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Abstract: The present article is an attempt to provide an overview on what characterises cultural and heritage diversity of humanity. The search for a meaning in the environment and in the creation of the universe is noted very early in the evolution of human beings, probably in the Palaeolithic period. It has found expression in mythology, in traditional processes as well as in the creative design of the habitat and art works, such as rock art, which show an incredible maturity already very early. While modernity has introduced new approaches in the interpretation of the environment, understanding the origins and evolution of human thought continue having their role in modern heritage policies. The notion of *human cultural expressions*, introduced by UNESCO in 2005, can refer to four different types of resources: *a)* living traditions and communication, *b)* monuments and memorials, *c)* exceptional creative achievements, and *d)* recognition of ancient remains as heritage. In this context, the notion of Landscape can be understood as a panorama or in reference to a painting. Cultural Landscape, instead, is fundamentally referred to the recognition of a territory for its historical and archaeological qualities, including designed and sacred landscapes. The notion of Historic Urban Landscape was introduced by UNESCO in 2011, to recognise the significance of the setting to a heritage resource, and the necessity to extend management to the broader territorial context within the more general integrated urban conservation approach always taking into account the specificity and significance of each place and territory.

Keywords: Truth and authenticity, mythology, tradition and modernity, intangible and tangible cultural heritage, cultural expression, living tradition, human creativity, landscape, cultural landscape, urbanised territory, cultural remains.

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Reflections on Cultural and Heritage Diversity

Preamble

Cultural diversity is by now recognised as an essential component of human cultural inheritance. This is the case even though the modern world is overwhelmed by commercial and industrial globalisation. Indeed, taking a look at present-day products, there seems to be more uniformity rather than diversity. The question of diversity, however, can be raised when examining the languages and interpretations that are based on cultural approaches that have their roots in the pre-modern world. Therefore, in order to understand the cultural and heritage diversities, it is useful and even necessary to search in the past. This paper starts from the notion of ‘meaning-seeking creatures’, suggested by Karen Armstrong, which is reflected in the verification of truthfulness of issues, the appreciation of traditions and the living cultural heritage in reference to monuments, works of art and remains of ancient cultural properties. Attention is given to the identification of the territory in its diverse representations.

It is understood that it is the human being itself who is always the initiator for human creativity expressed in the design and building of the habitat, in the development and functioning of the systems of communication, as well as in the production of commodities for the use of the society. Consequently, all the issues that have their function in human society can be considered part of our living heritage, whether old and traditional or modern and produced in more recent times. The paper includes examples of traditional cultural approaches, including the traditional Finnish relationship with nature, the recognition of heritage in Japan, the still living traditional approaches in Bhutan, the question of Bamiyan Buddha figures, and the approach of ancient Achaemenid rulers to truth and falsity.

The current international debates regarding the identification and safeguarding of the cultural and natural heritage first developed especially in the ‘Western context’. The 1964 *Venice Charter*, however, already stressed the diversity of heritage, recommending for each country to see how to apply the international recommendations within its own cultural

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context. In 1994, the Nara Conference on Authenticity highlighted three issues:

1. The diversity of cultures and heritage is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind;
2. Cultural heritage diversity demands respect for other cultures and all aspects of their belief systems;
3. All cultures and societies are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression which constitute their heritage, and these should be respected.

In October 2005, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, which gave further importance to cultural and heritage diversity. It was stressed that the recognition of cultural diversity is the mainspring for sustainable development and indispensable for peace and security. Traditional knowledge is a source of intangible and material wealth. Recognising cultural diversity is important for the full realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms as proclaimed in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and other universally recognized instruments.

Meaning-seeking creatures

Although the subject of this paper is about cultural and heritage diversity, it should be noted that the different cultures, even in their diversity, also have many commonalities. The commonalities have been even further strengthened with the technical and commercial globalisation, as well as thanks to the new systems of communication including not only the ever-easier long-distance travelling but also the development of WI-FI, digitalisation, and smartphones that work where other systems fail. So, where are the differences. It seems that while the humans basically undertake similar types of activities, it is the way they perform these that still bears a memory from the cultural roots of each nation and even each person. It is the meaning that you associate with your action

that is reflected in the language that continues to carry the meanings of words once established within a particular cultural context. At the same time, human beings have not developed their cultures in isolation but in communication. It is through communication that we receive new inspirations and new ideas that can be creatively pushed forward to meet the specific needs or requirements in each case. We modern humans have a common origin in our first native land in southern Africa. There is evidence that from here we travelled first to Northern Africa and the Western Asia, then continuing to Europe, Asia, and the Americas. There is archaeological confirmation in the United Arab Emirates of human presence 125,000 years ago. At this time, the humans already had some skills, including making fire and building boats. In fact, to reach Asia, it was necessary to cross waterways (Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf), though probably shallower at that time. Since then, humans have diversified their cultures and learnt different languages.

Meaning in mythology

In her book on *A Short History of Myth*, Karen Armstrong observes that “we are meaning seeking creatures” (Armstrong, 2006a: 2). She notes that we human beings, different from animals, feel the need to understand the underlying patterns that give life meaning and value. Considering that we have the faculty of imagination, this has enabled us to produce the religion as well as the mythology. Imagination and intuition are also faculties that have helped scientists to discover new knowledge and invent new technologies helping us to live more intensely. A myth is not a story told for its own sake. Rather, “mythology puts us in the correct spiritual or psychological posture for right action” (Armstrong, 2006a: 6). Mythology is about human experience. It is an art form that goes beyond history to a timeless human existence. It gives shape and form to a reality that people sense intuitively. Human beings observe the world where they live and also the universe, and they have created stories about the creators of the world, the ‘Supreme’. These developments gradually produced the founda-

tions for human cultures, also expressed in the variety of belief systems, such as Taoism, Shinto, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam. Most of these find their roots in the first millennium BC (Armstrong, 2006b; Chalus, 1963).

Mythology in Finland

It is interesting to look at the traditional belief systems in ancient Finland (Suomi). The Finnish language is part of the Uralic language group, spoken from northern Asia across the Ural Mountains to northern Europe. Apart from Finnish, also Hungarian, Lapponian, and the Samoyed belong to the same group. It is understood that the Finnish people were part of the native tribes arriving in north-eastern Europe after the Ice Age. They have always been closely associated with nature, and it is possible that their stories, which have found their forms over the past two millennia, would also have been based on stories known in parts of Asia. The Finnish myths have been gradually written down starting in the 18th century, inspired by the example of Scottish and German poets. A selection of the stories from rural areas especially in Eastern Finland was published in the 19th century by Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884) Finnish physician and philologist. The collection was called *Kalevala*, in reference to the mythical homeland of the Finns, and it has since been translated into many languages.

The introduction by John Martin Crawford to the English edition in 1898 gives an idea of the Finnish mythology:

In the earliest age of Suomi, it appears that the people worshiped the conspicuous objects in nature under their respective, sensible forms. All beings were persons. The Sun, Moon, Stars, the Earth, the Air, and the Sea, were to the ancient Finns, living, self-conscious beings. Gradually the existence of invisible agencies and energies was recognized, and these were attributed to superior persons who lived independent of these visible entities, but at the same time were connected with them. The basic idea in Finnish mythology seems to lie in this: that all objects in nature are governed

by invisible deities, termed *haltiat*, regents or *genii*. These *haltiat*, like members of the human family, have distinctive bodies and spirits; but the minor ones are somewhat immaterial and formless, and their existences are entirely independent of the objects in which they are particularly interested. They are all immortal, but they rank according to the relative importance of their respective charges. The lower grades of the Finnish gods are sometimes subservient to the deities of greater powers, especially to those who rule respectively the air, the water, the field, and the forest. Thus, *Pihlajatar*, the daughter of the aspen, although as divine as *Tapio*, the god of the woodlands, is necessarily his servant (*Kalevala*, 1898: x-xi).

The first rune of *Kalevala* starts with the following verses (English translation by the author):

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Mieleni minun tekevi,</i> | My mind is eager, |
| <i>aivoni ajattelevi</i> | my brain is pondering |
| <i>lähteäni laulamahan,</i> | that I should go singing, |
| <i>saa'ani sanelemahan,</i> | start conversing, |
| <i>sukuvirttä suoltamahan,</i> | extracting family song, |
| <i>lajivirttä laulamahan.</i> | singing laudable verse. |
| <i>Sanat suussani sulavat,</i> | Words in my mouth are melting, |
| <i>puhe'et putoelevat,</i> | speeches are dropping, |
| <i>kielelleni kerkiävät,</i> | hasting to my tongue, |
| <i>hampahilleni hajoovat.</i> | breaking up on my teeth. |

Finland was colonised by Sweden from the 12th to the 18th century. It became a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire in the 19th century. Already from the 18th century, there was a desire to study and recover the roots of 'Finnishness', associated with ancient mythologies that were still found in rural areas. Nature was seen as a national heritage, an intellectual resource and also as raw material for economic growth and science. At the beginning of the 20th century, nature conservation cherished strong cultural and patriotic values, finding expression in painting of familiar landscapes combining forests and lakes with traditional habitat often associated with personalities, artists, and writers. In the 19th century, such landscapes started being conceived as 'National Parks' (in line with



Finland Tomb. Image: Jukka Jokilehto.

Yellowstone), and were later protected as part of the national heritage. This found its expression in Finnish literature, Finnish music, and Finnish architecture. At the same time, there were movements to gain independence from the Russian Empire, which succeeded in 1917. The Second World War was another heavy burden, but it also strengthened the pride in Finnishness. In 1952, the Olympic Games were held in Helsinki, which marked a step towards modernisation. However, even with the increasing modernity, the Finns seem to have maintained their contact with their fundamental traditional values associated with nature. Indeed, it is an ambition of most Finns to have a cottage on a lake to spend there their free time and enjoy the traditional sauna bath. Even modern architects and urban planners are instructed to consider the natural context as a fundamental element in their design, and consequently becoming one of the elements that have made Finnish design renowned.

Questions of creation

Searching for the meaning of life in the universe has inspired us human beings to imagine different types of answers. It is significant that we try to see beyond what is seen in reality and imagine some divine power that

inspires and controls us. The Bible is the result of contributions over several millennia. The stories refer to various written sources, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as oral traditions and myths. Three basic concepts that characterise human existence would include the *Light* that symbolically represents learning about the meaning and significance of the world and human existence. Closely associated with meaning is the Language, the capacity of expression and creativity symbolised in the concept of *Word*. The Genesis of the Bible/Torah starts with reference to the creation of the world, when the first requirement was to have light. “And God said, ‘Let there be light,’ and there was light” (Genesis: 1).

In fact, the Torah, the Bible and also the Quran all represent the Word of God, the ultimate Truth. Another important concept is the “Path” that indicates the proper approach to true life. The ‘path’, often found in the Bible, is also the principal reference in Chinese Taoism, referring to the ‘way’, ‘doctrine’ or ‘principle’, initially based on ancestor and nature worship in traditional society. The Bible tells that, following the creation of the world and humanity, God observed that the humans were not behaving as expected. Therefore, God decided to punish them. This resulted in distancing the peoples and the development of a great variety of languages, making communication more problematic as well as establishing the basis for cultural diversification (Armstrong, 1999; Wang, 2004; Haicheng, n.d.).

