

Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Conservation

Discourses, Opinions, Experiences in Europe, South and East Asia

Katharina Weiler · Niels Gutschow *Editors*



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South and East Asia



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Cover illustration: Delhi, Humayun's Tomb (ca. 1569), west side. The mausoleum for the second Mughal Emperor stands on a vaulted terrace which rises from a square plinth measuring 12,000 square meters. It marks the center of a Quranic paradise garden divided into four quadrants. In front of the building stands the group of conservation experts who joined the on-site meeting on 14 November 2009, organised by the research project "Aspects of Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Conservation." After years of restoration, the site has been inaugurated on 18 September 2013.

Photo by Niels Gutschow, 14 November 2009.

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Preface

This collection of essays presents opinions and experiences in the field of architectural heritage conservation in Europe and Asia. The essays reflect a variety of meetings and encounters between conservation architects, art historians, and craftsmen. The different voices were collected by Niels Gutschow and Katharina Weiler over a period of four years, from June 2008 to May 2012, in the framework of the research project “Aspects of Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Conservation” under the aegis of Heidelberg University’s Cluster of Excellence “Asia and Europe in a Global Context.” The transcultural discourse was initiated with the international workshop “Concepts of Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Preservation” on June 16, 2008, at Heidelberg, followed by site visits in Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Münster, Brunswick, and Berlin with Wim Denslagen (Utrecht, the Netherlands) and Krishna Menon (Delhi, India). In October 2009, Mohan Pant (Bhaktapur, Nepal) and Rabindra Vasavada (Ahmedabad, India) were made familiar with the authenticity of ruins as memorials to loss in war at Brunswick, Berlin, Hamburg, and Hanover. These site visits were followed by a workshop in Heidelberg. Visits to Delhi by Niels Gutschow and Wim Denslagen and discussions with Ratish Nanda (Delhi, India) and with Rabindra Vasavada in Gujarat were undertaken in November 2009. Together with Rabindra Vasavada, Katharina Weiler visited marble quarries and stone workshops in Makrana, Ahmedabad, and Pindwara in March 2010 in order to document craftsmanship. In September the same year, Katharina Weiler and Shaohua Grasmück-Zhang (Heidelberg, Germany) visited sites in Beijing, China; Niels Gutschow and Yujie Zhu (Heidelberg, Germany) joined in Xi’an, China, in October. The site visit by Niels Gutschow and Christoph Heinrichsen (Andernach, Germany) focused on the workshops of the Ise shrine in Japan.

This book does not tie together its contributions in a way one would expect from a volume of proceedings and may, at least at first glance, appear disparate or even incoherent. Yet, this overview demonstrates that the project sought to work with art historians, architects, anthropologists, and conservationists from Nepal, India, China, and Japan, rather than on theories and practices prevalent in South and

East Asia. A network was established that ensured linguistic and cultural competence. The present essays show that notions of authenticity are transferred, appropriated, revived, reconfigured, contested, or refused in highly transformative processes. A range of parameters, not merely the one termed “authenticity,” are proposed for identifying architectural values with reference to a particular monument. In observing relevant contemporary practices, most articles attach an overwhelming importance to craftsmanship, claiming an unbroken tradition which owns an intrinsic authenticity.

Three documentary films were produced that focus mainly on craftsmanship. They testify to the creativity and authenticity of workmanship. The motion-picture camera was operated by Christian Bau. The first film *The Spirit of the Architecture versus Material Authenticity. The Conservation of Humayun’s Tomb in Delhi, India* documents an on-site discussion with Niels Gutschow, Wim Denslagen, Ratish Nanda, A.G. Krishna Menon, and Janwhij Sharma on November 14, 2010. The second film *Jain Architectural Heritage—Building New and Restoring Old Temples in Gujarat, India* features on-site talks held from November 18 to 20, 2010, between Niels Gutschow and Rabindra Vasavada with craftsmen at the Nandishvara Dvipa at Umafai Tuk, at the workshop of the sculptor, Arvindbhai Ishwarlal Sompura at Palitana, the temple architect Virendra K. Trivedi in Ahmedabad, and Nimesh Shah, production manager at Trivedi Marbles. As examples of new temples the Vardamanirtha at Varman and the Suguna Vihardham at Rojit were visited. The third film *The Authentic Replica—Rebuilding the Shinto Shrines at Ise (Japan)* by Niels Gutschow and Christoph Henrichsen documents crafts at the shrine’s workshop (Yamada Kosakujō) in preparations for the sixty-third renewal of the shrine from May 15 to 20, 2011.¹ The case of Ise even demonstrates that recreating a shrine is not done in secular space and time, but it is framed in such a way that it turns into worship.

The articles and documentaries contribute to a discussion on “shifting asymmetries in cultural flows”—the ultimate goal of the Cluster of Excellence, initiated by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the German Science and Humanities (Ger. *Wissenschaftsrat*) in October 2007. Our results demonstrate that authenticity is an assigned value (Pendlebury 2009, 7f.) and, in the words of the historian James Clifford (b. 1945), even “something produced” (Clifford 1989, 77). Our aim was to unveil and recognize the “specific nature” of heritage values in various cultural contexts in providing space for voices which remained widely unheard. This way, both academic and practice-oriented methods and analysis are set out and accepted as such, and different competences and cultural contexts are

¹ All films are available for download via <http://onlinefilm.org/>.

considered in order to overcome the traditional limits of historiographic research in the field of heritage and conservation studies. Authenticity has thus been recontextualized in a new field of tension.

Heidelberg, Germany

Katharina Weiler
Niels Gutschow

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Niels Gutschow graduated in architecture from Darmstadt University and wrote his PhD thesis on the Japanese castle town in 1973. From 1978 till 1980, he was head of Münster's Monument Protection Authority and between 1980 and 2000 a member of the German National Committee for Conservation. He did an apprenticeship as a carpenter in Japan (1962/1963) and was member of the team undertaking the first bilateral conservation project in Bhaktapur, Nepal (1971). Since 1980, his research work has been dedicated to the wartime and post-World War II history of urban planning in Germany and Europe and to urban space and rituals in India and Nepal. He was a consultant for UNESCO at World Heritage sites in Nepal (1992) and Pakistan (1995) and member of a German-Japanese commission of conservation experts between 1996 and 1999. Since 2004, he has been an honorary professor at Heidelberg University (Department of Indology) and was coordinator of the research project "Aspects of Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Conservation" (2009–2012) organized by the Heidelberg cluster of excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context: Shifting Asymmetries in Cultural Flows."

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A.G. Krishna Menon is an architect, urban planner, and conservation consultant who has been practicing in Delhi for over thirty years. Simultaneously, he has been teaching in that same city and in 1990 co-founded the TVB School of Habitat Studies in New Delhi. In 2007 this private school became the teaching department of the Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University, Delhi. He is actively engaged in research and has contributed extensively to professional journals and several academic book publications. He has also been actively involved in urban conservation and in 2004 drafted the INTACH Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India. He has been associated with the formulation of The Delhi Master Plan—2021 and The National Capital Region Master Plan—2021 and is a member of several statutory committees set up by the Government. Currently, in addition to his professional consultancy work, as the Convenor of INTACH's Delhi Chapter, he is advocating the case for inscribing Delhi as a World Heritage City.

Ratish Nanda is a conservation architect and CEO of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, AKTC, in India. He completed his architectural studies in Delhi with a gold medal in 1995, followed by a master's degree in Conservation Studies from the University of York, UK, in 1998. He worked in Edinburgh for Historic Scotland before joining AKTC in 1999. For AKTC, he was responsible for the Humayun's Tomb Garden Conservation (1999–2003) and Baghe Babur Restoration, Kabul,

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Mohan Pant is an urban historian and professor in the Postgraduate Department of Urban Design and Conservation in Khwopa Engineering College, Purbanchal University, Nepal. He holds a Master of Architecture from Tongji University, Shanghai, and was conferred a doctorate from Kyoto University. He has carried out extensive research on the city of Patan in the Kathmandu Valley, a World Heritage Site, and is the coauthor of the book *Stupa and Swastika—Historical Urban Planning Principles of Kathmandu Valley Towns* (2008).

Sudarshan Raj Tiwari learned freehand sketching under the artist Chandraman Maskey, completed intermediate studies in the sciences at Amrit Science College, Kathmandu, and came top of the Tribhuvan University graduate list in 1968. He studied architecture and earned his bachelor’s degree from the School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi (University of Delhi) in 1973 (first-class degree and gold medal). He took his master’s degree in architecture at the University of Hawaii, USA, in 1977, specializing in housing in tropical countries. His interests drew him to the study of Nepali historical architecture, urbanism, and culture, which led to a PhD from Tribhuvan University for his dissertation on ancient settlements of the Kathmandu Valley in 1995. He has served on the faculty of Tribhuvan University’s Institute of Engineering for more than thirty years and was Dean of the Institute of Engineering between 1988 and 1992. Tiwari has worked at several World Heritage monument sites in Nepal, including Lumbini, Swayambhu, Changunarayan, and Bhaktapur Durbar Square. He has also acted as an infrastructure consultant for health- and education-sector projects of the World Bank in Nepal and Afghanistan.

Rabindra Vasavada was formerly professor and head of the Centre for Conservation Studies, and the postgraduate program in architectural and settlement conservation, at the Center for Environmental Planning and Technology University, CEPT, Ahmedabad. Since 1980, he has been involved in studies of Indian temple architecture. As of 1998, he has been a research scholar with the German Research Council (DFG), Bonn, working on the Orissa research projects. He has been a consultant to the Archaeological Survey of India, ASI, on several monuments and has been involved in documenting protected sites in Karnataka. He was a member of the National Committee on Conservation Policy established by the Ministry of

Culture, Government of India, whose job was to review the ASI acts and develop new guidelines for the heritage conservation in India. He has been studying the historic city of Ahmedabad since 1978 and has been responsible for preparing the Nomination Dossier for the historic city of Ahmedabad accepted by the World Heritage Convention in Paris in 2015. He is also a life member of the Indian National Trust for Arts and Cultural Heritage, INTACH, New Delhi. He is also a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Katharina Weiler is an art historian who studied at the universities of Heidelberg, Germany, and Berne (Switzerland). She focuses on cross-cultural encounters between concepts used in art and architecture. For her PhD thesis, *The Neoclassical Residences of the Nawars in Nepal*, she did extensive research on Nepal's recent architectural history, for which she was awarded a Mary S. Slusser Research Grant by the Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust (KVPT). As a postdoctoral research fellow, she held seminars at the Department of European Art History and supervised "Aspects of Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Conservation," a research project (2009–2012) under the aegis of the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context: Shifting Asymmetries in Cultural Flows" at Heidelberg University. She was curatorial assistant at Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

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Introduction

The Problem

Toward the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, a controversy over the appropriateness of the stylistic or historical restoration of buildings arose in Europe, based on different values and approaches in the ongoing practice. Initially debated by European (mainly French, British, Austrian, and German) architects and (art) historians (Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, John Ruskin, William Morris, Alois Riegl, Georg Dehio), the arguments put forward were attempts to conceptualize ideas about the integrity of buildings considered to be testimonies of specific moments in the past. Concern for the respective architectural heritage was rooted mainly in ideas on aesthetic and historical value, age value, and materiality (Ruskin 1849; Dehio and Riegl 1988; Riegl 1903²; Denslagen 1994, 2009).

The concept of cultural heritage conservation became part of a transcultural order that has emerged over the last two centuries (Stubbs 2009). Archeological ambitions were globalized under the aegis of colonialism and were serviceable to colonial management that attempted to establish custodianship of the colonized territories' past (Cohn 1996; Pelizzari 2003; Guha 2010; Falser and Juneja 2013; Sengupta 2013). Within such a framework, notions of heritage were then appropriated by the agenda of nation building. David Lowenthal (b. 1923), geographer, historian, and author of *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985) and *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1998), has widened the scope of discussion on heritage and conservation issues:

Heritage today is beset by a bitter clash of values. A universalistic view opposes an exclusivist vision that accords prime agency to national states and ethnic and tribal groups. The first insists that heritage belongs to all, to the whole world together. Every global agency intones the internationalist mantra that heritage is global. And we are all together its

² For an English translation, see Forster and Ghirardo 1982.

collective caretakers. Yet the same agencies simultaneously sanction the exclusive heritage claims of nations, tribes, faiths, and minorities. [...] Repatriation of heritage purloined or purchased abroad is morally and more and more legally mandated (Lowenthal 2008).

This logic makes heritage conservation a projection screen for conflicting demands (Hoffman 2009; Stubbs 2009; Fairclough et al. 2008; Moore and Whelan 2007). Just like “cultural heritage,” the use of the word “authenticity” has achieved transnational status (Weiler 2013a, b). Within the last century, it has been adopted in local and international charters and guidelines on architectural conservation in Europe and Asia. More than just a “buzzword of the 21st century,” (Crichton 1999, 436), authenticity appears to be a concept or approach to deal with history.

John Marshall’s *Conservation Manual* (1923), which informs the practice of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) today, provides a definition of “authenticity” assigned to a monument under protection that clearly precedes its first use in an international charter (Venice Charter 1964). According to Marshall, “it should never be forgotten that their [ancient buildings] *historical value is gone when their authenticity is destroyed* [italics in the original], and that our first duty is not to renew them but to preserve them.” He states that “it is to the authenticity of the old parts that practically all the interest attaching to the new will owe itself” (Marshall 1923, Paragraph 25). Implicit in these words is the claim to preserve historical authenticity, a claim transmitted and implemented in the Indian context by configuring European conservation philosophies for Indian monuments in the framework of colonial ambition.

In the meantime, cultural heritage has developed many new facets, but throughout “authenticity” has figured as the major parameter when it comes to evaluating cultural heritage, both material and immaterial. A bewildering number of works published in the last couple of decades are dedicated to the issue.³ All in all, the discourse on authenticity and the prizing of the traditions people and cultures inherit seems to be a quest to “certify their reputed forms, materials, origins, purposes and creators” (Lowenthal 1994, 40). In this respect, authenticity implies ascribed values that derive from transcultural sources. Consequently, concerns about genuineness, originality, or truth have become a global concern, while overuse has in fact debased the term and the concept of “authenticity” itself (Lowenthal 1994, 38). Accordingly, the definition of authenticity is fuzzy (Bacher 1998): the word is constantly redefined and the concept transformed to suit new cultural contexts and local concerns. Aspects of authenticity play a role in many fields connected with heritage. In fact, each culture accords authenticity a different meaning, and that meaning also shifts its ground over time.

³ See for example Sollogoub 2010.

Notions of Authenticity

In this respect, authenticity has become a controversial matter calling for further investigation. Reflections on authenticity indicate the nebulous entanglement that exists between the use of the term to refer to aesthetic validity (of a monument), the aesthetic idea (of the builder), and aesthetic experience (e.g., of each generation). In the context of literature, music, art, and architecture, the term “authenticity” figures as an aesthetic term (Knaller and Müller 2006; Zeller 2010) that has gained significance in modern art theory. This way, “authentic” (meaning real, original, genuine, etc.) may imply an aesthetic value, while the concept continues to play a key role in the self-understanding of modernity.

Even in the heritage conservation context, the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention issued by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) connect authenticity with the quality of being truthful and credible (2015, Article 82), a claim connoting highly ideological purposes.

In contrast to such definitions that see the word as connected to facts, objects, and persons and that convey a moral imprint, the term can also be looked upon from a philosophical vantage offering a wider range of perspectives, for example, by revealing notions of honesty and sincerity “as congruence between one’s behaviour and one’s innermost essence” (Golomb 1995, 12) and regarding authenticity, by contrast, as a term that not only denies “any rigid *a priori* essence, but [...] also rejects any intrinsic value in compliance with a given set of standards” (Golomb 1995, 12). Following the logic of this statement by Jacob Golomb (b. 1947 in Wrocław, Poland), senior lecturer in philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, authenticity “is a pathos of incessant change, as opposed to a passive subordination to one particular ethic,” and “defines itself as lacking any definition” (Golomb 1995, 12). Golomb is concerned by the fact that postmodernism devalues the subjectivity and pathos that inevitably go with an individual’s search for authenticity. He detects the “philosophical nature of its meaning,” which makes it difficult to define. “Even to speak of ‘nature of its meaning’ is misleading, since it implies a kind of essentialism, a perspective of objectivity which is foreign to authenticity” (Golomb 1995, 7).

Authenticity, as the essential criterion for the approach to architectural conservation, addresses “a philosophical dilemma” (Stubbs 2009, 133). There is no denying that essential qualities of the notion of authenticity set the concept apart from any rigid *a priori* essence or any intrinsic value in connection with a given set of standards. The term (designated as “a bane” by David Lowenthal (2011, 36) and in his eyes “constantly used as the mantra”) finds usage in so many different contexts that it may well be defined as defective in, or resistant to, definition (Golomb 1995, 7). This in turn underlines the subjectivity communicated by the notion, even in the context of heritage conservation.

This volume does not aim to provide further definitions of authenticity. Instead, its goal is to document the processual reconfiguration of the notion of authenticity

and the actual usage of site-specific practices with the help of representative case studies from Germany and South and East Asia. The contributions to this volume elucidate some major transcultural issues in regard to the conceptual history of the notion of authenticity. These include, for example, the tension between histories of monuments, local traditions, and craftsmanship; the transfer of “authenticity” through the colonial apparatus to new localities; and the heritage canonization processes of nation states whose representatives bring them to the agenda of international debates. The essay collection stresses the fact that the contemporary relevance of the notion of authenticity, in our context, emerges from competing interests that may be governed by judgments born of moral, aesthetic, or even philosophical, religious, and political claims. The essays make a crucial attempt to reflect on the concept of authenticity in heritage preservation by capturing its relation to new understandings of validity based on the pluralism of cultures, traditions, and scientific paradigms (Ferrara 1998, x)—even to point out its “meaninglessness in specific cultural settings” (Gutschow 2010, 17)—while refraining from further value judgments. In other words, if authenticity is ascribed to a monument, we need to inquire into the precise way the term is used. Etymologically, a monument (from Latin *monumentum*; memorial, from *monēre*, “to remind”; *mens*, “mind”) “calls to mind” and “activates understanding.” Crediting a building or any other cultural heritage with “authenticity” thus implies an examination of the values attached; the question arises as to which memorable aspects are being commemorated (Wright 2001, 179). With respect to cultural heritage preservation, the evaluation of the concept of authenticity may thus be subject to a multiple dynamic and should go in search of the agents involved in such processes. The force field they constitute is made up of nation states, transnational organizations, and local communities, all keen to preserve the remnants of the past as a way of emblazoning identity, safeguarding the national patrimony, or fashioning a concept of “world heritage.”

Authenticity, a Contested Field

Currently, the Venice Charter is still the fundamental guide for conservation efforts worldwide. It followed a series of conservation charters drafted prior to World War II. The Venice Charter, issued in 1964 by the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, was designed to update the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931), the first “international” statement on the protection of architectural heritage. This document had already encouraged regarding buildings as historical documents, thus making it essential to preserve the aspect and character of the restored monuments (Stubbs 2009, 137). Valued as a depository of internationally accepted standards of conservation practice for architecture and sites, the Venice Charter makes a general appeal “to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument” (ICOMOS 1965, Article 9). As such, it has guided architectural conservation efforts

since 1964 (Hardy 2011). According to the charter, restoration “is based on respect for original material and authentic documents” (ICOMOS 1965, Article 9). The term “authenticity” was thus “introduced without fanfare” (Stovel 1995, xxxiii) and “invited little attention or debate at the time because most of those involved in writing the charter shared similar backgrounds and therefore broad assumptions about the nature of appropriate response to conservation problems.” Indeed, Hiroshi Daifuku (d. 2012) was almost the only non-European signatory of the Venice Charter (he was of Japanese ancestry, born in Hawaii). The majority of the other participants came from European countries. The charter reflects an experience of fundamental loss in the wake of two world wars. It became the founding document of the International Conference on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 1965.

However, recent decades have confronted the conservation community in the West with a multitude of values suggesting that it is time to leave behind the ideologies and archeological perspectives of Europe’s nineteenth and early twentieth century as these tend to “freeze” a structure in time.

In the eyes of the Indian architect Romi Khosla, problems occurring in the Asian context are mainly created by the Venice Charter, more specifically in the sections dealing with restoration. The charter suggests that a distinction should be made between original building material and present intervention. Khosla asserts that the “building and craft of large parts of Asia [. . .] are age-old, continuously developing, authentic, and capable of endless adaptation,” so it is “not easy to distinguish between conservation, preservation, restoration, reconstruction, and contemporary work” (Khosla 1997, 65–66).

In this respect, international conservation principles such as the Nara Document on Authenticity drafted at the Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention in 1994 were responses to the Venice Charter. The Nara Document on Authenticity was drafted “in response to the expanding scope of cultural heritage concerns” with a view to revising and extending the definitions of authenticity to “bring greater respect for cultural and heritage diversity to conservation practice.” It codifies authenticity as a global term, yet the concept behind it can have a variety of meanings. No agreement was reached by the experts from twenty-eight countries on how to reconceptualize and contextualize authenticity, “the essential qualifying factor concerning values” (Nara Document, Article 10).

