged from the conviction that safeguarding the masterpieces produced by human civilisations was of the highest interest for the whole community of peoples. Jules Destrée, President of the Conference, noticed that this notion implied a restriction of the national ownership of heritage and observed that all the nations concerned seemed to understand that they were not the only beneficiaries of the artistic treasures they hold (Choay, 2002). The participants of the conference, thus, attempted to establish procedures that could allow institutions or organisations to submit requests for the preservation of monuments to the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation. In this way, the initiative would not be considered as a violation of national sovereignty. The internationalisation of heritage management began with this proposition.

As a result of this conference, the League of Nations founded the International Commission on Historical Monuments (1935), whose activities were categorised into four main areas: international agreements, co-ordination work, administrative inquiries and technical research, documentation and publication. Following its establishment, the International Museum Office was engaged in the preparation of draft conventions and

declarations in the field of heritage¹⁶. Even if these documents have never been officially adopted by nation-states, they contributed to reflection on the international dimension of heritage that was taken on by UNESCO after the Second World War.

In particular, the “Draft international legal instruments for the protection of monuments and works of art during, and as a result, of war” was motivated by the fear of new war. Japan’s invasion of Manchuria (1931), the Ethiopian War (1935) and the German and Italian engagement in the Spanish Civil War (1936) were the signs of growing international tensions. The IMO promoted a first meeting in 1936 and a Committee of Experts gave birth to a “Draft declaration concerning the protection of historical buildings and works of art in time of war” (1938) as well as a booklet setting out measures for reducing the negative effects of warfare involving monuments (1939). However, these documents did not receive official approval before the eruption of the Second World War.

The League did not attempt to establish a hierarchy of values according to which some objects or sites would have been recognised as universal heritage. However, it fostered the idea of the existence of a common heritage for mankind as a response to the massive destruction in time of war. It also fostered the idea for a project of international co-operation to protect them. As Titchen explains, “although most of the League of Nations initiatives concerning the conservation of cultural heritage never developed beyond the status of drafts or recommendations to Member States, they served as administrative and legal precedents for a development of a distinctive organizational style of international cooperation aimed at cultural heritage conservation at an international level” (1995:35).

2.3 The idea of a “universal heritage” and the foundation of international co-operation in heritage conservation and management

UNESCO was created at the end of the Second World War. Its tasks, as defined by Article 1 of its Constitution¹⁷, were to ensure “the conservation and protection of the world’s inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions” (UNESCO, 1945, art 1, paragraph 2.c). UNESCO’s reflection on cultural heritage took place in the context of “international environmentalism” which developed between the 1950s and 1970s. An earlier environmental concern for natural resources embraced wider preoccupations around pollution, overpopulation and the future cost of technological

¹⁶ The draft of the international convention for the protection of national collections of art and history (written in 1933, submitted to state parties in 1935) was particularly concerned with the protection of objects of palaeontological, archaeological and historical interest and had the objective of stopping the dispossession of national cultural heritage and ensuring restitution in case the removal of objects had occurred. The International Conference on Excavations (Cairo, 1937) wished to provide a comprehensive survey of the legislative, administrative, managerial and technical aspects in the field of excavation.

¹⁷ Adopted on 16 November 1945 in London.

advancement. As the global scale of the movement favoured co-operation between nation states more than competition, international environmentalism was perceived as a new form of geopolitics in a planetary context (Caldwell, 1990, as cited by Titchen, 1995).

As economic and political agreements between the states alone would not be able to prevent conflicts, UNESCO's aim was to found durable peace through education, scientific and cultural relations. Significantly, one of the first documents to be adopted was "The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in Case of Armed Conflict" (1954) and the homonymous Protocol (1946). According to Titchen (1995), this Convention was "the culmination of more than a century of discussion and deliberation concerning the protection of cultural property in times of actual or impending warfare" (p. 50). The idea of the existence of a common heritage of mankind, which was enriched by the contribution of each peoples, was renewed: "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" (Preamble of UNESCO's Constitution, 1954). The State Parties of "The Hague's Convention" are committed to the protection of the cultural properties within their territory as well as those which are situated outside their frontiers. Specific rules are fixed in case of armed conflict.

With a similar purpose, UNESCO promoted a "Journal of World History" and later the preparation of six volumes of a "History of Mankind - Cultural and Scientific developments", with contributions of scholars from around the world. These initiatives fostered the idea of shared human history, of the unity of its achievements and of the common property of a unique civilisation.

During its first twenty years of activity, UNESCO prepared a number of conventions and recommendations for the protection of cultural heritage and engaged in international campaigns for its safeguarding.¹⁸ Several topics were discussed: the establishment of an international fund for the preservation of monuments, the creation of a permanent committee for sites and monuments of art and history and for archaeological excavations – the future World Heritage Committee - and the organisation of a mission of experts for the recovery of objects of cultural interest and their protection from various threats.

¹⁸ UNESCO organised roundtable discussions, published technical handbooks, produced inventories of national cultural heritage and legislation, provided experts when requested and investigated the relationship between heritage and tourism. It promoted a number of conventions and recommendations in the field of heritage. Some examples: the Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations (1956), which was influenced by the draft conventions promoted by the League of Nations; the Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of the Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites (1962); the Recommendation on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Export, Import and Trade of ownership of Cultural Property (1964, followed by a convention in 1985); the Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property endangered by public or private works (1968). A synthesis of the charters is available in the annexes.

During the same period, other institutions came into existence with the contribution of UNESCO: the International Council of Museums (ICOM)¹⁹; the International Centre for Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM)²⁰; the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN)²¹; the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)²². These organisations contributed to the establishment of an internationally-shared discourse on heritage theories and practices of conservation as well as an international group of professionals working in the field.

Conservation issues were regularly discussed at conferences and roundtables organised by the newly-founded institutions. The results were formalised in several charters, which contributed to the dissemination of dominant notions and practices about heritage on an international scale.

The creation of ICOMOS was a joint initiative of UNESCO and of the 2nd International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings which met in 1964,²³ the same congress that also prepared the Venice Charter. According to the Venice Charter (1964), some principles guiding conservation and restoration had to be laid down on an international basis. ICOMOS had to promote theory, methodology and scientific techniques for the conservation of architectural and archaeological heritage according to these principles. It was the co-ordinator of efforts in the field of the preservation and appreciation of the “world heritage of historic monuments.”²⁴ Since its creation, ICOMOS contributed to the elaboration of the notion of universal heritage by providing UNESCO with expertise, by the preparation of a number of charters and recommendations that contributed to the dissemination of a dominant discourse on heritage categories and practices and by its consulting role in the evaluation of nominations to the World Heritage List. The annexes to this document offer a synthesis of the content of the main documents produced by these international organisations.

¹⁹ ICOM is the “international organisation of museums and museum professionals, which is committed to the conservation, continuation and communication to society of the world’s natural and cultural heritage” (ICOM website). It was created in 1946 as a non-governmental organisation having a consultative status with UNESCO.

²⁰ ICCROM is an inter-governmental organisation dedicated to the conservation of cultural heritage. It was created in 1956 at the 9th UNESCO General Conference in New Delhi and was established in Rome in 1959. It has several tasks: professional training; information through libraries and online resources; research (organisation of conferences and a laboratory which is a point of reference for experts); co-operation in the form of technical advice, collaborative visits, training and education; advocacy by the organisation of events which contribute to the raising of heritage consciousness.

²¹ IUCN was founded in 1948. It is a global network of governments, NGOs and volunteer scientists engaged in finding solutions to environmental problems. It promotes research and international cooperation.

²² As explained in its website “ICOMOS is an international non-governmental organisation of professionals, dedicated to the conservation of the world’s historic monuments and sites”. It was created by a UNESCO resolution in 1964.

²³ The first congress took place in Paris in 1957 and received the support of UNESCO. The second congress, in 1964, adopted 13 resolutions. One of them was the Venice Charter.

²⁴ Resolution concerning the creation of an international non-governmental organisation for monuments and sites, document 2.

2.4 The establishment of the “World Heritage List”

At the end of the 1960s, UNESCO started to work on the text of an international convention concerned with the protection of cultural heritage. The definitions, scope of regulations, role of the international community and of nation-states²⁵ and the system of protection were all discussed between 1968 and 1972²⁶.

The emerging notion of “universal heritage” was used as an administrative tool for limiting the number of sites to be protected on the international scale: “There can be no question of extending the benefits of international protection to all cultural property indiscriminately, for the obvious reason that no international organisation (or UNESCO) could cope with a task of such proportions [...] This international protection could therefore be applied only to sites or monuments of international importance” (Brichet, 1968, p. 19 as quoted by Titchen, 1995, p. 54).

The criteria for evaluating this “international importance” were discussed²⁷ and several countries defined what should be included in an eventual world heritage list: “cultural property of universal importance” (Poland), “buildings of exceptional interest” (United Kingdom); “national treasures” (Japan); “important monuments included in official lists” (France and Italy). Values were assumed to be permanent, as one of the main aims of conservation was the transmission of heritage to future generations that were supposed to share the same criteria of choice.

The preoccupation with the international importance of heritage was translated, in the text of the Convention (1972), with the expression “outstanding universal value”. Hence, the establishment of a World Heritage list introduced the question of the selection of the most representative and valuable heritage. Theoretically, the list should have represented the variety of civilisations around the world and the distribution of aid should have been made accordingly.

Definitions given in the Convention of 1972 specify that monuments, groups and sites merit being protected by the international community if their “outstanding universal value” is recognised. However, while elaborating the text of the Convention, UNESCO’s

²⁵ “Protecting monuments, groups and sites at the national level and on the international level are complementary processes. The protection of the natural and cultural heritage of man is a world-wide operation, whether it has to be carried out by the states or by the international community” (Brichet and Matteucci, 1969, p. 8 as quoted by Titchen, 1995, p. 57.)

²⁶ A first meeting of experts was held in 1968. In 1969, the Work Plan for the budget and programme for 1969 and 1970 were carried out. Then, a second meeting of experts was organised in 1969. A draft “National protection system” and “International system for the protection of monuments and groups of buildings and sites of universal interest” were produced. Between 1970 and 1972, UNESCO, ICOMOS, IUCN and the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment and the Intergovernmental Working Group on Conservation (IWGC) prepared the content of the convention which would have been approved in 1972.

²⁷ Source: “Preliminary Study on the legal and technical aspects of a possible international instrument for the protection of monuments and sites of universal value”, UNESCO, 1970.

experts had already noted the difficulty for nation-states to interpret the meaning of “universal heritage.” Nominations would have witnessed prime national values claiming to be universal values.

UNESCO’s “issue document” (1977) affirmed that such universality may not be shared by all people, everywhere, because “different people and cultures may have differing views, and the term “universal” must therefore be interpreted as referring to a “large or significant segment of humanity”” (1977, p. 6). This “segment”, represented by the World Heritage Committee, where Western experts were over-represented, expressed the value of a dominant group and verified the correspondence between values and nominated objects/sites for the list.

The distribution of responsibilities in heritage management between nation-states and the international community was discussed. The 2nd Congress had already stated that, while principles were agreed on the international scale, management was the responsibility of the states wherein the heritage was situated. The Convention distinguished the primary responsibility of the territorial states to preserve examples of remarkable heritage lying within its boundaries. The state had to identify, protect, conserve, present and transmit heritage to future generations. Other state parties play subsidiary roles: they engage themselves (if needed) to cooperate with the custodial state party. The encouragement of international co-operation is mirrored by the terms used for defining the protected objects: “property” is replaced by “cultural heritage”. Graham (1987) argued that the content of the classes of the protected items was not modified, but rather the shift concerned the way in which the question was approached: the accent was not placed on the rights of a national authority anymore, but on the common duty to protect a heritage whose values transcend national boundaries. Titchen argues that the use of the word “property”, which, however, occurs several times in the text of the Convention of 1972, is used to describe a single place: properties constitute the individual components of a larger and collective immovable heritage of the world.

In order to avoid competition between states and eventual contestation from national authorities, UNESCO chose not to list universal heritage. Each state would propose nominations instead: “It would, therefore, seem wiser to leave each State free to request international aid whenever it considered important monuments, groups of buildings or sites to be seriously threatened” (Preliminary study, 1970, art 45). At the same time, an international list composed of sites which had been saved by the international community would offer conservation examples and encourage similar action. The creation of a list would, on the one hand, activate and foster the process of national heritage recognition (as nation states were called to formulate their propositions); on the other hand, it would have provided a “repertory” of good practices: “examples that could serve as precedents for future actions” (UNESCO, 1970, Annex 6, as quoted by Titchen, 1995, p. 60).