The transmission of familial, religious, ethical, and national traditions to future generations is one of the most prominent ideas in the Old Testament. This can take place in the form of verbal transmission, inculcation by custom and commandment, writing a book, giving significant name to an individual or a place, erecting a monument, or keeping an object as a testimony (Etkes, 1997). We can take note that the word ‘tradition’ means ‘hand over’ or ‘deliver’ (Latin: *tradere*). When the question is about handing over a commandment often associated with a belief system,

this should be made with strict respect to the true original. Religious or sacred traditions can be reserved for a select group of people and handing over to outsiders would be considered a betrayal. Tradition will often take place through a learning process, for example by learning skills, preparing utilities, building habitat, etc. Such processes are also associated with the human creative capacity, implying that the lessons are adjusted to the needs of a new generation. Consequently, there is most often gradual change and diversification while maintaining its essence of the tradition.

The elements, i. e., Light and Knowledge, Word and Creativity, and the Path to True Life, can be seen as factors that have guided human creativity from ancient times. Being dispersed into the different regions of the world, the humans have created different cultural expressions to meet their requirements within the relevant social, cultural, and environmental context. The *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994) has indeed emphasised the diversity of cultures and heritage in our world as “an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind”. Furthermore, it is stressed that “Cultural heritage diversity exists in time and space and demands respect for other cultures and all aspects of their belief systems”. While our modern world is continuously introducing new functions and new concepts of life, it is necessary also to appreciate and recognise the traditional heritage in its essential qualities, which are specific for each site resulting from human creativity consolidated in traditions over generations.

Search for Truth

It is not enough for human beings to try to understand the meaning of something. It is also important to be convinced about the truth in the meaning. Already, in Ancient Greece there was philosophical discussion about truth and the meaning of truth. The pre-Socratic philosopher Parmenides of Elea (6th-5th BC) was from Magna Graecia. His writings only remain in fragments that have been studied and analysed by several people. Martin Heidegger notes:

Because “Truth” applies to us – like “beauty”, “freedom”, “justice” – as something “general”, something that is subtracted from the particular and real, from the respective true, just and beautiful, and therefore “abstract”, to be presented in the mere Concept. To make “the Truth” a “Goddess” does mean, after all, to reinterpret a mere concept of something, i. e., the concept of the essence of truth, into a “personality” (Heidegger, 1992: 14).¹

Regarding the nature of the Truth, the Greeks speak of *Aletheia* (Ancient Greek: ἀλήθεια) which means truth or disclosure in philosophy, i. e., “the state of not being hidden”. Its opposite is *lethe*, which literally means “oblivion”, “forgetfulness”, or “concealment”. Parmenides implies that, for the divinities, Truth was not concealed but immediately accessible. For the humans, instead, Truth remained concealed unless one made a special effort to understand and recognise the true meaning of something. Truth was also discussed by the Muslim philosopher, Mullah Sadra (c.1571/2-c.1640), who was influenced by the ideas of Plato,² considering the question of truth at two levels, the essence of the universal existence and the changes in appearance.

Karl Popper, in his *The World of Parmenides*, notes that although Aristotle was a theist, he breaks with the tradition of distinguishing between divine knowledge and human guesswork. Popper writes: “He believes that he knows: that he himself has episteme, demonstrable scientific knowledge. This is the main reason why I do not like Aristotle: what to Plato is a scientific hypothesis becomes with Aristotle episteme, demonstrable knowledge. And for most epistemologists of the West, it has remained so ever since” (Popper, 2001: 2).

¹ Original quotation: “Denn „die Wahrheit“ gilt uns wie „die Schönheit“, „die Freiheit“, „die Gerechtigkeit“ als etwas „Allgemeines“, was vom Besonderen und Wirklichen, dem jeweiligen Wahren, Gerechten und Schönen abgezogen und daher „abstrakt“, im bloßen Begriff vorgestellt wird. „Die Wahrheit“ zu einer „Göttin“ machen, das heißt doch, einen bloßen Begriff von etwas, nämlich den Begriff vom Wesen des Wahren, zu einer „Persönlichkeit“ umdeuten.”

² Plato lived in 5th to 4th century BC. His discussions on truth are found in *The Republic*.

Michel Foucault (1996), instead, focuses on different aspects. He introduces the concept of *Parrhesia*, which is taken to mean: to speak candidly or to ask forgiveness for so speaking. In fact, the speaker is expected to speak “his full truth” in reference to what is at stake. And this should be done even in front of a dictator or when threatened by punishment. *Parrhesia* was considered a fundamental component of democracy in Classical Athens.

In the 1960s, Thomas Kuhn published his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962/1970), which takes an historical look at the different stages when ‘science’ has produced paradigms. Such paradigms can be understood as temporary assumptions, based on available information. However, the paradigms may change when new information is available, even though they are also part of the process aiming to understand and interpret our world. Therefore, a scientist in accord with a humanist must undertake research that also requires intuition in order to find and verify reliable sources of information.

The verification of the truth in significance may differ depending on the approach and on the elements identified for confirmation, as would be in the following cases:

- Acknowledging one’s own cultural expression;
- Recognising the essence (‘work of art’) vs. superficial changes;
- Verification based on rational or philosophical analysis;
- Verification based on scientific research;
- Justification by political, judicial, or moral motives or values.

Regarding heritage resources, whether cultural or natural, the authenticity needs to be verified in reference to all the meaningful elements that together contribute to the significance of the resource in its functional, structural, and visual integrity. In each case, it is necessary to verify the relevant setting / context and its contribution to the definition of the significance.

Tradition and modernity

It is fundamentally with the Industrial Revolution, that our modernity is really emerged also leading to globalisation of modern techniques. The new systems of production make possible new types of products and materials that come to replace the traditional building methods. Consequently, there is a major impact on the construction and development of traditional settlements and territories. While a traditional settlement is often retained in its old form, the new suburbs expand into the surrounding territory. This question is not only about the change of production systems, but also of changes in the cultural and spiritual aspects of social life. In his *Désenchantement du monde* (1985), Marcel Gauchet proposes that the disenchantment in our modern world is reflected in all the different aspects of life and spirit. He emphasises that the tendency of people to distance themselves from religion, especially in Europe, has resulted in a tendency to lose understanding and appreciation of the traditional built environment. This disenchantment was already expressed by Nietzsche, who spoke about overcoming of the universal values, imposed by God, and the recognition of human creativity, associated with the ‘Will to Power’ (*der Wille zur Macht*) analysed by Martin Heidegger in his two-volume work on Nietzsche (1989).

From ancient times, human creativity has been inspired by natural forms. In fact, artistic creation was often referred to what was called ‘imitation’.³ Even John Ruskin still states that “forms are not beautiful because they are copied from Nature; only it is out of the power of man to conceive beauty without her aid” (Ruskin, 1849/1925: IV, iii). Generally speaking, we can however see that imitation was not only referred to nature, but also to traditionally acquired forms in buildings and objects. It is through such processes that the communities developed their traditional typologies of buildings and spaces in settlements, closely associated with the social and cultural integrity of the society within the environmental

³ Cfr. Quatremère de Quincy (1980) [1823]

context. It is in this context that we can appreciate the scope of the modern recognition of past achievements as heritage. In fact, in the *Venice Charter* the Preface starts by the statement: “Charged with a spiritual message from the past, the monumental works of peoples remain in present life the living testimony of their centuries-old traditions”.⁴

The modern approaches to safeguarding heritage have gradually evolved over several centuries ever since the Italian Renaissance. The present forms and frameworks of applications have resulted from international collaboration in the 20th century. While taking note of the contribution of several thinkers, from Kant and Nietzsche to Bergson and Heidegger, an international debate about heritage really only started after the Second World War. It involved particularly UNESCO, and with it ICCROM⁵ and ICOMOS⁶ for cultural heritage, and IUCN⁷ for natural heritage. In the European context, it was the Council of Europe that took the principal initiatives. Over time, there has been an increasing debate about the meaning of heritage in the different contexts, its components, and its conditions of integrity and authenticity. Attention is given to an increasing diversity of heritage, extending from ancient monuments to cultural territories, the living traditions, and what could be called ephemeral aspects of heritage, respecting the creative diversity of each place, and meeting the challenges in the rapidly globalising world.

Nara Document on Authenticity

Japan accepted to join the World Heritage Convention on 30 June 1992. The new State Party was immediately elected to the World Heritage Committee. The Japanese acceptance coincided with the fortieth

⁴ Preface of the *Venice Charter*, English translation by Jokilehto: «Chargées d’un message spirituel du passé, les œuvres monumentales des peuples demeurent dans la vie présente le témoignage vivant de leurs traditions séculaires» (Jokilehto, 2021).

⁵ International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM).

⁶ International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

⁷ International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN).

anniversary of the World Heritage Convention. At this time, there was also a small publication prepared by Prof. Léon Pressouyre, who had previously been responsible on behalf of ICOMOS for the evaluation of new nominations to the World Heritage List. In the report he referred to Japan, writing: “The constraints of the criterion of authenticity, sensitive in the European realm, are even more unwieldy in other regions of the world. In Japan, the oldest temples are periodically identically restored, authenticity being essentially attached to function, subsidiarily to form, but by no means to material. This ceases to be academic with Japan having ratified the convention on 30 June 1992” (Pressouyre, 1993). The report was first distributed to the Members of the World Heritage Committee, and then published the year after, i. e., 1993.

At this time, a member of the Japanese delegation, Prof. Nobuo Ito, also a member of ICCROM Council, approached ICCROM to propose a mission to discuss the question of authenticity particularly in the case of the Ise Shrine. Instead of undertaking such a mission, a small group of people met during the ICOMOS General Assembly in Colombo (Sri Lanka, 1993), to discuss the possibility of organising an international conference on the question of authenticity.⁸ It was agreed to organise a preparatory meeting in Bergen (Norway) in early 1994, and the main conference on authenticity in Nara (Japan) at the end of the year 1994. At the conference, there were two main lines of thought. One was related to the recognition of major architectural monuments as implied in the World Heritage context: “monuments: architectural works, [...], which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of history, art or science”. This approach was sustained particularly by Raymond Lemaire, who had been rapporteur to the *Venice Charter* in 1964. The vernacular approach was defended by Herb Stovel, at the time General Secretary of ICOMOS. When preparing the recommendations,

⁸ The group consisted of Nobuo Ito (Japan), Christina Cameron (Canada), Nils Marstein and Knut-Einar Larsen (Norway), Herb Stovel (ICOMOS), Jukka Jokilehto (ICCROM), and Bernd von Droste (World Heritage Centre, UNESCO).

it was decided to appoint Lemaire and Stovel together as rapporteurs to see that both approaches would be properly represented in the final document.

The resulting *Nara Document on Authenticity* emphasises that all cultures and societies are rooted in particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression. Regarding the question of truth and authenticity, it is declared that:

Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage. Our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. 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.

While the authenticity of important works of art and ancient monuments had already been discussed abundantly, the approach related to the vernacular heritage was more problematic. In 1989, UNESCO had already adopted the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*. In the same year, the Council of Europe adopted the *Recommendation on the protection and enhancement of the rural architectural heritage*. It also prepared a recommendation on the *Integrated conservation of cultural landscape areas as part of landscape policies*, adopted in 1995.