Within the framework of the global usage of the concept, the ambiguity of the term has motivated (Asian) countries to develop interpretations and practices of their own in accordance with their specific cultural, social, historical, and political conditions and thus to “translate” and extend the meaning of authenticity beyond its original purview (Jokilehto 2007, 179ff.). The Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India (2004) or the Consensus on the China-Specific Conservation Theory and Practices of Historic Buildings (Declaration of Qufu, 2005) are significant examples. In this sense, the “cultural and

historical specificity of each place” resists restoration efforts that are “based on the uniform application of recipes or standard solutions” (Beijing Document on the Conservation and Restoration of Historic Buildings in East Asia 2007).⁴

Evidently, there is a universal need to create and authenticate heritage or discuss a historic monument’s values. Today, heritage conservation in colonial and postcolonial South and East Asia, and in countries that were never linked by colonialism, challenges the international community of conservation experts, local authorities, and craftsmen to enter into negotiations. On closer inspection, some of the case studies presented in this volume show that actual negotiations among conservation experts, architects, and craftsmen are surprising in the way they reveal that the discussions about a site’s authenticity and about suitable conservation practice for the preservation of architectural heritage may be of a quite universal character.

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⁴ Cf. Silva (2007) who promulgates a Charter for the Conservation of Monuments and Sites in the South and South-East Asian Regions (SAARC-SPAFA Charter). SAARC: South Asian Archaeological Congress, SPAFA: SEAMEO Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts, SEAMEO: Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization. The proposed charter, 213–222, draws upon “disciplines spelt out in ancient texts such as the *Manasara*, the *Mayamata*, the *Manjusri Vasthuvidyasastra*” (Preamble) and accepts “that these codes of healthy professional practices for architects, planners, interior and furniture designers will inspire professional conservators in formulating their charters, on a step-by step basis towards preserving the immovable relics of the past.” While the Venice Charter is designed to provide “the international parameters of conservation, the SAARC-SPAFA Charter will set out the specifics for the region.” A national cultural property of a region as defined in the Preamble is made up of multiple components, including “indigenous heritage” and the “colonial impact.” Though Article 1 promises the interpretability of the central UNESCO/ICOMOS definitions such as authenticity etc., it becomes especially clear in Articles 28–30, 32, and 34 that even for the living religious architectural heritage, the guidelines are formulated in direct accordance with international proposals (Venice Charter) that leave no room for (culture-specific) interpretation or traditional practices (which may be at odds with so-called universal values and practices) and reject the creative freedom of craftsmen): “all additions should be made recognizable” (Article 28), “construction work must stop at the point of conjecture” (Article 29), “all restored parts must be clearly identified” (Article 30), “additions [...] should create the impression of being additions” (Article 34).

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Architectural Heritage Conservation in South and East Asia and in Europe: Contemporary Practices

Niels Gutschow

Abstract On the basis of a number of illustrated case studies from Germany, Nepal, India, China, and Japan, a variety of aspects of authenticity are presented in as undogmatic a way as possible—from the primary importance of tangible material to intangible aspects connected with building rituals and craftsmanship, and practices of cyclic renewal. Factors such as spirit of place and architecture often outweigh archeological perspectives, which tend to freeze an object in time. Until recently, conservation and restoration strategies were based on principles often aspiring to the status of belief systems. The past two decades have confronted the heartlands of the conservation movement in the West with a variety of values rooted in the conviction that it is time to leave behind the ideology of Europe’s nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the obsession with patina and materiality. The incipient transcultural debate is in the process of transcending established borderlines and exploring the amazing similarities between “European”/“North American” and “Asian” ideas and strategies in connection with such values as identity or integrity.

Introduction

The term “authenticity” turns out to be a difficult one in the global and transcultural context, because all its definitions and their references to credibility, originality, or truthfulness derive from an occidental cultural background. What is truthful definitely depends on the context. Moreover, all the documents, declarations, or charters of desiderata from the last three decades are drafted in the language of the professionals, in English. Often, neither the terms used nor the intentions of the professionals formulating these documents cast any light on the values of a specific culture.

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In a recent report on aspects of authenticity in the light of the Nara Document on Authenticity of 1994, Herb Stovel deplores the quality of the nomination papers from State Parties for World Heritage Sites, which have to be screened by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS): “The submissions often limit analysis of authenticity to meaningless statements” (Stovel 2008, 15). These state parties certainly speak a language of their own, a language that has no equivalent for the sophisticated Greek term that we are talking about, the meaning of which is obvious in an occidental context. Obvious or not, the term is not easy to pin down, being drawn upon in a wide range of contexts to claim a certain quality for an object, person, or performance. *The American Heritage Dictionary* (2006) defines “authentic” (Greek *authentikos*, Late Latin *authenticus*, Middle English *autentik*, Old French *authentique*, German *authentisch*) as “worthy of trust, reliance or belief, having an undisputed origin; genuine.” The definition in *Webster’s Dictionary* (1981) takes care to put the term in context: “Authentic stresses fidelity to actuality and fact, compatibility with a certain source or origin, accordance with usage or tradition or complete sincerity without feigning or hypocrisy.” The problem seems to be that from fidelity to hypocrisy we come up against moral value judgments that are anything but universal.

Ironically enough, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the inflationary use of the term seems to have contributed to a substantial loss of credibility. The difficulty in defining what kinds of values are covered by the term “authenticity” lies in the many uses to which it is put. It is applied to empirical, interpretative, and normative elements that cannot even properly be separated from each other. In the context of architectural heritage preservation, we can rely on empirical data to define the authenticity of the material, although conflicts arise when it comes to valuing the material of the original higher than that of later epochs. Accordingly, the concept of “age value” (Riegl 1903) admits of no differentiation. The Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites was conciliatory in this respect, merely requesting maximum retention of “historical material” (Jokilehto 1993, 59) in any intervention aiming at the restoration of a historical structure.

The case studies in the following aim to document a variety of practices that suggest that the usual division between West (Occident) and East (Orient) does not in fact make much sense. However, Seung-Jin Chung, an architectural historian from Korea, points out that “the spiritual and naturalistic sensibilities of East Asian culture and architecture” determine conservation principles that differ fundamentally from the preference for “visual beauty through its material substance” (Chung 2005, 55). The “spiritual message” evoked by Chung appears a little indeterminate in the conservation context. The impact of intangible values that need to be defined in each specific case is what makes the approach to conservation in South and East Asia not very different from experiences in other cultural contexts. Furthermore, it is not appropriate to make sweeping statements like “the Germans do this, the Japanese do that,” because actual practice goes beyond such categorizations and has also changed profoundly in recent decades. In his seminal article on “Criteria of

Authenticity” in 1994, even David Lowenthal¹ (referring to authors such as Pierre Ryckmans) resorts to generalizing statements: “The Chinese endorse tradition in language and ideas, but discard material remains or let them decay. Revering ancestral memory, the Chinese disdain the past’s purely physical traces; old works must perish for new one to take their place” (Lowenthal 1994, 63). For periods in the past, this was indeed the rule, but the strategies behind recent conservation practices have changed fundamentally. The protection of the Sutra in Stone at Mount Tai serves as a good example (see documentation below). Starting in 1965, various interventions aimed at preserving purely physical traces while effectively destroying the spirit of the place. This spirit was embodied in the water that originally flowed across 2748 Chinese characters as if the “babbling brook” were actually reading them. The stream has now been diverted and the characters, chiseled in granite, stabilized with epoxy resin, and sealed with silicone.

A number of case studies are presented below to illustrate six aspects of authenticity. These aspects are woven around available cases and do not claim to cover the entire variety of practices prevailing across Europe and Asia. Many cases contribute to more than a single aspect. The aspect of “identity and integrity” revolves around the question whether integrity is a fundamental value that ensures identity or if replicas and buildings restored in their original configuration demonstrate identity. Presenting the case of the shrine of Ise, the philosopher Byung-Chul Han referred to “a total inversion of the relationship between original and copy.” To him, “the copy is more original than the original, because the older a building is, the more it distances itself from the original state”² (Han 2011, 64).

“Intangible” aspects of conservation such as cyclic rebuilding (Ise, Japan), rituals as part of the building process (Nepal, Japan) and inherited craftsmanship (Nepal) dominate the documentation because these aspects of authenticity have received little attention. Likewise the “spirit of place” attains some prominence because in the context of South Asian locational religiosity it is the place that stands for an eternal truth or the divine and not any material configuration. The aspect of “patina” probably represents the most controversial issue among conservationists. Since conservation developed in Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century as an attitude that guided the care for historic structures, surfaces were to be touched only to prevent further decay. In contrast, surfaces have to be regularly renewed or

¹ Born 1923 in New York, Lowenthal is professor emeritus of geography at University College London. He read history at Harvard and geography at Berkeley, served in the US Army and the US State Department in 1945–1946 before becoming professor of geography at the University of California (1972–1985). His books *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) and *Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998) have widened the scope of discussion on conservation issues. When in 2010 Stephens Randall published *The Past Is No Foreign Country*, Lowenthal reacted “to the wholesale perversion of history” by planning to revise his book for publication in 2012 and to retitle it *The Past was a Foreign Country*.

² Translated from German by Niels Gutschow: *Man könnte auch sagen, die Kopie ist originaler als das Original, denn je älter ein Gebäude wird, desto mehr entfernt es sich vom ursprünglichen Zustand*. Born in Korea, Han lives in Berlin and writes in German.

replaced in South Asia in order to uphold a divine order. This controversy is brought to an extreme in Germany, where “scars and wounds” are faithfully preserved to authenticate memory.

The following deliberations do not attempt to analyze the colorful, or even dubious, term “authenticity” or to add another definition. The aim is to discuss it against the background of related terms from culturally different contexts, to free it from its occidental moorings, and to eventually overcome its narrow restriction to the purely material side of the matter. In order to extend the proofs of authenticity the approach I have chosen is to draw upon various cases from China, Germany, Japan, India, and Nepal, illustrating the huge variety of strategies involved in “heritage stewardship” (Lowenthal and Jenkins 2011, 36) and the way they depend on, or reflect, specific cultural conditions and multifaceted reflections of values. All cases presented below have been studied by me on site from 2010 to 2013. My early experience in Japan as a carpenter and my 40 years of engagement as an architectural anthropologist in Nepal, have caused a certain personal predilection for aspects of ritual and crafts. This has certainly encouraged preconceptions which become noticeable in the way I present the cases.

Identity: Integrity

Introduction

The original preamble to the Venice Charter (1964) is not very specific about the term “authenticity”, pointing out “our duty” to hand on the ancient monuments as common heritage “in the full richness of their authenticity.” The term was given more precise definition in 1978, following discussions by the World Heritage Committee in 1976 and 1977 in which, at the insistence of Raymond Lemaire (1921–1997), one of the authors of the Venice Charter and co-founder of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, Warsaw 1965), the concept of authenticity was extended beyond the strict concern for the original substance. The test of authenticity henceforth “was applied to four related physical attributes: design, material, setting and workmanship” (Stovel 2008, 12). More than 20 years earlier, the American National Park Service Administrative Manual had introduced the term “identity” as a crucial value. It is described there as “a composite quality connoting original workmanship, original location, and intangible elements of feeling and association” (Stovel 2008, 12). A couple of years later, Stefan Tschudi-Madsen identified “material, structure, surface, architectural form and function” (Tschudi-Madsen 1985, 17) as areas of authenticity.

This brief overview demonstrates the problems besetting the ongoing debate on the term. There will be more and more charters and declarations reflecting the rich fund of experience garnered in a variety of cultural contexts. The theoretical framework cited above comes from a Western context, reflecting an experience of fundamental loss in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and two world wars.

The experience of disastrous earthquakes in Japan, China, Myanmar, and Nepal is a very different one, because earthquakes occur unexpectedly and inevitably. Accordingly, material authenticity has never been highly valued there. In Japan, for example, the authenticity of material retrieved from a collapsed or demolished building was often respected by storing it in the attic of the new structure. Before the advent of the professionalized conservation movement in Japan in 1897, the practice of restoration was radical indeed. Structural carpentry was constantly improved, and often replacements were given preference. Identity was invariably bound up with qualities “connoting original workmanship, original location, and intangible elements of feeling and association,” as the National Park Service Manual quoted above puts it (Stovel 2008, 12).

In 1996, the San Antonio Declaration suggested “extending the ‘proofs’ of authenticity to include reflection of its true value, integrity, context, identity, use, and function” (Stovel 2008, 14). Only recently have intangible elements such as feeling and association been brought back into the discussion by the Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place (2008), which expressly identifies values such as “spirit” and “meaning.”

The discussion of identity inevitably recalls the ship of Theseus recorded by Plutarch in the first century BCE. Plutarch asks whether a ship that has been continuously repaired over a long period till finally all its wooden planks have been replaced still retains its identity. Then, as now, some said it was still the same ship, others that it was not. Similar controversies have raged ever since.

This question has arisen in recent decades in connection with boats, automobiles, and buildings. Boats of the Riva brand, for example, were originally produced by Carlo Riva in Italy, starting in 1949. Highly favored by celebrities, 2000 of the original 4000 boats are believed to exist today. Boats destroyed by fire are entitled to retain the brand name if the keel has survived and is used as the basis for reconstruction. In other words, a surviving fragment confers authenticity on the “new” boat.

For historical automobiles, classic cars, the chassis number is the crucial item in the claim for authenticity. In the case of irreversible deterioration, the chassis can be reconstructed. In 2007, to the dismay of the German Association of Owners of Historic Automobiles, the Ministry of Transport started demanding a perfect lacquer finish for those 0.4 % of automobiles claiming privileged old-timer status. The association replied by demanding acknowledgement of protective repairs ensuring the preservation of patina. The preservation of automotive engineering as a cultural asset (Fig. 1) must necessarily base its claims on the idea of authenticity.³

In the field of architecture, the identity issue was discussed in Germany in 1992 with unprecedented vigor, suspicion, and mutual recrimination by conservationists, architects, and art historians. When German art historian Jörg Traeger published “Zehn Thesen zum Wiederaufbau zerstörter Architektur” (“Ten Theses regarding

³“Deuvel-Nachrichten im Überblick,” *Der Pendelwinker* 6/1 (2007), 24.

**Rekonstruktion von
historischen Holzskelett-
Aufbauten für alle Fahrzeug-
typen von den Fachleuten aus
Braunschweig ...**



**z.B. Restauration einer
Skoda-Limousine 645**



Fig. 1 Detail of an advertisement by a carpentry firm in Brunswick (Germany) offering the reconstruction of wood skeleton superstructures for all types of car. Source: “Deuvel-Nachrichten im Überblick.” 2007. *Der Pendelwinker*, 23

the Rebuilding of Destroyed Architecture”) in 1992, the response from conservators was a uniform outcry. Traeger was bold enough to claim that in fact the structure and the surface of a building are generally not the actual work of the architect, his plans being ultimately realized by others. The work of the implementing agency is interchangeable, Traeger insists, and for that reason can eventually be replaced (Traeger 1992, 632).

Traeger’s argument extends beyond the narrow confines of conservation philosophy and the practice of reconstruction. In quite a different cultural context, in China, “the transient nature of construction is like an offering to the voracity of time,” as Belgian-Australian sinologist Pierre Ryckmans puts it. Eternity should therefore “not inhabit the building, it should inhabit the builder.” The context is certainly different, because Chinese architecture “required frequent rebuilding,” (Ryckmans 2008, 2) as Ryckmans concedes. But Traeger’s thoughts indicate the dawning of a more complex, if not transcultural, view of what for generations was a “cult”—with practices categorically deemed either right or wrong.

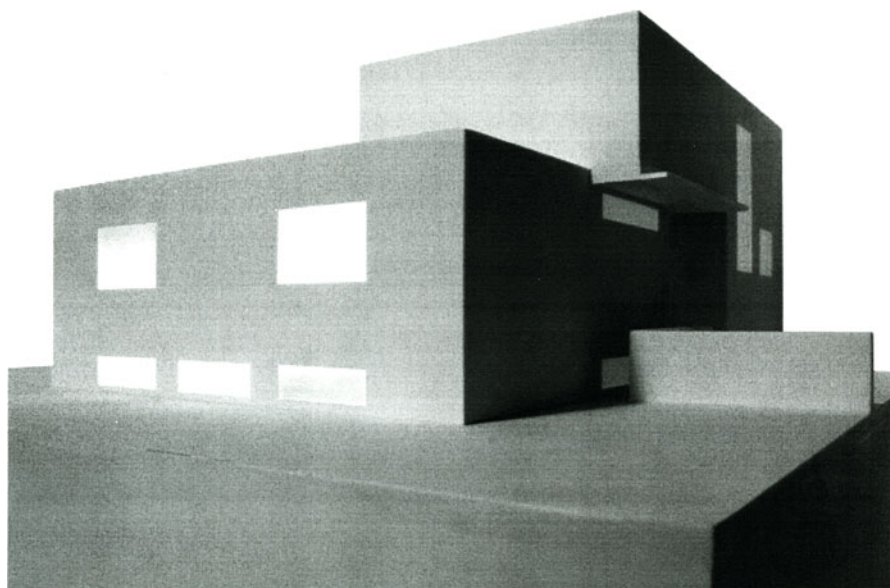


Fig. 2 Dessau (Germany), design for the rebuilding of the Gropius House as a “reconstruction of an idea” by Pierro Brundo, Donatella Fioretti, and José Gutierrez (Berlin), March 2010. The outlines and the cubic content recall the original, the window openings are filled with synthetic material; the interior is completely changed. The concept is meant to mirror the haziness of collective memory. *Source:* <http://www.baunetz.de>

The subject of controversy, defending the idea of the “original” against “copy” or “imitation” attained a new quality in the context of architectural competitions aiming at the recovery of the Gropius House in Dessau. In 1956 a simple house had been built on the foundations of the original building destroyed in 1945. Two competitions, in 2007 and 2010, contributed to the subject to the debate, the replacement of the house. The winning design preserves the foundations of the house and ensures a certain authenticity of the site. At the same time the intention of recapturing the Gropius’ design intentions underwent a process of transformation. Completed in May 2014, the “new” Gropius House does not imitate the original. It intends to evoke a decidedly “blurred” memory and to “repair” the urban setting of the Meisterhausensemble (the ensemble of the houses of the teachers of the Bauhaus) by recreating the cubic content of the original (Fig. 2).

Under the title “Authenticating Memory” it will be exemplified in this essay that “scars and wounds” are kept and preserved in order not to forget that disasters created by humans caused suffering. Earthquakes and fires cause quite a variety of different approaches for the rebuilding of what is lost.

Conflicting thoughts express the richness of cultural practice and should never be “tamed” or watered down in an effort to create unified, let alone uniform, practice. What is considered “true” in a restricted context should find its way into a transcultural discourse extending across the world. The two following examples from Japan and Germany may enrich this discourse.

Enshrining Identity: The Preservation of Fragments of the Hall of the Hōryū-ji Temple After Fire in 1949 in Japan

Throughout history, fire caused an inevitable loss of Japan's building heritage. Subsequent rebuilding led to mostly fundamental changes in construction methods, shape, and scale. In a completely different way the charred fragments of the Hōryū-ji were handled after the temple was gutted by fire in 1949. Dating back to 679 and dismantled three times in the early twelfth century and again in 1374 and 1603, the hall (*Kon-dō*) of the extended temple nevertheless is said to have preserved the original configuration with the original timber elements. As it was one of the iconic monuments of the country, said to have been the oldest extant wooden structure on earth, it was dismantled in 1934. On 26 January 1949 the core structure with its 28 columns, brackets, and cross beams were exposed to fire for a few hours, charring the surface to a depth of three centimeters. The preservation of the seventh-century building components was considered so important that they were consolidated with synthetic resin and moved to a fireproof shelter (Fig. 3). The storehouse preserves these columns in their original configuration as if this profane building were a shrine. The charred fragments obviously constituted the identity of the much revered monument and as such they are kept in close proximity to the replacements. They are not displayed for the public but kept enshrined as if representing the priceless grail, the origin of the country's built heritage. Only on rare occasions are professionals granted access to it in an act of guarded secrecy (Gutschow 1998, 50).

Rebuilding After Dismantling (1898–1908) and Reconstruction After Loss in Fire (1952–1953) of the Kinkaku-ji Temple in Kyoto, Japan

A prominent example of contested identity discusses the reconstructions of the Kinkaku-ji ("Golden Pavilion Temple," officially called Rokuon-ji, "Deer Garden Temple")—widely recognized as the expression of something quintessentially Japanese. Built in the fourteenth century, the temple constitutes one of the first national treasures (Jap. *kokuhō*) according to the Law for the Preservation of Ancient Shrines and Temples of 1897. It was totally dismantled (a working procedure called Jap. *kaitai shūri* and discussed by Mihō Fukuda in this volume) in 1908 and painstakingly reassembled. The temple was gutted by fire (Fig. 4) in 1950 and subsequently reconstructed, based on the detailed measurements of every timber element done in 1908. Having lost its material authenticity, the new structure (Jap. *saiken*) was no longer considered a national treasure and subsequently delisted.