Nation-states are primarily engaged in preservation. The first step is the identification of valuable heritage through an inventory (Brichet, 1968, p. 7 as cited by Titchen, 1995, p. 147). This phase takes place at the national level.²⁸ State Parties question heritage values in respect of categories and criteria, both established at the international level. Categories are a typological description of the heritage that is likely to be considered for inclusion in the World Heritage List. As stated by the Convention of 1972, three categories are recognised: monuments, groups of buildings and sites. Criteria are attributes describing the nature and the level of values that would justify inscription in the World Heritage List. While categories are relatively stable because they have been fixed by a legal document, criteria are supposed to orient choices without constraining them and are periodically reviewed in various editions of the Operational Guidelines.

On these bases, nation-states formulate “tentative lists” with a list of potential nominations and the justification for their suitability for inclusion in the World Heritage List. As Titchen remarked (1995), criteria have been employed (more than categories) by nation-states for arguing their proposals. Despite their simple inspiring role, they have been used as rules.

When submitting a nomination form, nation-states should formulate a “statement of significance” that reflects “the criterion (criteria) on the basis of which the Committee inscribed the property on the World Heritage List. They should also address questions such as: “what does the property represent; what makes the property outstanding; what are the specific values which distinguish the property; which is the relationship of the site with its setting” (World Heritage Report, 2003). While having been given criteria as guidelines – or rules – for assessing outstanding value, the states are invited to exercise their comprehension of these guidelines in the statement of significance.

With the purpose of disseminating international heritage values, regional meetings took place for “harmonising” the tentative lists in a number of state parties, and for establishing factors according to which the lists could be organised (such as historical, geographical, typological or thematic factors). In the tentative list, states briefly justify the outstanding universal value of the property in accordance with the criteria and conditions of authenticity and integrity. Thus, state parties actually work on the definition of the values and the levels that can have international impact.

However, the Convention itself does not provide any element for establishing outstanding value. This is the task of the “Operational Guidelines for the implementation

²⁸ State Parties have been encouraged to establish inventories since 1979.

of the World Heritage Convention.”²⁹ Criteria are given for orienting states in the selection of heritage nominations to the list. As explained by Domicely (1985), cited by Titchen (1995): “Criteria characteristically attempt to identify rare, important, typical or representative places and those places are repositories of information” (p. 98). They discriminate whether a cultural property merits to be invested with the appellation of “universal heritage”. However, the sequence of the Operational Guidelines shows that criteria evolved from the 1970s to date.³⁰ The authors argue that the process of listing World Heritage contains an inner contradiction: the pretension of establishing universal and permanent value - as universal heritage is protected with the aim of transmitting it to future generations - to cultural property contrasts with the continuous evolution of the principles according to which this value is stated.

The second step is the evaluation of the nature and the level of value of the proposed objects or sites by the World Heritage Committee.³¹ ICOMOS and IUCN are also required to undertake a professional evaluation of each nomination according to the criteria adopted by the Committee and make recommendations for inscription in the list or otherwise. The rejection of a number of nominations by the Committee, however, shows that categories, as they are conceived by nation-states and by the World Heritage Committee, do not systematically correspond. The definition of the “universal value” appears to be blurred. For example, the term “outstanding,” used in the Convention, has not been defined: according to what parameters should states evaluate the values’ “level” in the name of which heritage can be claimed to be universal?

As stated in the Operational Guidelines, cultural property is considered relatively in this process and eventually compared with other properties of the same type dating from the same period, either inside or outside the border of the state party. Comparisons between properties situated in different geographical contexts are underpinned by the belief that history is a linear process common to mankind and that a chronological correspondence is a sufficient criterion to establish an analogy of value. The notion of the uniqueness of values based on a common history founds the heritage selection by the World Heritage Committee.

²⁹ Operational Guidelines set forth the procedure for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List and the World Heritage list in danger; the protection and conservation of World Heritage properties; the granting of international assistance under the World Heritage Fund and the mobilisation of national and international support in favour of the Convention (UNESCO, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, January 2008).

³⁰ Titchen’s PhD dissertation reports the sequence of criteria definitions given in the Operational Guidelines from 1972 until 1994 which are considered as the “product of the changing intellectual conditions prevalent in cultural heritage management and the implementation of the World Heritage Convention over the last twenty years” (Titchen, 1995, p. 95). Eight major revisions of the criteria were recognised by Titchen between the approval of the Convention and 1995. Between 1995 and today, six more revisions were approved.

³¹ Also, the World Heritage Committee is in charge of “heritage in danger” by identifying whether major operations and international assistance are needed.

2.5 Contested interventions by the international community

The process of heritage recognition was led by European countries wherein heritage notions were first raised. With the establishment of UNESCO (1945), subsequent reflection was directed by an international community in which Western countries were still dominant. In 1972, the World Heritage convention established the “universal” value which transcends national frontiers and claims a globally-shared cultural heritage.

In the context of the European construction, the position of the monument as a witness contributing to national construction, and as a proof for territorial possession, has been gradually blurred. Therefore, cultural heritage has been progressively expanded into a much larger consideration for people’s cultural production, an evolution reaching its fullest extent with the World Heritage Convention drafted under the auspices of UNESCO in 1972. From an official point of view, cultural heritage was, henceforth, an international and universal concept. However, the international Convention of 1972 set up the duties of states parties, which must identify, protect and conserve cultural heritage sites and monuments located in their territories. Therefore, this assignment gives UNESCO the right to inspect the state of conservation and to judge the good or bad practices of preservation in these countries. This could imply interference from the international community in the way each country is managing its own cultural property (Yerasimos, 1999). It means that World Heritage is not only the property of a national state or of the community who first recognised it as its heritage, but also an international one. This fact has to be understood and accepted by these communities. It also implies that there are good practices in matters of conservation, decided by experts in some countries. Who first decided the criteria for good practices: Europeans who invented the concept of cultural heritage and who, after more than a century, formalised restoration practices with charters (such as the Venice Charter).

This question is of dramatic importance in the case of the concept of cultural heritage exported to Asian countries such as Japan where a temple can be rebuilt every twenty years, or where rebuilding a temple, or enlarging and renovating a pagoda is a way among Buddhist people to earn merit for the next life. In this context, the authenticity criterion has much more to do with the traditional use of a building which continues in that function, than with the date and the age of the materials it is built with. However, the authenticity criterion is a major one in the Western conception of cultural heritage, especially for ICOMOS and the World Heritage centre. It had to be redefined by the international community in Nara.

All elements that involved the extension of the concept of cultural heritage in the last three decades are the exclusive result of the process of Western European social evolution. From this geographical basis, the heritage concept, as that of nation-state, democracy or

human rights, has been exported to the rest of the world, a process further accelerated by globalisation.

From a Western point of view, this fact implies and means that the heritage of other people is now everybody's heritage. The opposite is the case only in the context of an equal economical and cultural development. Cultural heritage and its export are also questions of unequal development (Yerasimos, 1999). The export of this concept must be raised in the historical context of colonisation. European societies have evolved in the context of the refusal to recognise other cultures or their study. In the wake of colonisation, European scientists have written mostly of the history of colonised people (Saïd, 1979), implying a kind of appropriation and, through increasing tourism, the consumption of their heritage.

This appropriation has taken scientific, cultural, aesthetic and technological forms, since it is mostly in Europe that conservation/restoration techniques and practices have been established. The appropriation is, at the least, economical: the major part of grants and loans for safeguarding and restoring cultural heritage comes from developed Western countries.

The generalisation of a concept born in a specific context necessarily implies differences in interpretation and practice.

3. Shared or contested values for an international heritage?

In this chapter, heritage values determined by international organisations in the field of heritage are presented and discussed. These values have evolved from the approval of the World Heritage Convention (1972) till date. The Eurocentric vision of heritage (based on history, art and science as disciplines founded and matured in the West) was deeply transformed by new categories and criteria of heritage, which were introduced among UNESCO's theories and conservation priorities initiated since the 1990s. Asian countries participated actively in this evolution that gave recognition to cultural landscapes, intangible heritage and cultural diversity. The broadening of heritage notions towards an anthropological approach fosters the identification of new forms of heritage specific to Asian contexts. However, communities to which this heritage belongs have to manage the new meanings and practices resulting from this international recognition. Despite the widening of heritage theories, the international system still represents a dominant discourse intrinsically linked to the strategies of international and national stakeholders. Its capacity for integrating grassroots initiatives while fostering communities' empowerment through heritage policies can be questioned.

3.1 The so-called “universality” of historical monuments

The focus on art, history and science, as disciplines founded and nourished in Western countries is the basis for heritage recognition. In the first formulation of the Operational Guidelines (1976), cultural heritage criteria were addressed to “unique artistic achievements” (i); “properties of outstanding importance for the influence they have exercised over the development of world architecture and human settlements (ii); “properties which are unique or extremely rare” (iii) and on “high intellectual, social or artistic achievements” (iv). Heritage selection was based on a cultural schema organised around the dichotomy between “high” and “low” heritage (high achievements of humanity; important works of art influencing other creations). The idea of the uniqueness (or of the scarce nature of artistic works) dominated heritage selection. Also, the scheme was permeated by a linear conception of artistic development which was supposed to be an inevitable progress: coherently, the “achievements” of human expression would be protected. This dominant discourse over heritage is still underpinned by the objectives of Classicism and the Enlightenment which tended to the recognition of universal values, an “ideal”, shared by humankind. Unity of artistic values, founded on the Western historiography of art, were pretended to be the universal achievements of humankind. According to the art historian Johann Winckelmann, artists had to learn from ancient works of art considered as having reached the universal ideal. The concept of the influence of “major” artefacts over the development of art through imitation founds the criterion which identifies and protects masterpieces for their capacity to influence future production.

The narrow character of criteria for the evaluation of cultural heritage does not reflect the preoccupations of experts who worked on the preparation of the Convention. Indeed, between 1968 and 1972, a discussion was held around the meanings of the terms used to design universal heritage. The first category, “monuments”, did not correspond anymore to its etymological sense, which designates “something intended to hand down to posterity the memory of a famous person or event” (Meeting of experts, 1968). Figuratively, it meant any material evidence of cultural history, irrespective of the purpose for which it was originally intended. A monument was an “immovable property, particularly architectural works, regardless of their possible commemorative nature.” This term was usually applied to an architectural work considered exclusively with regard to its own value. The definition of monument in the approved Convention (1972) included “architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and paintings, elements and structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combination of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or

science” (art 1). The Venice Charter (1964) had theoretically extended the notion of monument to “the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilisation, a significant development or a historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time” (art 1). This extension was mirrored by the second heritage category established by the Convention, “groups of buildings”, which include “historic and artistic groups and areas or urban sites”, which have an architectural character, for example a monument surrounded by more modest buildings which “together give a particular character to the urban fabric” (UNESCO, 1968, pp. 21-22, as quoted by Titchen, 1995, p. 80).

Experts noticed that the extended notion of “monument” has blurred the relation between the concept and the objects which should be protected: “The meaning of the term ‘historical monument’ however, has inevitably become much wider, so much that it is now difficult to make the term coincide with all the objects that should be protected” (Meeting of Experts, 1968, as quoted by Titchen, 1995, p. 79). According to Choay (1994), the World Heritage Convention “blurs and assimilates the monument and the historical monument. This confusion leads to dogmatism. “Thus, inquiry and investigation are requested” (p. 106).³² The original monument, as *monumentum* invested by a commemorative function, is a cultural universal because it exists, in different shapes, for all peoples. On the contrary, the historical monument has been chosen by the erudite gaze for its historic or/and artistic value. International heritage is based on the construction of rational knowledge in scientific disciplines. The problem is, according to Choay, that the notion of historical heritage has been claimed as universal. Considering historical monuments as if they could have a universal value is an ontological assumption.

3.2 The evolution of heritage categories: questioning the notion of “authenticity”

In the Convention of 1972, the third heritage category concerns “sites”, which are defined as “works of man or the combined work of man and nature, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view” (art 2, Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, 1972)³³.

³² Translation of the French text by the authors.

³³ Three types of natural heritage are recognised: “natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations”; “geological and physiographical formations...areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants”; “natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty” (art 2).