Traditions in Japan

The principal belief systems in Japan include Buddhism and Shinto. However, there are also minority religions. In the late-16th century, Jesuit missionaries arrived in the area of Nagasaki with commercial companies and were later joined by Franciscans. In the early 17th century, however, Christianity was banned, and the followers were tortured and killed. From that time until the 19th century, Christians needed to hide their faith, and were therefore called Hidden Chris-

tians (*Kakure Kirishitan*).⁹ Traditionally, in the feudal period, most important buildings used to belong to the Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines or were property of aristocratic and samurai families. This time came to an end in 1867/1868 when the Tokugawa shogunate was replaced by a new system of government, the so-called Meiji Restoration. In these years, many temples, shrines and castles were destroyed or confiscated by the Government. From now on, there was a strong tendency towards westernisation of Japanese society (Jinnai, 2017: 44-53). This also meant that Christianity was again tolerated in Japan.

From the 1870s to the 1970s there were several laws for protection of different types of heritage. In 1871, the Department of State issued a decree for the protection of antiquities. However, due to increasing westernization this initiative had little impact, though in the 1880s, old buildings started being conserved and restored. At this time, the periodic reconstruction of Shinto shrines was also interrupted. Several laws followed, starting with the 1897 Law on Ancient Temples and Shrines, 1919 on Historical Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments. The present Law was passed in 1950 and subsequently amended. The 1954 amendment rearranged heritage into four categories: a) Tangible Cultural Properties, b) Intangible Cultural Properties, c) Folk Materials, and d) Monuments. The last category now covered the historic sites, scenic beauty, and natural monuments. In 1966 were also added the preservation of ancient capitals, and in 1975, the conservation of groups of historic buildings and techniques for the conservation of cultural properties (Inaba, 2009: 153-162).

Observing the Japanese approaches to heritage, it seems that there are two parallel trends. One is the continuation of age-old traditions. Buddhism is a major religion in addition to the native Japanese religions, Shinto and the Utaki worship. Shinto is closely related to nature and natural processes. In harmony with natural rhythms, periodic renovation and recreation became a rule. The Utaki sites are protected sa-

⁹ The significant sites of this period have been inscribed in the World Heritage List in 2018.

cred spaces in nature, such as small forests or woods, reserved for ancestor worship.¹⁰ Buddhism instead implies safeguarding and preserving historic sites, including temples and tombs. While not being strictly linked with one faith, the Japanese tend to refer to different rituals depending on personal desires in different phases of life. At the present, the periodic recreation of Shinto Shrines has been generally discontinued except in the case of the Ise Shrine, associated with the Imperial family. In other Shinto sites, the main focus is on regular maintenance, repainting, or restoration when required.

Skilled craftspersons are popularly recognised as ‘Living National Treasures’, i. e., certified as Preservers of Important Intangible Cultural Properties, who maintain traditional knowledge through working and teaching. In the past renovation of important shrines could allow for some creativity in expression while using traditional technology. Today, particularly due to the tendency of westernisation, there is tendency to maintain strict respect for the previous form. In principle, this could be seen as an interruption of traditional continuity. At the same time, Japan is introducing modern international design and technology in objects as well as in architecture. Within this context, the Japanese spirit, however, still continues giving a very personal touch even to new creations.

Tangible and intangible heritage

We can recall that Japan, as well as Korea, both already had adopted legislation to recognise the intangible cultural heritage for protection. This also meant recognising persons or groups of people who were skilled in traditional crafts and who could transfer this knowledge to younger generations. UNESCO took note of the results of the 1994 Nara Conference, which was discussed above, and of the Japanese experience regarding legal protection of the living cultural heritage. In 1998, UNESCO already established the list of intangible cultural properties. The identi-

cation of such masterpieces implies that they are considered to have outstanding value, have their roots in cultural traditions, affirm the cultural identity of the peoples and communities concerned, as well as being important as a source of inspiration and intercultural exchange. They could also have excellence in the application of the skills and technical qualities displayed.¹¹ There are particularly two international conventions adopted by UNESCO, which have provided platforms for the debate on the meaning of heritage and, consequently, the policies for conservation. One is the 1972 World Heritage Convention, and the other the 2003 Convention on the Intangible Cultural Heritage. However, the two conventions are administered separately possibly with too little contact.

These questions were of particular interest to Koïchiro Matsuura who was elected Director General of UNESCO for the period from 1999 to 2009. In order to clarify some of the inconsistencies in the two conventions, another conference was organised in Nara to discuss and the possibility to harmonise between the approaches of the 1972 World Heritage Convention and 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention. In his opening speech to the 2004 conference Matsuura said:

Since 1994, debates on cultural heritage have advanced greatly, especially in regard to a recognition of the distinctive character of intangible heritage. In the past intangible heritage had tended to be interpreted almost exclusively as a function of tangible heritage and not a particular type of heritage existing in its own right. However, the preservation of the world’s cultural heritage must mean contributing to the protection of cultural diversity in all its forms (Matsuura, 2006: 24).

There are some important differences comparing these two conventions. One concerns the question of heritage value. The 1972 Convention introduces the notion of Outstanding Universal Value, OUV (art 11):

¹¹ Regulations relating to The Proclamation by UNESCO of Masterpieces of The Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO, 1998b).

¹⁰ Okinawa International Forum, *UTAKI in Okinawa and Sacred Spaces in Asia* (2004).



Shrine in Nagasaki. Image: Jukka Jokilehto.

On the basis of the inventories submitted by States [...] the Committee shall establish, keep up to date and publish, under the title of “World Heritage List,” a list of properties forming part of the cultural heritage and natural heritage, [...] which it considers as having outstanding universal value in terms of such criteria as it shall have established.

Consequently, for the purposes of the Convention, cultural heritage could be: ‘monuments’ or ‘groups of buildings’, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of “history, art or science”, or ‘sites’ from “the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view” (art. 1). The World Heritage Operational Guidelines also require that nominated properties meet the requirements of authenticity.

The Intangible Cultural Heritage, instead, is defined as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, 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”. In the 2003 Convention there is no reference to the judgement of heritage value. Nor does it mention the verification of authenticity. It is, instead, noted that the intangible cultural heritage, “transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recre-

ated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity”. This difference is reflected in the resulting *Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage*, which states: “considering that intangible cultural heritage is constantly recreated, the term ‘authenticity’ as applied to tangible cultural heritage is not relevant when identifying and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage”. Consequently, the approaches between the 1972 and 2003 conventions were not changed. However, in 2005, UNESCO adopted the Convention concerning cultural expressions, which brought all types of heritage under the same label.

Cultural expressions

The 2005, UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* does not only recognise existing cultural and heritage diversities. It also encourages creative diversity for the present and future. The interest in this convention is that it refers to all types of cultural expressions, material as well as immaterial. It recognises “the importance of traditional knowledge as a source of intangible and material wealth, and in particular the knowledge systems of indigenous peoples, and its positive contribution to sustainable development, as well as the need for its adequate protection and promotion”. It is further stated that: “‘Cultural diversity’ is made manifest not only through the varied ways in which the cultural heritage of humanity is expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used”.

When dealing with safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, this is based on the continuity that

may involve continuous recreation or transmittance from one generation to another. It means transferring knowledge, skills, and meanings.

While the concrete manifestations can include musical instruments and crafts, the main idea is on transfer. Through such processes, some issues may not be any more relevant or have lost their meaning. "Therefore, to a large extent, any safeguarding measure refers to strengthening and reinforcing the diverse and varied circumstances, tangible and intangible, that are necessary for the continuous evolution and interpretation of intangible cultural heritage, as well as for its transmission to future generations" (UNESCO, s. f., 1).

Safeguarding the knowledge, skills and meanings is fundamentally associated with the need of education and capacity building. One of the key issues when dealing with safeguarding the human environment is to clarify the meaning of heritage to us? The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, meeting at Stockholm in June 1972, adopted the Declaration, which starts by proclaiming about the importance to and the responsibility of humanity regarding the protection and improvement of the human environment (ONU, 1972: arts. 1-2):

(1.) Man is both creature and moulder of his environment, which gives him physical sustenance and affords him the opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth. In the long and tortuous evolution of the human race on this planet a stage has been reached when, through the rapid acceleration of science and technology, man has acquired the power to transform his environment in countless ways and on an unprecedented scale. Both aspects of man's environment, the natural and the man-made, are essential to his well-being and to the enjoyment of basic human rights the right to life itself.

(2.) The protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well-being of peoples and economic development throughout the world; it is the urgent desire of the peoples of the whole world and the duty of all Governments.

Regarding more specifically cultural heritage, UNESCO has adopted several principles or guidelines proposing to encourage attention to such resources, often ignored in the present-day globalising world. *The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* was adopted by UNESCO in 2001. It is based on the fundamental concept that Cultural diversity is the common heritage of humanity. Article 1 of the Declaration states:

Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations (UNESCO, 2001b).

UNESCO has also adopted international instruments that identify the characteristics of a variety of different types of heritage that represent the creative diversity of humankind. Analysing the criteria proposed for the nomination of properties to UNESCO Lists, it can be seen that they are fundamentally based on the recognition of a variety of human cultural expressions, which could be articulated in four main types.

1. Living Traditions and Communication:
 - a) Language, mythology, poetry,
 - b) Written heritage, literature,
 - c) Music and singing,
 - d) Know-how or skills,
 - e) Associating identity; recognising as historical.
2. Monuments to commemorate or remind:
 - a) Belief system, divinity,
 - b) Authority, Government,
 - c) An event,
 - d) A personality,
3. Exceptional creative achievement:
 - a) Objects,
 - b) Buildings,
 - c) Settlements,

4. Recognition of Cultural Remains:

- a) Historic buildings,
- b) Ancient cities,
- c) Historic territories.

Considering that the essence in cultural heritage is in its significance, and that the significance of any cultural expression is recognised in human consciousness, it can be appreciated that such heritage remains alive as long as its significance continues being recognised. Consequently, whether concerning tangible or intangible, movable or non-movable, all heritage could be understood as “living”. As such, people can identify it as a “reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge, and traditions” (Council of Europe, 2005: art. 2).

Living traditions and communication

The systems of communication are mainly based on language, which itself is an inheritance that is transmitted in social processes from one generation to another or from one group of people to another. Communication can be expressed in spoken words; it can relate to storytelling and mythology; it can be written down forming literature; it can be expressed in performances, such as traditional rituals or theatre. While the traditional processes and transfer of knowledge provide the fundamental support to such traditions, these are indeed often associated with physical means. Even speaking and singing requires that one uses the muscles of the human body in a correct way. This will be partly innate, but it additionally necessitates practice and learning. Communication also finds expression in music, which can use various means or instruments from basic to more sophisticated such as drums, flutes, or string instruments. Musical instruments require not only skills for understanding how to design and build them, but also skills for playing.

The human habitat has started from finding shelter in nature, such as caves. Learning more skills, humans started constructing the shelters as proposed by

ancient writers, such as Vitruvius. The construction of the habitat became itself a tradition, which meant developing skills to build and use tools required for a variety of building typologies. The Neolithic archaeological site of Çatalhöyük (from 7,400 to 5,200 BC), in Southern Anatolian Plateau, Turkey, is an early example of the evolution of social organization and cultural practices associated with the adaptation to sedentary life, showing evidence of the transition from settled villages to urban agglomeration. The site includes wall paintings, reliefs, sculptures, and other symbolic and artistic features (UNESCO, s.f. a). In order to understand the significance of such a site in all its different aspects, it is necessary to recognise that the material remains cannot be separated from the processes of traditional and cultural development. The functions and rituals, the crafts and various symbolic and artistic features, as well as the concepts for the design and building of the habitat should be understood as components of the overall integrity and authenticity of a living traditional site.