When 13 sites in Kyoto were inscribed in the World Heritage list in 1994 as a collective entry, the Rokuon-ji garden was included, but without the Kinkaku-ji, the prominent landmark of the garden. As a replica (Fig. 5) of the lost temple, the 40-year-old structure was considered inauthentic in terms of the World Heritage

Fig. 3 Hōryū-ji temple near Nara. The seventh-century temple was partly dismantled in 1934 for purposes of in-depth research. The core of the structure caught fire in 1949. The surface of the 28 columns are charred to a depth of 3 cm and kept in a fireproof shelter designated as an Important Cultural Property. *Source:* Enders and Gutschow 1998, 50



Conservation Guidelines. The Japanese authorities elected not to enter into a debate about the values inherent in that occidental term.

Thoughts about the originality of the present temple, or rather the authenticity of its reconstruction, were put forward by the author Douglas Adams (1952–2001), who achieved fame in 1985 with his book *The Original Hitchhiker Radio Scripts*. Adams must have visited the Kinkaku-ji in the early 1990s, because in 1992 he recalls his visit in *Last Chance to See* and presents an anecdote that illustrates Theseus' paradox in a Japanese context.

Adams recalls how he was “mildly surprised at quite how well it had weathered the passage of time since it was first built in the fourteenth century.” He was told “it hadn’t weathered well at all, and had in fact been burnt to the ground twice in this century.” He realized that it was not “the original building,” but his guide, not being acquainted with the doctrine of conservation, insisted that it would always be “the same building.” The author continues:

I had to admit to myself that this was in fact a perfectly rational point of view, it merely started from an unexpected premise. The idea of the building, the intention of it, its design,



Fig. 4 Kinkaku-ji, Kyoto (Japan). The late fourteenth-century temple was dismantled and rebuilt in 1908 with structural improvements to the roof. It was declared a National Treasure (Jap. *kokuhō*) in 1929. In 1950 the temple was destroyed by fire and subsequently faithfully reconstructed (completed in 1955) on the basis of meticulous surveys done in 1908. *Source*: public domain



Fig. 5 Kinkaku-ji, Kyoto (Japan), in its present state. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 21 May 1997

are all immutable and are the essence of the building. The intention of the original builders is what survives. The wood of which the design is constructed decays and is replaced when necessary. To be overly concerned with the original materials, which are merely sentimental souvenirs of the past, is to fail to see the living building itself (Adams and Carwardine 1990, 149).

Adams' words pinpoint the issue of material authenticity better than any essay by a conservation professional aiming at a denial of the identity of the temple. Adams does stretch his point somewhat by qualifying "original material" as a "sentimental souvenir of the past." But in so doing he clarifies the fact that material is but one aspect of authenticity and in a cultural context that differs considerably from that of, say, Germany where reconstruction issues are invariably highly controversial (Buttlar et al. 2011), it may not even be a particularly prominent one.

The Restoration of the Kandinsky/Klee Meisterhaus in Dessau, Germany, 1996–1999

In 1925, when the political situation in Weimar forced Walter Gropius to look for a new location, the liberal mayor of Dessau promised funding for a school building for the Bauhaus plus the construction of three twin houses for the teachers (Ger. *Meister*), and another house for the director. The designs were supervised directly by Gropius' personal office because the Bauhaus had no building department of its own. Construction work started in late summer 1925 and was completed in July 1926.

The idea behind the new architecture, which since 1920 had been called "*Neues Bauen*," was for it to represent a "lucid, organic entity" (Ger. *klarer organischer Bauleib*) (Lupfer and Sigel 2000a, 19), thus likening the structure to the "human body" (Ger. *Leib*). The signature feature was a flat roof, which aside from functional or economic considerations was designed as a demonstration of modernity.

In a bid to experiment with new techniques, the houses were built with stones made from dross, cement, and sand. More importantly, reinforced concrete slabs extended into cantilevering balconies on the eastern and southern sides.

As early as 1926, a film called *Living Healthy and Efficient Lives* prized the advantages and amenities of the new houses. This was modern living advertised as the gateway to a better life. Some visitors, however, criticized the design as "premeditated harmony plus reformatory expediency" (Bertolt Brecht 1927) or "the space for sleep cleansed from dreams" (Ilja Ehrenburg 1929).⁴

In 1932 the Nazi party enforced the closure of the Bauhaus. Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee then left the house, which in 1939 was sold to the Junkers aircraft engine factory on condition that "this alien type of building will disappear from the townscape"⁵ (Lupfer and Sigel 2000b, 93).

⁴ Quoted after Lupfer and Sigel 2000a, 29.

⁵ Translations in the text by the author.

Sponsored by the building company Hochtief on the occasion of its 125th anniversary, planning for the restoration started in summer 1996 when the entire ensemble was put on the UNESCO World Heritage list. The house was to serve as a public museum: both its exterior and its interior were to be the primary exhibits.

Authenticity comes into play in connection with possible traces of the use of the building by the two painters, Kandinsky and Klee. One intention was to make the living and working conditions for the original inhabitants come alive. Supreme priority was given to “bringing out the vision of the architect Walter Gropius in spite of the falsifying transformations”⁶ the building had undergone over a period of 60 years.

The most critical problem was restoring the cantilever slab of the balcony facing east, which at a later stage had to be supported by pillars in order to prevent complete collapse. Restoring the slab in its original form would have meant replacing the neighboring ceiling slab and thus losing original material. It would have been a very costly intervention. It was therefore decided to support the renewed balcony slab with pillars.

Surprisingly, the preservation of the original material (Fig. 6) was given priority over the original design. Although the restoration process involved a number of new elements, the ceiling slab was to be kept at all costs. The integrity of the original design was compromised, although the cantilevering slabs were absolutely decisive in demonstrating modernity. Cantilevering reinforced slabs were meant to provide movement in midair, an adumbration of flying. Levitation and the dream of overcoming gravity was indeed one of the major dreams of the twentieth century.

Perhaps the introduction of pillars was just meant as a compromise, without realizing the detrimental impact they would have on the preservation of the intentions of the modernist movement.

Similarly disturbing is the preservation of disfiguring details (e.g., a stair tread, Fig. 7) reminiscent of stages in the use and maintenance of the building that totally ignored the intentions of the Bauhaus. In contrast small details such as electrical fittings were replaced (Fig. 8). The house was transformed not only into a museum but into a place of memory, overburdened with educational aspirations.

Protection of the Diamond Sutra in Stone on the Sacred Mount Tai in China⁷

The *Taishan* (Chin. 泰山) is one of the five sacred mountains of China, located in the heart of Shandong province. It has been worshipped for over three millennia.

⁶ Statement of the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen-Anhalt Halle, 22 November 1999, cited in Mrass 2011.

⁷ The case is presented here based on the MA thesis by Shaohua Zhang 2009. Zhang presents the historical background of the Stone Sutra Valley in exhaustive detail. The thesis documents and illustrates recent interventions and contains on-site interviews conducted in December 2008.



Fig. 6 Dessau, Kandinsky/Klee House, restored to its original shape in 1998. The originally cantilevering slab of the balcony has been replaced by a slab supported by three stainless steel pillars set a little behind the terrace parapet. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 23 June 2009



Fig. 7 Dessau, Kandinsky/Klee House, restored to its original shape in 1998. The stairs were returned to their original form, but one stair tread was preserved with its linoleum covering and aluminum profile dating back to a renewal in the early 1970s. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 23 June 2009

Fig. 8 Dessau, Kandinsky/
Klee House, restored to its
original shape in 1998. The
electric fittings were
replaced by commercially
available remakes of the
originals. Photo by Niels
Gutschow, 23 June 2009



The diversity and importance of the cultural landscape at the summit and on the slopes of the mountain were instrumental in its inclusion in the World Heritage list in 1987. One of the three treasures of the mountain is the Diamond Sutra (Chin. 金剛經 *Jingangjing*) (Fig. 9) in the Stone Sutra Valley (Chin. 經石峪 *Jingshiyu*).

On the riverbed of a tributary of the river Zhong, the first half of the Diamond Sutra, the *Jingang Boruo Boluomi Jing*, was chiseled into the bare granite over an area measuring approximately 3000 square meters. This is thought to have been done in the sixth century, but the inscription was hardly noticed until the beginning of the Ming period (1368–1644), when a few officials sought refuge in this remote valley for meditation purposes and had more of the rock surface inscribed.

The water flowing across the characters symbolizes the perpetual reading of the text that keeps it alive. The sutra thus achieves eternal validity. The 1390 characters (said to have originally numbered 2478) are arranged in 45 columns and were probably not meant to be read by visitors. The fact that only a relatively small



Fig. 9 Mount Tai, China. View of the inscribed rock surface in Stone Sutra Valley on the slopes of the Taishan. In the background is the stone railing put up in 1965. Photo by Ingeborg Klinger, August 2006. By courtesy of Shandong Museum of the Arts of Stone Carvings/Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities

number of characters is still fully preserved (241) is due to the constant erosion of the rock surface by the water flowing over it. The rock chapped to enable moss to grow in summer and ice to form in winter. All this led to the gradual natural disappearance of the characters—a process regarded as critical deterioration by the representatives of a society detached of religious sentiments and exclusively interested in the antiquarian value of this testimony from the past.

As early as 1951, a council for the maintenance and renovation of the sutra was established, which called for the construction of a protective wall to divert the water. In 1955, a number of rock fragments with 152 characters broke away and were stored elsewhere. In 1957, concerned officials proposed diverting the river and coating the characters with lacquer to protect them from sun and storms. Another proposal was to re-carve the text on stone tablets and to install these in a nine-storied tower to attract tourists.

The decisive turning point for the Diamond Sutra came in 1965, after the valley had been made accessible by a newly constructed path. A long wall (Fig. 10) was built to divert the river into a newly dug bed. In 1979, the administration of Mount Tai proposed building a roof that would protect the characters from sun and rain. This roofing never materialized, but in 1982 the endangered area was fenced in to prevent visitors from crossing the former riverbed.

The summary prepared by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in 1987 as part of the evaluation by UNESCO's advisory body considered

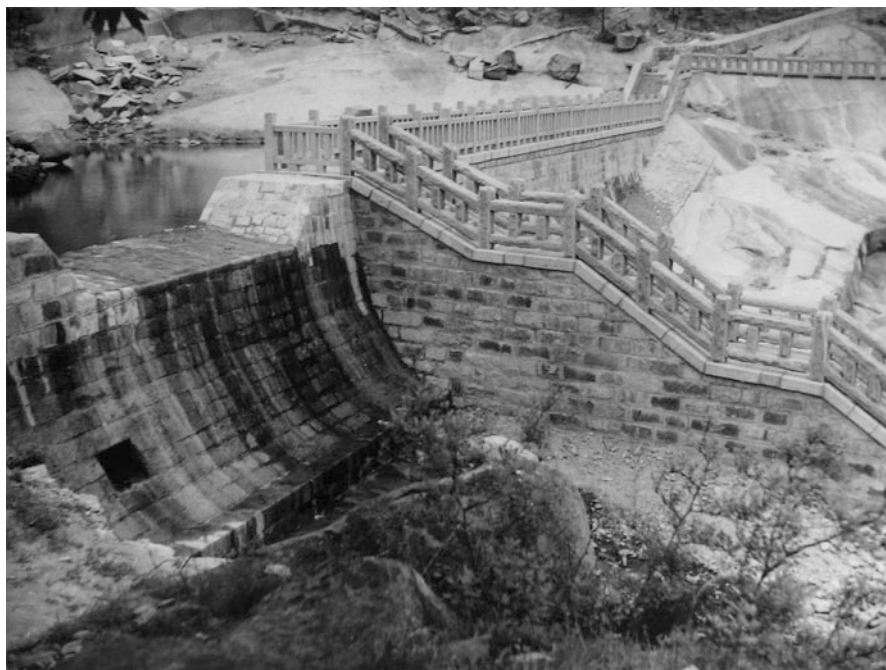


Fig. 10 Mount Tai, China. View of the diverted river. An elevated passageway spans the former riverbed. Photo by Zhai Suogan 翟所淦, 1983. By courtesy of Ministry of Culture, Taishan

the Diamond Sutra to be “in urgent need of restoration” (IUCN 1987). But a new phase in the professional concern with the monument only supervened in 2002, focusing on the stabilization and conservation of the inscribed rock. The entire area was thoroughly cleansed of organic growth, interstices and hairline cracks were filled with epoxy resin. Finally, the entire surface was sealed with silicone.

The location of the Diamond Sutra, carved on site in rock, is associated with flowing water. The immaterial scriptural message, the rock, and the water itself constituted a unique entity. The Buddhist teachings embedded in the landscape of the sacred mountain remotely recalls the setting in motion of the wheel of the law by the Buddha at Sarnath. The scriptural message was meant to last but account was also taken of the transient and perishable quality of nature. The integrity of this oneness alone constituted the identity of the place.

Separating the water from the rock surface reduced this entity to the status of an inscribed stone object. Once the narrative script had gone, modernist professionalism reduced the complex cultural product to the material it was made of. Despite its disfigurement by a layer of red enamel paint, it is this inscribed material alone that is now credited with authenticity. Questionable interventions with epoxy resin and silicone are likely to have a devastating effect. The story is certainly not over.

The Impulse to Renew and Replace: Two Cases From Nepal

Introduction

Voices like those of John Ruskin (1819–1900) from Great Britain or Alois Riegl (1858–1905) from Austria who in the field of conservation gave distinction to the concept of material authenticity were never heard in South Asia and East Asia. There, the upkeep of temples and monasteries was the responsibility of trusts established on the occasion of the foundation of the respective institution. Inscriptions meticulously list the sources of revenue that ensured the performance of daily and annual rituals, the payment of all those actively involved, such as priests, musicians, and sweepers, the feeding of the poor, and finally the maintenance. In the case of temples and Buddhist votive structures in Nepal, annual rituals still today commemorate the day of their consecration and thus renew their life force, *Śakti*.

In China, the “cultivation of moral and spiritual values of the Ancients appears to have most often combined with a curious neglect or indifference (even at times downright iconoclasm) towards the material heritage of the past,” as Ryckmans stated in 1989. The past, Ryckmans argues, “seems to inhabit the people rather than the bricks and stones”—it “was a past of words not of stones” (Ryckmans 2008). Sinologist Frederick W. Mote, an American intelligence agency officer in East Asia during World War II, adds that Chinese civilization seems not to have regarded its history as violated or abused when historic monuments collapsed or burned down, as long as they could be replaced or restored, and their functions regained. Thus authenticity was never attached to materiality because “the real past” of a place such as Soochow “is a past of the mind” (Mote 1973, 51). Guolang Lai, a Chinese art historian, points out, that this prioritization of non-material values contrasts “with the Western emphasis on imperishable monuments and architecture” (Lai 2005, 235).

In South Asia and East Asia, nobody raised the issue of patina or “age value” (Riegl) before the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861, the inventory of ancient shrines and temples 1892 in Japan with the participation of an enthusiastic American orientalist, Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), or the initiatives of Liang Sicheng (1901–1972) in the early 1930s in China. In these countries, the attitude towards the architectural heritage that we characterize as conservation is a construct that evolved under colonial rule or with their emergence as modern nation states. The promulgation of laws, the establishment of departments, and the authority of more or less well-trained professionals marked the decisive break in the stewardship of heritage that Europe already witnessed in the mid-nineteenth century. The state claims ownership, provides the wherewithal, and lays down rigid guidelines. Effectively, Nepal only joined the conservation movement in the 1970s, although a Department of Archaeology was established as early as 1956. There, the massively asymmetrical flow of cultural values created a rift between indigenous practices of renewal and replacement and the allegedly international conservation

ideals readily adopted by professionalized bureaucracies. The following examples from Nepal demonstrate how local practice ignores imposed standards and insists on renewal and concomitant beautification.

The Replacement of a Gaṇeśa Temple in Patan in 2012

Until very recently, i.e., before the stewardship of architectural heritage was taken up by professional curators, replacement (in the sense of rebuilding and reconstruction) and restoration (including the replacement of decayed or stolen parts of a building) were the rule in Nepal. How little scope the state actually has for intervention is demonstrated by the rebuilding of a small temple in the city of Patan in the Kathmandu Valley in 2012 (Fig. 11).

The two-tiered temple in the quarter of Tyaga houses an aniconic representation of Gaṇeśa as the prominent focus of religious practice of a well-defined neighborhood. Every neighborhood comprising some 200 houses is grouped around an open shrine housing a deity in aniconic form. It is the center of a form of locational religiosity that attracts offerings every morning and blood sacrifices on the occasion

Fig. 11 Patan (Nepal), Gaṇeśa Temple. Replacement on the original site of an eighteenth-century, two-tiered temple housing an aniconic manifestation of the deity. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 25 November 2011



of life cycle rituals. Most of these shrines are inconspicuous and rarely the pinnacle transcends the ridge of the neighboring houses.

In 1993 the German-funded Patan Conservation and Development Project persuaded the community not to dismantle the temple in order to raise the eaves. Instead, a new tile roof was sponsored and massive bollards of stone installed to prevent trucks from hitting the eaves.

By 2011 a new generation had grown up and decided without well-meant advice from foreign advisors to dismantle the temple and to replace it by a new structure. Even the ground floor columns, which were of the regular type, dating to an earlier, eighteenth-century renewal, were replaced by new ones.

The replacement of the temple tells us that in the eyes of the devotees the only good temple is a new temple, provided it is rebuilt at the same place, because it is the deity's place of origin, its home. It is this locational aspect that ensures authenticity and in a way the impulse of the community to provide their guardian deity with a dignified shelter can be called an authentic cultural expression.

Replacement of the God-House of the Goddess Tripurasundarī in Bhaktapur, 2004–2007

The urban fabric of the Newar cities of the Kathmandu Valley is the product of a highly complex urban culture that probably began to evolve as far back as the fifth century and reached its acme in the seventeenth century. The historic core areas are ritually protected by eight mother goddesses whose shrines are located on the periphery of the compact settlement. In the city of Bhaktapur, the nine deities are of an aniconic nature, represented by stones once “found” at those very places. The shrine of the ninth deity, Tripurasundarī, is located in the imagined center of the city, thus completing an urban maṇḍala. The “outer” deities on the periphery have iconic counterparts “inside” the city. These are kept on the first floors of “god-houses” (Nep. *dyahchen*). The daily worship is exclusively performed by those who belong to the initiated group of Tantric Karmacharya priests.

Only one of the nine god-houses retains its early eighteenth century fabric, four were rebuilt after the 1934 earthquake, and three were dismantled and rebuilt in the 1970s in the course of a German-funded urban conservation and renewal project. The upper stories and the roof of the Tripurasundarī god-house (Fig. 12) were renewed shortly after the 1934 earthquake. The door, three windows on the first floor, and 20 roof struts dating to the second half of the seventeenth century are the remnants of the “authentic,” pre-1934 fabric.