During the preparation of the Convention, the definition given to the “sites” was very broad and could include any locality, natural or man-made, whose authenticity and importance, aesthetic, historical, ethnographical, scientific, literary or legendary standpoint justified their protection and presentation (Meeting of Experts, 1968). In delineating categories, “man-made sites” would have been considered historical localities which, even if modest, have acquired cultural importance, with local communities emotionally attached to them (ibid.) while in “composite sites”, the “creative power of man” was celebrated.

The connection between the cultural and natural components of heritage was introduced in 1969, when monuments, groups of buildings and sites were conceived as an “integral whole” formed by complementary components (Lemaire and Sorlin, 1969, p. 3, as quoted by Titchen, 1995, p. 81). The innovation of the Convention of 1972 is that cultural and natural heritage were considered in the same legislative document.³⁴

However, even if the definitions of categories reveal the widening of heritage notions and the possible connection between “natural” and “cultural” components, the natural heritage criteria in the Operational Guidelines (since 1976 and until the 1990s) re-established the logic of the supremacy of rare forms of heritage which merit conservation: for example, criteria (iii) would protect “superlative natural phenomena, formations or features” (version of 1976) and “exceptional natural beauty” or “exceptional combinations of natural and cultural elements” (version of 1983).

A major change was introduced in 1992, when the Committee at its 16th session adopted guidelines concerning the inclusion of “cultural landscapes” in the World Heritage List. The expression “cultural landscape” was first introduced in the work of German and French historians of the mid-19th century. The term (and the idea that it embraced) was promoted by Professor Carl Sauer of the Berkeley School of Human Geographers in the 1920s. It came to be accepted by conservation circles in the 1990s. If international heritage categories have recently experienced this broadening, the sensibility towards a variegated conception of landscape qualities was previously also inscribed in Romantic poetry. William Wordsworth published a guide to the English Lake District where he perceived the authenticity of the landscape composed of natural elements (mountains, lakes and river, woods) and by human settlements (Roman and British antiquities, feudal tenantry, enclosures, cottages, parks and mansions): “Authentic tidings of invisible things; / of ebb and flow, and ever-during power; /and central peace, subsisting at the heart / of

³⁴ Previous recommendations by UNESCO had taken into account the two aspects, but in separate documents: the “Recommendation concerning the safeguarding of the beauty and character of landscapes and sites” (1962) and the “Recommendation concerning the preservation of cultural property endangered by public or private works” considered as natural and cultural heritage respectively.

endless agitation.”³⁵ Ruskin was influenced by this perception and defended the preservation of traditional English and French settlements harmoniously situated in their natural context.

The introduction of a new criterion was motivated by recent discussions (since 1987) initiated by ICOMOS over the representative character of the list: did the list illustrate the variety of cultural expressions of the civilisations around the world, as intended at the outset of its creation? The answer, based on an analysis of the listed properties, was negative. As a consequence, heritage categories and notions came to be questioned. The first problem was the disjunction of the cultural and natural components of heritage. Properties could be considered as “mixed”, associating culture and nature, but the interplay between the two aspects could not be taken into account. This is the reason the World Heritage Committee accepted adding as a new criterion “cultural landscapes,” which was considered to represent the combined work of nature and man, as defined in article 1 of the Convention (1972). A new heritage category was established in the Operational Guidelines of 2005, wherein “cultural landscapes” are considered as a particular form of the “combined works of nature and man.”

Three types of cultural landscapes have been recognised since 1992:

- “clearly defined landscapes designed and created intentionally by man,” such as gardens and parks which may be associated with monumental buildings and ensembles;
- “organically evolved landscapes,” which “result from an initial social, economic, administrative and/or religious imperative and that has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features” (Operational Guidelines, 2008). Two sub-categories were also identified: relic or fossil landscapes; and, continuing landscapes that maintain an active role in contemporary societies (that are associated with traditional ways of life and involved in a continuing process of transformation);
- “associative cultural landscapes” listed in the World Heritage because of the combining of powerful religious, artistic or cultural “associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent” (Operational Guidelines, 2008).

The change in the Operational Guidelines led to a questioning of dominant heritage categories. Indeed, the majority of properties listed at the beginning of the 1990s were cultural heritage, as Titchen (1995) shows in her analysis of the World Heritage list: of the 440 properties included in the list at the end of 1994, 97 were inscribed as “natural” properties; 17 as “mixed”; and, 326 as cultural properties. After the introduction of

³⁵ Wordsworth, W. (1835) *Guide to the Lakes*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977, as quoted by Jokiletho, 1994, p. 23.

“cultural landscapes” in the Operational Guidelines, sites already listed as natural sites (Tongariro National Park in New Zealand and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia, for example) could be inscribed again according to the new definition. The introduction of this new category was a clear manifestation of the broadening process of heritage notions that considered “the representative as well as the best, the ordinary as well as the monumental” (Stovel, 1994, p. xxxiv). New forms of regional heritage expression may be protected, including the vernacular, the commercial and industrial architecture.

However, the question of authenticity applied to human creations covers the history of European reflection in the field. Walter Benjamin studied the development of approaches to art and authenticity in the past. For him, three phases are recognisable in human history: during the first (the so-called traditional phase), artefacts were produced by hand. Thus, authenticity was intrinsically linked to the original, created in the service of the magic or religious cult. The artefact was surrounded by an “aura” which confirmed its uniqueness. This conception of authenticity was less linked to individual creation than to the traditional continuity in which each artefact was located. A second phase conceives art as a collectors’ item. The unique and artistic value gained more importance than traditional continuity. Historically, rare examples of this approach could be found in ancient Egypt, where the statues of important monarchs were restored in order to keep their memory alive. However, art collection was accompanied by a new approach from the 18th century onwards, when art works began to be considered as historical documents to be conserved as sources of knowledge. Restoration had to respect the material signs which made historical inquiry possible. Theories by Ruskin and William Morris stressed the importance of keeping the traces that each historical period left on the artefact. According to Benjamin, the advent of the instruments for mechanical reproduction such as photography and film blurred the concept of authenticity for the work of art: images can be manipulated, multiplied and disseminated. The link with the “author”, the original creator, is weakened.

While stressing the importance of defending authenticity, the International Congress of Architects and Technicians of the Historical Monuments that prepared the Venice Charter (1964, see annexes), did not investigate the meaning of the notion because the majority of experts came from the same cultural universe. The term “authenticity” is used to explain that aim of restoration is “to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect of original material and authentic documents” (art 9). The notion is linked to the second phase recognised by Benjamin, when works of art are considered as historical documents whose authenticity corresponds to the integrity of all the marks made in the passage of time.

However, Petzet (1994) argued that a broader notion of authenticity would have already been conceived by the preamble of the Venice Charter:³⁶ “Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage...It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity.” Petzet explains that the message is linked to authentic traditions of different cultures. The expression “full richness of their authenticity” would suggest more than material and formal authenticity.³⁷ Petzer has argued that the narrow criteria of evaluation did not limit the notion of authenticity to a simplistic reference to the building’s materiality: “The authenticity of the monument depends here however not on the materiality alone, but rather on the authentic form created from a particular material with the help of particular techniques which are based on long traditions” (p. 87). The monument is embedded with the function of remembrance that finds in its materiality the witnesses of intangible values. This “spiritual” value was more important than “material” authenticity when the historical town of Warsaw, massively reconstructed after which Second World War, was integrated in the World Heritage List in 1980.

The creation of a new criterion induced questioning of the concept of authenticity as it applied to universal heritage. A “Test of Authenticity” was introduced in the evaluation of nominations in the Operational Guidelines from 1976. The test considers the design, material, workmanship and setting of the property. The original form of the property as well as further modifications and additions were submitted to tests, which are particularly focused on its materiality. The main burden in evaluating the authenticity of the nominated property falls upon the experts from ICOMOS.

The same year, the introduction of “cultural landscapes” in the Operational Guidelines blurred the concept of authenticity based on the fabric’s materiality. New operational guidelines established that the test of authenticity, in the case of cultural landscapes, had to be established on the basis of “their distinctive character and components,” which are more intangible criteria than those fixed for other categories and which lack definition.

In 1992, Japan joined the Convention. However, Japanese practices towards inherited buildings contradict the criteria of the authenticity test. While Buddhist monasteries are managed in a similar way to Christian churches, Shinto temples are periodically destroyed and reconstructed. For example, the famous Isè temple was dismantled and lastly re-

³⁶ ICOMOS encouraged “a particularisation of existing universal principles, by promoting efforts, in particular by the preparation of charters, to accompany the Venice Charter with thematic, national and regional adaptations” (*ibid.*).

³⁷ However, it did not avoid the listing of properties such as the “historic area” of Québec city which was almost completely reconstructed.

edified in 1994. This practice is incompatible with the Western conception of authenticity made on the basis of the building's materiality. However, in Japan, rebuilding is considered an act of purification of the place where the temple has been built and of the corruptible material (wood) with which it is constructed. The conservation of the materiality of the fabric is less important than its religious symbolism (Choay, 1994, p. 111). While ensuring the continuity of a tradition, periodic rebuilding introduces innovations, as new buildings are rarely faithful copies of previous ones.

Japanese involvement in the international heritage community and the introduction of cultural landscapes as heritage categories are two events which led to the gathering of 45 leading experts from 26 countries in Nara (Japan) to clarify "the application of the 'test of authenticity' to World Heritage nominations and by revising and extending the definition of the various aspects of authenticity" (Preface of the Nara Proceedings, 1994, p. xi). At this meeting, experts investigated the meaning of the word "authenticity".

Jokiletho explained that the etymology of the word derives from the Greek "autentikos" where "autos" refers to "myself". In Latin, the word is related to "author", the one which gives increase, an originator or a warrant of its truth. 'Authentic' contains the idea of respect for an authority and is opposed to the copy, "it can refer to the reputed source of author, or to being genuine as opposed to counterfeit" (Jokiletho, 1994, p. 18). The use of the word authentic entered the French language in the 13th century to mean "the original" and the English language in the 14th with a similar meaning. Philosophy dealt with the role of authenticity in the relations between individual and society (Herder, Goethe, Hegel). In the 19th century, what was termed "authentic" was that which was sufficient to itself and proved itself with credit and authority. The modern concept of authenticity in relation to inherited artefacts is an offspring of Romanticism: an authentic object or monument is understood in relation to its specific qualities. Jokiletho underlines a fundamental difference between authenticity and values: "Authenticity cannot be added to the object; it can only be revealed insofar as it exists. Values, instead, are subject to cultural and educational processes, and may change over time" (p. 19).

During the same meeting, Choay (1994) argued that the recognition of authenticity is traditionally made by an institutional, legislative, religious or scientific authority. On the contrary, research by semantic linguists and psycholinguists has shown that the meaning attributed to words is in continuous evolution and made the object of subjective appropriations. So, revealing authenticity cannot depend on the attribution of a sense, according to a particular cultural scheme, but should question the forms of authority which are specific to a context.

The "Nara document of Authenticity" (see annexes) followed this latter direction. It recognises the "diversity of cultures and heritage" as "irreplaceable source[s] of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind" (art 5). The particularity of belief systems and

forms of tangible and intangible human expression had to be respected. As heritage conservation depended on the recognition of values which are specific to a social group, the understanding of cultural diversity and a deep knowledge of cultural constructs is paramount for assessing all aspects of authenticity (art. 9). Authenticity can be apprehended through credible and truthful sources³⁸ which are specific to socio-cultural groups.

The Nara document attests to the impossibility of evaluating authenticity on the basis of fixed criteria: “On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that cultural heritage must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which it belongs” (art. 10). New criteria among those which are evaluated in the test of authenticity should be added: keeping “form and design”, “materials and substance”, “use and function” and “location and setting”, “traditions and techniques” and “spirit and feeling” would widen the perspectives of evaluation (art. 13).

The Asian region is considered to be “the origin of the development of the concept of cultural landscapes in the World Heritage List” (World Heritage Committee Reports, 2003). However, the influence of the Asia-Pacific region on the critical discussion of heritage categories is under-studied. World Heritage’s sources only attest that the first sites to be listed as cultural landscapes were situated in Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines. Available sources do not explicate the process by which the World Heritage list was analysed critically since the end of the 1980s. Further research would be needed to explore the influence of the new adhering State Parties from the Asian region³⁹ in the questioning of heritage categories.