It has been sometimes claimed that recognition of the historicity of cultural heritage would be a modern concept, related to the adoption of legal instruments for protection. In reality, however, even the study and documentation of historical sites go back at least to the Antiquity of the Ancient Greek, Roman and Chinese initiatives, as well as Ancient Assyrian and Persian empires. Alain Schnapp observes that the Sumerians and the Assyrian-Babylonians, to designate the future, used the term *warkâtu*, which actually referred to what lies behind their back. The term that refers to the past, *panânu*, instead, derived from a root which means in front. For them, therefore, the past was in front and could be known, while the future was unknown and thus behind their back (Schnapp, 1993: 31).

As already noted above, the *Yamato Declaration* of 2004 considers that, as the intangible cultural heritage is constantly recreated, authenticity, i. e., truthfulness is not relevant. The UNESCO explanation stresses (UNESCO, s.f. b) that to be kept alive, intangible cultural heritage must remain relevant to its community. This also implies being continuously

recreated and transmitted from one generation to another. In this process, there is a risk that some elements would disappear without help. Safeguarding, however, does not mean “fixing or freezing intangible cultural heritage in some pure or primordial form”. We can certainly agree with this explanation. In fact, it is not the intention to propose that the so-called intangible heritage should be frozen. This does not mean, however, that the truthfulness of such cultural heritage should not or could not be verified.

If we listen to a piece of music or if we eat a pizza, these can be considered ephemeral, i. e., they only last a relatively short time. There are also various types of traditional events and festivities that take place at a certain time in a certain place. You do not freeze them, but they would be repeated at intervals being based on traditions that have gradually evolved over the generations. The 2003 UNESCO Convention indeed notes that:

This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

So, the question is about a process that provides the community with “a sense of identity and continuity”. Consequently, authenticity should not be searched in a single event but rather in the traditional process, of which such events are testimony.

The same can be said about music. Music is the art of arranging sounds in time to produce a composition through the elements of melody, harmony, rhythm, and timbre.¹² Music is also understood as one of the universal cultural aspects of all human societies and it is characterised by great diversity. Similar type of music can be performed with different types of instruments. To play the music by Mozart or Haydn in the 18th century, it was often necessary to

¹² *The American Heritage Dictionary* entry: “Music.”

arrange the performance so as to be able to use the instruments and skills that were available. To judge the truthfulness of a piece of music, it should be verified in the context of that particular musical tradition. While musical tradition gives some indication on how to play particular pieces, there may be different interpretations. In fact, it is part of the fascination of music to be able to offer different interpretations. Some of these may be closer to what the audience is expecting; others more innovative – but not necessarily to be discarded.

Traditional urban fabric is normally referred to the different typologies of buildings and spaces responding to the social, cultural, and economic needs and requirements of the community. These result from gradual evolution, forming the basis for local building traditions. At different times, interventions may have resulted from social and economic developments or changing needs in society. Buildings may have been demolished and replaced with new, but still following the local building tradition. Indeed, traditional urban fabric can be understood as a living cultural expression undergoing a traditional process, based on the social and economic needs and the creative capacity of the community. Consequently, a settlement should not only be seen as a group of buildings but also as part of living tradition, similar to what is described as the “intangible cultural heritage”. Rather than speaking of intangible, it would be preferable to speak of living heritage that also consists of traditionally functioning settlements. In our modern time, an assessment whether or not such urban settlements still retain their traditional character requires an in-depth survey not only of the individual buildings and spaces but also of the functions and ways of life of the community.

Monuments and memorials

When cultural expressions involve material objects or properties, the question of safeguarding will not only deal with the transfer of knowledge and skills; it also means maintenance and care. The ICOMOS Training Guidelines of 1993 define conservation:

The object of conservation is to prolong the life of cultural heritage and, if possible, to clarify the artistic and historical messages therein without the loss of authenticity and meaning. Conservation is a cultural, artistic, technical and craft activity based on humanistic and scientific studies and systematic research. Conservation must respect the cultural context (ICOMOS, 1993).

As we have already mentioned earlier, human beings are meaning-seeking creatures. This suggests that we tend to search and associate meaning to traditions, places, and objects, as well as to the different aspects of the living environment. This does not always involve the preservation of individual objects, but more about functional continuity. Indeed, it is in such processes of traditional continuity that the intangible and material aspects of cultural expressions find a common ground. A community living in a traditional village carries with it memories and lessons from past generations. These can be associated with traditional ways of living, events, or festivities, as well as with significant places, objects or monuments that carry particular memories. The village itself may consist of habitat based on building types and spaces responding to the specific needs of the community. In traditional life, such artefacts are normally in a process of gradual transformation. While the typologies will have found confirmation over generations of building practice, the buildings themselves can date from different times in the history of the place. The essence has been the transfer of skills and knowledge as we have seen in the case of intangible cultural heritage. We can now ask: What are the monumental works associated with a spiritual message? The word ‘monument’ comes from the Latin original ‘*monere*’ – to remind, admonish, warn. The spiritual message, instead, can refer to the motivation and ingenious idea of creating the monument, i. e., giving a structure a specific meaning. Erwin Panofsky maintains that man’s signs and structures are records because, or rather in so far as, “they express ideas separate from, yet realized by, the processes of signalling and building. These re-

ords have therefore the quality in this respect that they are studied by the humanist. He is, fundamentally, an historian” (Panowsky, 1970: 28).

In the traditional world, as is discussed by Walter Benjamin, important in a ‘monument’ was the ‘cult value’ that is different from our present-day art value (Benjamin, 1979). For example, a temple could be constructed for the purpose of venerating a deity. Consequently, the idea that also decided the artistic or architectural form depended on the purpose, i. e., to build a temple to serve a particular group of people or community in a particular context. In case the temple was damaged or destroyed it could be rebuilt following the same purpose and idea. It could then also maintain its original significance, except that the form could be recreated to express the interpretation of the new builders. With the detachment from the traditional world, we are obliged to look at the traditional places at a time distance. We can rarely claim to be part of the same tradition, even though there can be exceptions. Consequently, we are no more able to reproduce traditional artefacts with the same meaning as these would have had in their traditional social-cultural context. We now look at them as ‘works of art’, and we approach them following the principles of modern restoration.

Exceptional creative achievements

The modern theory of restoration distinguishes between two aspects of a human creative expression, i. e., the ‘form’ and the ‘matter’, which together make one whole. In his *Theory of Restoration*, Cesare Brandi notes: “The fact that the image relies on physical means to manifest itself, and that they are a means and not an end, does not excuse us from having to investigate how the material and the image are related” (Brandi, 1963: 37).¹³ The material is the con-

¹³ Original quotation: “Il fatto che i mezzi fisici di cui abbisogna l’immagine per manifestarsi, rappresentino un mezzo e non un fine, non deve esimere dall’indagine di che cosa costituisca la materia rispetto all’immagine, indagine che l’Estetica idealistica ha creduto in genere di trascurare ma che l’analisi dell’opera d’arte invincibilmente ripresenta...”

veyor of the manifested image. Together these provide the key to what can be considered the ‘two-fold unity’ of the work, i. e., the structure (matter) and the image (form). When dealing with material works of art, the original creative idea of the form is intangible, but it is physically manifested in the material, i. e., the structure that provides it the necessary support. Consequently, and above all in relation to the restoration, it is necessary to define what the ‘matter’ is because it represents at the same time the time and place of the restoration. The material that has been used to create a work of art or a monument is subject to aging. The idea of the form, instead, being intangible does not age but needs to be re-appropriated every time when it is examined. Therefore, Brandi asserts that we can only use a phenomenological point of view, because the matter is exposed as “what is needed for the epiphany of the image” (Brandi, 1963: 37).¹⁴

The fundamental approach exemplified by Cesare Brandi in his *Theory of Restoration*¹⁵ of works of art, can however be also applicable in the case of historic buildings and even historic areas or territories. It is obvious that in each case, it is necessary to recognise what characterises the place or object. Paul Philippot, discussing the significance of the restoration of works of art, has specified the difference between a repair or renovation, compared to restoration of a work recognised as heritage.¹⁶

¹⁴ Original quotation: “Ma preliminarmente, e soprattutto in relazione al restauro, va definito che cosa sia la materia in quanto rappresenta contemporaneamente il tempo e · luogo dell’intervento di restauro. Per ciò noi non possiamo servirci che di un punto di vista fenomenologico, e, sotto quest’ aspetto, la materia si ostende, come ‘quanta serve all’epifania dell’immagine’.”

¹⁵ English translation: *Theory of Restoration* (Brandi, 2005).

¹⁶ Original quotation : « Ce qui distingue la restauration de toute réparation ou remise en état, c’est qu’elle s’adresse à une œuvre d’art. Or cette reconnaissance de l’œuvre d’art, qui fonde la restauration, est de toute évidence un moment actuel, appartient au présent historique du spectateur-recevant. L’œuvre d’art n’en est pas moins reconnue comme produit d’une activité humaine en un certain temps et en un certain lieu, et donc comme un document historique, comme un moment du passé. Présente clans l’expérience actuelle qui la reconnaît, l’œuvre ne peut donc être uniquement l’objet d’un savoir scientifique historique : elle est partie intégrante de notre présent vécu, au sein d’une tradition artistique qui nous relie à elle, et permet de la ressentir comme une interpellation venue du passé dans notre présent : une voix actuelle dans laquelle résonne ce passé ».

What distinguishes restoration from any repair or renovation is that it is addressed to a work of art. However, this recognition of the work of art, which is the basis of the restoration, is obviously a current moment, and belongs to the historical present of the spectator-recipient. The work of art is nonetheless recognized as the product of human activity at a certain time and in a certain place, and therefore as a historical document, as a moment from the past. Present in the current experience which recognizes it, the work cannot therefore be solely the object of historical scientific knowledge: it is an integral part of our present lived experience, within an artistic tradition that links us to it, and allows us to feel it as an interpellation coming from the past in our present: a current voice in which this past resonates (Philippot, 1995: 9).

The process of conservation/restoration should thus be based on the recognition of the significance of the work in reference to its form, which is based on the idea and motivation for its creation, as well as on how this is expressed in the historicised matter, i. e., material used by the artist or the builders. While a work of art, such as a painting or a sculpture, is often created by one artist at one time, historic buildings or areas can be subject to relatively long construction periods. For example, ancient Christian churches or cathedrals can have taken even centuries to complete. The construction has often employed multidisciplinary teams in different generations who may have introduced different expressions into their work.

Giuseppe Cristinelli refers to restoration, noting that it is the permanence of what is recognised for its aesthetic and historic values that is a necessary condition of conservation:

In other words, we want our own conservative care not to involve variations in them such as to compromise them in their authenticity and integrity, in their material and formal consistency, in what their authentic meaning consists of and that in this way they continue to be a secure and constant testimony. over time for

reasons that unite us to them and for which we conserve them (Cristinelli, 2019: 53).¹⁷

The construction of traditional habitat, on the other hand, was a continuous process, based on typologies of buildings and spaces that responded to the needs and requirements of the community. While there is obviously a difference between the restoration of a work of art, and the conservation of an historic building or an historic area, there are also similarities in the methodological approach to the identification of the elements that together form the integrity of the traditional artefact or area. Within this context, it is necessary to identify the impact of traditional renewal compared to the introduction of modern products, materials, and planning schemes, and how to find a harmonious relationship. Part of the process of conservation planning and management is naturally also the compatible utilisation of traditional built areas, including the necessary infrastructures and equipment required by current users.