In general, the annual ritual renewal of built structures has always been more important than regular maintenance. In the case of Tripurasundarī, it is incumbent upon a private religious trust (Nep. *guthī*) set up by a trader family to sacrifice a sheep (recently “reduced” to a duck) to the aniconic representation of the deity. At the same time a painter from the Buddhist sub-caste of Chitrakar is engaged to

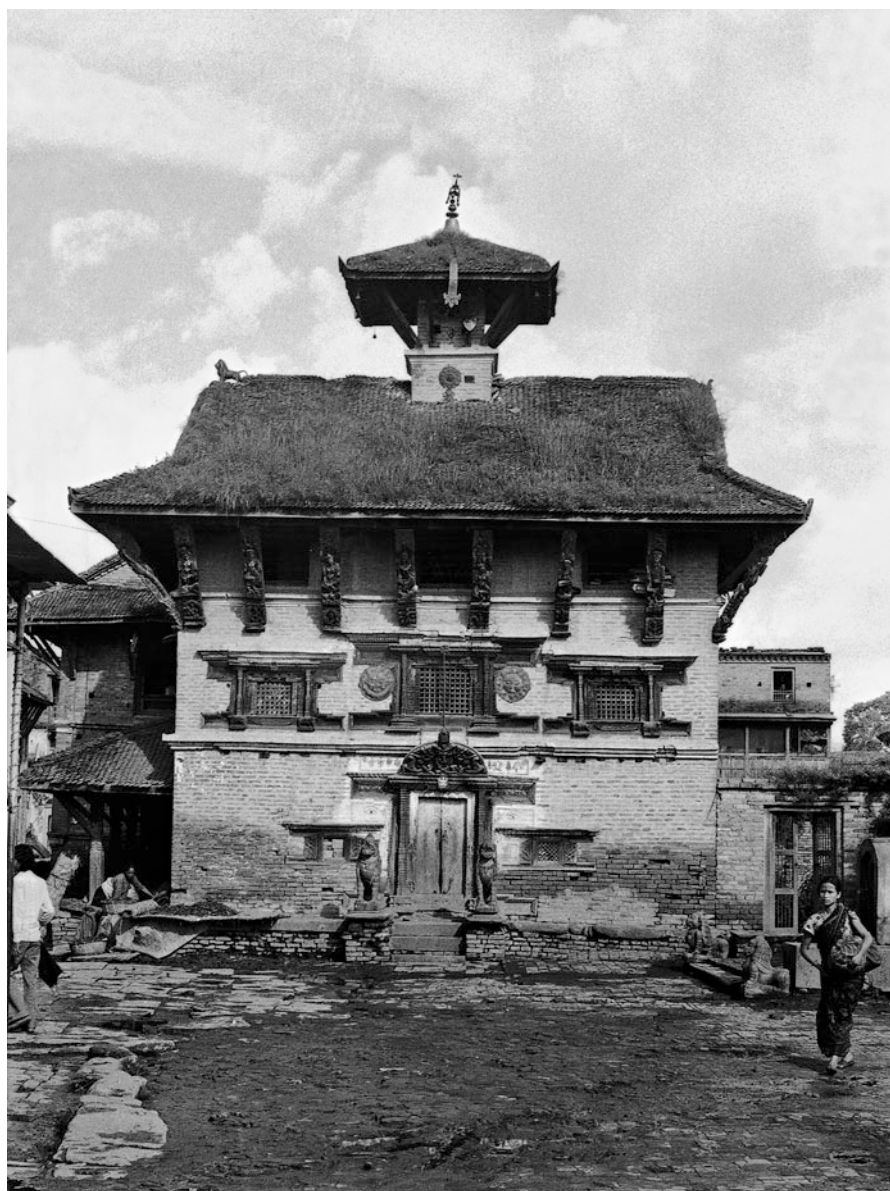


Fig. 12 Bhaktapur (Nepal), god-house of the goddess Tripurasundarī. The seventeenth century god-house collapsed in the 1934 earthquake and was subsequently rebuilt, using the original struts, windows, and door frames. Photo by Niels Gutschow, August 1976

renew the paintings on both sides and above the lintel of the god-house's doorway, a hereditary service for which he receives a nominal remuneration and a meal.

The god-house was finally dismantled in 2004 upon the wish of 13 families from the locality. They formed a committee that requested the municipality to renew the god-house. It was their desire to house their goddess in a new and hence, by definition, beautiful building. The god-house was finally rebuilt from municipal funds deriving from the entrance fee for tourists visiting the city, the center of which has been listed as a World Heritage Site since 1979.

The technicians of the municipality had aimed to retain at least the original volume of the building, but the local committee insisted on raising the height of each of the floors by one foot. The committee members also insisted on rebuilding the spire with sophisticated latticework and a roof covering featuring sheets of brass. For a nominal fee, the second floor with its comfortable ceiling height can now be used by the community for feasts celebrating life-cycle rituals.

After the devastating 1934 earthquake, the shape and type of roof had already been changed from a "traditional" hanging roof (Nev. *yengapakha*) with visible rafters to a roof with projecting ceiling joists (Nev. *dhalinpakha*). In the latest rebuilding, the door and windows of the ground floor were entirely replaced and the tympanum reused, itself a twentieth century replacement. As the dismantling and rebuilding of the god-house did not conform to the guidelines of the municipality that faintly mirror the hard-edge prescriptions of the Venice Charter, the municipal overseers in the end simply left the site.

The renewal retained no more than 17 small structural timber elements (primary and secondary lintels, colonnettes, and parts of the outer frames) of the first floor windows, which date back to the seventeenth century. Moreover, the 18 struts and the gilt copper repoussé of one window add to the "material authenticity" of the building. Only a single timber element, the secondary lintel of the central window, has been painstakingly repaired. The construction was completed in October 2007 (Fig. 13).

Taking into account "spirit and feeling" (UNESCO 2005, Paragraph 82) as authenticity criteria listed in the Operational Guidelines for World Heritage Sites revised by UNESCO in 2005, the annual renewal of the painting that frames the doorway stands for an intangible aspect of cultural heritage. Instead of the paintings being touched up, the plaques of mud plaster are whitewashed every year to receive a new configuration in black and red. For 40 years the renewal has been executed by Surya Chitrakar, who learned—in a way even inherited—the requisite occupational skill and this particular ritual duty from his father. This being the case, the painter represents something like the "immaterial authenticity" of an indigenous knowledge system. It is rather the intangible elements (exemplified by the rituals prescribing the annual renewal of the painting framing the doorway) that "give meaning, value, emotion and mystery" (ICOMOS 2008, preamble) to the place and less the tangible, material elements represented by the historic fabric of the building. Rather than a dead monument, the god-house is a viable part of an ensemble of built structures that provide meaning to the entire city as a sacred realm. Authentic are the place, the environment, and the ritual involvement.



Fig. 13 Bhaktapur (Nepal), replacement of the god-house of the goddess Tripurasundari in 2005–2008. In 2004 it was dismantled and rebuilt using the original struts and a few components of the first floor windows. In response to the wishes of the local community, the building gained 4 feet in height. The crowning spire was redesigned with latticework and copper sheet roofing to reflect eighteenth century prototypes. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 16 October 2009

The community's wishes overruled the conservation principles of the municipality. As one member of the community put it, "archeologically it might be wrong, but we wanted it this way." In this respect, "wanting" meant "pleasing the goddess." The community considered itself fortunate that the deity had given them the opportunity to renew her temple. The renewal of the god-house is an act of faith

that is not guided by appreciation of the historical “document.” The reuse of a number of structural timber elements represents a certain compliance with “international” conservation principles. A complete replacement of the worn-out windows would certainly have pleased the deity even more. In this case, the idea of patina, introduced in this contribution’s chapters in “Patina or age value (Ger. *Alterswert*) against the impulse to renew the surface,” finds no acceptance in this context. Patina is a foreign concept that disrupts local traditions (Gutschow 2010, 14 and 15).

The Spirit of Place

Introduction

The debate about various aspects or criteria of authenticity beyond that of material has little to say about the importance of “place.” The American National Park Service Administrational Manual of 1953 mentions “original location” as a constituent value, but in later documents this turns into a less specific value, “setting.” These terms are more technical and rational in character. In other contexts, the term “place” imbues more than mere feeling.

The “spirit of place” is in fact an intangible and, in the South Asian context, a transcendental value. In India, for example, Hindu temples are three-dimensional markers of a sacred place, a *tīrtha*. In a way these places mark what might be called *tirthas*, places where this world and the other world meet. The term itself does not refer to a goal but to the path one travels across the ceaseless flow of birth and death. In her seminal book of Benares, Diana Eck has pointed out that “the place itself is the primary locus of devotion” (Eck 1980, 323). She refers to the insistence on place in Hindu piety as the “locative form of religiousness.”

A lone voice made itself heard in 1994 on the subject of architectural heritage preservation in India (Menon 1994). It was that of the eminent thinker A.G. Krishna Menon from Delhi, educated as an architect in Karagpur und Chicago. Menon felt obliged to confront the emphasis on materiality of the Venice Charter with values which, from a Eurocentric or occidental, if not an Atlantic, point of view are unacceptable in an Indian context. “Unlike the West,” Menon says,

where the *linear perception of time* determines their cultural responses, the concept of *cyclical time* is the deep cultural mode in India. This fundamental difference in the concept of time is highlighted by the differences in the concept of *authenticity*: in the West, it is determined by the awareness of time’s irreversibility which emphasises the temporal qualities of objects and events—“the golden stain of time”—but in India, the cyclical perception of time places no critical temporal value on man-made objects but transfers the quality of authenticity *to the site on which the object exists*. Thus, cultures where the concept of cyclical time prevails, venerate the *place* rather than the *building* built on it, while cultures viewing time as a linear phenomenon, venerate the building” (Menon 1994, 39; italics in the original).

Fully aware of the complexity of globalization, Menon thus feels uncomfortably exposed to the post-colonial doctrine and the practice of conservation advocated and dominated by the Archaeological Survey of India till this day. It has from the beginning been based on the *Conservation Manual* put together by John Marshall in the colonial context in 1923 (Marshall 1923). The manual is a guide to the consolidation of ruins to avoid collapse, rules out the replication of figural elements and freezes monuments in the form they displayed when interventions were considered mandatory to preserve the “identity” of the ruin. Whatever impact this essentially colonial attitude has had on independent India, her constitution of 1947 is perhaps the only one that states (under the heading “Fundamental Duties”): “It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to value the rich heritage of our composite culture.” However, Menon’s remarks were by no means intended to establish an alternative practice that would totally ignore the provisions made by the Venice Charter and the ongoing practice of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). His aim was to point out different cultural responses to time, which under certain conditions would make authenticity of place more important than other aspects.

The following three examples present the spirit of place in different cultural contexts; all of them advocating rebuilding what was lost—2 years, 30 years or even 700 years ago. The rebuilding of the Old Bridge in Heidelberg, Germany, in 1947 suggests that the power of place turns a profane building in a “temple of the spirit” (Steinbach 1948, 36). The rebuilding of the Somnāth temple at its original site in Gujarat, India, incidentally initiated in the same year of 1947, was more a political demonstration and the new temple had nothing in common with the old one, except the site.

The example of the First Fu Tower (Chin. 中國第一福塔 *zhongguo diyi futu*) near Chuxiong is a rather unspectacular project illustrating the desire of Chinese society to reoccupy the place of a tower that was lost in the Cultural Revolution and now caters for the painless consumption of Confucian ideals while also serving as a welcome excursion destination close to an expanding city. The authorities claim that the reconstruction has taken place on the “site of a ruin” (Chin. 遺址 *yizhi*) and that “the original appearance” (Chin. 原貌 *yuanmao*) has been restored. Thus continuity of place serves as a powerful tool in reconnecting the people with their lost past.

Since the early 1990s, similar projects in China have referred to the site of the reconstruction or reconfiguration of a building as being imbued with some kind of immaterial quality. To a large extent, China lost her architectural heritage in the wake of the Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s and early 1970s. To make up for these monumental losses, countless reconstruction projects have been completed or are still under way in 2011 to provide destinations for an expanding and almost aggressive species of tourism management and to fill a gap in the provisions for the religious aspirations of the people.

Rebuilding the Old Bridge in Heidelberg, Germany, in 1947

Three of the nine arches of the Old Bridge (Karl-Theodor-Brücke), constructed in 1786–1788, were blown up on 29 March 1945 in a futile attempt to prevent advancing American troops from crossing the Neckar River (Fig. 14). A few days later pioneers of the American army installed a pontoon bridge. In July a US war bridge of the Bailey type was constructed to span the 75 m gap. In winter 1945/1946 this bridge was replaced by a wooden structure to allow the tram to cross the river. In March 1946 the architect Rudolf Steinbach (1903–1966) in collaboration with the engineer Hermann Husson (1881–1960) was commissioned to restore the bridge. On 9 October the first new stones were put in place, on 20 November the two vaults were completed, followed in March 1947 by the third, and on 26 July the bridge had regained its original shape.

The architect felt obliged to defend his decision. In 1945, various calls were made to leave the bridge in a ruined state as a memorial to the war, or to span the large gap with a single vault in reinforced concrete, while at the same time there was a general trend in Germany to regain what was lost—a longing which he labeled as a dull and musty approach.

Steinbach asked his readers to leave the realm of logic and to invest in “emotional values” (Ger. *Gefühlswerte*). The architect argues that the decision to rebuild



Fig. 14 Heidelberg, three of the nine arches of the Old Bridge (built in 1786–88), were blown up on 29 March 1945 in a futile attempt to prevent the advancing American Army from crossing the Neckar River. *Source:* Steinbach 1948, 33

or not to rebuild would be difficult where the artistic value of a building is accompanied by spiritual values (Ger. *seelischer Gefühlswert*)—when the structure in question is so rooted in the culture that it may be referred to as a “temple of the spirit” (Ger. *Tempel des Geistes*) (Steinbach 1948, 36). For him the Old Bridge was such a case. The psychological reasons in favor for rebuilding the bridge and against a new structure are thus based on deeply felt values.

According to Steinbach, the inner necessity requires an outer necessity, and that involves economic validity and sufficient physical evidence of the original bridge that the rebuilding will turn out to be a true restoration and not pure invention.

In a para-religious discourse, Steinbach states that over and beyond knowing each and every formal detail, the work of art has to be fully understood—a spiritual and artistic process which according to him has to be achieved intuitively. The mere will to reach the goal does not guarantee that it will be reached. The spiritual-artistic process is achieved through an understanding of the idea behind the building paired with an insight into the “essence of the material” (Ger. *Wesenheit des Materials*). Almost naturally, this insight into the intrinsic character of the material leads to a materialization, a “faithful construction” (Ger. *sinngemäße Konstruktion*).

Steinbach can probably only be understood against the backdrop of his Catholic upbringing. He proposed a union of spirit and idea that mirrors the union with god, of whom the architect is nothing than a humble devotee. In India one would call the architect a *bhakti* who seeks union through dedication. Searching for the felt values of a built structure as an expression of cultural identity brings us close to the search for meaning that often comes up in the discourse about authenticity in the context of architectural conservation. For Steinbach it is not the material itself that insures identity and continuity but the inherent value, the *Wesenheit*—a German term meaning approximately “essential being” which for various reasons is now rarely used, but which for the generation born around 1900 was essential. Truth, originality, and creativity are embodied in this term. Should Steinbach have presided over the meeting of conservationists in Venice in 1964, he would probably have used this term instead of authenticity. *Wesenheit* cannot be explained any further, it can only be felt and brought intuitively into the process of design and building. Steinbach enters into poetry when he suggests that the “working craftsman” (Ger. *Handwerkende*) possesses an inner sense of what it means to free the stone from its “innate calm” (Ger. *die zu nichts gedrängte Ruhe*) and to bring it into the human realm. In nature the stone rested peacefully, was happy: now man claims it for his world of forms and provides it with a new countenance. In the language of the mason, he says that he provides it with a “face”, that he pushes it over its “head.” The rough hewing of the surface should be felt when levelling and dressing it. Like a human face the face of the stone should convey traces of the process towards its final.

From afar the bridge looks, as Steinbach wrote, like an earthen rainbow, continuously ascending and descending. Indeed, even the central openings, which seem to be on level, ascend a mere 6 cm along the bridge’s span of 26 m—in a way perceptible not by sight but only to the “feeling eye.” The original bonding was done in such a way that the arch-stones did not form a circle but were integrated into

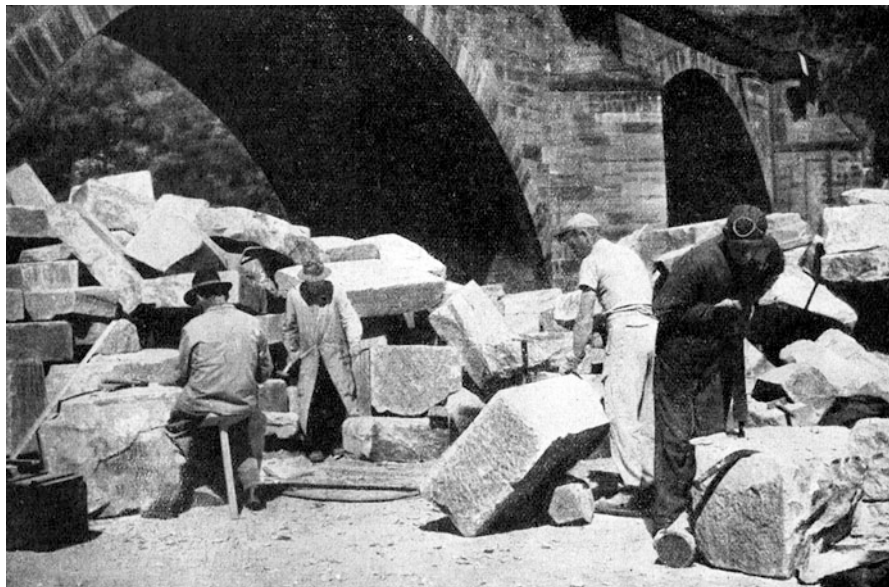


Fig 15 Heidelberg, stone masons at their workshop, established right on the construction site, next to the Old Bridge. *Source:* Steinbach 1948, 40

the horizontal courses. Every stone was called “independent and bearing a face—an endless mass of stone-faces, unified and integrated into the network of joints which separates and which binds together.” The joints develop the “power” (Ger. *Kraftwirkung*) to join the individual stones, to literally “catch them in a net.” The architect is lead, as Steinbach wrote, by the instinct possessed by those who search seriously: his discerning eye puts the stones together according to color and grain.

The inherent value of material is not an obvious quality, it is essentially not visually perceptible but it is an immaterial quality that reveals itself while becoming familiar with the material. In the case of the Old Bridge, the architect, living in the bridge’s gate tower was constantly with the material. And the craftsmen had their working place not apart from the site but on it (Fig. 15). Architect and craftsmen had “to live with and merge with the structure” (Ger. *in den Bau hineinleben*). The surface of the stone and the subtle span of the vaults of the bridge constantly framed the work place. Such proximity produces a familiarity with the project that creates a self-confidence in those who work there that is either admired or criticized by visitors of such a site.

The question of the “reversibility” of this rebuilding was never considered as 3100 cubic meters of concrete were poured into the vaults. It was also never intended to demonstrate or make visible the line where the historic structure meets the 1946 rebuilding. The architect wrote rather that “time would mediate between the patina of color and shade of the stone to form a fondly lover picture, which belongs to the memory of the world” (Steinbach 1948, 37). In other words,

the project would be successful if the bridge manifests an immaculate completeness, making invisible the dreadful event of its temporary loss.

A couple of the architect's phrases are presented in the original language, because it is almost impossible to translate terms like *wesenhaft* or *durchseelt*. Two generations later, such language sounds genuine and seems to be valid for his generation—but not beyond. The authenticity of his language has somehow a limited validity. It serves as a good example that, over and above charters and guidelines, every project has to develop a philosophy that responds to the inherent problems of the site and the material. Beyond any rhetoric it is the quality of work that has to be scrutinized. The workmanship of the Old Bridge at Heidelberg stands out and has probably never seen its equal again.

Building a New Somnāth Temple at its Original Site in India in 1947

A prominent case triggering debate about the authenticity of place in India was the rebuilding of the Somnāth Temple at Prabhas Patan on the coast of Saurashtra. Fragments allow dating the oldest temple on this site to the tenth century. Raided by Mahmud Ghazni in 1016, the temple was rebuilt in a reduced form. Romila Thapar (2004, 48) brought to light Persian sources which suggest that the Muslim invaders destroyed a temple that was allegedly dedicated to an aniconic pre-Islamic deity. Almost desperately she poses the question whether “dichotomy has become such a mind-set that we are unable to comprehend the complexities and nuances of the representation of an event, and its aftermath” (Thapar 2004, 209).

Politically, the project was highly charged because in the wake of Indian independence in August 1947, Hindu activists instrumentalized the project as a symbol for the resurgence of the Hindu nation. In 1950 the Sompura builders produced the requisite working plans, which featured the term “reconstruction” (Fig. 16) although the new design had nothing in common with the earlier building. Not even historical fragments were integrated into the new temple (Fig. 17). The activists, however, “thought of it as a far more appropriate action for the collective subconscious of the nation than many other activities of the government,” as Romila Thapar wrote, (2004, 197). There were also attempts by archeologists and historians to protect the site and to avoid the dismantling of the old temple. All arguments were overruled by identifying it as a Hindu national monument. Among the nationalist politicians it was K. M. Munshi, president of the Vishva Hindu Parishad, who already in 1922 “became obsessed with the idea of rebuilding the temple” (Thapar 2004, 192). He “converted Somanatha into an icon of the resurgence of Hindu religious nationalism, and of freedom from ‘foreign’ Muslim rule.” Nehru, however, insisted that the Government of India should be left out of this enterprise and the funding should come from a trust financed by public donations. He refused to attend the consecration ceremonies.