When cultural landscape was introduced as a new heritage category, the Committee recognised that there was a predominance of monuments of European architecture and grand landscapes and that other continents and other forms of heritage were under-represented. The analysis of the World Heritage List, promoted by ICOMOS in 2000, revealed that 67% of the cultural sites inscribed in the Asian region belonged to the three categories of archaeological sites, historic towns and Buddhist monuments. In comparison, only 2 Islamic monuments, 4 landscapes, 1 industrial site, 1 symbolic site and 1 vernacular settlement had been listed.⁴⁰ The Global strategy, initiated by the World Heritage Committee and ICOMOS in 1994, inaugurated a non-typological approach to the

³⁸ “Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity” (art 9).

³⁹ China, 1985; Thailand and Laos, 1987; South Korea, 1988; Indonesia, 1989; Cambodia, 1991 and finally Japan, 1992.

⁴⁰ The following categories are considered to be under-represented: tropical, coastal and marine island systems; cultural landscapes and sacred mountains; steppe landscapes; fossil hominids, rock art, prehistoric or proto-historic; routes and crossroads of civilisations; archaeological and monumental properties; modern and contemporary architecture; vernacular heritage and industrial heritage.

recognition and selection of universal heritage which would have redressed the geographical, temporal and spiritual imbalances of the list. Two topics of discussion were placed in a broad anthropological context: human coexistence with land (movements of people, settlement, modes of subsistence and technological evolution) and human beings in society (human interaction, cultural coexistence, spirituality and creative expression) (World Heritage Report 12, 2003).

Thematic studies in the framework of the global strategy favoured the submission of new nominations.⁴¹ However, national reports by Asian countries have shown a weak response to these solicitations. When the response is positive, as in India, the revision of national heritage has taken place in collaboration with NGOs at the regional level. It seems that a new process of appropriation of heritage theories is taking place. Thirty years of the promotion of Western notions through the Convention succeeded in “educating” Asian countries to submit proper nominations for historic monuments and exceptional landscapes. Recently, the anthropological broadening of heritage notions, which was motivated by the will to recognise Asian-based forms of value, paradoxically requires a new phase of education which consists in making Asian people aware of the international value accorded to forms of non-monumental and non-spectacular heritage. In Cambodia, a seminar on urban heritage was organised in Phnom Penh by the local UNESCO office (2006), revealing that, even if the efforts of conservation are still focused on the Angkor archaeological park, heritage notions are widening and Cambodian authorities and intellectuals are invited to become aware of them.

⁴¹ Rice terraces in the Philippines and in China, sacred routes to pilgrimage centres and sacred mountains.



Figure 3 An altar inside a temple in Macao, China (photo by author, 2009).

3.3 New threats, new values: from the “universal” to the “local”, from “unity” to diversity

The “Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of expression” (2005, see annexes) states that “cultural diversity forms a common heritage of humanity and should be cherished and preserved for the benefits of all”. Cultural diversity is defined as “the manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression” (art 4, def. 1). Culture is said to take “diverse forms across time and space” and involves not only “high” works of art, but also “indigenous” and minority groups’ knowledge and expressions.

While the Convention of 1972 and the Operational Guidelines which followed (until 1994) promoted the unity of artistic, historic and scientific values, based on Western knowledge and conceptions of history, the introduction of the new category of cultural landscape, and the questioning of the dominant notions that monopolised heritage selection led to a deep change: the promotion of diversity. Diversity is a response to a new threat. In time of war, a common history, a common heritage of mankind would have been over national individualism. In the present context, the new threat is globalisation which

increases the imbalance between rich and poor countries. Globalisation also flattens the expressions of diversity by contributing to the dissemination of cultural models.⁴² To respond to this new threat, while keeping the ideals of universality which animate the international community, the Convention attempted to conciliate contrasting notions: what is “common” to mankind is not the masterpiece in which everyone should recognise human genius, but the “diversity” of expression. This new conception implies a different approach to heritage identification. Previous categories imply the sharing of rational knowledge founded on disciplines such as art, history, science (a minor role was reserved to ethnology). Identifying diversity, in contrast, implies the acquisition of new knowledge and a respect towards what is not always apprehendable through Western cultural schemas. This anthropological notion of heritage has been inspired by Asian societies. In particular, Japan, whose legislation contained the concept of “national treasures” since the 1950s, politically and financially sustained the evolution of heritage categories.

This new approach was stated by the “Report on the Preliminary Study on the Advisability of Regulating Internationally, through a New Standard Setting, the protection of traditional culture and folklore” (2001), which abandoned the primacy of folklorist studies based on documentation. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) stressed the importance of this document which fostered “a shift from the artefact (tales, songs, costumes) to people (performers, artisans, healers), their knowledge and their skills” (p. 53). This report was presented to the UNESCO executive board the same year (2001), which presented the first nineteen “Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” composed of endangered forms of heritage and recognised communities and cultural manifestations which were not on the tangible heritage list. Then, the “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage” is passed in 2003 and a list established.

Intangible heritage is not composed by “objects” in which a “static” strategy of conservation could be maintained. Cultural diversity has multiple manifestations where the materiality of the artefact is deeply embedded within the culture and traditions of a social group. These forms of heritage imply a “dynamic” strategy of conservation (Bortolotto, 2006) where the cultural and social settings, which make every creation possible, are more important than the singular object. As language, intangible heritage is appropriated and transformed. Choay (1995) argued that authenticity cannot be based on something which can be modified by its user: so, it cannot be based on the “form” which intangible heritage may take (instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces, as listed

⁴² “The processes of globalisation, which have been facilitated by the rapid development of information and communication technologies, afford unprecedented conditions for enhanced interaction between cultures, but they also represent a challenge for cultural diversity, namely in view of risks of imbalances between rich and poor countries” (preamble, 2005).

by the Convention). As stated by the Yamamoto Declaration (2004) “considering that intangible heritage is continuously recreated, the term “authenticity” as applied to tangible cultural heritage is not relevant when identifying and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage” (art 8). So, for attesting its authenticity, the authority that legitimises the creation has to be questioned. This new category, introduced in the era of globalisation, aspires to return to tradition as a response to the multiplication of images that discredit the work of art. However, it is not clearly defined by the Convention how to proceed for establishing authenticity of intangible heritage. Indeed, the majority of social groups in the world – even minority and indigenous – are touched by multiple influences and, as a consequence, are interested by deep transformations. Thus the question of the founding characters of traditions, legitimised by a form of authority, has to be raised. The aim of protecting cultural expression could lead to the idealisation of a pure and original form which cannot be contaminated by development.⁴³

Bortolotto (2006) explained that one of the main differences in the newly established list is that intangible heritage is “representative” of the richness of diversity. The logic of the supremacy of a few masterpieces in other artistic manifestations could have been undertaken. However, the process through which a form of heritage is identified, its value justified, and finally listed has not changed. Through the system of inventory, the main tool of international recognition, intangible heritage does not escape from the process of selection which is controlled by dominant stakeholders. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) argued that the intangible heritage list preserved the distinction between the West and the rest of the world and “produces a phantom list...which is not indigenous, not minority, and not Western, though not less intangible” (p. 57).

The following paragraphs deal with this “anthropological” expansion of heritage notions and practices which started to consider intangible heritage and local notions of heritage in Asian contexts. In particular, we analyse the interaction between notions, principles and practices created at the international level and a specific context. Firstly, we will discuss the conciliation between local notions of heritage and the practices of restoration of religious architecture in Bhutan where UNESCO assisted in the rehabilitation of a number of temples. Secondly, a testimony by the ethnolinguist Vogel

⁴³ According to Bortolotto (2006), two main changes occurred in cultural policy. First, looking at the “Recommendation for the safeguarding of traditional and popular culture” (1989), Bortolotto argued that the centrality of the documentation approach to conservation, which was proposed in the Recommendation, was replaced in the Convention of 2003 by the active role of institutions in promoting the creativity of local social groups. Still, inventories continue to play a central role in the recognition of intangible heritage, as they are the tool for its identification and listing. Second, the “list” has changed its aims: for intangible heritage, it does not presume to include “exceptional” heritage, but “representative” forms. The concept of the supremacy of ‘masterpieces,’ of high and low culture has been superseded.

will be taken as an example of project for the safeguarding of intangible heritage. We will discuss the conceptions for conservation put in place for maintaining the particularly fragile heritage which is oral culture.

In conclusion, we will explore the Cambodian situation as a representative case study of the influence of the international reflexion on heritage over the elaboration of national legislation and the implementation of conservation measures. The legislative and theoretical heritage of the French protectorate will be examined in relation to the social and political project of the Cambodian independent nation wishing to integrate the networks of international cooperation. We will argue that Cambodian heritage reflection was dominated by the notion of archaeological and architectural masterpiece as represented by Angkor. As a consequence of the major value attached to Angkor which justified the focalisation of the conservation efforts, the recognition of other forms of heritage, despite the broadening of heritage notion at the international level, has been delayed to a very recent time. Cambodia's case study offers an insight in the relation between the international and the national scale and scopes of heritage, of the appropriation of Western notions of heritage into an Asian context and the difficulties which result from the marginalisation of local notions.

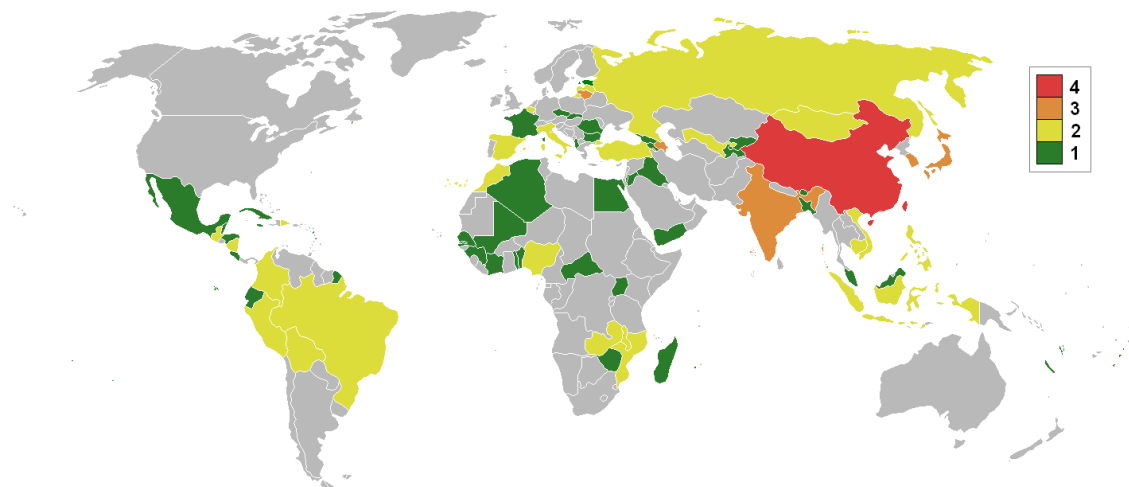


Figure 4 The masterpieces of oral and intangible heritage of humanity in 2005. The map shows the distribution of masterpieces by State Party (source: English Wikipedia).

3.4 Case study: initiative for the safeguarding of the *Phnong* language in Mondulkiri Province (Cambodia)⁴⁴

The *Phnong* (*Phnom/Mnong*) is the language of the linguistic group *Mon-khmer* spoken by a minority group living in Mondulkiri province which is situated in the North-East of Cambodia. Ninety percent of the province's population used to speak this language in the 1990s, which now accounts for only fifty-five percent or about 30,000 people in the whole country. The *Phnong* people practice slash-and-burn economy and are animist.

The combined impact of lowland ethnic Khmer immigration due to agro-industrial projects, land-grabbing policies, a systematic takeover of the principal social institutions by the Cambodian state (administration, education, health services), the imposition of salaried employment in plantations, and finally, an aggressive policy of religious proselytism (Christian, and to a lesser degree Buddhist), have led to the rapid desegregation of the social institutions that constituted the cultural, religious and political foundations of *Phnong* society, and with them, the disappearance of artistic and literary ones. However, Cambodia expressed interest in defending the rights of minority groups by signing the international convention for the elimination of all the forms of racial discrimination by the United Nations.