*The case of Bhutan*¹⁸

Bhutan continues to have strong traditional continuity, expressed in all the different aspects of life and living, the way people dress, and the way they build. In Bhutan, buildings have often been subject to destruction by the forces of nature and by man. The Dzongs, i.e., fortified monastic and administrative centres, have suffered from earthquakes, floods, and fires. Consequently, they have been rebuilt, often maintaining the traditionally acquired form and using traditional

technology. Sometimes recent rebuilding has also been due to practical needs requiring enlargement to accommodate new needs, such as the case of Tashicho Dzong in Thimphu, which was selected as the Government Seat. In such cases, it can be observed that maintaining the material historicity of architecture has been a low priority in renovation and repair programmes. In Bhutan, in fact, traditional craftsmanship seems to be often based on knowledge of proportions and patterns. The international doctrine regards material authenticity as one of the principal qualities of an historic building recognized as heritage. John Ruskin (1819-1900), in his “Lamp of Memory”, recalls the importance of memory and history in an ancient building. It is the material and historical stratigraphy of architecture, in addition to form, that carry the memory of the building, and make it historical. When such records are replaced, the building gets new authenticity given by a new age. A building, such as Wangdue Phodrang Dzong, is part of a living tradition in Bhutan. It was destroyed by fire and the intention is to rebuild it.¹⁹ In such a case, it is important to retain remaining historical witness of the previous, which here would include the stone walls.

A different case is the small monastery of Chhungey Goemba. Here, the choice of the local builders is to ‘improve’ the interpretation of sacred texts in architectural details. The problem thus is a choice between conservation and renewal. It is true that life goes on and living traditions themselves continuously re-interpret themselves against new needs and new requirements. At the same time, if we systematically replace what has been done – in good faith – in the past, we lack respect to our ancestors, and we risk giving a poor lesson, indeed a misinterpretation of pride, to our children. The first criterion for the justification of the World Heritage Outstanding Universal Value is referred to “a masterpiece of human creative genius”.

¹⁷ Original quotation: “La permanenza del monumento in sé stesso come condizione necessaria della cura conservativa. [...] Vogliamo cioè che la nostra stessa cura conservativa non comporti anche variazioni in esse tali da comprometterle nella loro autenticità e integrità, nella loro consistenza materica e formale, in ciò in cui consiste il loro significato autentico e che in tal modo esse continuino ad essere testimonianza certa e costante nel tempo dei motivi che a esse ci uniscono e per i quali le conserviamo”.

¹⁸ The Bhutan case is based on a research paper by Jokilehto: *Impact of Intangible Aspects over Tangible Heritage and Possibility of its Legalization – taking Buildings in Bhutan as examples* (2013). The paper was a result of an ICOMOS mission to Bhutan from 29 January to 2 February 2013.

¹⁹ The Wangdue Phodrang Dzong was founded by the Zhabdrung in 1638 atop a high ridge between the Punak Tsang Chhu and the Dang Chhu. It was the site of the country’s second capital. It caught fire on 24 June 2012 and was virtually destroyed save for the lower walls. The rebuilding is expected to continue until 2021.

Indeed, this may even have been one of the initial motivations for the World Heritage Convention. The aim of the List has been to identify great achievements that merit special international attention for their safeguarding. It may be true that such masterpieces can be created even now, as is shown by the Sydney Opera House. However, normally the question is about recognizing specific qualities over generations of reflection. As we have noted above, to be kept alive, traditions normally also change. The question is about what continuity can be traced through such changes.



Punakha Dzong, Buthan. Image: Jukka Jokilehto.

Another question concerns continuity in traditional technology. Even though renewed, a structure built with the traditional skills will retain a message of inherited skills and knowhow when these

are applied to the same type of traditional materials. Structures built in modern materials, such as steel and concrete, even if given the same image as in traditional buildings, do not reflect the same authenticity. They are new interpretations, which must be judged against the new cultural context. In the case of Tashichho Dzong, even though apparently built with traditional materials, the issue is largely about a new building in traditional style. In the case of Punakha Dzong, instead, the question is of renovation of an existing historic structure after fire and flood damage. Yet, the ambition here too was not only to rebuild what had been damaged but also to extend the renovation to meet emerging new needs.

Indeed, the question in Bhutan is not simply of 'reconstruction', as this word is often understood, but of a fairly ambitious re-interpretation and redesign of a prestigious learning centres. Consequently, authenticity should be verified in reference to the process. Indeed, it is a monument to our day, and its authenticity must be judged against the continuity of traditional skills. Semtokha Dzong was built in 1629 by the same Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, who unified Bhutan. It was the first of its kind in Bhutan and therefore became a prototype and reference for the others to follow. Consequently, it carries an important historical record in its material stratigraphy and layout, including changes from a fort to fortified monastery and to the present-day school function. In recent restoration, it was well surveyed and documented. There was some re-design in roof forms and particularly in the east façade, which was re-opened based on surveys. As a whole, however, the works seem to have been pragmatic, and have helped to retain its overall historical authenticity.

As noted above, until now, the Bhutanese people have been able to retain their traditional continuity better than most in our rapidly globalising world. Traditional crafts still exist, and the Buddhist script is still taken as the guidance for renovation of the existing historic buildings, and even for new construction.



Chhungney Goemba, Buthan. Image: Jukka Jokilehto.

This continuity is however at risk, because even Bhutan is part of modernity. An increasing number of Indian workers are accepted to work in Bhutan, reducing the local work force. Instead of using traditional materials, the tendency especially in urban settlements is to opt for modern methods. Much of academic training is taken abroad, and the link with the local community remains fragile. There are rules to reflect tradition in costumes as well as in the built environment. Even the Paro airport is built in traditional style. There is a quality in true and authentic tradition represented by genuine vernacular heritage, still common in the rural areas and visible even in the urban centre of Thimphu. Re-interpreting traditional forms in steel and concrete is however not the same. What are now the limits of change? Is re-interpretation in modern building stock not contributing to some sort of contamination of the genuine traditions? Maybe the guidelines could be revisited paying attention to the overall integrity of the urban fabric.

Recognising cultural remains

The British archaeologist Colin Renfrew has examined the evolution of the human mind, and he notes that one can see a significant change from the Middle Palaeoli-

thic to the Upper Palaeolithic period, which can be identified in different stages, such as mimetic stage, mythic stage, the material symbolic stage, and finally the theoretic stage, characterised by institutionalised paradigmatic thought (Renfrew, 2008: 112-ff.). Peking Man Site at Zhoukoudian is a Pleistocene hominid site on the North China Plain near the Yanshan Mountains. Ancient human fossils, cultural remains, and animal fossils date from 5 million to 10,000 years ago. These include the remains of Homo Erectus Pekinensis, who lived in the Middle Pleistocene (700,000 to 200,000 years ago), archaic Homo sapiens of about 200,000-100,000 years ago and Homo Sapiens Sapiens dating back to 30,000 years ago. There are fossils of

hundreds of animal species, stone tools and evidence of Peking Man using fire.



Road sanctuary, Buthan. Image: Jukka Jokilehto.

The examples of the capacity to represent naturalistic art, such as the small carved figures in bone or the rock art. The fantastic mural paintings of Chauvet and Lascaux, some of the oldest discovered, go back to some 40,000-30,000 BC. The question of the meanings associated with rock art is in discussion. There are several hypotheses, such as marking the boundaries of a territory, a testimony to a belief system of myths and initiation ceremonies. Certainly, the location, whether a cave or a rock, must have

been identified as significant. What is amazing, in many cases, is the very early creative capacity expressed. Like in the case of the painted caves, humans have very early started associating meaning or significance to natural features, such as mountains and water ways, megaliths, or forests, which were considered ‘sacred’, i. e., reserved for specific cult or allowed for a select group of people.

The erection of large megaliths to indicate specific meanings goes back thousands of years. In the Neolithic period, there are examples in all regions of the world. These may indicate tombs but other functions as well. The Stonehenge, Avebury, and Associated Sites, in the UK, consist of circles and avenues of menhirs in a territory of nearly 5000 ha. These are arranged in patterns whose astronomical significance is still being explored. Pyramids are found in all continents, including the Ziggurats built for example by Sumerians, Babylonians, and Elamites. In China, there are mound tombs such as the tomb by the First Emperor Qin Shi Huang (c. 221 BC). In Mesoamerica, there are pyramid-shaped structures usually stepped and with a temple on the top, often used for human sacrifices. In India and Sri Lanka, there are pyramid shaped structures or mounts (*dagaba*) normally part of the temple sites. The ancient Egyptian capital city of ‘Memphis and its Necropolis – the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur’ is believed to have been founded ca. 3000 BC as the capital of a politically united Egypt.²⁰ While in the past, the group of pyramids of Giza was standing in an open desert, the expansion of modern Cairo has today reached it. This means that the pyramid plateau is now surrounded by planned and unplanned constructions, including large hotels, that have completely modified its setting. In the 1990s, there was even a road proposal that would have cut into the pyramid field, but this was modified as a result of negotiations with UNESCO.

In the early prehistoric period, as noted by Colin Renfrew, the meaning of places of cult was principally

²⁰ The property was inscribed in the World Heritage List in 1979 (UNESCO, s.f. e).

related to social and community functions. The association of such places with religious practices took place much later. Particular significance was given to sacred mountains. In fact, by now, several major examples of sacred mountains are inscribed in the World Heritage List. In the early phase of the nominations, the cultural and natural criteria were kept strictly separate. However, in the 1990s, it was considered necessary to introduce the Cultural Landscape as a new heritage category (UNESCO, 1998a; IUCN, 2010). The first example of a site introduced with both natural and cultural criteria is the Tongariro National Park, New Zealand, in 1993. In the justification it is noted that the “mountains at the heart of the park have cultural and religious significance for the Maori people and symbolize the spiritual links between this community and its environment”.²¹

Achaemenids and Mazdaism

The Ancient Achaemenid inscriptions show that the Persian Kings attributed the creation of the world’s excellence, beauty, and happiness of mankind to Ahuramazda, the creator of the world and highest deity of Zoroastrianism (Lecoq, 1997). Darius the Great (c. 550-486 BC) stressed the Truth (*arta*), as an indication of loyalty to the King. Dishonesty meant lack of loyalty to the King. In an inscription in Persepolis, Darius states: “Saith Darius the King: By the favour of Ahuramazda I am of such a sort that I am a friend to right, I am not a friend to wrong” (Soheil, 2019: 150). The King also warns against damage to what he has built while encouraging its protection: “Thou who shall hereafter behold this inscription which I have inscribed, or these sculptures, do thou not destroy them, (but) thence onward protect them, as long as thou shalt be in good strength!” (Soheil, 2019: 156).