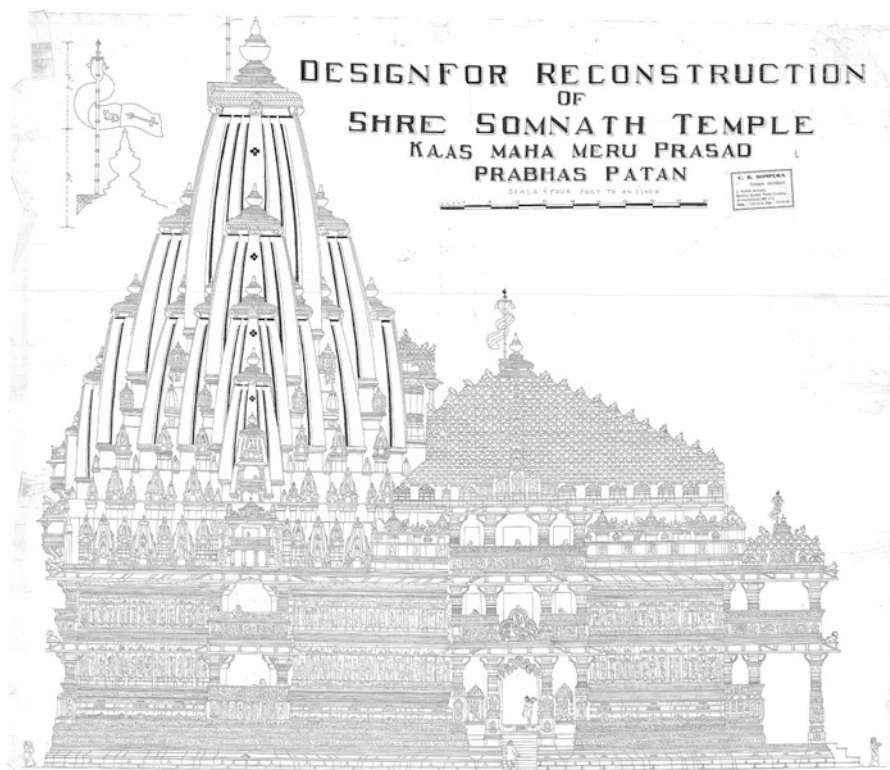


Fig. 16 Somnāth Temple, Prabhas Patan. Plan for the rebuilding of the temple, designed by Prabhasker O. Sompura. The ruins of the earlier building were torn down in October 1950. In May 1951, Rajendra Prasad, the first president of the Republic of India, performed the installation ceremony for a new temple building that was finally completed in 1953. In local parlance, this rebuilding is referred to as a “reconstruction.” By courtesy of C. B. Sompura, temple architect from Ahmedabad

The building of the new temple was completed in 1953. Similar “reconstructions” were subsequently realized at many places in India. They needed no evidence whatsoever, because they were designed along an imagined ideal. The case of the Somnāth temple indicates that in a Hindu context, replacement, rebuilding, or reconstruction of a temple is one and the same. No visual resemblance was needed to vindicate the idea of reconstruction. Continuity of place was the sole value that counted. In fact, the new temple on the authentic site was designed to be larger, more splendid, and “grandier.”

According to A.G. Krishna Menon these projects can be labelled as “inventive mimesis.” Since the 1970s temple complexes have been created in increasing scale: “The layout and design of the buildings do not follow any classically prescribed models or even customary ones. They are imaginative imitations of originals from another place and time” (Menon 2005, 99). In a summary he argued:

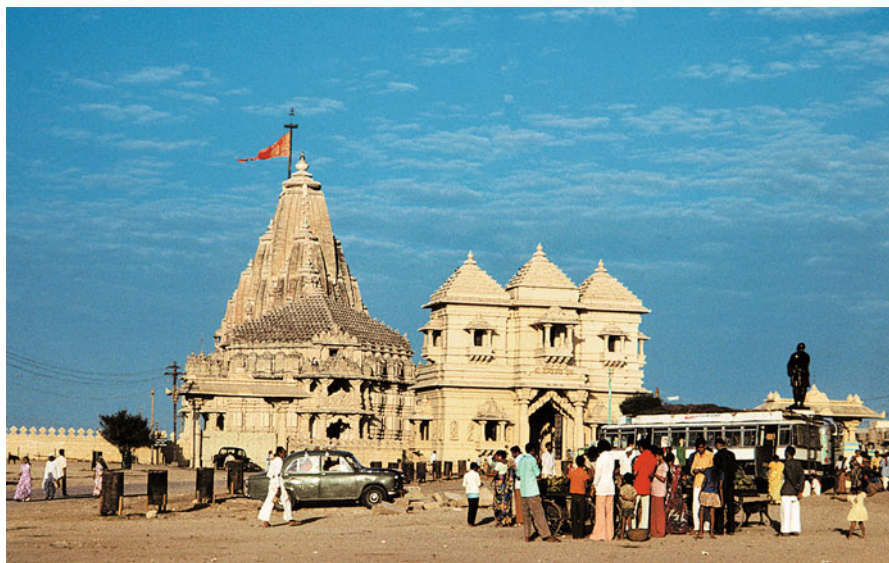


Fig. 17 Somnāth Temple, Prabhas Patan. The temple in 1976. Photo by Niels Gutschow

Architectural imitation is not merely a common phenomenon in India, but is more the rule than the exception. Its practice in fact was once a profound classical tradition which permeated all forms of an ancient culture, and it has left an indelible civilizational mark on modern aesthetic sensibilities. Despite the seminal experience of colonialism and the strenuous efforts to modernize after independence (1947), the reliance on imitation as a strategy for artistic production continues to be important in fields as varied as cinema, music and architecture (Menon 2005, 98).

Building the First Fu Tower in China in Chuxiong in 2002–2004

At some distance from the town of Chuxiong (Yunnan), a multi-storied tower was constructed in the sixteenth century with the aim of observing the water of the neighboring rivers and preventing floods. The tower was strategically located to influence the geomantic constellation of the landscape. By the 1960s, only five of the original nine roofs had survived the ravages of time. At the end of the Cultural Revolution only three tiers were left standing.

In 2002, the county (Yunnan) resolved to clear the site and to “rebuild” (Chin. 重建 *chongjian*) the tower (Fig. 18) in its “original guise” (Chin. 原貌 *yuanmao*). In terms of credibility, one thing the venture had in its favor was that the rebuilding was to be done on the “site of a ruin” (Chin. 遗址 *yizhi*). The undertaking started in March 2002 and was completed in November 2004. It involved a wide range of construction projects. From a parking space at the bottom of the hill, a long flight of

Fig. 18 Chuxiong in Yunnan, China. Entrance ticket to the First Fu Tower in China (Chin. 中國第一福塔 *zhongguo diyi futa*), rebuilt from March 2002 to November 2004 on the “site of a ruin.” Until the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, the lower five stories of a Stupa survived from the times of the Ming dynasty. Left and right of the entrance one can read “福” (*fu* meaning “happiness,” “affluence,” or “good fortune”). Between the characters is Mile, who was originally associated with the future Buddha Maitreya and the virtue of compassion. The smiling figure is popularly associated with good fortune. The lower caption of the ticket reads “stars of happiness shining high” (福星高照 *fuxing gaozhao*). September 2010



steps framed by 108 flagstones inscribed “*fu* 福” ends at the entrance to the tower, which rises from a triple-tiered platform. The tower represents the center of a complex design scheme propagating moral values in association with the central virtue: *Fu* 福. This concept denotes the state of happiness, but it also implies affluence and good fortune. It can probably be understood either way: good fortune is based on happiness, or good fortune, and certainly affluence, creates happiness. As the entrance ticket and the posters tell the visitor, the site claims to be the first tower in China in the name of *fu* 福. Within a decade it has advanced to the status of a place of pilgrimage devoted to the attainment of a meaningful existence. Surprisingly, the tower and the adjacent courts were not planned as a “cultural tourist area” managed by a profit-seeking company. The authorities of the county wanted it to serve as a locus of cultural identification and a place for recreation within easy reach of a quickly developing urban center.

The tower was rebuilt as a reinforced concrete structure. The nine tiers of the tower are open to a wide range of symbolic interpretations. Nine is the ultimate cosmological number associated with the organization of space. Ever since ancient times, the order of the nine fields has served as a model for the foundation of cities. Nine also stands for the emperor and the continuity of time. The tiers of the tower utilize the inherent cosmological order to present nine aspirations that need to be achieved in life. From bottom to top these are: (1.) Wealth (Chin. 財源茂盛 *caiyuan maosheng*), (2.) Success in business (Chin. 事業興旺 *shiye xingwang*), (3.) Successful learning (Chin. 學勤長進 *xueji zhangjin*), (4.) A harmonious family (Chin. 家庭和睦 *jiating hemu*), (5.) Successful offspring (Chin. 子孫成才 *zisun chengcai*), (6.) Peace and good fortune (Chin. 平安吉祥 *ping'an jixiang*), (7.) Fruitful dealings (Chin. 從善積德 *congshan jide*), (8.) Enduring health (Chin. 健康永駐 *jiankang yongzhu*), and (9.) Longevity (Chin. 延年益壽 *yannian yishou*).

At the four major points of the compass, the tower is framed by Buddhist and Confucian temples as well as paved courts and gardens with variations on the central theme *fu* 福 complemented by *lu* 祿 (success) and *shou* 壽 (longevity). The trinity of *fu-lu-shou* 福祿壽 represents the essence of a fruitful life. Access to the tower from the south requires ascending 27 steps (a number which is three times nine, while the two digits also add up to nine) to a 6.9-m pillar bearing the character *fu* 福 in the form of a replica of the calligraphic version by Mao Zedong. The digit six stands for good fortune, while nine implies eternity. At the entrance to the tower itself, the visitor is welcomed by a large figure of Buddha Maitreya (Mile), the most popular visualization of good fortune.

A courtyard to the east adds to the presence of *fu* 福, while a garden to the west is dedicated to *lu* 祿 and an almost monumental square in the north to *shou* 壽. *Lu* 祿 stands for a successful career, which takes shape in a “fountain of harmony” (Fig. 19) in the middle of which a family of deer cast in bronze stands on an island. The character for “deer” is pronounced identically to *lu* 祿 thus creating an association with the success the visitor is presumably out to achieve.

Shou 壽 stands for longevity, which is identical with the goal of the ninth level of the tower but expressed by a different character. *Shou* 壽 is visualized by an octagonal calendrical diagram (Fig. 20) framed by 12 pillars bearing the animals



Fig. 19 Chuxiong in Yunnan. The court in the west is dedicated to success (Chin. 禄 *lu*) and has a deer pond with three golden deer (male, female, fawn) worshipping happiness (Chin. 金鹿祈福 *jīnlù qífú*). Originally, *lu* 禄 also meant “happiness” and was later associated with a person’s career (in terms of salary). Photo by Niels Gutschow, 22 September 2010



Fig. 20 Chuxiong in Yunnan. The court north of the Fu Tower is dedicated to longevity (Chin. 壽 *shou*), with 12 pillars symbolizing the zodiac and framing an octagon covering 169 square meters and enclosing the character *fu* 福, happiness and affluence. In the background is a large temple built between 2002 and 2004. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 22 September 2010

of the zodiac. To add to this weighty symbolism, the character *fu* 福 occupies the center, and the enclosing circle of the configuration covers 169 square meters.

The site of the Fu Tower is authentic. It is located on the site of a former tower, which is identified as the “site of a ruin” (Chin. 遺址 *yizhi*). The term *yizhi* 遺址 implies that the site has a historical value, which makes it eligible for protection by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH). The rebuilding of the tower did not intend to reproduce the original shape, but rather to recall the earlier structure. The term *chongjian* 重建 implies that an entity that existed before has been “constructed again.” The act of recreation ensures continuity of place but not of form.

The site of the former apotropaic monument is equipped with many layers of meaning, the intention being to create or re-create a shrine visualizing the aspirations of a modern society. The result is a kind of theme park referring to desirable achievements in the here and now and embedded in an infrastructure of Confucian and Buddhist temples, places for worship and offerings of incense and fruit. The entire location sets out to propagate traditional values supporting a specifically Chinese identity in a changing society.

Patina or Age Value (Ger. *Alterswert*) Against the Impulse to Renew the Surface

Introduction

The issue of patina is probably the most controversial among the many aspects of authenticity. Theoretically, at least in Europe, the surface of a historic structure has to be consolidated to prevent further decay. The actual practice is far from following the powerful principle. Private and institutional owners try their best to find or even create good reasons to renew surfaces in order to recall the original splendor if not glory. In contrast, beautification is an all-pervasive impulse in the care of historic structures in South Asia. Even the Archaeological Survey of India, which was explicitly founded by British Colonial rule in 1861 to preserve prominent archeological remains, did not refrain from beautifications and even today spends a large proportion of its funds on gardening to “improve” to environment of ruins. Two quite different cases are presented below to document the impulse to renew the surface of temples, or even add a layer of paint where there had never been any.

The European Obsession with Patina

For more than 150 years, a controversy has raged between those art historians, architects, and conservation officers who consider material authenticity the *ultima ratio* and those who not only acknowledge or apologetically concede but self-confidently assert that the “restoration” (Fitch 1990, 46: “the process of returning the artifact to the physical condition in which it would have been at some previous stage of its morphological development”) of an historic structure is a valid aim in the workaday world of “conservation” (Fitch 1990, 46: “physical intervention in the actual fabric of the building to ensure its continued structural integrity”) and “preservation” (Fitch 1990, 46: “maintenance of the artifact in the same physical condition as when it was received by the curatorial agency”). At times, this controversy has assumed the proportions of an out-and-out war of words in which those engaged in restoration work are regularly lambasted as traitors or insulted as counterfeiters.

One powerful voice in this whole debate was that of the British writer and antiquarian John Ruskin (1819–1900), who in the 1840s raised his voice against restorations. His pugnacious, not to say militant, arguments were rooted in a romantic predisposition and the desire to preserve patina and the traces of history. At all events, he contended, the present physical condition of a building should be retained. A romantic feature of this conviction is the acknowledgement of the fact that “curatorial agencies” (or simply the owners) usually start to act when it is too late, i.e., when the physical condition of a building calls for an intervention “to ensure its continued structural integrity” (Fitch 1990, 46).

As good a place as any to begin an engagement with Ruskin’s ideas is a famous quote from his *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, first published in 1849, which figures in many disquisitions on the origins of the conservation movement. On the subject of “memory,” Ruskin makes the following contention that has been drawn upon ever since in the skirmishes between those who take the term “conservation” literally and those who set out to transcend mere maintenance and to “restore” a building.

Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word *restoration* understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is *impossible*, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. [...] Another spirit may be given by another time, and it is then a new building [...]” (Ruskin 1849, 179; italics in the original).

Half a century later, another major authority, Alois Riegl (1858–1905) of Vienna, made an influential contribution to the theory of art (Ger. *Kunsttheorie*) and especially to the field of conservation. *Der moderne Denkmalkultus* was published in 1903, but it took 80 years to attract the attention of the broader conservation community. It has now been translated into English (*The Modern*

Cult of Monuments: its Character and Origin, 1982), French (1984, 2003), Italian (1985), Spanish (1987, 1999, 2007, 2008), and Czech (2003). After its publication, Riegl served as general conservator of the Central Commission for the Research and Conservation of Monuments of Art and History in Austria.

Riegl's main argument was that an architectural monument is characterized by "age value," by which he meant the scars, gaps, crevices, scratches, wrinkles that cover the surface and embody a variety of messages. The "cult of monuments" says that there must be no interference with the natural process of decay, an approach that rules out conservation of any kind. In short, it is the patina that establishes and guarantees authenticity. In contrast to Riegl, Ruskin valued the age, that is, the antiquity of a building: "Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passion waves of humanity" (Ibid, 233–234). The emphasis here is not on the tangible, visually perceptible surface but on immaterial messages—whatever one may understand by "passion waves of humanity."

In 1916, Riegl's successor in office, Max Dvořák (1874–1921), published a *Catechism for Preservation of Monuments* (*Katechismus der Denkmalspflege*) designed to communicate the idea of preservation to a wider public (Dvořák 1916). Both titles, Riegl's *The Modern Cult of Monuments* and Dvořák's *Catechism* suggest that preservation is not so much a rational attitude as a belief. According to *The American Heritage Dictionary* (2006), a cult is an "obsessive devotion to or veneration for a person, principle or ideal" and a catechism "a brief summary of the basic principles of religion," namely Christianity. In our context, both definitions may seem a little extreme and do scant justice to the authors. But they rightly indicate that in sum conservation principles are not based on science but on a system of belief, this being the very reason why the conservation issue all too often degenerates into a "slanging match" in which the differences between the adversaries involved are often grossly exaggerated.

This belligerence already became apparent in Ruskin's day. In 1854, the French architect Viollet-le-Duc maintained that restoration is a "means to re-establish [a building] to a finished state, which may in fact never have actually existed at any given time" (Viollet-le-Duc 1990, 195).

Riegl and his German colleagues like the architect Cornelius Gurlitt (1850–1938) and the art historian Georg Dehio (1850–1930) shared the same appreciation of age value. In 1900 Gurlitt maintained "that the aim of any restoration [Ger. *Restaurierung*] is the preservation; one should spare what is decayed from further degradation. One should restore in such a way that it remains obvious what in a building is old and what is new, and one should mark what is added stylistically as new."⁸ Dehio followed suit in 1901, asserting in the context of the

⁸ "Zweck der Restaurierung solle vor allem das Erhalten sein; man solle das, was zerfallen will, vor weiterer Beschädigung behüten. Man solle es so herstellen, daß man deutlich erkenne, was an einem Bau alt und was neu sei, und man solle das, was man neu hinzufüge, auch stilistisch als neu

controversy regarding the restoration of Heidelberg Castle that “it is a psychologically deep-rooted longing” that “the old should look old, with all its experiences, such as wrinkles, cracks and wounds.” (Dehio 1988, 41).

Around 1900, Riegl, Gurlitt, and Dehio established a cult based on a system of belief that among conservationists has remained valid to this day. So it is hardly surprising that many of their principles should have resurfaced in the Venice Charter of 1964. Before the formulation of the Nara Document on Authenticity of 1994 these principles claimed universal validity. Even the “psychologically deep-rooted longing” for patina was claimed to be part of human nature. It never occurred to the authors of the charter that attitudes and longings might in fact be a product of specific cultural processes.

Riegl went even further with his claim that age value has the unique advantage of being valid for all, i.e., transcending confessional differences, the divide between the educated and the uneducated, and between those who love and understand art and those who do not. Until today, the claim of universal validity (Ger. *Allgemeingültigkeit*) gives the supporters of age value an immense self-assurance, making them rather “conquering and intolerant,”⁹ as Riegl said in 1903 (Riegl 1988, 62).

It is this claim to universal validity for certain aspects of conservation that has poisoned the debate, leaving little room for consideration of specific contexts. By contrast, Herb Stovel refers in 2008 to the “emerging conviction that authenticity resided in what a selection of attributes rooted in the particular place—and circumstances-specific values of a historic place might reveal.” (Stovel 2008, 12–13).

One has to bear in mind that everything quoted in the preceding passages comes from a stoutly academic background. More often than not, principles are defined by the academic guardians of architectural monuments. The freezing of a structure in time is associated with wishful thinking, the idea that, well maintained, a structure would exist forever. But this is to ignore the fact that in most cases conservation is concerned with ill-kept, dilapidated, or simply neglected structures. In these cases, conservation turns into restoration, be it abruptly or even unexpectedly.

To return to the value of patina, the West seems to be obsessed with replacing objects lost in war or in the course of progress. Reconstructed objects satisfy the hungers of consumerism on the one hand, while respecting traces of decay on the other. This may be especially true of German society after the loss of historical monuments in war and in the post-war developments undertaken in the name of progress and efficiency.

kennzeichnen.” Cornelius Gurlitt in “Bericht des Ersten Tages für Denkmalpflege, 24–25. September 1900 in Dresden” (Berlin 1900), 51, quoted from Buttler et al. 2011, 62.

⁹“Dieser Anspruch auf Allgemeingültigkeit ist es nun auch, der die Anhänger des Alterswertes unwiderstehlich dahin treibt, erobernd und unduldsam aufzutreten.” In Riegl 1903; this quote is reprinted in Dehio 1988, 62, and Buttler et al. 2011, 66.



Fig. 21 View across the temples on Satrunjaya Mountain in Gujarat (India). Photo by Niels Gutschow, 21 November 2009

South Asian Preference for Perfect, Even Beautified Surfaces

The Cyclic Renewal of the Surface of Jain Temples on Satrunjaya Hill in Gujarat, India

South Asian societies do not share the predilection for patina, for scars and scratches. The cyclic renewal of the plaster of the Jain temples on the sacred mountain of Satrunjaya in Gujarat, India, serves as a good example of the preference for immaculate surfaces. The mountain (Fig. 21), located near the south-eastern shore of Saurashtra, rises about 600 m above the plains and is topped by a complex of temples with 863 buildings. The hill is held sacred by the followers of Jainism (worshipper of the Jinas, Jina being an epithet of the Tirthankaras, the “ford-makers,” who had completed their spiritual journey after freeing themselves of all psychosomatic impediments). This religious doctrine was established at the same time as Buddhism in the fifth century BCE by Vardhamana, named Mahāvīra, “the great hero.” Today, Jainism has spread across the world, having some 4.2 million followers in India alone. Despite the emphasis on monastic discipline, the Jains developed into a wealthy mercantile community and have figured as patrons of temple architecture to the present day. The earliest temples on Satrunjaya Hill date back to the sixteenth century, but most of them were constructed in the nineteenth century, owing their existence to donations from rich merchants of Ahmedabad. “The relatively unadorned outer walls (no sculptures), the clustered elegant profiles of the towers and the double-storey porches are all” as George Michell writes, “characteristic of the final phase of western Indian temple architecture.” (Michell 1989, 308).