According to Sylvain Vogel, who has studied the language and literature of the *Phnong* people from Mondulkiri for more than fifteen years, the collection and analysis of the oral literature and the preservation of the language constitutes a priority in the field of "Humanities' Cultural Heritage". He acquainted himself with the language which he can speak fluently and on which he published a grammar, while he developed an interest in the literary forms of this language. He studied some aspects of it: including an anthology of ritual songs, recently presented at the Collège de France, Paris, 2008. From April 2009 he worked, for four consecutive months, as a translator and researcher for an agro-industrial company. This experience helped him to better appreciate the socio-economic challenges affecting the *Phnong* people.

To safeguard the *Phnong* language, Vogel proposed an "action plan". He considered that a language can be conserved if its social functions of communication, its use in all activities, especially educational and professional, are maintained. In Mondulkiri, the main economic activity is now linked to the agro-industrial business. So, he would like to positively respond to the request of an agro-industrial private company which recently asked him to set up an educational programme (to start in September 2010), a project he

⁴⁴ Based on the testimony by Sylvain Vogel, PhD (coordinator, linguistic department, Royal University of Phnom Penh (Cambodia), "Information Gathering and analysis on Oral History", personal communication, July 2010.

would like to develop in collaboration with the UNESCO Phnom Penh office. He will insist upon the establishment of a literacy program so as to enable people to write in *Phnong*. In parallel, a program aimed at collecting and analyzing oral literature forms will be undertaken with the initial support of UNESCO.

Vogel proposes to select as many texts as possible, and when possible, within the context of traditional use. This includes prayers as well as traditional chants on the occasion of sacrificial rituals. These texts can be classified by using linguistic and topical criteria as follows: tales and short stories, ritual songs and prayers, jokes, popular songs and traditional poetry. Whereas tales, short stories and popular songs are still alive, ritual chants have become rare and difficult to record in situ, especially on the occasion of sacrificial rituals. Traditional poetry (*ndroong*) has already lost its vital function and its public; the young generations are not interested in learning them. It is now near impossible to record this poetry. When recording is possible, it is always the result of request by the researcher, without other public than one or two elders, still able to understand and appreciate its intrinsic value and meaning.

The collected and translated corpus, after going through a series of multidisciplinary analyses and evaluations, will be made available to all researchers. This work could help develop a more complete grammar thanks to dialect variations and the compilation of ritual texts (prayers, religious chants, customs, etc.). This work should interest ethnologists and specialists of comparative oral literatures.

Vogel believes that the survival of the *Phnong* language and literature crucially depends on the implementation of such a program. He hopes to establish the first steps with very limited means and within the framework of his position as « expert », from September 2010 to September 2011. From a purely juridical point of view, this program, especially its literacy aspect, does not present many difficulties. Cambodia has signed an international convention protecting the rights of minority peoples. But the *Phnong* tradition is fast disappearing. According to Vogel, the knowledge which can be acquired from the *Phnom* society depends upon the collection and analysis of a number of texts still known by a few elders but no longer transmitted. If the language can survive thanks to its adaptation to the modern environment, its capacity to continue its role as a vector of collective identity requires that a real study is carried out on its more traditional literary aspects. For that, a real academic research team will need to be set in place immediately. Time is running out for the *Phnom* people and their cultural (linguistic) heritage.

Vogel's programme is inspired by two methods of conservation of intangible heritage which have been alternatively defended by UNESCO: the first, proposed by the "Recommendation on the safeguard of traditional and popular culture" (1989) considers conservation as the collect and the inventory of documents on a particular culture which are made available for scholars. Bortolotto (2006) argues that an innovative conception

based on people more than on documents has succeeded this one with the Convention on the protection of the intangible heritage (2003), the Yamamoto Declaration (2004) and the Convention on cultural diversity (2005). These official documents state that conservation of intangible forms of heritage on the basis of written documents would be replaced by the safeguard of the process through which a culture is reproduced and renewed by its population. So, safeguarding is addressed less to researchers than to the community to which the culture belongs. In Vogel's vision, the two methods and the two objectives coexist: on the one hand, the oral culture of the *Phnong* language should be written down and translated for further research; on the other hand, this work should be accompanied by encouraging the functional use of the language. As a consequence, a work of interpretation and translation through the Western tools of knowledge is here required, as the scientific analysis of texts based on the linguistic discipline is paramount for keeping a language alive.

3.5 Case study: restoration of the Buddhist Monastery at Dechenpug (Bhutan)

Bhutan, which ratified the Convention of World Heritage in 2001, is a relatively "secret" country, which instituted a very expensive daily tourist tax (\$200 per day, increased to \$250 in 2008 for the high season) in order to limit the number of tourists. As a consequence of this limitation, the annual number of tourists has been estimated between 7000 and 9000 according to some sources.⁴⁵ According to other sources, the numbers were higher: 27,636 foreigners in 2008 and 28,000 in 2009. Moreover, the Bhutanese government has developed the unique concept of the "Gross National Happiness," founded on four "pillars": balanced development (henceforth given as "sustainable"), good governance, protection of both the environment and the culture. In this context, tourism, which can be a factor in destabilizing culture and environment, has never seemed an essential trump card.

The best documented Bhutanese architecture is religious, which consists of several types. The most spectacular buildings are the dzong, 29 monastery-fortresses built on strategic sites throughout the country. The dzong have both religious and administrative functions, because they house governmental offices. The most important religious events are celebrated there as well. Next come the Buddhist monasteries and temples, of which 2700 have been counted throughout the country, according to a census carried out by the Department of Culture. There are 13,000 chörten (stupa). To this must be added wooden

⁴⁵ Pommaret, Françoise, *Le Bhoutan. Au plus secret de l'Himalaya*, "Culture et Société," Gallimard, Paris, 2005, p.78.

bridges, of which the most important are covered.⁴⁶ Various types of vernacular architecture are mentioned, such as farms, stately residences, water mills, in brief, all non-religious and traditional constructions which do not seem to have been the object of a special inventory at the present time. Nevertheless, “just as it determines all aspects of the life and death of the people of Bhutan, Buddhism governs architecture.”⁴⁷ It fixes the locality, orientation, the date and hour of different stages of construction, etc., giving Buddhism’s role an intangible dimension to the built heritage.

Although Bhutan has not yet enacted specific preservation legislation, the country has managed well to preserve its architectural heritage. Numerous sites are still in a good state of conservation because of their isolated position but also because of the primary meaning Bhutanese people give to consecrated places and buildings. However, preserving architecture does not have the same meaning in Bhutan as in western countries. Bhutanese architecture is not considered as immutable. According to Dorji Yanki, the Bhutanese attitude towards architecture reflects a different cultural conception from the West, its principles derived from the Mahayana Buddhism they practice. With Buddhist concepts such as creation, impermanence and non-attachment, there is a religious paradox to consider in the restoration and preservation of sacred buildings.

International restoration practices have the main purpose of preserving and conserving the original materials historic monuments were built. In Bhutan, buildings are built, rebuilt, and renovated. These actions are not dependent on historical considerations but on circumstances, which have more to do with the building’s use or cultural events and practices. A religious building falling into decay is regarded as giving evidence of a defaulting respect towards Buddhism and its practices. On the contrary, reconstructing, renovating or extending a sacred building is supposed to increase merits for the future lives.

Dorji Yanki noticed a second important cultural difference between cultural heritage international legislations and conceptions, and Bhutanese ones. Perception of the past is completely different in Bhutan from that of Western civilisation. The recognition of the past as a separate domain from the present time is specific to western thought and culture. In Bhutan, neither the architectural structures nor the materials confer on a building its historical meaning and authenticity.

This particular conception played an important part in the restoration project of the Dechenphug Monastery. Bhutan asked UNESCO to help authorities restore one of the thousands of monasteries spanning the country, the Dechenphug Monastery which had

⁴⁶ See Dorji Yanki, “Le patrimoine architectural religieux du Bhoutan: approches traditionnelles et concepts de restauration émergents,” *Au pays du Dragon. Arts sacrés du Bhoutan*, Terese Tse Bartholomew, John Johnson (ed.), catalogue, Paris, Musée Guimet, 7 October 2009-25 January 2010, pp. 114-125.

⁴⁷ *Op cit.* p. 117.

suffered damage from an earthquake. It is quite a small monastery where a few monks are living, but an important pilgrimage centre. The restoration started in 1996 with help of the architect Pierre Pichard from the EFEO.

The monastery, founded in the 13th century, is composed of three buildings constructed in the corners of a simple courtyard. The first and higher building is a square tower. The temple of Guru Rimpoche, founder of the tantric Buddhism practiced both in Tibet and Bhutan, is located in the two top floors of the second one, built sixty years ago. The third and last one is a recent building where a hall and the kitchen are located.

The project of the Bhutanese authorities was to rebuild the last two buildings in order to have a bigger and larger courtyard for housing ceremonial dances. The architect and the UNESCO disagreed with a project destroying the proportions and coherence of the monastery, since the second building, the Guru Lhakhang, would be as high as the tower because of the land gradient. So after discussions between the restorers and the authorities, a compromise was found: only the third building would be rebuilt and the courtyard extended a bit. In the Bhutanese authorities' conception, monasteries have been continually transformed century after century; they are still used and their authenticity is not a question of being old or dated from a specific period but of their usefulness. In the Buddhist tradition, "beautification" is more important than authenticity: it gives merit to people contributing to the improvements. For Pierre Pichard, this restoration project is an example of a good compromise between an Asian conception of restoration and a purist European one, directly inspired by the Venice Charter.

3.6 Cambodia: the impact of international heritage norms on national legislation and conservation practices

Edwards (2007) has argued that the French action in Cambodia contributed to form heritage consciousness among Khmer people which was paramount in the building of the independent nation. The French conception was focused on the archaeological remains on its Hindu/Brahmanic origins, on the idealisation of Khmer traditions which should have escaped modernisation and foreign influences and on the original glory of the Khmer civilisation which realised Angkor. The campaign for independence of the young King Norodom Sihanouk employed this discourse, while reinterpreting in his favour. One of his main arguments for convincing Cambodians of fighting for independence was the return to a new time of Angkorean grandeur. This vision of past, even if it was disseminated by few Khmer intellectuals, was able to impact millions of Khmers, Chams, Vietnamese and Chinese who constitute the Cambodian population through different political regimes

which successively reframed and distorted it: Sihanouk's (1953-1970), Lon Nol era⁴⁸ (1970-1975) and the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea⁴⁹ (1975-1979). The Khmer nation was based on an ideal of original purity and glory represented by Angkor. Beside Angkor, other periods of Cambodian history faded out.

This primacy of Angkorian heritage was reflected by the Cambodian legislation for the protection of cultural heritage. During Norodom Sihanouk's regime, archaeological remains were the only recognised legacy in the civil and penal code (Rossi, 1993). After the Khmer Rouge period, the administration put in place by the pro-Vietnamese government adopted a decree for the protection of cultural heritage (1980) with the main objective of preventing heritage destruction in case of conflict. According to this decree, every building "...whose conservation represents a public interest from the point of view of history or art is listed as a cultural and historical heritage" (art 1). The text literally "traces out" the French law of 1913 which was passed in Indochina in 1923. The application of this broad definition, which may have questioned the notion of "public" from an Eastern point of view, did not move from the French focalisation on the materiality of the archaeological remains: in the inventory which followed the decree (1980), only ancient movable and immovable properties were listed, from the huge sanctuary to the single stone.

One year after the Paris Conference and the reinstallation of independent Cambodia (1991), the newly formed State immediately signed the World Heritage Convention. The nomination of Angkor to the international listing wished by the Cambodian Government since 1989 could therefore be considered. Taking into account the situation of the country which had just come out of war and foreign occupation, Angkor was listed as an endangered site in 1992. Its definitive listing would have been evaluated after the satisfaction of several conditions, among which the promulgation of national legislation in the heritage protection field, the establishment of an institutional framework and measures of protection.

In order to respond to these requests, a decision by the Royal Government (1993) was followed by a "Law for the protection of cultural heritage" (1996). The Superior council for national culture was created (1995), followed by the Ministry of culture and fine arts (1996). An authority specifically in charge of the conservation and management of Angkor and its province was instituted in 1995⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ Lon Nol led a military coup in 1970 and became the self-proclaimed president of the Khmer Republic.

⁴⁹ The Khmer Rouge, a political group organised in the Party for Democratic Kampuchea, were communist extremists who took the power in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979. They were chased by the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1979. Afterwards, a pro-Vietnamese government was put in place and lasted until 1989 when the process of returning Cambodia's independence was engaged.