The Royal ensemble of Persepolis was intentionally built as a monument with a strong meaning re-

²¹ (UNESCO, s.f. d) The property had been inscribed in 1990 under natural criteria (vii) for natural beauty and (viii) representing major stages in the earth’s history. In 1993, it was included under cultural criterion (vi) for association with events or living traditions, ideas, or beliefs of outstanding universal significance.

ferred to loyalty to the Empire and to the Kingship. At the same time, considering the commitment by the successive kings of the dynasty, it was already an historic monument to be protected (Soheil, 2019: 177). The design of the Royal Terrace of Persepolis is based on the use of the sacred form of square as a fundamental reference both in the plans and elevations of all buildings and tombs. At the same time, the sizes and typologies of the buildings are based on strict proportions, which are reflected even in minor details. Today, the Terrace is a centrepiece in a vast cultural landscape that is under protection by the Iranian State authorities. In fact, the challenge in the case of Persepolis is to identify the whole extent of the historicised territory, including its immediate setting with the sacred Mehr Mountain and especially reflecting the Achaemenid and Sassanian periods. The Royal tombs of the Achaemenid kings are ca. 6 km west, and the remains of the ancient city of Pasargadae, ca. 40 km north. The territory between these sites has plenty of historic remains from the different periods forming an important cultural landscape, so far only partly revealed in archaeological surveys.

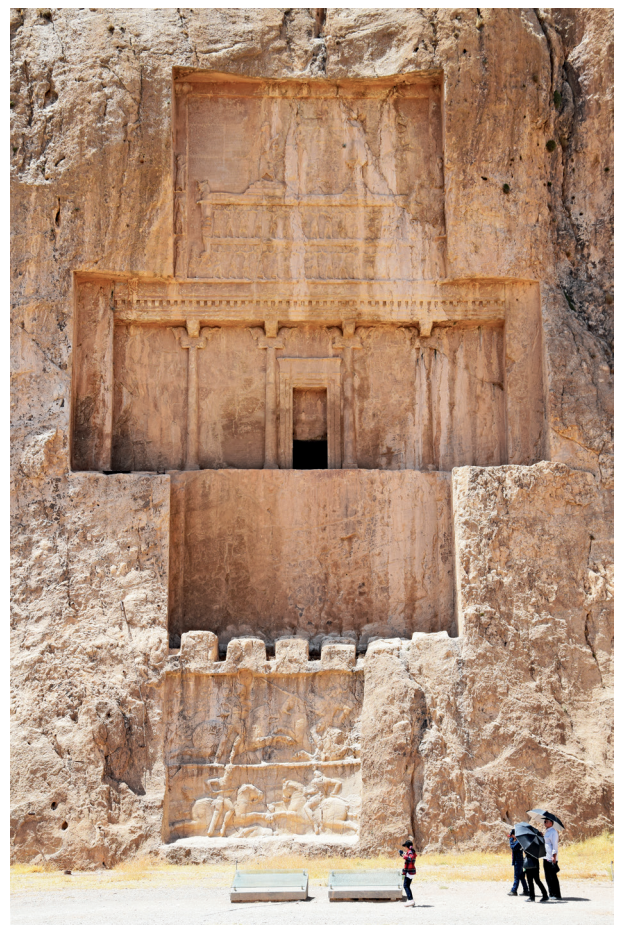


Persepolis, Iran. Image: Jukka Jokilehto.

The Iranian Ministry of Roads and Urban Development has proposed a *Charter for the Regeneration of Historic-Cultural Areas* (c. 2015), which defines its objective:

The process of revitalization of historic-cultural areas is a multidimensional and ultra-sectorial subject. There-

fore, it requires the participation and the presence of all the responsible instances and stakeholders. It is necessary to create a space for common decision-making and decision-taking through the formation of groups of expertise with the presence of representatives of the Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organization, Ministry of Roads and Urban Development, Ministry of Interior, The Supreme Council of the provinces, the professional committees of the Islamic Parliament, and the representatives of non-governmental organizations.



Naqsh-e Rostam, Iran. Image: Jukka Jokilehto.

Regarding the territory

Traditionally, human beings have always been part of the natural environment where they live. This was very clear to the native Americans as can be understood from a speech by the Indian Chief Seattle,

who responded to the US government's proposal to buy their land. He responded that they could not sell because he and his ancestors were all part of that land. It continued being meaningful to them because it carried their memory, but it would not have the same meaning to the white people: "Every part of this land is sacred to us. Every glittering needle of the pine, every beach, every mist in the dark forests, every opening between the trees, every buzzing insect is sacred in the minds of my people and in their experiences. The resin that rises in the veins of the trees, carries in it the past of the red man".²²

Having been forced out of their original land, the native Americans tended to lose their contact with their origin. Similarly in Australia, the aboriginals were obliged to leave their native land and move to urban areas. They however maintained their Songlines, still used at least symbolically to identify and teach the younger generation the meaning of landmarks. Singing such songs can help aboriginal Australians to navigate even through the deserts of Australia's interior.

In the past, there was no separation between nature and culture. Nature did not consist of objects, but everything was subject. Referring to traditional Celtic perception, "earth is not a dead body, but is infused by a spirit that is its life and soul. It is a world where the material is a reflection of the spirit, and where the spirit reveals itself in the material" (Pennick, 1996: 13). The Celts were an Indo-European ethnolinguistic group, who lived in a large part of western and southern Europe, including northern Italy. Their belief systems have left visible traces and traditions particularly in Ireland, where the sacred landscapes or holy mountains are still venerated. It is also noted that sacred mountains and sacred forests are still recalled in many places even though not necessarily venerated (Pennick, 1996; Gauchet, 1985). The Latin word: *sacer*, indicates a place that is reserved for authorised access. The term is often used for places consecrated to a deity or spirit of nature,

²² Translation from Finnish, 'Intiaanipäällikön synkkä, oi-kea ennustus vuonna 1855, in Uusi Suomi, 04/09/1977 ('Gloomy, correct forecast by the Native American Chief in 1855')

e.g., sacred mountain (*sacer mons*), or sacred forest. The diminutive *sacellum* indicates a small shrine or chapel, the word *sacrarium*: a place where sacred objects are kept in the sanctuary. Instead *sacrilegium* (sacrilege) means the theft of sacred objects from a temple. In the same sense, profaning means removing the sacred character of a thing or a place.

Climbing on a high mountain was not usual in the Middle Ages, perhaps partly due to associated dangers but certainly also due to respect of divinities. The ascent of Francesco Petrarca on Mount Ventoux was exceptional and also a symbolic event. According to his account, Petrarca went up "just for the desire to visit a place famous for its height" (*Familiarum Rerum*, IV: 1). However, ascension also resulted in the discovery of the landscape from above and in a personal internal exploration, a crucial phase in his spiritual growth. The name of *Ventoux* has been translated as 'Windy Peak', but its Provençal form "*Ventour*" seems to show that it was actually associated with a deity worshipped by a pre-Roman population (Petrarch, 1948). In Italy, sacred mountains include Monte Subasio, which is part of the Assisi cultural landscape area inscribed on the World Heritage List. The justification of Assisi was initially only focused on the urban ensemble, but as a result of revision, this was substantially revised resulting in the inclusion of the entire protected natural area that surrounds the historic city. This includes the sacred mountain, the nearby valley and other sacred sites recognised by the Franciscans. The beliefs of Saint Francis were closely associated with the recognition of nature as God's creation. He preached about nature and also to the creatures of nature.

Mount Taishan is perhaps the best-known sacred mountain of China, settled and worshipped by humans for millennia. The mountain rises up to 1,545 m above the surrounding plateau, and it is considered one of the most beautiful scenic spots in China. In the third century CE, the Qin Emperor, Huang Di paid tribute to the mountain in the Fengshan sacrifices to inform the gods of his success in unifying all of China. The mountain has been used for imperial ceremonies in homage to Heaven and Earth, and it has 22 temples.

It is presently one of the most visited heritage sites in China and has been inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987. In private discussion with Guo Zhan, archaeologist who represented the Chinese government in the World Heritage Committee and was also active in ICOMOS, he indicated some of the differences between the various types of sacred mountains in his experience. To start with, he noted that *the sacred mountains of Tibetan Buddhism are mainly snow-capped mountains, which are cold and mysterious. There are no living conditions or temple buildings, but only unknowable and awe-inspiring mountains and fairy tales.* He further continued discussing the differences between the Buddhist and Taoist mountains in China.

The Buddhist and Taoist occupation of some mountains is the result of historical, social, and religious groups' own efforts. Taoism combines a lot of Chinese folk customs, myths, legends, and beliefs, with more worship of natural phenomena and natural existence. Especially to the so-called Dongtian can communicate the people and God, earth and heaven immortal cave identification. After Buddhism entered China, although it also incorporated some Chinese morals and customs, it basically maintained its own complete system. After occupying the famous mountain, the architectural form and internal offerings of the temple have become a system, standard, large scale, and a large number of gatherings.

The names of Buddhist and Taoist temples have different expressions in the Chinese language, and for the Chinese it is easy to tell which is a Taoist temple and which is a Buddhist one. The integrity of Buddhism's system is also reflected in the four famous mountains corresponding to the different holies in Buddhism: Mount Wutai is the Ashram of Manjusri Bodhisattva, the master of wisdom; Mount Emei is the dogma of Puxian Bodhisattva, which advocates practice; Putuo Mountain is the monastery of Guanyin Bodhisattva, which advocates compassion and good fate. Mount Jiuhua is the dojo (place of meditation) of the Bodhisattva of the King of the Earth, which is responsible for the relationship between the earth - the world for living and the underworld - the world of the people's

goal. Believers will go to the corresponding famous mountain according to their needs and wishes. Most of the believers, however, could not tell the difference between them, and went back to worship as long as they thought it was a temple. Only Mount Wudang in Taoism can be compared with a Buddhist Mountain of national status. That is because in the early Ming Dynasty, Emperor Chengzu seized the throne of his nephew from the north. To prove that he was ordered by heaven, Emperor Chengzu built a large scale on Mount Wudang with the power of the state, and enshrined Xuanwu God the Great, a symbol of the northern deities of Taoism and Chinese people. However, due to its geographical location and other reasons, Mount Wudang is not as influential as the four famous Buddhist mountains later on (Guo, pers. comm.).

Landscapes and landscape painting

Even though referring to the same issue, the different languages tend to interpret it differently. We can take the example of the English and Italian definitions of the concept of landscape. The English word 'landscape' and the Italian word '*paesaggio*' have different origins and their meanings also differ. The Italian '*paesaggio*' derives from '*paese*', a village. It is based on the Latin word: '*pagus*' (village, or group of villages), originally referring to a boundary mark. The Latin word '*paganus*' means 'belonging to a village'. The word '*paesaggio*' thus refers to the land or territory that is under the jurisdiction of a *paese*. The English word 'landscape' or *landscape* or *landscaef* (in German *Landschaft*) came to England after the fifth century with the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. The term landscape referred to the shape or the spaces of the land. From the 16th century, the notion of landscape was referred specially to painted landscape, often inspired by Italian classical *paesaggi* (like the paintings of Nicholas Poussin and Claude Loraine), which were also associated with mythological meanings.²³ From the late 17th and 18th

²³ Ref. 'Landscape' in Wikipedia, as well as in *Oxford English Dictionary* and in *Zingarelli Vocabolario della lingua italiana*.

centuries, the term was used for gardens designed in imitation of paintings (Hartmann, 1981). One concept that is often associated with landscape is the English word ‘picturesque’, in Italian: ‘*pittoresco*’. It has been noted by Sir Uvedale Price, in his *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794), that there is an etymological difference in the two words. While the English word ‘picturesque’ refers to ‘picture’, i. e., a painting representing a landscape, the Italian word ‘*pittoresco*’ would refer to the ‘*pittore*, i. e., the painter who is interpreting the landscape. One is dealing with the object that is being interpreted, the other with the subject who is interpreting.