Fig. 22 Detail of a winged celestial musician in the Nandīśvara Dvīpa Temple at Umfai Tuk, established in 1840 by Seth Hemabhai Vakhachand from Ahmedabad. Its regular renewal involves cleaning the limestone and creating a new surface with fine plaster made of lime and stone powder. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 21 November 2009



Almost all the temples have been constructed with stone from Dranghadra, a material that displays a rough surface when molded or transformed into sculptures. This surface was coated with layers of plaster that were inevitably exposed to sun and rain and hence developed hairline cracks and changes in color. Within a decade, the temples took on a dirty grey appearance instrumental in prompting donors to renew the coat of plaster. Under the guidance of local masters (Hind. *sompura*), craftsmen now re-create the sculptured struts and pilasters at irregular intervals every 30–40 years. In contrast to Riegl's doctrine, which propagates patina and excludes any intervention in the process of deterioration, the renewal of the plaster surface is an exercise in reverence (Fig. 22).



Fig. 23 Bhaktapur (Nepal), Nyatāpvala Temple (built in 1702) in its present shape. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 4 November 2007

Appreciation is bestowed not on the age value of a temple but on the splendor of a renewed coat of plaster radiant in the bright sun. The quality of the work is assured, with funds provided by trusts such as the Shri Anandji Kalyanji Trust of Ahmedabad, which cares for some 800 temples in India. The Jain temples at Satrunjaya are not listed as protected monuments because they are managed by private trusts and are still in active religious use. The trusts are invested with the full authority required for preservation of the temples by means of restoration.

Beautification of the Nyatāpvala Temple in Bhaktapur, Nepal, by the Public Works Department in 1963

The case of the “restoration” of the Nyātapvala *degāi* (literally the “five-roofed” temple (Fig. 23) in Bhaktapur, Nepal documents the impulse to beautify in quite a different context. The temple is a good example of the Nepalese “pagoda” style of architecture. However, “pagoda” is an inappropriate, originally derogatory Portuguese term for heathen temples and in a tourist context is used for any towering “oriental” or simply picturesque structure. The temple was built in 197 days and completed on 26 June 1702 to house Siddhilakṣmī, the personal goddess of Bhūpatīndra Malla, King of Bhaktapur, one of the three kingdoms of the small Kathmandu Valley. No one has access to it except a Tantric priest who serves the deity every morning. Accordingly, the building has very little significance for the people of the city, who worship chthonic deities that demand blood sacrifices.

Surprisingly, the temple stands intact on a terraced plinth, having survived the devastating earthquakes of 1833, 1934, and 25 April 2015 which inflicted only



Fig. 24 Bhaktapur (Nepal), Nyatāpvala Temple. The beautification program initiated by King Mahendra in 1962 had the entire temple covered with a coat of paint (hitherto unknown in Newar architecture) for which a smooth surface was produced by filling in cracks with cement mortar. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 4 November 2007

minor damage to the top tier. In 1963 King Mahendra had the temple restored, or rather beautified (the Sanskrit term *jīrṇoddhāra* can mean anything from maintenance and major renewal to total replacement) by the Public Works Department (Nep. *bhawan bibāṅ*). An extensive beautification program included the renewal of the outward-looking bricks on the plinths with red cement mortar, painting the sanctum walls red with yellow lines to indicate the joints, and decking out all the woodwork in gay colors. Most revealing of all is the fact that all cracks in the woodwork (carving was usually done on fresh hard wood of the Sal variety, which regularly developed cracks) were covered with cement mortar to create a smooth surface for the paint coating (Fig. 24).

With no understanding of the values inherent in the historic architecture of the Newars, who created a unique urban culture in the Kathmandu Valley, the overseers of the Public Works Department, who were educated in the use of brick-dust plaster, whitewashing, and enamel paints, ignored the surface of the original material—Newar craftsmen never colored brickwork or wood. The ultimate aim was to beautify the temple in line with Indian color schemes.

The Department of Archaeology established in Nepal in 1953 was modeled on the Archaeological Survey of India and as such represented an administrative act in fulfilment of the requirements of a modern state. Total lack of understanding, experience, and expertise in the field of conservation ruled out any participation of the Department of Archaeology till the early 1970s. The example demonstrates that beyond maintenance and beautification, the concept of conservation appeared to be alien to Nepal. Conservation has rather to be understood as an attitude adopted

by a society that is alienated from its past, and in Nepal alienation of this kind began only very recently with the increasing loss of historical fabric in the wake of aggressive urban development. But till today people color wooden elements and brick surfaces on auspicious occasions to gain merit.

The impulse to beautify has a number of consequences. Since the thirteenth century the chronicles tell us of the replacement of tile roofs with gilded copper roofing. With sheet copper easily available the replacement of tile roofs by rich merchants or local communities became a pervasive practice, while gold is replaced by gold bronze or yellow enamel paint. As stewards of conservation the authorized Department of Archaeology has no control whatsoever. To the disgust of conservationists, donations from devotees have resulted in additions such as canopies, railings, and large-scale iron grids of very inferior craftsmanship. Obviously donors have become stingy.

The coming generation will probably reevaluate the legacy of the past and reconcile traditional religious practices with values that have gradually evolved with the modernization of society and the advent of global aesthetic norms in connection with work and leisure, education and science.

Building Rituals and the Ritual of Building: Intangible Aspects in Conservation Practice in Nepal and Japan

Introduction

Crafts in Japan

The debate on authenticity has so far failed to touch on the way skills such as carpentry or masonry are embedded in processes, i.e., building rituals. In many cultural contexts, the craftsmen themselves act in a priestly fashion, thereby authenticating the product, be it a single element of the structure or even the entire building. The same is true for the sanctification of replicas the making of which represents an immaterial heritage that is intrinsically authentic. The Korean-born philosopher Byung-Chul Han recently pointed out that:

the far east does not know the cult of the original. There, quite a different technique of preservation developed, which should be more effective than conservation or restoration. It is achieved by continuous replication. This technique totally overrides the difference between the original and the replica. One could also say that originals are preserved through copies (Han 2011, 67).

The cyclic renewal of the many shrines at Ise is closely linked to ritual. Every morning, all the craftsmen involved (carpenters, thatchers, and tinsmiths) gather on open ground, immaculately clad in white (Fig. 25). An altar-like table is placed in front of them, with a foreman officiating in a priest-like manner. He reads out a few words in honor of the sun goddess Amaterasu and strews salt in the direction of those present in an act of purification (Fig. 26).

Fig. 25 Ise (Japan). Behind an altar-like table, a foreman reads out a few words in honor of sun goddess Amaterasu. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 20 May 2010



Fig. 26 Ise (Japan). Craftsmen from the workshops near the Gekū, the outer shrine, starting their daily work with a gesture of obeisance to the sun goddess Amaterasu. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 20 May 2010



The techniques of carpentry have become highly sophisticated in the workshops of Ise. The annual making of salt, however, follows age-old traditions, avoiding even the slightest innovation.

The act of purification effectively turns work into worship. The shaping of the building components can be viewed as a monumental ritual, reenacted every 20 years, with a specific beginning and a specific end. Consecrating and even worshipping tools or officiating prior to the beginning of daily work elevates craftsmanship to a higher plane.

The carpenters at Ise are recruited from carpenter families all over Japan. Similarly, among the Newars of Nepal, only very few carpenters do not follow in

the footsteps of their ancestors. Thus, the values of intangible heritage in processes of conservation and restoration need to be adequately acknowledged. While the craftsmen at Ise and those in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal certainly work and perform in an exceptional context that is subject to change, indigenous knowledge systems and building rituals constitute a valid criterion of authenticity, often overlooked by professionals who have no roots in living cultural traditions.

Crafts in Nepal

Among the Newars of Nepal, who have developed a highly complex urban culture in the Kathmandu Valley since at least the fifth century CE, life is embedded in rituals on many layers. Life cycle rituals require the sacrifice of a goat or sheep, and the great urban rituals in certain cases require hecatombs of sacrifices to ensure the cyclic renewal and continuity of time and space—preferably on the occasion of New Year.

Even today the head carpenter of a building site sacrifices a goat when a prominent beam had been installed. The blood of the sacrificial animal not only consecrates the structure but also the tools (Fig. 27) of masons and carpenters. The energy of the tools is not only renewed on building sites but also on the occasion of the great fall ritual dedicated to the goddess Durgā, which lasts for 10 days. On the ninth day, the tools are placed in the treasure chamber of the house and sprinkled



Fig. 27 Bhaktapur (Nepal). On the occasion of the installation of the principal beam (Nev. *ninapūjā*), the tools of the carpenters (*right*: plane, hammer, chisels, chalk line, and adze) and brick masons (an axe-like trowel, measuring tape) are consecrated with the blood of a goat. The sweets, tangerines, radishes, green peas and a cup with rice, a betel nut, and coin (Nev. *kisli*) are offerings dedicated to the god Gaṇeśa. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 16 February 2000

with the blood of the sacrificial animal, usually a duck. On the following day, the Victorious Tenth, the family's eldest member hands out the tools to his brothers, sons, and nephews. But only after full moon will the tools be ready to perform their creative and beneficial work for another year. Every day a craftsman will touch his forehead with the tool in a gesture of respect. Thus tool and hand establish a unique relationship. On certain occasions, the mortise chisel in the hand of the chief carpenter calls into being deities in the form of struts supporting the roof of temples. During carving, the struts remain in a material state. But a single decisive stroke opens the eyes of the deities and the strut itself turns into a powerful deity.

Carpenters' tools are not consecrated by a priest, but painters often get their brushes blessed by a priest before the eyes on ritual pots are given the final daub of black paint.

In the context of restoration projects, such practices are certainly part of an intangible heritage. Replacing a carved strut (with or without documentation of its predecessor) of a temple in Nepal was ruled out by the principles of the Venice Charter, because it never occurred to the authors of the charter that replicas of deities would be carved by carpenters whose ancestors had carved the originals. It was also beyond their experience and imagination that a carved roof strut should be turned into a deity by means of a ritual act. In fact, in a Newar context, a carefully repaired historic strut supports the value of material authenticity as advocated by international professionals. In contrast, a newly carved strut with an open-eyed deity stands for a process authenticated by the hereditary carpenter.

The Authentic Replica: The Cyclic Renewal of the Shrines in Ise Since 1300 Years

The shrines of Ise (Fig. 28) were for the first time presented by Kenzo Tange and Noboru Kawazoe as the "Prototype of Japanese Architecture" in 1965 (Tange and Kawazoe 1965). Impressive photographs taken by Yoshio Watanabe on the occasion of the 59 renewal in 1953 had a lasting impact on architects worldwide. It was the first time that an outsider like Tange (neither priest nor craftsman) had been allowed to document and publicize a new shrine after its completion. Little has been added to our knowledge since then and almost nothing is known about changes the "original" underwent in layout and the design of detail.

The first renewal is documented as having taken place in 690. After intervals of 20 years, the Naiku was renewed for the twelfth time in 905 while the Gekū (Fig. 29) was renewed 3 years later.

Review of historical paintings and photographs enables us to say that since the seventeenth century the two treasure houses (Jap. *hōden*) of the shrine have been aligned with the main hall (Jap. *shōden*) and that a canopy above the stairs of the main hall was added some time in the eighteenth century. In 1909 the earlier



Fig. 28 Ise, view of the Naikū, the inner shrine, in the late 1990s. *Source:* Brochure “Jingū”, n. d., 7

configuration was regained in such a way that the treasure houses are located at a distance of 9 m behind the main hall.

The jewel-like tops of the railing are rendered in five colors, obviously reminiscent of an incorporation of elements from Buddhist temples. More conspicuous are the gilt copper fittings on the end grains of the railing and the doors, which must have undergone various stages of development. For the renewal in 2013, a group of architectural historians have been called upon to develop a design signaling a reversion to an earlier phase. Structural changes have occurred to the extent that the posts are clad in copper below ground level. In the last 20 years the posts have not weakened at all, but as all timber elements are reused for other constructions it obviously seemed advisable to protect the posts. This short overview documents slight changes and a fine balance between technical and esthetical innovations and the return to an imaginary original.

Based on these observations, we can say that the form of the shrine and the layout of the precincts preserve a 1300-year-old tradition so faithfully that we can rightly refer to it as an authentic replica.



Fig. 29 Ise, the main sanctuary (Jap. *shōden*) of the outer shrine, Gekū, after its renewal in 1993. Incised fittings in gilt copper on the grain ends and jewel-like tops on the railing are indicative of a procedure that allows innovations. *Source:* Brochure “Jingū”, n. d., 14

More important are the ritual aspects demonstrating that a cyclic renewal is more effective in preserving the identity of a structure than maintenance, conservation or restoration.

Almost contemporary with the publication by Kenzo Tange, Günter Nitschke drew attention to the ritual of renewal in Ise, which demonstrated a certain familiarity with eternal change. He described the shrines as poems dedicated to the eternal embedded in the transitional (Nitschke 1964, 499–515). Thirty years later Nitschke had got over his original fascination and was more precise. Through the renewal of the shrines “natural time (time perceived as the eternal return of the seasons) is renewed by the cyclic reconstruction of Japan’s supreme sacred space, the shrine grounds of the imperial ancestors” (Nitschke 1993, 10). This process “resolve(s) the ultimate ‘disease’ of time, both historical and natural: the yearning for sacred authority and sacred architecture to be extremely ancient, yet always pristinely fresh.”

The process of renewal extends over 8 years. First, two trees are felled from which two small “taboo pillars” (Jap. *imibashira*) are shaped. Wrapped in white cloth, these are stored at the place where the rice cultivated in the “divine fields” is kept. The pillars are placed below the main hall 1 week before the mirror as the

“August form” of the sun deity is transferred to the new site. The mirror is the only object that is not renewed.

The renewal of the shelter for the deity stands for permanence; it ensures the deity’s eternal presence. Daily food offerings to the outer shrine, seasonal offerings of cloth and other household items provide the deities with everything they are likely to need. In the vicinity of the inner and outer shrines, halls for sacred music and dance (Jap. *kaguraden*) provide space for performances that remain equally unchanged. A veritable universe of cultural practices has accumulated around the shrine and keeps ancient methods of pottery, weaving, basket-, and casket-making alive.

One of the auxiliary shrines (*Mishiodonojinja*) on the coast presides over the annual production of approximately 200 kg of salt. The huts (*Mishioyakusho*) for the storing of water with a high percentage of salt and the seething of salt look even more primordial than the shrine buildings and are also replaced at intervals of 20 years. The use of salt is essential for any purification ritual.

The wood of the dismantled shrines is not wasted. It embodies a quality that radiates “forever.” It is therefore reused for the construction of other shrines across Japan. In 1993, 169 shrines participated in the reuse of the sacred material. The material of the eastern treasure house, for example, is used for the renewal of the Shinmei-sha shrine on the island of Shinokima. And 20 years later, the shrine is relocated on the same island. After one more cycle, when the wood has become 60 years old, the material is used for the renewal of 18 miniature shrines across the island (Henrichsen 2004, 58).

Once the renewal of the shrines in Ise is seen as part of a complex enactment of daily, seasonal, and cyclical renewal, it becomes clear that overcoming the “disease of time,” the imminent death as a linear dimension, becomes an immense task. Cyclic performance freezes the practices of renewal. The material evidence of these practices stands for permanence and thus for the healing of time. Faithful replicas embody an authentic quality.

In 2004, the Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage was approved under the patronage of UNESCO. The declaration itself was the outcome of a meeting held in Nara, Japan in the same year to mark the tenth anniversary of the Nara Document on Authenticity and the fortieth anniversary of the Venice Charter. It argues that with respect to the intangible heritage, the notion of authenticity as observed in the context of the tangible heritage becomes irrelevant as the intangible heritage is “constantly being re-created” (Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs and UNESCO 2004, Paragraph 6). Following this logic in 2008, Stephen Frith argued in favor of justifying the identification of the practice in Ise as an “authentic copy” (Frith 2008, 682). Frith identifies a “pervasive melancholy” in the “narratives of imbalance and loss” that were instrumental in shaping “the categories and language associated with the Venice Charter.”

The Intangible Value of Craftsmanship Among Newar Woodcarvers and Metalworkers in Nepal

Introduction

In March 2011 *The New York Times* published an article titled “An Islamic Fantasia, Created by Authentic Craftsmen.”¹⁰ New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art had decided to create a medieval Maghrebi-Andalusian-style courtyard, an “Islamic fantasia,” for which the creator installed a group of “living artists” in the museum. Fourteen craftsmen from Fez were summoned for the purpose. They were referred to as “living historians who have carried on patterns and designs preserved in practice for generations.” To call a craftsman a “historian” may be a little inappropriate, but as the milieu is preserved, the work demonstrates authenticity.

A similar milieu of craftsmanship is preserved in South Asia. In Nepal the debate has started only very recently (see the contribution of Sudarshan Raj Tiwari in this volume), but in India the issue of craftsmanship had attained prominence in the architectural heritage discourse more than 25 years ago. In 1989 the architect A.G. Krishna Menon pointed out that by following the practices of the West, “we [in India] pay the price by alienating the objectives of conservation from the genius of the country” (Menon 1989, 25). For Menon, the “genius of the country” not only lies in the meaning of place and site but in the survival of intangible values such as craftsmanship: “The present emphasis on antiquity of objects marginalizes the remarkable survival of craftspeople, rituals and customs which are equally important in informing of the nature of our past” (Menon 1989, 26). Menon even goes so far as to claim that “in India, we have one of the few instances in the world, where genuine authenticity could still be created in a viable dialogue between the imperatives of tradition and modernity.” In his radical engagement with the concept of authenticity, Menon obviously acknowledges no time limit. Authenticity is not exclusively bound up with a cultural product of the past; it is a quality inherent in the hands that still create genuine products. In this volume, Katharina Weiler examines this postulation further and reveals the implications of a monumental marriage between industrial potential and craftsmanship in the present practice in India.

New “liberties” should not, Menon concedes, “be practiced on the exemplary monuments of our civilization, for they remain the authentic texts of a bygone era.” But he draws the attention to the “thousands of lesser monuments and historic buildings, which still exist in our contemporary landscape.” In an effort to sting the professional functionaries of conservation worldwide into a response, Menon even propagates the “conjectural restoration of such buildings, with a view to return them to productive use.”

¹⁰ Kennedy 2011, 6.

However, the authenticity of specialized crafts has rarely attracted the attention of professionals in the field of conservation. Jukka Jokilehto mentioned “workmanship” (Jokilehto 1993, 59–75) in his deliberations on the diversified faces of authenticity, but the creative hands behind such workmanship remain vaguely delineated. In an industrialized country, the creator, be it a craftsman or crafts-woman, has finished school, has undergone an apprenticeship and has eventually become a restorer endowed with highly sophisticated skills. In his seminal contribution to a workshop in Bergen organized in preparation and anticipation of the 1994 conference in Nara addressing “criteria of authenticity,” David Lowenthal refers to the “personal and cultural milieu” of the creator as possibly adding to the “faithfulness of context” (Lowenthal 1994, 42). Lowenthal also refers to “authenticities of process and representation.” He suggests we should “honor fidelity of processes and skills and their transmission from generation to generation” (Lowenthal 1994, 62) as “an alternative response to authentic doubts” (Lowenthal 1994, 60). Lowenthal mentions the “Living National Treasures and their consummate skills in Japan and Korea,” a unique way indeed of appreciating what Menon later called “indigenous knowledge systems” (Menon 2008, 18). He challenged the universal validity of the Venice Charter in the twenty-first century: “Its advocates [...] have proselytized its message as an article of faith,” Menon maintains, to such an extent, that it “has displaced living cultural traditions” (Menon 2008, 18).

Menon’s perspective is surely highly idealistic. Craftsmen in India no longer necessarily learn their trades from their fathers. Many of them have been trained in workshops. By contrast, a craftsman in Nepal traditionally starts learning his trade from his father, beginning to hold a tool as soon as he can. In a stratified society based on caste membership he is born a carpenter or mason, stone carver or coppersmith, painter, gilder, or dyer. This hereditary background will possibly authenticate his creations, provided that the financial resources available will enable him to invest as much time as is necessary in achieving the highest possible quality. In the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal carpenters of the Newar sub-caste of Sikarni still inherit their trade. They take up and perpetuate an unbroken tradition. In the same way members of the Shakya community continue to produce sculptures in the lost-wax technique. Their mastery enables them to perform on a high level. Documented below, two recent projects from Nepal demonstrate what Menon called the creation of “genuine authenticity.” Familiar iconographical details are re-created with confidence.

The Art of the Copying Practice of Newar Woodcarvers

One of the only three temples of the Newar architectural heritage of the Kathmandu Valley predating the fourteenth century stands in the middle of a small square in the city of Patan. It is dedicated to Śiva, manifested in his phallic form (*linga*) which is named Ratneśvara. With a host of other shrines the square forms the center of the quarter of Sulima.

After years of research, documentation and fundraising, restoration of the small, two-storeyed temple started in 1996 and was completed in 1999 by the Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust (KVPT), a New York-based organization dedicated to the preservation of the architectural heritage of the Valley since 1991. Funds were provided by the Himalayan Bank and the Robert W. Wilson Challenge to Conserve Our Heritage-Program, under the auspices of the New York-based World Monuments Fund.