⁵⁰ This authority is named APSARA, acronym for "Authority for the protection and management of Angkor and the region of Siem Reap".

The establishment of an institutional and legislative framework for heritage protection was linked to the Cambodian will of having Angkor listed in the World Heritage and was oriented by the requests of the international community. The legislative and institutional palimpsest was functional to the regime of protection established for Angkor. Even if Angkor was a Cambodian property and therefore the State was first responsible of its management, the international community continues to watch over Angkor conservation and oriented the notions, the tools and the measures put in place in the heritage field. Since the 1990s, the restorations of the temples and the archaeological digs have been conducted by foreign teams and experts who educated Cambodians to modern techniques of inquiry. So, during the last fifteen years, Cambodian authorities became more and more performing in the protection of archaeological heritage in collaboration with international technical and financial assistance.

The focalisation of the World Heritage on architectural masterpieces recognised on the basis of a shared artistic canon represents a conceptual continuity with the ideology of the Protectorate as appropriated by the successive political regimes, all celebrating the greatness of Angkor. The national emblem and the international value converged on the same object. In the Cambodian Government's vision, Angkor has played a strategic part in the quest for the international recognition of Cambodia and its integration in the economic and cultural dynamics of cooperation. The Cambodian legislation on cultural heritage reflects the will of adopting international theories and principles while getting rid of the colonial influence. While previous regulations were directly inspired by the French legislation, the law of 1996 employs the definition of cultural heritage which is given in the World Heritage Convention: "Cultural heritage is work by man and every product by nature which has a scientific, historical, artistic or religious character that reveals a certain stage of evolution of a civilisation or nature and whose protection has a public interest" (art 4). The notion of "public" heritage which was fostered by the French - where the "public" was the French people who appropriated the Cambodian heritage and the Western intellectuals to whom the French propaganda was addressed - was replaced by the "universal heritage" common to mankind, but still dominated by the Western notions. In Cambodia, where heritage reflection cannot be disentangled from international theories to which the authorities adhered after twenty years of war, other forms of heritage that were not mentioned by the world heritage were excluded from recognition. The Cambodian society sought development and modernisation rather than looking back to its past. While taking Angkor as the symbol of ancient greatness, Cambodia did not select any other historical period for conserving its material remains. One of the main consequences was that rapid urban development encouraged by market economy erased inherited buildings and landscapes in the main Cambodian towns (in particular, Phnom Penh, the

capital, and Siem Reap, at the doorway of the archaeological site). Urban settlements were not been considered by the heritage reflection in Cambodia for a long time. Cambodian society was hardly urban. Then, the Khmer Rouge considered the towns as corrupted places and obliged Cambodians to move to the countryside. Cambodian towns were actually constituted by the agglomeration of villages associated with more typical urban forms created by the French protectorate. In these villages, where the pace of development is slow, the community took care of its maintenance. Buildings were made by inhabitants and periodically replaced when obsolete. Space was organised according to a sacred conception linked to animist cults. Villages and towns constitute a particular landscape where buildings were in harmony with the omnipresence of vegetation and water. The perpetuation of the same building and organisational tradition ensured the maintaining of representative forms. Intangible traditions were materialised in forms, but the forms alone did not represent value for Cambodians and could therefore be replaced. However, when independence came, the craving for development contributed to the fading of tradition. In Cambodian towns, new models were introduced and, with them, the secular value of modernisation weakened the strength of traditions.

Because the wish for modernisation is dominant among civil society, the Government did not take any measure for the protection of built heritage and landscape as it gave the priority to economic development in a context of extreme liberalisation. Even if, meanwhile, the international reflection embraced wider heritage theories, this extension had little impact on Cambodia. For example, even if the notion of “cultural landscape” was employed for designing the Siem Reap old centre by the national decree establishing protection zones in the Angkor region (1994), any implementation followed and the area was deeply transformed by tourism linked projects.

Surprisingly, when the convention for intangible heritage passed, Cambodia quickly reacted proposing the nomination of the Royal Ballet and then the puppet theatre (*sbeik thom*). Both of them were listed. Also, UNESCO promoted initiatives for the safeguarding of traditional dances and languages. While neglecting built and urban heritage, Cambodian authorities, in collaboration with international organisations, seem to handle intangible heritage recognition as Cambodian arts and crafts are rich and living while lacking funds for development. Heritage recognition in Cambodia is thus still dominated by the two “poles” created by the French protectorate: on the one side, the monumental Angkorean heritage; on the other, crafts and living arts which safeguard practices aimed at preserving their traditional expressions, by preventing foreign influences. Between these two poles - tangible and intangible - a gap exists, where architectural and urban forms built and practiced by local communities could find their place. It is difficult for national and international institutions to identify the admixture between tangible and intangible

values, the interaction between inherited places and local practices. The problem has been raised for the Angkor site by Miura (2003) who argued that the frontier between tangible and intangible heritage categories are artificial for Angkor, which is a living and inhabited site. Since the Angkorean time, the site hosted a number of villages. The site was punctuated with pagodas and monks were responsible of the temples' maintain. Since the protectorate time, and later as a consequence of the World Heritage listing, the inhabitants' practices were regulated and limited in the name of conservation and tourism. Inhabitants were marginalised in the process of conservation and benefitted little from tourism development. The recognition of a "public", then a "universal" value actually dispossessed the population of the Angkorean heritage⁵¹.

Recent legislative proposals for the conservation of built heritage by Cambodian authorities also disregarded the connection between tangible and intangible values. A draft decree by the Ministry of Land Management, town planning and construction (in collaboration with the German cooperation agency) for the conservation of Battambang's urban heritage (2005) only considers colonial buildings (shop houses and villas) in a delimited area which should be brought back to their original state while erasing further modifications. A similar proposal for inventorying significant buildings in the Siem Reap core was made by APSARA Authority in collaboration with the *Agence française de développement* (2008). APSARA also proposed to artificially reconstitute Siem Reap's landscapes which have disappeared as a consequence of fifteen years of intense urban development (2006). These heritage notions privilege the materiality of the buildings. Indeed, the inspiration to Viollet Le Duc's theories for the preservation of French built shop houses or the reconstruction of planted alleys for the tourists' sight does not encourage any form of appropriation of heritage notions and practices by the communities. It seems that Cambodia has to import European reflection over heritage, before rediscovering its local values.

⁵¹ Eric Heikkila and Philippe Peycam (2010) examine the issue of economic development in Siem Reap in relation to the listing of Angkor as a World Heritage site. They explain that development does not occur in a vacuum, and this holds especially for human settlements in World Heritage locations, where the meaning of place is highly contested. Authors introduce a conceptual framework motivated by Roland Barthes and Jean Baudrillard to unravel and delineate for distinct sources of value, derived respectively from use, exchange, symbol and myth. They show how valuations of place have evolved over three distinct eras (the ancient Khmer period, the French colonial era and the more recent postcolonial period). In this context they show how contemporary development in Siem Reap has been shaped by a lingering mentality by which the "meaning" of Angkor continues to be adjudicated by external perspectives.



Figure 5: Floating villages at Chong Knies, Cambodia (photo by Dato Tarielashvili, 2007)

Conclusions

During the 1990s, the progressive broadening of heritage categories and criteria contributed to “mix” and connect different components which constitute “heritage”: natural and cultural, tangible and intangible. Heritage recognition became more complex and, as a consequence, so did heritage management, as all these components have to be considered together and in interaction. This complexity was considered by international experts working on the management plan for the archaeological site of Angkor which was listed in the World Heritage in 1992. UNESCO, the Swedish International Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) carried out a Zoning Environment Management Plan (ZEMP) which put in place an “integrated” planning process taking account the broad anthropological, environmental, natural and cultural aspects of a surface of 10.000km² corresponding to the whole province.

Angkor is a representative example of a widespread trend on an international scale which introduces heritage conservation in larger policies of sustainable development. Both heritage and sustainable development policies share the preoccupation of transferring resources (cultural, natural and environmental) to future generations. According to Yerasimos (1999), heritage policies risk being dissolved into environmental planning and to lose their importance under the emergence of new preoccupations.

Indeed, sustainable development policies assume that heritage conservation, environment and natural resources’ integrity, social enhancement and economic development constitute reconcilable terms and converging objectives. By contrast, at Angkor, the reality of heritage conservation practices, focused on archaeological remains, demonstrates the difficulty of integrating cultural heritage preservation and local populations, providing benefit to them. On the contrary, local populations living inside the archaeological park (about 100,000 people) were marginalised, their life was controlled by regulations and they had little opportunities to take advantage from tourism activities.

In Siem Reap province, economic development encouraged by national policies contrasted with environmental policies which international experts wished to implement. During the last fifteen years, urban sprawl has compromised the environmental balance which sustained the regional ecosystem for centuries. Urban development has deeply transformed Siem Reap which was designated a “cultural landscape” in the royal decree which gave legal evidence to the ZEMP (NS001, 1994).

Siem Reap Angkor is a lesson in the difficult conciliation between the different components, one eclipsing the others when they come to confrontation. In our view, sustainable development policies which try to conciliate the environmental, social, economic and cultural aspects, when they elude the complexity of their interaction in a specific context, leads to ideological dissonance.

As a conclusion, we would like to focus on the relationship between two terms which, in our opinion, question the linkages between global challenges and local initiatives: “conservation” and “development” approached in sustainable development policies. With the recent popularity accorded to intangible heritage and natural resources, this conciliation is mediated through so-called “community empowerment”. The word “empowerment” lacks theoretical definition. It suggests the idea of giving power to local communities, providing them with the tools for autonomy in the selection of their priorities. However, when translated into concrete initiatives, it often consists of an economically profitable exploitation of the community’s resources (agricultural improvements, commercialisation of artefacts, tourism activities). The assumption is that giving economic importance to a resource (in particular heritage) fosters its subsistence while providing economic benefits to the community. However, this direct correspondence between conservation and development under the common denominator of empowerment seems in our view to be failing.

Questioning the nature of power which a community should acquire, we looked for an answer in the case of Bali, where the balance between conservation and development was a major issue since the 1960s. At the end of the decade, national policies decided that Bali would become the “tourist showcase” of Indonesia with the goal of economic development. So, the island started to receive a foreign population which was susceptible to disturbing, maybe compromising, the sacred meaning that the Balinese population attached to places and events. As a reaction to this danger, the Balinese people engaged in a delicate process of “empowerment”. They questioned their heritage in relation to a notion of culture which was actually exogenous to their traditional conception (Picard, 2001). The objective was to select which cultural elements and places were suitable for being shown and experienced by tourists, and which others had to be protected from tourist exploitation in order to maintain their traditional and religious integrity. Then, when the listing of the Besakih temple at the World Heritage was discussed, the Balinese population reacted so strongly against the nomination that the process was interrupted

In this case, conservation and development came to a compromise. Development perspectives raised a reflexive analysis of local culture in which the compatibility between

the two terms was questioned. It seems to us that the very nature of this power is awareness: local communities have power if they are aware of foreign categories and notions and can manipulate them without being dominated by them. They are “empowered” if they are conscious of the mechanisms and consequences of heritage recognition and of the benefits and danger of heritage exploitation for economic purposes. Sometimes, this awareness refutes the new foundation of international heritage which is cultural diversity. Even if human genius attained high achievements while creating the Besakih temple or the mosques of Cairo, their strong identification with religious communities prevented their international listing. The whole of mankind vibrates while recognising their values, but the community who nourishes them with sacred significance cannot risk dispossession.

From the Background Document to the Roundtable

Possible topics and questions for discussion emerging from this Background Document

Based on the issues discussed in this Background Document, the authors would like to suggest topics for discussion at the Roundtable in Amsterdam. This chapter sets out these ideas and questions by session.

Session 1: What is “heritage”?

Values-social groups-scale

Heritage has been defined as “the collective memory and identity of a social group.” This anthropological concept questions the fundamental relationship between the group and its heritage through the means of shared values. Nathalie Lancret argued (2009) that heritage is characterised by a plurality of conceptions defended by different actors. As we have shown in this document, local communities, national authorities, professionals and intellectuals, and international organisations have their own heritage definitions which are specific to a socio-cultural context.

The nature of this “group” has become wider during the history of heritage: from the commemorative *monumentum* of a small community and historic monuments serving the construction of national identities to World Heritage claimed to be shared by mankind. Recently, these values have been reconsidered and a return to local communities recognised in UNESCO’s initiatives. The relation between values, social groups and the scale of heritage recognition can be questioned. Multiple perceptions of the same inherited object could be analysed.