China is a good example of the relationship of landscape and painting. The earliest paintings in China were ornamental as also seen in the early pottery. It was basically during the Eastern Zhou (770-256 BC) that artists started representing the environment. Painting and calligraphy were particularly appreciated from the beginning of Chinese Empire more or less in the 3rd century CE. The landscape of the West Lake has been inscribed in the World Heritage List. The lake is surrounded by ‘cloud-capped hills’ and by the city of Hangzhou. Its beauty has been celebrated by writers and artists since the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907). Over the centuries, its islands, causeways, and the lower slopes of its hills have been ‘improved’ adding temples, pavilions, gardens, and ornamental trees. Within this context, poetically named scenic places have been identified as idealised, classic landscape areas representing the perfect fusion between man and nature.

Although sacrality can be defined in its association with divinities, it does not necessarily have to be associated with a “religion” in the modern sense. The values of a traditional society included the sacral aspect as an attribute integrated into the various aspects of life and associated with many different places and objects. It is worth noting that, in the modern times, sacred places have normally been recognised for their cultural values. It is the introduction of the concept of cultural landscape in the World Heritage context, in the 1990s, that the natural heritage has also been recognised for its spirituality. This can be seen as a

respect of past traditions, considering that nature had always been taken as sacred in traditional belief systems. Until that time, there tended to be some reticence by nature protectors to accept traditional human presence in protected natural areas as something positive and constructive. In 2010, IUCN, however, has finally come with a significant publication on *Sacred Natural Sites* and their conservation (IUCN, 2010). There is also an increasing interest to continue seeing nature and culture together in the recognition as well as the management of heritage. In fact, there are now an increasing number of documents recalling that healthy ecosystems are an essential factor in guaranteeing healthy functioning of human environment. This has been mentioned even by Pope Francis in his *Encyclical Letter: Laudato Sí*, in May 2015. It is here necessary to distinguish between the sacred mountain, in Italian ‘*montagna sacra*’ and the places called ‘*Sacri Monti*’, understood as Calvary, i. e., a sanctuary that symbolises the sacred places of Jerusalem. These *Sacri Monti* represent the implementation of architecture and sacred art into a natural landscape for didactic and spiritual purposes, introduced in Italy in late 15th and 16th centuries. A series of nine *Sacri Monti* in Piedmont and Lombardy have been inscribed in the World Heritage List, considered as the first to be created, becoming influential references for the construction of others in different countries.

Cultural landscapes

It is worth recalling that in international terminology the word ‘landscape’ is associated with different meanings depending on the context. One of the early international recommendations adopted by UNESCO concerned the *Safeguarding of the Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites* (1962). This recommendation encouraged “the restoration of the aspect of natural, rural and urban landscapes and sites, whether natural or man-made, which have a cultural or aesthetic interest or form typical natural surroundings” (art. 1). The 1972 World Heritage Convention mentions the notion of beauty only in reference to natural properties. In the *Operational Guidelines for*

the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, the criterion (vii) for the Outstanding Universal Value refers to natural sites that: “*contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance*” (art. 77). When the question is about cultural properties, these are normally referred to the aesthetic quality. In 1995, the Operational Guidelines introduced the notion of ‘cultural landscape’, which is described:

Cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the “combined works of nature and of man” designated in Article 1 of the Convention. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal (UNESCO, 2015: art. 47).

From the management point of view, there is a fundamental distinction between the landscape as a panorama or view, associated with mainly aesthetic values, and cultural landscape, which is specifically referred to the historical or archaeological character of a specified territory. When a natural property is nominated for the UNESCO List, it is principally defined as a natural property, which means justification based on scientific criteria. However, when its quality is referred to as ‘natural beauty’, the question is about its aesthetic characteristics, which necessarily means referring to cultural parameters, such as those recognized by painters and poets. A cultural landscape is eligible for World Heritage inscription as a cultural property, which implies a precise boundary to be defined. Its historic and archaeological attributes need to be defined in reference to historical parameters, involving historians and archaeologists. Italy’s landscapes have for centuries been recognised for their aesthetic qualities. At the same time, however, we could see the entire Italy as a historical and cultural landscape, based on history that reaches back to Classical Antiquity and beyond. In many cases, this

landscape has been enriched in the Middle Ages, such as the vineyard landscapes of Val d’Orcia in Tuscany, or the Piedmont vineyards, already inscribed in the UNESCO List.

The Bamiyan Valley

The cultural landscape and archaeological remains of the Bamiyan Valley represent the artistic and religious developments which from the 1st to the 13th centuries characterized ancient Bakhtria, integrating various cultural influences into the Gandhara school of Buddhist art. The area contains numerous Buddhist monastic ensembles and sanctuaries, as well as fortified edifices from the Islamic period. The site is also testimony to the tragic destruction by the Taliban of the two standing Buddha statues, which shook the world in March 2001. In 2003, the principal archaeological areas were inscribed on the World Heritage List under criteria: (i)(ii)(iii)(iv)(vi): Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley. The Ninth Expert Working Group Meeting (Paris, 3-4 March 2011) recommended that a total reconstruction of either of the Buddha sculptures could not be considered at the present time. Instead, it was recommended that “the larger western niche be consolidated and left empty as a testimony to the tragic act of destruction and that a feasibility study be undertaken to determine whether or not a partial reassembling of fragments of the Eastern Buddha could be as future option in the coming years”. The 2017 Tokyo meeting was a platform for the evaluation of the feasibility of alternative solutions. There were indeed several different ideas that were presented, extending from leaving both niches empty to suggesting different types of new creations to be built in the Eastern Buddha Niche (UNESCO, 2020).

At a minimum level, in 2011, Andrea Bruno had already proposed a long-term conservation and interpretation policy for the Western Buddha Niche. This would include an underground interpretation and observation space in front of the Buddha Niche. From here, one could see the Niche, and have scale models illustrating the lost Buddha Figure. In a certain way,

the UNESCO competition for a cultural centre, currently in construction in the centre of the Valley, could be seen as a comparable solution. In the 2017 Tokyo meeting, the Japanese team proposed not to build anything in the Niche, but to develop a museum complex on the opposite side of the Valley, which could also include a replica of the Eastern Buddha, but in a small scale. In principle, this option can be respected. It is noteworthy that the Japanese team, who are Buddhist, decided not to fill the Niche with a new figure.

There were basically three alternatives proposed for the Eastern Niche, involving new construction. One proposal consisted of using the original fragments of the destroyed Buddha Figure, and identifying their original position on the basis of geological data. The fragments could then be placed on a steel structure imbedded in the back of the Niche. The second option was the construction of a new statue in mud brick, using local workforce. This statue would then have internal structure that would also fix it to the rock. The third option consisted of creating a full-scale 3D replica using Italian or Afghan marble. The replica would be mechanically carved as a thin layer (ca. 10 cm) on the basis of original photographs. It would be built in small elements and fixed in a steel structure anchored to the rock. The statue could be unbuilt if required. It is necessary to recall that Afghanistan is seismic hazard region. Consequently, any tall and heavy construction would be vulnerable. Considering that the Niche is ca. 38m tall (corresponding to a building of 12 stories), a heavy mud-brick statue would become much too heavy. The same could be said about the idea of placing original fragile rock fragments into the niche. In this regard the marble replica would probably be easier, considering that it would be less heavy and probably less vulnerable as was indicated in technical calculations during the Tokyo conference.

Restoration concerns the recognition of the heritage value of artistic and/or historic objects (monuments) that exist. The 1964 *Venice Charter* states that: “The process of restoration is a highly specialised operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic

documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, [...]” (article 9). Strictly speaking, the construction of a new statue would not be ‘restoration’. It could be a recreation or simply a new construction. Of course, the original Buddha figure was not constructed, but carved from the fragile rock. Therefore, can we really speak of ‘reconstruction’ even if some remaining fragments are placed back to the niche?

Article 15 of the *Venice Charter* also mentions the possibility of anastylosis, which is defined as: “the re-assembling of existing but dismembered parts”. It is noted that the surface of the original Buddha Figures was in clay, and, in the 2001 explosion, all the surface was lost. The fragments that now have been collected are basically fragments of rock without form. Consequently, any attempt to restore the appearance of the Buddha is not possible only using those fragments. Even though these fragments actually have been part of the Buddha figure, they have not given the image. In fact, in his *Teoria del restauro*, Cesare Brandi distinguishes between image and structure, which are the two aspects of a work of art. The structure, which can consist of any type of material, is the bearer of the manifested image, but it is the image that is the result of human creativity. When the image is lost, we only have the structure without image. In the case of the destroyed Buddha Figures, the rock fragments have never been touched by human hand (if not after destruction). Putting these formless fragments back to the Niche cannot be called anastylosis; they are just material without form.

In early times, human habitat included natural or rock-cut caves, or dwellings built or constructed in a variety of materials, such as clay, stone, or timber. In the World Heritage List, there are several sites with Buddhist caves, including for example the Mogao Caves in Western China. Here, as in many other places, the large Buddha Caves were not necessarily open. Often, even large caves were closed with a wall. Consequently, one would enter a sacred place and appreciate the revelation of divine image. Traditionally sacredness means that a place is reserved. In the main Ise Shrine, only the priests can enter the sanctuary. In the case of Bamiyan Cliff, it is known

that about two meters of the rock surface has been lost over the centuries. Consequently, we cannot verify whether originally the caves were open or closed. There is not enough evidence.

Today, recreating an image would mean introducing a new element in a site that has already been recognised for its OUV in reference to the archaeological remains of the Buddhist period and the cultural landscape. Parts of the remains consist of the numerous caves with Buddhist paintings and fragments of sculptures. In fact, the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (NRIICP) in Tokyo has undertaken and ensured some successful mural paintings conservation. The two gigantic Niches that now remain open are very much part of this heritage. In fact, even though the original Buddha Figures have been destroyed, there are still fragmentary remains of the original form in the rock. Thus, the remaining rock surface carries authentic testimony to the sacred image that once was there. The Niche itself is an original cultural expression that needs to be respected and consolidated, as recognised in the World Heritage justification. These qualities could risk being partly hidden or undermined if some new element is placed there. In any case, even if a new statue, such as the proposed marble replica, were to be introduced into the Niche, it would necessarily need to be evaluated and assessed by the World Heritage Committee. It would be a new construction in an archaeological site, to be again justified under the World Heritage criteria, and its impact reassessed within the cultural landscape context of the Bamiyan Valley.

Urbanised territories

The World Heritage Convention notes that sites recognised as heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction “not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction”. The Convention concentrates on what is recognised as outstanding in this context. However, at the same time, it is also known that the significance

of special features also depends on the context, even though modest in appearance. It is in this regard, interesting to take note of the Charter for *The Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India*, adopted in 2004 by the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH). It is here noted that the majority of India’s architectural heritage is not protected. Many unprotected sites are still in traditional use, thus forming a ‘living heritage’, which has no legal recognition. The objective of the INTACH Charter is to maintain the significance of such heritage that includes historic buildings and their settings, as well as the traditional building skills and knowledge, rites and rituals, social life, and lifestyles.

Conservation of architectural heritage and sites must retain meaning for the society in which it exists. This meaning may change over time, but taking it into consideration ensures that conservation will, at all times, have a contemporary logic underpinning its practice. This necessitates viewing conservation as a multi-disciplinary activity (Article 2.3: What to conserve?).