With parts of the roof collapsed and the roof struts missing, the temple was in a deplorable state: Six of the eight roof struts supporting the lower roof have been stolen since the 1960s. They just disappeared, leaving no evidence in the catalogues of the auction houses in Geneva, London, or New York. One strut was secured by a neighbor and one was salvaged from the ruin.

Since the establishment of the Department of Archaeology in 1953 not a single roof strut of any temple was replicated. Usually, financial constraints resulted in the installation of uncarved timber. In 1997 the project initiated the copying of one of the surviving struts and placed it against uncarved struts and slightly molded struts. After 2 years of painful discussions all struts were finally re-carved, based on the initial copying experience (Fig. 30). Two copies were based on photographs taken by the American anthropologist Mary Slusser in 1968 and four were based on her short descriptions, the memory of the neighbors, and the expertise of Brahmin priests from the neighboring esoteric shrine. Likewise, the elaborate tympanum was re-created, based on a photograph. All miniature aedicules of the ground level were repaired (Fig. 31). The design process for the missing colonnettes (30 cm high) relied on the identification, study, and measured drawings of comparable examples which survived as fragments on various temples in Patan. The process of making drawings afforded the opportunity to clarify details that could be missed if the carver simply worked from a photograph.

The reproduction of meaningful iconographical details on the basis of photographs or even short descriptions has to be understood as an appreciation of the performance of Newar woodcarvers who were sons of woodcarvers whose ancestors created the originals, if indeed there is a difference between the original and the copy. The local cultural context does not allow such distinction.

Uncarved struts were always despised as an expression of disrespect and stinginess on behalf of the funding agency. By 1997 neither the Venice Charter nor any other charter or convention were guiding the process of temple restoration. The entire discussion was not directed against any charter or ideology but was in favor of valuing what in global discourse is termed an indigenous knowledge system. Beyond knowledge and skill it is art that is patronized by conservation projects.

The architects claimed that “historic buildings have the right to emerge from the process of conservation in dignity.” In Nepal, they continue, “this dignity often rules out stabilizing a building as it is found, as this would mean freezing ruins.” The ultimate aim should be “a balance between creation and heritage conservation.” (Theophile and Gutschow 2003, 63).

The two original roof struts have been exhibited at the Architecture Galleries of the Patan Museum since June 2013. Two of the replacements have already been

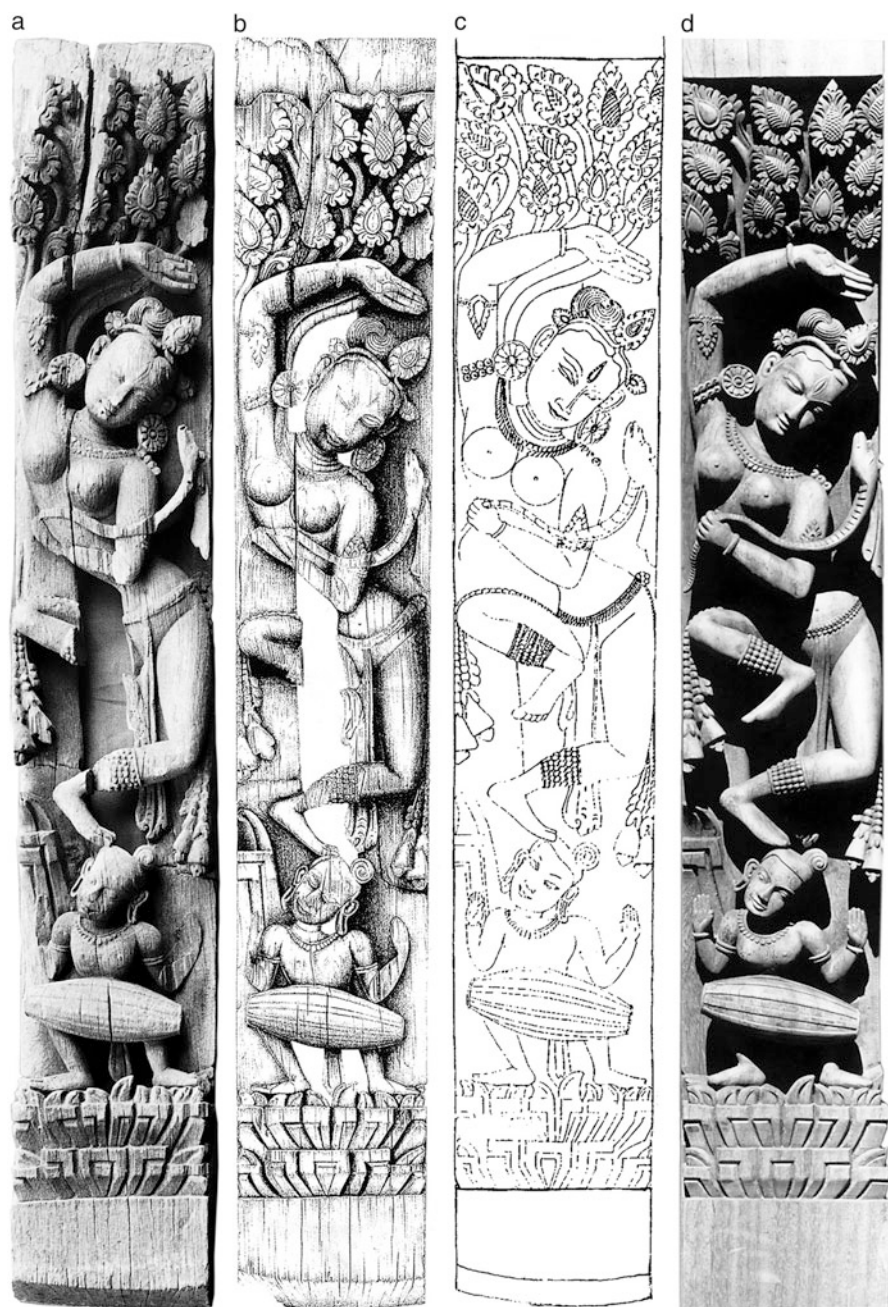


Fig. 30 Patan, Ratneśvara temple at Sulima Square. From left to right: The original roof strut (a) was documented by Bijay Basukala in original size (b). A line drawing (c) was then prepared and glued to the raw timber to guide the wood carver (d). *Source:* Theophile and Gutschow 2003, 54–55



Fig. 31 Patan, Ratneśvara temple at Sulima Square. Indra Kaji Silpakar from Bhaktapur repairs and completes one of the miniature aedicules flanking the doorways of the ground floor. *Source:* Theophile and Gutschow 2003, 63

stolen and replaced again. Obviously, the quality deceived the thieves. The new tympanum was also stolen, retrieved, and is now on display at the Architecture Galleries. The temple withstood the earthquake in April 2015, but the wall surface of the ground floor collapsed together with the aedicules.

The Restoration of the Svayambhūcaitya Near Kathmandu (Nepal) in 2010

Since 1979, the stupa (Nep. *caitya*) of Svayambhū (Gutschow 2011b, 700–703), a Buddhist votive structure located on a hill near Kathmandu, has been one of the seven sites constituting the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site. The origins of the building are uncertain, but it dates back some 1500 years. It has had to be repaired at irregular intervals when lightning struck the tree in the center of the domical base from which a complex spire arises. Elaborate rituals accompanied the replacement of the tree and the spire. The structure roughly attained its present shape in the early eighteenth century, but the entire gilt copper repoussé work (using copper sheets imported from Germany) that covers the spire and the niches was newly designed in 1918.



Fig. 32 Svayambhūcaitya, Kathmandu Valley (Nepal). The copper repoussé of all the niches, dating back to a substantial renewal of the caitya in 1918, was re-gilded in 2009, sponsored by the Tibetan Nyingma Meditation Centre in Berkeley. Missing arches with decorative lotus foliage and figural details in high relief were replaced. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 17 September 2009

In 2008–2010 Tarthang Rinpoche from the Nyingma Meditation Center at Berkeley sponsored the repair of all copper work, the renewal of the gilding, and even the replacement of lost figures in the tympana above the niches (Fig. 32). On 21 June 2010, the consecration rituals were performed by Trulshik Rinpoche from a helicopter that flew around the stupa three times, dropping flowers from the sky.

Here a different approach to restoration has been adopted. Preservation of the stupa's age value was not an option. The significance of the building is ensured by pious acts of renewal.

In Newar and also Tibetan Buddhism, worship takes place in the form of circumambulation of a stupa and offerings to the Transcendent Buddhas in their respective niches.

Important in this specific context is the conviction that a stupa is not a mass of lifeless material, but an object imbued with life. In Sanskrit this conviction is referred to as *jivanyāsa*. All structural interventions are preceded by pacificatory rituals. Ideally, a rope fastened to the tail of a cow initiates the process of dismantling, and the tools of the craftsmen are tipped with gold. The completion of any interventions, involving the return of “life” to the structure, is also accompanied by elaborate rituals.

Such a process of repair, replacement, and renewal is in the true sense a restoration because the building is returned to the physical condition it was in prior to the intervention, “not at some previous stage of its morphological



Fig. 33 Svayambhūcaitya, Kathmandu Valley (Nepal). Missing arches with decorative lotus foliage and figural details in high relief have been replaced. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 17 September 2009

development” (Fitch 1990, 46). The main aim was to achieve added value from renewing the surface—an action that in its essence sets out to ensure continuity not for the physical body of the stupa but for the transcendental body of the Buddha. In this process, the patina or age value of the surface had to be sacrificed and the missing figural décor re-created. Despite the Svayambhūcaitya being inscribed in the list of World Heritage, insistence on compliance with the passages in the Venice Charter that rule out the replacement of figural details and required a contemporary stamp on replacements that are decorative in nature would have been out of place. Authentic in this case was the craftsmanship, which was in line with age-old traditions of fire gilding. It was, as it were, the grandsons of those craftsmen from the Buddhist community of Shakya who cast the figures and hammered the repoussé (Fig. 33) in 1918 that were engaged in the restoration.

The example of the stupa demonstrates that in a living religious context it is the donor’s wishes that guide the interventions. Curatorial agencies (in Nepal the Department of Archaeology) may be involved to ensure quality standards, but they are not in a position to insist on global principles that have no foundation in local cultural reality. The process of restoring and renewing the surface of the stupa must be regarded as authentic because it is embedded in ritual and involves crafts based on generations of experience (Gutschow 2011a, 32). The lime that is removed from the surface of the dome is not considered as waste, ready to be discarded. It had attained some kind of spiritual quality which is enshrined in a new stupa that is newly constructed for that purpose.

Authenticating Memory: Scars and Wounds of War in Germany

Introduction

According to Alois Riegl, “age value” revolves essentially around what nature does to a building, notably the weathering that causes decay. This view implies that although a building may be well looked after, nothing can prevent weathering, so the surface is bound to develop patina. The more common case, however, is that the curatorial agency has to deal with neglect (often willful), mechanical damage, and partial or wide-ranging destruction in the wake of war.

In most of Europe’s cities, small scars or wounds are there for all to see. In quite a few places, scars on the surface of stone are highlighted in order to turn a wall, a building, or a site into a memorial. The buildings opposite the Budapest Parliament Building, for example, are pockmarked with holes into which large balls of iron have been inserted, symbolizing the bullets used in fall 1956 to disperse the masses that had assembled in the wake of the uprising against communist rule. The scars were made visible after 1990 to commemorate the fight for freedom which for Hungary was a painful experience ushering in 34 years of oppression.

Probably in no other city in the world does the Second World War remain as visually apparent as in Germany’s capital, Berlin. Bullet holes are ubiquitous, recalling the extensive street warfare in April 1945. One building, which now houses the administrative offices of the Art Gallery, is peppered with bullet holes. No attempt has been made to cover up the scars. Instead, a sheet of glass has been attached to the wall, leaving a slight gap between itself and the stone surface. It bears the inscription “Wounds of Memory” (Ger. *Wunden der Erinnerung*) (Fig. 34). The glass covers a small area of the façade and draws attention to the consequences of war. In this case the initiative has come from the nation that brought suffering, death, and destruction to large areas of Europe. The visibility of the wounds on the building is an avowal of guilt.

German cities like Berlin have been showered by millions of bombs, bullets, and artillery shells. The scars left on stone and plaster are near ubiquitous. Unlike the Berlin Art Gallery, elsewhere efforts to cover up the evidence of war have intensified since the reunification of the country in 1990. In 2008, Berlin’s famous Brandenburg Gate re-emerged from the scaffolding that had covered it for many years. Its surface was immaculately smooth. Irrespective of size, all the scars on the structure have been covered up, but they remain visible to the tutored eye because the mortar differs slightly in color from the original grey stone. At the same time, the restorers of the arcade of the New Museum opted for a different approach. Scars longer than three centimeters were covered up, while smaller holes were left to avoid the impression of seamless restoration. In this case, the effects of war had to be kept alive somehow to achieve at least a modicum of authenticity.

Memorials to violence are not confined to Europe. A similar memorial is found at Amritsar, India, where at the Jallianwala Bagh, a large, walled garden in the heart



Fig. 34 Berlin (Germany), a glass panel inscribed “*Wunden der Erinnerung*” (“Wounds of Memory”) placed over bullet holes dating from April 1945 on the face of the building that today houses the administration of the Gemäldegalerie, Siegesmundstrasse 4. Photo by Niels Gutschow, June 2009

of the city, troops were given free rein to gun down the people assembling for an unauthorized public meeting on 13 April 1919, the date commemorating the founding of the Sikh religion. More than 1000 people were killed. A trust was set up in memory of this atrocity and a memorial built in 1961, designed by the Calcutta-based American architect Benjamin Polk. Bullet holes in preserved parts of the walls have been marked with metal plates and the Martyrs’ Well, in which frightened victims took refuge, is a protected monument.

The most prominent testimony to the horrors of war is probably the Atomic Bomb Memorial Dome (Genbaku Dome) (Fig. 36) in Hiroshima, located near the epicenter of the atomic explosion on 6 August 1945 (Fig. 35). The walls of the early twentieth-century Industry Promotion Hall survived the explosion and have been preserved as a memorial. In 1996 they were placed on the World Heritage List. The conservation of twentieth-century ruins like the Dome at Hiroshima and the crematoria of the concentration camp at Oświęcim (Auschwitz) (also a World Heritage Site) are among the most challenging projects imaginable. The conservation of the age value of a ruin’s “original state” calls for continuous interventions.

Rarer are the cases in which architecture is mutilated by acts of iconoclasm. The Altes Stadthaus in Berlin, completed in 1911 as a pretentious, not to say downright tub-thumping, demonstration of municipal pride, was uniformly disliked and even



Fig. 35 Hiroshima in September 1945. *Source: Le Monde Diplomatique*, May 2010. Photo by Stanley Troutman (ap)

condemned by art historians, while conservationists took no interest in it at all till the 1980s. This general feeling of distaste was instrumental in paving the way for the reshaping of the interior hall, which required chipping off all the projections on the stone door frames. The restoration efforts in 1994–2002 placed conservationists (the *Landesdenkmalpfleger's* office was in the same building) in a quandary. One door frame was restored with its original moldings, others were partially restored, and the rest retained the scars of history, which were valued as authentic. “Restoration” became a term of invective in Berlin because it was accused of trying to “falsify” history.

As Mohan Pant examines in this volume, coping with traces of violence will necessarily evoke the sufferings of a community or a whole nation. By contrast, the traces of fires or earthquakes engender a different, somewhat rational approach that calls for recreation or even reconstruction.

Uppark, for example, is a seventeenth-century house in West Sussex, England, owned by the National Trust. It was gutted by fire in 1989 and subsequently restored in the style of the period when it was built. The process of restoration initiated a re-engagement with many forgotten crafts. However, scorch marks were left on the woodwork and ragged bits of carpet were left to preserve the interior from the accusation of inauthenticity. Incidentally, this kind of restoration made for a more favorable insurance settlement than complete reimbursement for total loss. When in June 2011 Simon Jenkins, the Chairman of the National Trust (UK), was asked “How far are you prepared to go for authenticity before it becomes something which is not very real?” he referred to the quandary in which he found himself with



Fig. 36 Hiroshima, Genbaku Dome (Atomic Bomb Memorial Dome). Located near the epicenter of the atomic explosion on 6 August 1945, the ruin of the Industry Promotion Hall is the only one that has been preserved as a memorial. In 1996 it was added to UNESCO's World Heritage List. The joints of the brickwork and the edges of the plaster are regularly repaired to preserve the ruin in its "original" state. Photo by Niels Gutschow, November 1997

the problems at Uppark and said: "The answer is there is no answer." David Lowenthal's contribution to this debate was to point out that heritage stewardship is not "merely preservative: it is ongoing and creative. Many cry havoc at the loss of our precious irreplaceable legacy. But that legacy is neither dwindling nor irreplaceable. It has an organic life of its own, its make-up and lineaments re-evaluated by every succeeding generation." (Lowenthal and Jenkins 2011, 36–38). At the age of 88, the New York-born historian and geographer had been wise enough to pass on the debate to future generations and to avoid rigid precepts mirroring the experiences and aspirations of the present generation.

The following two cases recall debates from the late 1960s and mid-1990s, which demonstrate that the impulse to retain and display wounds of war has always been contested. With a hiatus of a generation or two the emotional impact of the experience of violence fades away. What was an authentic material witness often turns into a banal commemoration.

The Impact of Loss: Recovering the Glyptothek in Munich After its Destruction in World War II

After a long debate and a competition in 1814, architect Leo von Klenze reworked his design for the Glyptothek in Munich a number of times until finally, after more than 10 years of construction, this repository of Greek and Roman sculptures was opened to the public in 1830. The term “museum” was avoided in order to associate the building more closely with the sculptures in stone that it exhibited (Greek *glyptos*, “worked in stone, metal, or wood”). Originally, it was felt that the building should be Greek in design, but later it incorporated characteristics of profane Roman architecture to mirror the diversity of the collection of Greek and Roman sculptures. The splendor and pomp of the interior decoration was designed to put the visitor in a solemn and festive mood. Rather than matching the museum to the sculptures, von Klenze even went so far as to ask the king to acquire additional exhibits to round off a program adapted to the requirements of his architectural design. The exhibits thus took on the status of decorations in the context of what in German is called a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The building was bombed in October 1943 and December 1944 (Fig. 37).

From 1947 to 1959 the exterior of the building was restored to its original shape, and for the interior the brick shell was reconstituted. For years, debate focused on the decisive question whether the original decoration, of which little had survived, should be restored. The general attitude changed in 1961 when architect Josef Wiedemann convincingly proposed that the interior should not be restored but the powerful and “valid” brick shell (Fig. 38) be left in its simple form.¹¹ The suggestion was prompted not by a personal whim or predilection but by the fact that the destruction had been brought about by a “catastrophe.” Preserved fragments of stucco should be left in place, but the entire brick surface should have flush joints covered by a thin coating of mortar. This would provide “lively, yet serene and smooth” walls. “Such a restful, valid environment” (Ger. *in so ruhiger, gültiger Umgebung*) would more effectively enable the Greek exhibits to preserve their original expressiveness. This attitude mirrored the all-pervasive modernist contempt for classicist and historicist decoration and coloring. The bare walls were designed to display an austerity that was allegedly legitimized by the experience of war and destruction. The architect did not use the term “authentic”, describing his design as being true to “the clear idea of space” (*Raumidee*) based on the sustaining structure.

After the rebuilding was completed in 1972 (Fig. 39), director Klaus Vierneisel praised the “uncompromising”¹² (Vierneisel 1980, 398) design as a crucial aspect of a functional museum. According to Vierneisel it was by no means labored

¹¹ The arguments set out in the following were advanced in a statement by Josef Wiedemann, dated 26 July 1961, see Wiedemann 1980, 388–390.

¹² Translations by the author.



Fig. 37 Munich, the Roman Hall (Ger. *Römersaal*) of the Glyptothek, ca. 1945. 40 % of the building and 90 % of the interior decoration were lost. Not until 1947 was the ruin protected against the weather. *Source:* Vierneisel [1980](#), 387

austerity that had guided the design. He referred to the “fundamental structure” of the original architecture as being truly “authentic” (Vierneisel [1980](#), 399).

The destruction of the Glyptothek and its subsequent rebuilding starkly delineates the fundamental debate between the impulse to restore what has been lost and the acceptance of loss as a basic requirement for creativity. Widespread contempt for nineteenth-century opulence paved the way for an austerity dedicated to the ideals of modernity. The original decoration was considered distasteful and false, the brick shell of the sustaining structure alone was considered truthful and authentic—only one vault had to be re-erected.

Likewise, the sculptures from the pediments of the Temple of Aegina had to be freed of their classicist accretions. These were felt to be not only arbitrary but essentially inappropriate and tasteless. The changing predilections of connoisseurship demanded that fragments be presented as such. The authenticity of the original material forbade any attempt at restoration.