Artificial frontiers between heritage categories

The background document has illustrated that tangible heritage has been privileged by conservation measures for a long time. Eurocentric heritage values conserved monuments, buildings and historic areas whose authenticity could be evaluated on the basis of design, material, workmanship and setting. When, under the new Asian influence, intangible heritage was introduced among UNESCO’s priorities, traditions, living arts and practices began to be included in international heritage recognition.

However, the distinction between tangible and intangible heritage is often arbitrary, in particular in Asian societies where traditions are enmeshed with their material manifestations in spatial organisation and architectural forms. The example of Angkor shows that local populations living on the site were neglected by cultural and conservation policies, while protection of the archaeological remains continued. However, this population played an important part in keeping the sacredness of the site alive. Discussion could address the specificity and the connection between tangible and intangible heritage categories in different contexts.

Session 2: Heritage: for whom?

Sharing authority and responsibility: nation states and the international community

During a first phase (namely, from 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries), the notion of “heritage” came to be owned nations, which employed the idea and its objects for constructing identities. This process interested European countries, then the Balkans and, finally, former colonies that had recovered their independence. However, the emergence of an international dimension of heritage conservation challenged this uncontested ownership of the concept by nation-states. The new international dimension postulated common responsibility in the protection and management of heritage. The equilibrium between national and international roles was discussed in the framework of the World Heritage Convention, wherein nation-states were declared responsible for nominations and management, while the World Heritage Committee was in charge of the evaluation of nominations, listing, technical/financial assistance and supervision.

At the same time, the international community plays an important part in disseminating examples of “good practices” which could be seen as models in different geographical contexts. Discussion could be oriented around the relationship between the international and the national dimensions of heritage management: how are conceptions, principles and recommendations implemented in specific contexts? The gaps between theory and practice could be discussed as representative examples of local resistance to the concretisation of the international community’s objectives.

Heritage and dispossession

During the colonial period, the French enjoyed the monopoly knowledge production on Indochinese heritage. Their cultural project in Cambodia established a cult of its ancient past, both in the preservation of tangible (archaeological remains) and intangible (crafts and living arts) heritage. By imposing a particular conception of history, the colonisers used knowledge production as a form of control that supported the establishment of their economic and territorial domination. As they produced knowledge

on Cambodian archaeology, the French increasingly considered themselves as the legitimate heirs of this heritage. In the present time, wherein the heritage of local communities can claim universal values, the question of ownership could be posed. Are local communities dispossessed of their heritage when its international dimension is introduced?

Session 3: Institutional players/framework & the role of civil society

The evolution of the World Heritage List

At the end of the 1980s, a critical analysis of the World Heritage List showed that it was not representative of the world's civilisations and their diversity. The process of diversifying heritage categories and criteria began. The introduction of new parameters should have fostered a new phase in the dissemination of the idea of "heritage," presently based on broader notions such as cultural diversity, intangible heritage and cultural landscapes. Could this dissemination be considered a new phase of education in the field of heritage for nation-states? Is the Western point of view still dominant in the process? How has the World Heritage list evolved till date?

Levels of heritage management

The implementation of heritage conservation measures and regulations must be discussed. In Cambodia, conceptions of international heritage have been appropriated by the Government which joined the Convention of World Heritage in 1991. The promulgation of an adequate legislation (one of the conditions for Angkor to be listed) followed the path of Eurocentric values already imported by the French protectorate. At the national level, it seems that these notions are shared. However, when looking at the local level, government officials have a multifaceted vision of Cambodian heritage. Some embrace international theories and others are influenced by Viollet Le Duc or Gustavo Giovannoni, while a large number has little awareness of non-monumental heritage. Hence, conservation practices at the local level do not always reflect national legislation. This results in a multitude of approaches. The roles and interventions of different categories of stakeholders in heritage management could be explored as a tool for the understanding specific meanings.

Session 4: Cultural heritage and economic constraints

Heritage and sustainable development

In recent UNESCO discourse, the safeguarding of the intangible heritage of communities appears as an instrument for sustainable development in the framework of the Millennium Objectives promoted by the United Nations. Hence, heritage is not only being considered for its intrinsic value, but also for the benefits its preservation could provide to communities. Two contrasting terms are reconciled in this discourse: conservation of heritage and socio-economic development. Is such a reconciliation possible? Does it provoke ethical conflicts between cultural priorities and the exploitation of heritage for economic purposes?

Heritage and tourism

In developing tourism, Balinese people have carefully selected cultural aspects considered suitable for foreign visitors, while protecting forms deeply linked to local traditions and cults. During this process, they questioned the notion of culture in a way they never did before.

Tourism could be a means for cultural awareness in societies that did not participate in the evolution of the reflection on heritage, and where, often, these notions were imported by colonial powers. As Picard and Wood showed (1997), it promotes a “reinvention of tradition”, where local culture is reinterpreted for tourists. Hence, cultures are constantly negotiated and creatively evolve both under the influence of a foreign gaze and by creative intervention from local communities. However, the influence of imported models as well as the diffusion of international tourism practices and standards could act in the opposite direction. Cultural specificity could be progressively erased. The dialectic global/local is an interesting domain for debate in the relationship between tourism and heritage.

Session 5: Cities and heritage

Preservation *versus* modernisation

Urban heritage has been integrated into conservation policies in the 20th century. This consideration began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with theorists such as John Ruskin, Camillo Sitte and Gustavo Giovannoni. According to Françoise Choay (1992), the ability to consider old cities as historical objects was a necessary premise for conservation

practices. The pre-industrial city should appear as an object coming from the past with the potential to be recognised as “heritage”. This was the first factor contributing to the recognition. Legal or political factors contributed to the process. The Athens Conference of 1931 offered official international recognition for this category within heritage. Conservation policies began progressively. Italy was among the first countries to place urban heritage under the State’s protection with a law to this effect in the early 1920s. The French law “on safeguarded areas”, initiated by André Malraux, was enacted in 1962. The Venice Charter offered protection to urban heritage on an international level in 1964.

Since the 1960s, the importance of the category of “urban heritage” has grown significantly, a phenomenon that has, in turn, raised difficult issues in various fields. As François Loyer argued (1999), protecting heritage requires making choices. The recognition of new categories within heritage does not change this fact. The legal and theoretical apparatus for protection is definitely wider; however, choices must still be made.

The evolution of the idea of the historic monument was marked by successive choices. In the 18th century, some architectural “fragments” were protected as testimony of the past. A century later, monuments, in particular religious buildings, were conserved, while their surrounding urban environment was destroyed allowing the monuments to stand out. In the 20th century, protection rules and practices were introduced progressively and involved old city areas and historical centres. The old centres are now preserved, while their surrounding areas can be modernised. According to François Loyer, this is the third choice that has been made since the 1930s with regard to cultural heritage practices. Modernisation now must take place outside historical centres with as few visual connections as possible, and must remain apart from them. This observation is the opposite of Giovannoni’s theories, which were not actively incorporated as the field evolved. It also questions the economical roles and functions of historical centres, and the part their inhabitants can play. Urban environments continue grow and modernise around such historical centres and have been gradually transformed into tourist “reserves”.

This session could address the key issues faced in Asian and European contexts and specific cities with regard to preservation and modernisation.

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Annexes

Selection of international charters, conventions and recommendations: chronological list and key points

1964 - 2nd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments The Venice Charter

The concept of historic monument “embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event. This concept is applied not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time”(art 1).

People sharing the same heritage values consider historic monuments as a common heritage which has to be conserved as work of art having historical evidence. As a consequence, principles guiding conservation and restoration have to be laid down on international basis. Safeguarding the authenticity of historical monuments is a common responsibility, but conservation is managed at the local level.

General principles for conservation are given: adaptive reuse of buildings is allowed, if the layout and decoration are not changed; the historical monument’s setting must not be out of scale. If a traditional setting exists, it has to be maintained; the removal of a building or of a part of it from its context is not allowed (for sculpture and paintings, it is allowed if necessary for conservation). Restoration “must stop at the point where conjecture begins” (art 9). If it is indispensable for conservation reason, extra work is visually distinct (it “bears the contemporary stamp”) from the architectural composition. Modern techniques of restoration can be employed. The contributions from all the periods of an historical building must be respected because the goal is the authenticity of the historical and artistic document and not the unity of style.

1968, UNESCO Recommendation concerning the preservation of cultural property endangered by public or private works

The concept of “cultural property” is applied to: immovable archaeological or historical structures, such as traditional buildings, historic quarters in urban areas and ethnological structures; movable properties recovered from immovable structures or archaeological remains which are still situated in the earth. It does not refer only to inventoried objects, but to every witness of the past to which a form of value is attached.

Protection should be extended on the whole national territory. Where inventories do not exist, the priority should be given to systematic surveys of cultural properties.

Cultural property should be protected from public or private works (such as urban expansions and renewal projects, modification of inherited buildings, construction of highways, dams of irrigation, pipelines, drainage works and farming operations) which could damage it, through the establishment of preventive and corrective measures. Conservation in situ is privileged. However, “when overriding economic or social conditions require the transfer of cultural property, its abandon or destruction, the salvage or rescue operations should always include carefully study of the cultural property involved and the preparations of detailed records” (art 9). When cultural property is transferred, it should be “placed on a site or in a setting which resembles their former position and natural, historic or artistic associations” (art 11).

Recommendations are given to States for the establishment of legislation, finance, an administrative framework and penalties against cultural property destruction, awards, education programs and advice services.

1972, UNESCO

Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage

“Cultural heritage” is composed by monuments (architectural works, monumental sculpture and paintings, archaeological remains, inscriptions, cave dwellings), groups of buildings and sites (works of men combined with nature and archaeological sites) which are considered to have an outstanding value from the point of view of history, art, science, anthropology, ethnology, aesthetics (art 1).

“Natural heritage” consists of physical or biological formations or groups of such formations; geographical and physiographical formations (in particular, habitats of threatened species); natural sites which are considered to have an outstanding value from the point of view of aesthetics and science (art 1).

Cultural and natural heritage is threatened by changing economic and social conditions. Parts of this heritage have an outstanding interest which concerns all the humanity: this heritage belongs to all the human kind conceived as a whole.

States, to which heritage primarily belongs, have the duty to recognize, protect, conserve, present and transmit cultural and natural heritage to future generations. They have to promote research and education in the heritage field, adopt measures and establish policies, services and centres for heritage protection. However, as conservation demands resources and skills which are often not available in a single State, international cooperation for heritage conservation will support the States’ actions. UNESCO’s convention has the aim to federate the international community’s efforts in conservation.

The “World Heritage Committee” is established within UNESCO and assisted by a Secretariat appointed by its Director-General. It is an intergovernmental institution which is responsible for the protection of cultural and natural heritage presenting an outstanding value. It is composed by representatives of the States Parties, a representative of ICOMOS, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (Rome Centre) and a representative of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN). Eventually, representatives of other organisations having similar objectives can be added.

States Parties submit to the World Heritage committee an inventory of properties forming part of the cultural and natural heritage. They also submit requests for international assistance whose purpose may be to secure the protection, conservation, presentation or rehabilitation of heritage.

With the consent of State Parties, the committee establishes a “World Heritage List” of properties whose outstanding value is recognized. A “List of World Heritage in danger” includes heritage which is threatened by serious and specific dangers (art 11). The Committee has to establish the criteria according to which a form of heritage will enter one of those lists. It decides whether measures of international assistance have to be taken. Assistance can be financed by the “World Heritage Fund” (to which State Parties pay regular contributions) and can be addressed only to heritage having integrated one of the lists. Assistance can take the following forms: studies, provision of experts, training of staff and specialists, supply of equipments, low-interest or free loans and, in exceptional cases and the granting of non-repayable subsidies.

UNESCO, 1976

Recommendation concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of historic areas

As a reaction to urban development which is demolishing inherited quarters and buildings, the recommendation wishes to rise the awareness of the importance of historic areas as “part of the living environment of human beings everywhere”, representing “the living presence of past which formed them” and showing the diversity of societies (appendix, p. 20). Indeed, the increase and the scale of new urban areas could ruin the “environment and character” of historic areas. So, conserving these areas is “a contribution to maintaining and developing the cultural and social values of each nation.