It sounds contradictory, but it seems that one of the weaknesses of the World Heritage Convention is its focus on what is considered of Outstanding Universal Value in a particular place. As a result, there is easily less attention to the issues that are not mentioned in the justification. This can be the case within the protected area and also particularly in its context if its development is not monitored and controlled. Another issue, already discussed above, is the mutual relationship of the different types of heritage within the same context, especially the so-called ‘intangible cultural heritage’, and the ‘material cultural heritage’. In fact, instead of speaking of intangible and material heritage, it would be preferable to introduce the notion of ‘living cultural heritage’, which would be relevant to all types of cultural expressions, including even ephemeral or ruins.

An example of such mixed sites could be taken in Sri Lanka. Here the central territory of the island has several World Heritage properties, including Ancient City of Polonnaruwa, Ancient City of Sigiriya, Sacred

City of Anuradhapura, the Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications, as well as the Sacred City of Kandy. In the 1970s, on the initiative of Roland Silva, who later was also elected President of ICOMOS, the centre of the island was recognised as Sri Lanka's Cultural Triangle. As a whole, the area actually forms an important cultural-historical territory, inhabited for millennia. Some of these sacred cities were abandoned in recent centuries and were only again discovered in the 19th century. Since then, their traditional religious significance has been revived, integrated with the recognition of the same sites as archaeological cultural heritage. In fact, while Buddhist sites are venerated even when in ruins, there is also a tendency to aim at reconstruction. As a consequence, there have also emerged problems in deciding about appropriate policies of safeguarding such living heritage, while respecting its spirituality as well as its archaeological importance.

The Japanese *Machinami* concept clearly expresses this relationship referring to the historic settlement in its tangible and intangible, physical and spiritual aspects, that are created by a 'bond of spirits'. "These do not only compose the nearby and distant landscape, but were as a whole, the stage for the daily life and activities of the residents. The harmony created between man-made structures including houses, and the natural landscape extending around them, is the source of attraction held by historic towns".²⁴

The case of Shaki

The historic centre of Shaki (Azerbaijan) represents a vernacular settlement, rebuilt in the 18th and 19th centuries, but based on much older cultural-social and economic traditions. The ruler's palaces represent the period of the Persian rule, when Shaki became capital of the first and most important khanate in the Caucasus region, which is part of previous history. These

buildings have been restored as museums. The principal heritage qualities of Shaki, however, depend on the living vernacular settlement forming a historic urban landscape (HUL) with its traditional residential buildings and their relationship with the overall integrity: the urban fabric and roofscape, the traditional social space of the community, as well as the natural mountain valley that forms a setting. Here the question is to establish an appropriate management system and economic basis to guarantee for traditional technology and materials to continue as relevant and significant for the community. At the same time, it is necessary to counteract the contaminating industrial solutions and other negative impacts from global trends or from the fast-developing Baku, the capital of the country - distant nearly 300 km.

There is often a tendency even by conservationists to simplify their concepts in slogans, such as 'management of change', 'top-down or bottom-up approaches', etc. Conservation cannot be simplified in such slogans. To know, to understand and to interpret truthfully and credibly what has been done in the past requires concentration and effort. The aim should be to reveal the significance of heritage and guarantee its 'duration'. When the question is about skills and knowledge, these are part of the learning processes in society; the aim is to learn and acquire such skills and knowledge, and eventually to transfer them to younger generations. Like in historic monuments and sites, the meaning and significance of the living heritage must be learnt and understood so far as it is heritage. This does not mean that we should not continue being creative, which is part of our DNA. Once having learnt the skills, we can use them creatively. Like a musician, who learns to play an instrument, can then interpret the learnt skills even in new forms. This is the same with vernacular heritage; we must learn the techniques and materials and understand the spirit of the place. Heritage is a living memory of humanity; it continues living in its creative diversity as long as we care. Humanity is the conservator of heritage. An important merit of the 1994 Nara Conference has been to open our minds to see and understand this better.

²⁴ *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Settlements of Japan, the 'Machinami Charter'*, adopted by the Japanese Association for *Machinami* Conservation and Regeneration, in October 2000. Assented to by ICOMOS Japan National Committee, in December 2000.



View of Shaki, Azerbaijan. Image: Jukka Jokilehto.



Shaki, Azerbaijan. Image: Jukka Jokilehto.

Closing comments

The Council of Europe *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (1995) defines cultural heritage as “a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time”.

Such results of human creativity also mean that the traditional resources that are now recognised as heritage are characterised especially by their diversity. The 2005 UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* further states that “[...] cultural diversity creates a rich and varied world, which increases the range of choices and nurtures human capacities and values, and therefore is a mainspring for sustainable development for communities, peoples and nations”.

This is what we today recognise as our heritage. The conservation of cultural heritage needs to be based on an understanding of the meaning and significance that are associated with it. We appreciate that heritage represents the diversity of human creativity as consolidated in traditions over generations. What we today recognise as a work of art is often the result of a single creative action. However, traditional buildings and sites are normally generated by changing uses and consequently repeated creative interventions. To understand and recognise the meaning in each case therefore requires research not only by humanists and conservators, but also by

scientists.

In 1972, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. It is the first international convention that specifically deals with both cultural and natural heritage. Even though culture and nature have historically always been closely associated, the modern world has tended to shift them apart. Consequently, also in the justification of the first World Heritage nominations, cultural and natural sites were often kept strictly separate. There could be cases where traditional activities of indig-

enous people would not have been recognised as part of the justification even though they had contributed to its development.

In 1998, also in reference to the notion of cultural landscape, a UNESCO expert meeting in Amsterdam proposed to consider taking the criteria for all types of properties in the same list. At the same time, the conference also proposed a revised formulation of the concept of Outstanding Universal Value:

The requirement of outstanding universal value characterising cultural and natural heritage should be interpreted as an outstanding response to issues of universal nature common to or addressed by all human cultures. In relation to natural heritage, such issues are seen in bio-geographical diversity; in relation to culture in human creativity and resulting cultural diversity. Identification of the outstanding universal value of heritage sites can only be made through systematic thematic studies, based on scientific research according to themes common to different regions or areas (UNESCO, 1998a: 221).

The requirement of OUV necessitates, first of all, the recognition of the meaning that results from the motivation for the creation of a particular site and the subsequent creative actions necessitated by continuous use. Here the question is not of a value judgement but rather of seeking and recognising the elements that together document the significance in all the elements that together contribute to the integrity of a place within its setting. This implies that comparative studies for the outstanding value of the nominated property need to be undertaken in reference to themes that characterise the requirements of human existence as a whole. Such frameworks were discussed in ICOMOS working group meetings under the following main topics: *a)* heritage typology, *b)* chronological and regional contexts, and *c)* potential universal themes (ICOMOS, 2005a: 2008).

The *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* specify the criteria for OUV, as well as other requirements, such as meeting the conditions of integrity and authenticity.

The condition of integrity requires assessing the extent to which the property includes all the elements for a complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance. Furthermore, it is necessary to verify the degree to which authenticity is present in, or expressed by, each of the significant attributes identified in the property. While the values associated with a heritage resource may be based on the interests of the various stakeholders, the significance needs to be defined identifying and recognising all representative elements, which also means acknowledging the contribution of its setting (ICOMOS, 2005a).

Management of heritage resources

In fact, contrary to what is sometimes believed, the question of safeguarding World Heritage is not about values-based management. Rather the management system must be prepared and implemented in such a way as to guarantee the preservation of the qualities for which the inscription of the property is justified. Values can be defined as social/cultural associations of qualities to things (tangible and/or intangible), and they can be understood as a product of cultural processes. The associated values can refer to characteristics that define a place in its cultural and/or socio-economic aspects. Each individual as well as each community is subject to a learning process, and the range of values can vary from one individual to another, from one community to another, as well as from one generation to another. The modern notion of value is born from economic thinking in the 17th and 18th centuries. Initially, it was related especially to the so-called 'plus value'. This referred to the part of the production of a household that could be exchanged with other goods. In modern terms, it can be understood as the capital gain or profit earned on the sale of assets that have increased in value over a specific period.

In this context, the English expression 'cultural property' (French '*bien culturel*' or Italian '*bene culturale*') could be understood as a property of economic and use value, and also recognised for an added value due to its social, aesthetic, historical, or envi-

ronmental qualities. The concept of ‘property’ means that even if we are speaking of cultural aspects, we are still moving the field of economics. In the 1980s and 1990s, there emerged the notion of ‘values-based management’. This implies that management should first and foremost consider the interests of shareholders associated with a particular property. Apparently, this concept has been taken as reference also for cultural heritage. In reference to the Australian *Burra Charter*, as indicated in a report published by the Getty Conservation Institute, it is noted that the ultimate aim of conservation is not so much the object but rather the values associated with it:

Values and valuing processes are threaded through the various spheres of conservation and play an enormous role as we endeavour to integrate the field. Whether works of art, buildings, or ethnographic artifacts, the products of material culture have different meanings and uses for different individuals and communities. Values give some things significance over others and thereby transform some objects and places into “heritage.” The ultimate aim of conservation is not to conserve material for its own sake but, rather to maintain (and shape) the values embodied by the heritage – with physical intervention or treatment being one of many means toward that end. To achieve that end, such that the heritage is meaningful to those whom it is intended to benefit (i. e., future generations), it is necessary to examine why and how heritage is valued, and by whom (Avrami, Mason and de la Torre, 2000: 7).

When discussing values, it is obvious that there are different types of values depending on the interests of the stakeholders. In the Getty approach, the term ‘cultural significance’ is encapsulating the multiple values ascribed to objects, buildings, or landscapes. Values-based management is thus founded in the understanding that the cultural significance of a place fundamentally depends on values. It is taken to require identifying all the values that together contribute to the overall significance of the place. Indeed, the focus of values-based management is in the ‘intangible qualities’ of the place.

Ioannis Poullos has made a critical survey of the merits and weaknesses of the values-based approach:

A values-based approach attempts to give a full account of stakeholder groups and their values to be considered in the conservation and management process. But the promoted equity of stakeholder groups and values is theoretically debased and impractical. It is taken for granted that there are conflicts between the stakeholder groups and between the values, and that it is impossible to satisfy all stakeholder groups and protect all values equally at the same time. Thus, any decision taken will inevitably favour certain stakeholder groups and values at the expense of others (Poullos, 2010: 173).

The values-based approach is often associated with the ‘people-centred’ approach, giving importance to community involvement. In fact, the conservation of cultural heritage needs to be based on a multi-disciplinary approach. In this process, there should be a clear role for conservation professionals. The involvement of the community is fundamental, but it should be based on understanding what is heritage, and what it means, based on a strategy of capacity building. This scope cannot be reached only by the management of values. It is necessary to understand and recognise heritage in its specificity in each case, and how it should be protected, preserved and rehabilitated.

Dealing with territories recognised as living heritage, their conservation and management should be based on a clear understanding and recognition of their components and mutual relationships within the relevant context. This type of approach will require a competent multidisciplinary team. Regarding the social and economic aspects of a traditional place, it is important also to discuss the feasibility of circular economy, compatible with the traditional functions that may still be partly relevant in the territory concerned. The involvement of stakeholders should be integrated with capacity building strategies taking into account the specific needs of the stakeholders. Considering that there can be different interests depending on each group. Therefore, it is necessary to

first clarify the objectives of conservation and eventual rehabilitation based on the historical, aesthetic and functional significance of historic buildings or areas. On this basis, it is possible to discuss the different interests with the stakeholders, taking into account their requirements and finding solutions that are compatible with the conservation objectives.

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