These values should motivate the insertion of historical areas into the life of contemporary societies and their conservation as “irreplaceable universal heritage” (art II.2) Value is recognized from the point of view of history/prehistory, archaeology, architecture, aesthetics, society or/and culture. In order to safeguard historic areas, policies, planning and legislation should be implemented by the States.

Historic areas are made of groups of buildings, open spaces and structures including archaeological and paleontological sites. They are situated in urban or rural human settlements. Different types can be recognized: prehistoric sites, historic towns, old urban quarters, homogenous monumental groups, villages and hamlets. They are considered in their natural or man-made environment which “influences the static or dynamic way these areas are perceived or which is directly linked to them in space or by social, economic or cultural ties” (art 1.b). They are conceived as a “coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depends on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organization and the surrounding. All human elements, including human activities, however modest, thus have significance in relation to the whole which must not be disregarded” (art II.3).

As in the recommendation of 1968, suggestions are given to the States for the establishment of an administrative framework, legislation, policies and economic and social measures, the promotion of education and research and international cooperation.

1981, ICOMOS-IFLA

The Florence Charter on historic gardens

The principles laid out in the Venice Charter are applied to the historic garden which is considered as an historical monument. It is defined as “an architectural and horticultural composition of interest to the public from the historical or artistic point of view” (art 1). The architectural composition of historical gardens includes the plan and the topography, the vegetation, the structural and decorative feature and water.

Two forms of values are recognized: the first one associates the historic garden with the “cosmic significance of an idealised image of the world, a “paradise” in the etymological sense of the term” (art 5) where people can meditate and repose; the second one considers the historic garden as an historical document which is representative of a particular style, culture and age.

The specificity of historic gardens is the ephemeral materials they are made with. Maintenance, conservation and restoration but also reconstruction according to scientific methods is encouraged.

1987, ICOMOS

The Washington Charter for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas

The charter is conceived as a complement of the Venice Charter and refers to the “Recommendation concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of historic areas” by UNESCO (Nairobi, 1976).

It is concerned with historic urban areas (cities, towns, centres and quarters considered in their human and natural contexts). Urban areas are considered to be the expression of valuable “traditional urban cultures”. As these cultures are expressions “of the diversity of societies throughout history” (preambles), they have to be protected from deep change, damage or loss provoked by recent urban development.

Different kinds of qualities are recognized into historic towns and urban areas: urban patterns (lots and streets); the relationships between buildings and non-built spaces; the buildings’ interior and exterior appearance; the relationship between the town and the natural or man-made settings and functions.

Conservation plans for historic towns and urban areas should integrate policies for economic and social development. They are preceded by multidisciplinary studies. They indicate buildings’ conservation measure (maintenance, principles of restoration and allowed functions) according to the value they are attached to them. Plans should be supported and actively involve residents.

1990, ICAHM

Charter for the protection and management of the archaeological heritage

“The “archaeological heritage” is that part of material heritage in respect of which archaeological methods provide primary information. It comprises all vestige of human existence and consists of places relating to all manifestations of human activities, abandoned structures, and remains of all kinds (including subterranean and underwater sites), together with all the portable cultural material associated with them” (art 1).

Archaeological heritage is invested with value because it provides an important source for understanding the origins and development of human societies. Archaeological knowledge is said to help people to reach their cultural and social roots. As it is considered to be the common heritage of all humanity, international cooperation is welcomed in order to share information and experience.

Its protection should be included into larger policies. It should involve various stakeholders (professionals, governmental authorities, researchers, enterprises, civil society). In particular, when archaeological heritage involves living tradition of “indigenous people”, participation of local groups is essential for their protection and conservation. Criteria of protection follow the principles laid down for the Venice Charter.

1996, ICOMOS

Charter on the protection and management of underwater cultural heritage

It is considered to be a complement of the Charter of 1990 on the archaeological heritage because it focuses on the archaeological remains which are (or have to be removed from) in inland and inshore waters, shallow seas and deep oceans. Underwater heritage includes “submerged sites and structures, wreck-sites and wreckage and their archaeological and natural context” (Introduction).

Legally, underwater heritage is an international resource because a large part of it is located in international waters. So, it is considered to be an important tool for the formation of a shared identity and enlarged sense of community among people. The knowledge of the past is said to contribute to the understanding of the present life and future challenges.

Underwater heritage may be threatened by construction works, commercial activities, insensitive exploitation of resources and pillage which conservation projects should mitigate. Conservation practices should privilege in situ and non intrusive techniques. The Charter includes a detailed description of the conservation project’s different “moments”: funding, program, definition of objectives, methodology and techniques, preliminary investigation, documentation, material conservation, site management and maintenance, reporting and archives and dissemination.

1994, ICOMOS

The Nara Document on Authenticity

In continuity with the Venice Charter, the Nara Document on Authenticity wishes to expand heritage scope, concerns and interests. It is a response to the conflict between the forces of globalization and the search for cultural identities which characterise the contemporary world. Tangible and intangible aspects of cultural diversity are considered to be an aspect of human development, but its protection demands the respect of other cultures.

“Cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all”: this fundamental principle of UNESCO means that the cultural community which has generated a form of heritage is the first responsible of its protection; however, countries which signed international agreements on heritage share a collective responsibility for its conservation.

Recognition of value depends on truthful and credible sources about a particular form of heritage, according to which authenticity can be assessed. Sources are “all material, written, oral and figurative sources which make it possible to know the nature, specifications, meaning and history

of the cultural heritage. Approaches for defining authenticity have to be specific to the context. They have to encourage the elaboration of analytical tools and processes.

1999, ICOMOS

Charter on international cultural tourism – Managing tourism at places of heritage significance

The universal value of heritage is reaffirmed: “At the broadest level, the natural and cultural heritage belongs to all people. We each have a right and responsibility to understand, appreciate and conserve its universal values” (introduction)

Heritage definition includes natural and cultural environment: landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, biodiversity, collections, cultural practices and know-how. It is said to have contributed to the formation of identities at different levels: local and “indigenous”, national, regional. These identities act as reference point in the process of social change.

Even if principles for conservation are defined at the international scale, the actual management of heritage is the responsibility of local communities. One of the main objectives of management is the communication of heritage’s significance both to the community and to tourists.

Tourism is perceived as a powerful tool for cultural exchange: tourists make the experience of the past through inherited objects and of the present through the daily life of the host society. If tourism represents a potential for economic development and heritage protection, it can threaten its conservation when it is not well planned and managed.

The charter has the aim of favouring the collaboration between conservation interests and the tourism industry through the following principles.

1. Three types of access to heritage should be available: physical, intellectual and emotive. Heritage values are given “different levels of significance”: universal, regional, national or local. Programs should interpret and convey these values to the tourist public (principle 1).
2. Even if the dynamic relationship between heritage and tourism may involve conflicting values, sustainability should be ensured by management. In particular, authenticity of places must be preserved: tourism linked projects should not compromise the integrity of places and of their cultural dimensions (principle 2).
3. Planning should guarantee an enjoyable and worthwhile experience in heritage places through reliable information, circuit management, respect of local traditions and practices and construction of adequate infrastructures (principle 3).
- 4-5. Host communities and “indigenous” people should be involved in planning both for conservation and tourism (principle 4) and should benefit from tourism development (principle 5).

1999, ICOMOS

Charter on the built vernacular heritage

Vernacular heritage is “the traditional and natural way by which communities house themselves”. It is characterised by regional features and styles, traditional building techniques and design which are transmitted in an “informal” way, successful responses to environmental and contextual constraints.

It is valuable because “at the same time possesses interest and beauty”; “it is the fundamental expression of the culture of a community, of its relationship with its territory and, at the same time, the expression of the world’s cultural diversity” (introduction)

As it is involved in continuous adaptation and transformation, it is particularly threatened by globalisation which may lead to the homogenisation of built landscapes. In addition to the Venice Charter, some principles are given for protecting the vulnerable nature of vernacular heritage.

Vernacular building conservation is represented by groups and settlements more than by individual fabrics. Groups are integrated in landscapes. They cannot be conceived as heritage without considering local traditions and practices: “The vernacular embraces not only the physical form and fabric of buildings, structures and spaces, but the ways in which they are used and understood, and the traditions and the intangible associations which attach to them” (principles of conservation).

2003, UNESCO

Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage

“The “intangible cultural heritage” includes the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups, and in some cases individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (art 2.1). It is manifested in the following domains: oral traditions and expressions (languages); performing arts; social practices; knowledge and practices considering the nature and the universe; craftsmanship (art 2.2).

Previous documents had shown the UNESCO’s interest in the safeguarding of intangible heritage: the Recommendation on the safeguarding of traditional culture and folklore (1989), the Universal declaration on cultural diversity (Declaration of Yamamoto, 2001) and the Istanbul declaration (2002). However, any binding document about intangible heritage had been passed yet.

Tangible, natural and intangible heritage are said to be deeply linked. However, intangible forms of heritage are particularly vulnerable face to the globalization forces. Communities, groups and individuals play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and recreation of intangible forms of heritage.

Recreation of intangible heritage occurs with the interaction of intangible heritage with the environment, the nature of the group’s history. Its continuous evolution provides a sense of identity and continuity. So, safeguarding means providing the measures ensuring “the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission [...] as well as revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage” (art 2.3)

The General Assembly (the Convention’s author) represents the State Parties will meet at least once every two years. An Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage is established within UNESCO and under the General Assembly. The Committee will promote the objectives of the Convention; disseminate best practices and recommendations; rise funding; propose budget management and directives to the General Assembly; examine reports, requests, listing demands coming from State Parties. The Committee proposes programs, projects and activities for the safeguarding of heritage. The Committee writes a regular report for the General Assembly. A Fund for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage is established by UNESCO.

Each State Party should recognize and fix inventories about the forms of intangible heritage present in its territory. It has to adopt policies, financial and legislative tools for heritage protection, create competent bodies, foster studies and documentation, ensure access to intangible heritage while respecting local practices and contribute to rising awareness about its value. State Parties submit a regular report to the Committee which relates to the measures taken for the implementation of the Convention.

At the international level, a Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and a List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding are produced by the Committee with the collaboration of the State Parties. State Parties can ask for international assistance if needed. As heritage conservation is considered to be of “general interest to humanity”, cooperation (bilateral,

regional, and multilateral) between the State Parties can assist the establishment of inventories, the implementation of programs and the safeguard of endangered forms of heritage.

UNESCO, 2005

Convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions

“Cultural diversity refers to the manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression. These expressions are passed on within and among groups and societies” (art 4.1). “Cultural content refers to symbolic meaning, artistic dimension and cultural values that originate from or express cultural identities” (art 6.2); while “cultural expressions result from the creativity of individuals, groups and societies and which have cultural content” (art 6.3). “Cultural activities, goods and services”, which are produced by “cultural industries”, embody or convey cultural expressions (art 6.4).

Cultural diversity is considered to be a common heritage of humanity because it embodies the uniqueness and plurality of identities and cultural expressions of people. Exchange and interaction between cultures which is called “interculturality” (art 8) strengthen and enrich cultural diversity. One of the Convention’s aims is to help in the recognition of values and meanings of the expressions of cultural diversity.

Globalization forces threaten cultural diversity and may deepen the imbalance between rich and poor countries. Therefore, the defence and promotion of cultural diversity accompanies sustainable development strategies. In particular, knowledge of “indigenous people” are said to contribute to the eradication of poverty, as wished by the United Nations Millennium Declaration (2000). The link between culture and development has to be recognized and secured in development countries.

Some principles are proposed in order to guide the actions in favour of cultural diversity: the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the sovereignty of State Parties, the equal dignity and respect of all cultures, international solidarity and cooperation, the relationship between cultural and economic aspects of development, sustainable development, equitable access to cultural expressions, openness and balance between the cultures in the world.

This Convention has to be implemented in the framework of national policies concerning cultural expressions. States Parties can implement measures for the protection of cultural diversity, such as regulations, opportunities for the production and dissemination of cultural activities and goods, assistance to artists, cultural industries, non-profit organizations and public institutions.

States form a “Conference of Parties” which meets for ordinary sessions every two years. States regularly inform UNESCO about the activities promoted for the conservation and promotion of cultural diversity. Within UNESCO, an “Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions” is established.

The participation of civil society is encouraged as well as the programs of international cooperation, in particular those which involve the collaboration with the private sector, non-governmental organization and the civil society.