It is thus evident that “authenticity” is not carved in stone but a value that changes in response to existential experiences such as war and the increasing reverence in which originals (and fragments thereof) are held.

Fig. 38 Munich, the Hall of Diomedes (originally the hall of the sculptures from Aegina) in the Glyptothek, rebuilt after a design by Josef Wiedemann and completed in 1972, demonstrates a postwar sense of austerity, the building stripped of nineteenth-century decoration and wall painting. The furniture store Böhmler was prompted in 2009 to use this setting for the advertisement of the “Y chair” designed by Hans Jorgen Wegner in 1950 and produced by Carl Hansen. *Source:* Advertisement in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, June 2009. Hubertus Hamm, © 2010 Wunderhaus GmbH



Cologne Cathedral: The Healing of a War Wound, 2004–2006

Historical Background

Cologne Cathedral is at the heart of the city it stands in and is its undisputed major landmark. The first bishop of Cologne is known to have officiated in the fourth century and since the sixth century churches have been situated on the site where the cathedral stands today. In 1248 the foundations of the present cathedral were laid. There followed a 300 year building period based on inspiring examples of Gothic architecture in France. Three hundred years later, the Romantic period with its veneration for “the great German Middle Ages” generated new interest in the oldest and largest building site in Cologne. A symbol of newly emerging national awareness, the cathedral was finally completed between 1842 and 1880.

After completion, the workshop of the cathedral (Ger. *Dombauhütte*) remained active to ensure ongoing repair work, but only after 1945 was it integrated into the administration of the archdiocese. Ever since, a staff of more than 60 people, among them 30 specialized craftsmen, have been entrusted with the job of conserving the cathedral. Sixty percent of the annual costs are generated by the Central Cathedral Construction Society (Ger. *Zentral-Dombau-Verein*), which was founded in 1842 and today has almost 13,000 members worldwide. In summer, more than 20,000

Fig. 39 Cologne Cathedral. Clearing the site on November 5 1943 after a bomb had hit the north-eastern abutment of the northern tower 2 days earlier. *Source:* Deres and R  ther 1995, Fig. 14. Photograph C. and P. Fischer



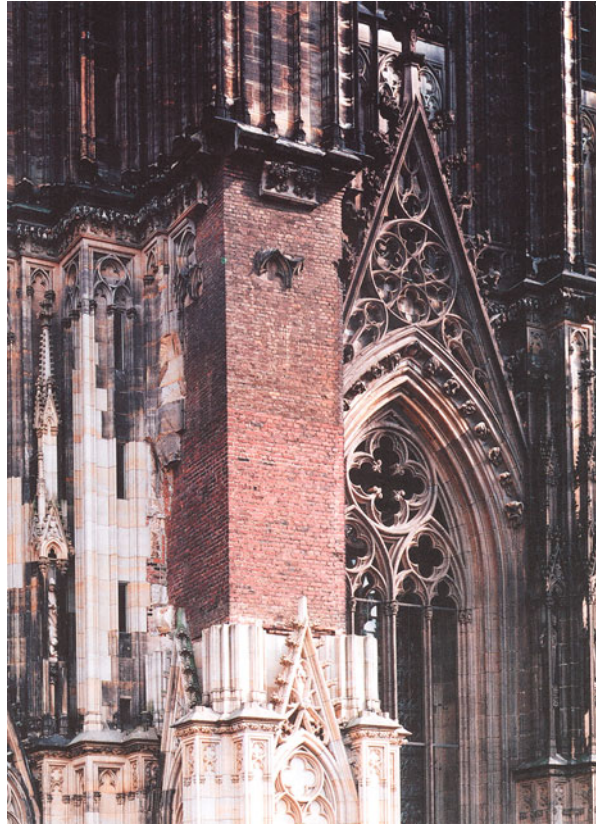
tourists visit the cathedral daily. In 1996 the cathedral was included in the World Heritage List.

Healing a Wound, Regaining “Heavenly Perfection”

On 3 November 1943 a bomb hit an abutment of the cathedral’s northern tower (Fig. 39). Two days later, the building material required for repair was approved. By the end of the year, a local construction firm had cleared the site and used 27,500 bricks to fill the gap torn by the impact of the bomb. The brickwork was nicknamed “*die Plombe*,” the German word for a tooth filling (Fig. 40). Involved in this work were army personnel, 10 prisoners of war, and 20 “convicts,” a euphemism for inmates of an outpost of the Buchenwald concentration camp.

Remarkably, two fragments of the abutment were retrieved from the rubble and incorporated into the brickwork as spolia. A fragment of tracery recalled the former Gothic facing of the abutment over the subsequent 61 years.

Fig. 40 Cologne Cathedral. The brick filling used to stabilize the northern tower. Two fragments of the original sandstone were incorporated at the top end. Photograph ca. 1990. Source: Schock-Werner 2005, 11



For the next half century, this measure was the subject of heated debate. One party insisted on the maintenance and preservation of the “filling” in memory of the “inferno of the Second World War,” while the other side demanded that “the venerable face” of the edifice be restored. This discussion came to an end in the mid-1990s when the lower end of the abutment was consolidated and the master builder of the cathedral announced his intention to remove the filling. Historians argued that this “evidence” of the Second World War was still needed as “a monument and memorial.”¹³ In 1995, the master builder Arnold Wolff was of a different opinion and finally resolved to submit a formal application for permission to act in accordance with the conservation law. He argued that the cathedral is first of all a church, “a house of God and a place of worship,”¹⁴ which should not be

¹³ Ernst Mittag spoke of “*Beweismittel für den Zweiten Weltkrieg*” and Helmut Fußbroich of a “*Denk- und Mahnmal*,” see Hoven 1996.

¹⁴ Arnold Wolff, the master builder of the cathedral, is quoted from “Dokumentation zur Diskussion um die Ziegelplombe am Nordturm des Kölner Domes (Pfeiler F 1 West) in den Jahren 1995 und 1996,” Cologne, April 1996.

Fig. 41 Cologne Cathedral. The “plug” of bricks temporarily repairing the lower end of the northern tower remained visible from 1943 to 2004 as a testimony and memorial to the Second World War.
Source: Postcard (Pulheim: Ziethen-Verlag, ca. 1995)



misappropriated for alien purposes. In his view, the march of time would ultimately make it impossible for uninformed visitors to understand why there should be brickwork on a sandstone church. More importantly, the totality of the cathedral regarded as a “work of art” (Ger. *Gesamtkunstwerk*) (Fig. 41) would lose “an important part of its identity” if “traces of its history are valued higher than the meaning [Ger. *Sinngebung*] invested in the edifice by the original builders.” According to Wolff, the wholeness and integrity of the cathedral constitute its “inner essence” (Ger. *innerstes Wesen*).

The master builder also emphasized that the builders of Gothic cathedrals aimed at the highest possible perfection. Taking into account the inadequacies of earthly life, at least the building of a church should mirror “heavenly perfection” (Ger. *himmlische Vollkommenheit*). The crucifixion was proof of the fact that the ways of God were not free of sorrow and distress. Accordingly, criticizing the cathedral building for attempting to create the illusion of a perfect world was an unsubstantiated accusation.¹⁵

¹⁵ Ibid.

Fig. 42 Cologne Cathedral. Completion of the facing of the “plug” with 103 cubic meters of sandstone from Oberkirchen, August 2005. *Source:* Schock-Werner 2005, 14



In March 1996 building permission was granted, actual work on the site started in 2004 and was completed by August 2005. Little more than 103 cubic meters of sandstone were built into the structure (Fig. 42). 823 stones were cut to size, and 124 sophisticated sculptural elements such as capitals, finials, and crabs were fashioned.

Changing Conservation Principles

Fourteen bombs hit the cathedral during the Second World War. By 1956 most of the damage had been remedied. As master builder of the cathedral from 1944 to 1972, Willy Weyres had favored creative conservation, designing lost details anew rather than copying the originals. He shared the widespread contempt for Gothic revivalism and designed the crossing tower completed in 1972 in a contemporary, stylized Gothic mode.

His successor, Arnold Wolff, joined the workshop in 1962 and was the acting master builder from 1972 to 1998. Under his guidance, conservation practice changed dramatically in the wake of a new appreciation for the nineteenth-century Gothic revival. As of the 1980s at the latest, the replacement of sculptural elements adhered strictly to the prototypes that had been preserved. The core principle was to clean the surface and to insert timely indents to prevent the further deterioration of



Fig. 43 Cologne Cathedral. Cornice moldings, facing tracery, and fragments of pinnacles, newly crafted to replace weather-damaged elements on the southern transept, spring 2008. *Source:* Schock-Werner 2008, 260

crucial details. Details and even whole sculptures that had been weather damaged beyond all recognition were removed from their original location and replaced by copies. This policy continued under the leadership of Wolff's successor Barbara Schock-Werner from 1998 to 2012. Large sculptures are constantly being removed for repair or replacement. Weather-damaged parts are copied in limestone and doweled back in place (Fig. 43).

Seriously weather-damaged figures are faithfully copied from existing nineteenth-century design drawings and models in gesso, 700 of which have been preserved. If there is no model to work from, missing parts are added in gesso on the basis of photographs and in analogy with similar sculptures. The archive of the workshop houses, as it were, the "true" elements of the cathedral. It would sound overly provocative to call this treasure the authentic core of the cathedral, because only the assemblage of all details and the consecration of the whole create a house of God. The models and documents are, however, authentic, and this specific value enables them to be drawn upon for the re-creation of lost or weather-damaged details and sculptures.

Schock-Werner refers to the final product not as a copy but as a re-creation. In 2004, 7262 cubic meters of stone (sandstone, limestone, basalt, and trachyte) from five locations in Europe were used for this purpose, in 2005 another 15,525 cubic

meters. These figures suggest large-scale renewal, but in fact all the work of this nature is confined to the surface of the monumental cathedral. Ninety-eight percent of the entire building material is original, mainly dating back to the period when the edifice was completed in the nineteenth century.

Schock-Werner concedes that the approach adopted in Cologne cannot be generalized. For instance, Freiburg Cathedral (built 1200–1513) is an “original” Gothic cathedral, so copies or recreations are out of the question. Since 1889 the workshop of the cathedral (Ger. *Münsterbauhütte*) has strictly adhered to the principle “conservation, not restoration,” vehemently advocated by German art historians in 1901 and still the official doctrine of the conservation community.

On the occasion of a meeting of the International Association of Cathedral Building, the Declaration of Strasbourg in 2005 called for support for the great churches of Europe as “testimonials of European history and historical craft traditions” (Schock-Werner 2006, 52).

The case of Cologne Cathedral indicates that in actual practice powerful principles do not in fact withstand the “test of authenticity.” Gothic revivalism was first abhorred, later rehabilitated. But some value judgements have prevailed: true or “authentic” medieval architecture cannot be copied, but its nineteenth-century revival is obviously less “authentic” and hence admits to copying and even re-creation.

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The Impulse to Remember: Thoughts on the Conservation of World War II Ruins in Germany

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Abstract This paper examines different ways of preserving World War II ruins in Germany and the multiple dynamics determining the issue. When it came to rebuilding German cities, architects and preservationists were confronted with major questions of conservation. An impaired monument, i.e., could either be restored, or conserved as a building that had suffered during the war. Several ruins reflect rival interpretations of time and space and allude to different strategies for ordering and reordering memory. The text addresses issues of authenticity and originality projected onto war ruins by local communities concerned to preserve the remains of the past.

Collective Memory

Ever since the end of World War II, certain architectural war ruins in Germany have been listed as monuments serving as commemorations of that appalling man-made disaster. The (existing) World War II ruins differ fundamentally from earlier ruined monuments such as those in eighteenth and nineteenth century landscape gardens, where the ruins themselves were part of the deliberate design program. World War II ruins are the remnants of initially intact structures ultimately reduced to the harrowing form of a ruin by the sudden incursions of war. Now, more than seven decades after the end of the war, these ruins are still preserved, inspiring debates on conservation issues that are often political in nature (see Gutschow in this volume).

In the early years after the war, there were two major conflicting opinions on the question of conservation. While most architects and protectionists advocated a completely new start by clearing away the ruins and forgoing any reconstruction of formerly historic buildings, a few others pleaded for the reconstruction of historic structures lost during the war. In most cases, the surviving original

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substance, i.e., the ruin itself, received little attention. In general, neither politicians nor professionals aimed at rebuilding (Ger. *Wiederaufbau*) or reconstruction but advocated building anew (Ger. *Neubau*). With respect to (representational) buildings of historic and symbolic significance, such as castles, churches etc., the focus was, however, on the symbolic *Wiederaufbau* of buildings that had played a major role in defining the collective identity of the community or the nation. In these instances, the façades were reconstructed and the destruction made “invisible.” The German word *Wiederaufbau* implies rehabilitation after a traumatic incident. Accordingly, *Wiederaufbau* can be described as both the reproduction of architectural forms—as a legacy “frozen” into matter—and the effort to restore the materialized ideals transcending the purely functional aspects of monuments.

In some cases, however, and in spite of the prevalence of such approaches in dealing with war ruins, both conservation officers and many citizens hesitated to restore damaged structures such as castles or churches to their original shape, because the covering up of wounds was seen as an attempt to ignore the scars left by war. In some urban centers ruins have thus been left as memorials to the war and continue to pose technical problems in terms of their preservation.

As a matter of fact, in preserving war ruins, Germany turned them into memorials that at the same time became listed heritage sites. In practice, the conservation work of such monuments begs the question whether and how such ruins can be preserved. Preserving them as war ruins in the urban space and keeping them “intact” creates problems that are difficult to deal with.

In a scene of massive destruction such as that of World War II, the preservation of ruins can only be approached in a limited and selective manner. Accordingly, the debate on the preservation of ruins has to take into account the context of the monument with respect to the identity of the locality and the city, on the one hand, and its own historical, artistic, and architectural significance on the other. This limitation and selection concerns the choice of ruin site and also the parts of the ruins. In most instances where ruins have been preserved, conservation is restricted to selected parts.

Churches are prominent examples of ruins that are constantly being preserved. Other public buildings of importance, such as the New Museum and the Reichstag in Berlin or Brunswick castle, have been reconstructed and adapted to fulfill present-day functional purposes. In some instances of reconstruction and preservation, e.g., the New Museum (Figs. 1 and 2), the ruined state of certain structural elements are deliberately maintained and made apparent as details. The intention behind this is to preserve historical links and to bring home the process and the phenomena of destruction to future generations. The crux is that any object preserved as a record of science and technology, the arts, and other related academic subjects embodied by it at the time of its construction cannot be an entirely objective thing in the way it relates to the original.

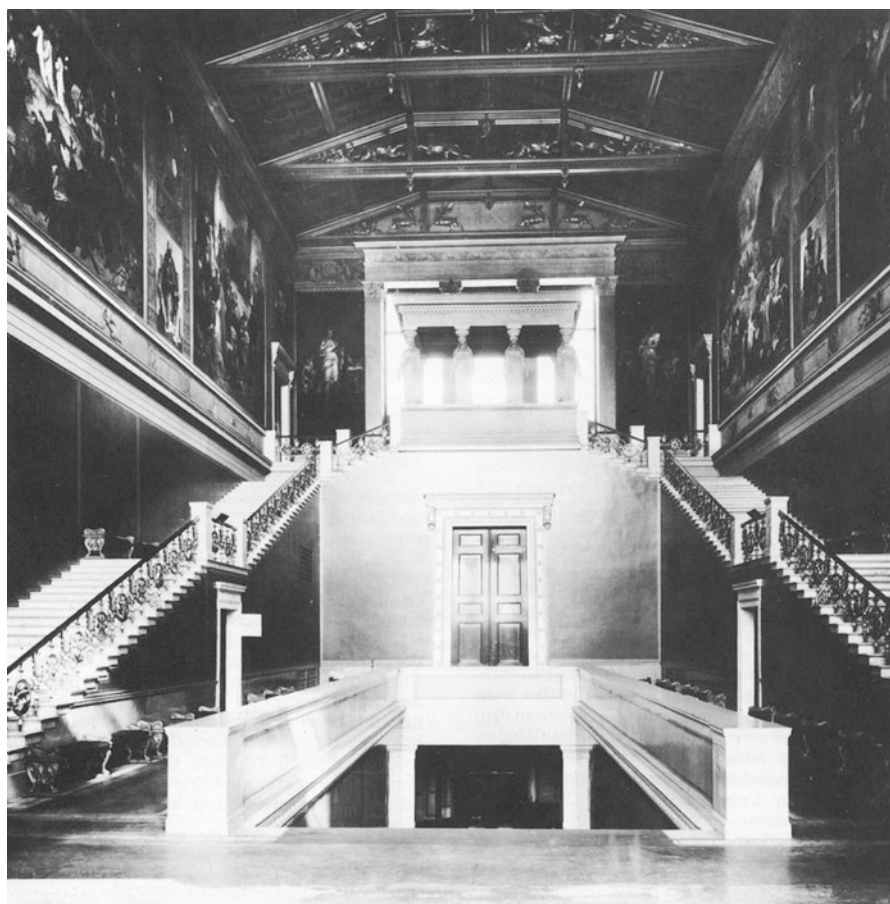


Fig. 1 New Museum, Berlin: Principal stair-hall in the 1930s, leading up to a copy of the Hall of Koren at the Erechtheion in Athens. *Source:* Badstübner (1994), *Das neue Museum in Berlin*, 1994, 24. Photo by Meßbildarchiv Berlin

Aspects of Authenticity in the Preservation of War Ruins

Conserving a ruin means protecting the “original” material of a fragmented item of architectural heritage from further decay. According to James Fitch writing in *Historic Preservation*, conservation of a monument refers to a physical intervention in the actual fabric of a building to ensure its continued structural integrity (Fitch 1990, 46). The focus is on the maintenance of the fragmented material, which means that authenticity is evaluated on a material basis that can be (more or less easily) measured.

The handling of war ruins in Germany after 1945 reveals that the issue of conserving the architectural heritage can become emotive when it equates the



Fig. 2 New Museum, Berlin: The new concrete staircase, the hall left in its ruined state, devoid of any decoration. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 15 May 2010

value of a ruin with its function as a symbol of national history. National and local desires for identification evoke emotions and can hence easily be exploited for political purposes. Thus both the reconstitution and the maintenance of a ruin are liable to extend into sociopolitical and psychological domains.

Accordingly, it is legitimate to address major issues involved in the maintenance of a ruin. Should the ruin be preserved in its “original” state? Should it be preserved only in part, leaving the rest of the space it once occupied for adaptive reuse? Or should the original shape of a ruined building be reconstructed to fulfill certain contemporary functional needs? Not only does the question arise concerning the content of the authenticity of a ruin, but also the question whether the maintenance of the authentic ruin in its totality is necessary, if at all possible. I am not aware of any ruin fully preserved in its originality in Germany. The ruins tend to be “modified,” and the extent of the remains of the ruins varies depending on the site.

Conservationists also have to consider the question of authenticity when adapting ruins for compatible use. Instances of this are ruined German churches, for example the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin, St. Nikolai in Hamburg, or St. Aegidien in Hanover. In the 1950s, the ruin of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church was declared a war memorial and a new church and a chapel were added in its precincts by architect Egon Eiermann. By contrast, after the war, the remains of St. Nikolai in Hamburg were provided with an underground exhibition hall situated in the crypt of the former church. In its original function, a crypt is a place where the coffins of church officials are kept. Today, the exhibition displays

Fig. 3 Anhalter Bahnhof, Berlin. The station was severely damaged during air raids on 3 February 1945. Today, lead sheathing protects the ruined structure from rain. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 13 October 2009



the war damage to the city of Hamburg rather than the history of the church itself. Furthermore, a 220-ft elevator was recently installed in the hollow church tower that still looms majestically over the ruined site. The church no longer hosts religious services but has been given over to secular use, which cannot be considered compatible with the functions of a church.

The Anhalter Bahnhof railway station in Berlin is another example of new use for a ruined site. War damage had destroyed the roof and the walls, but initially its shell remained as a reminder of its former imposing scale. Later, the rest of the building was demolished, leaving only a part of the front section, the porch, and the back wall. The clearance of the ruins created a huge space for urban functions. Today, an admittedly inconspicuous sign to the left of the ruined entrance records the forcible deportation of more than 50,000 Jews from this station to the Nazi concentration camps as of 1942.

Recent conservation works aimed at covering the top surface with lead sheathing (Fig. 3) to protect the structure from rain. To a certain extent, however, this lead

cover is at odds with the image of a ruin. The covering sheet resembles a clean bandage over a wound. Such treatment greatly eases reconstruction work, but it comes at the expense of the outline features, one of the important characteristics of a ruin. Part of one ruined column of Anhalter Bahnhof is filled with bricks probably taken from the ruin itself. In other parts, the arches have obviously been filled with new material. At the bottom, the arches were reinforced with beams that were covered by the fascia at the front and exposed at the back, probably with the intention of exhibiting the preservation work of later periods. In most of these instances, the conservationists have preferred to highlight the difference between the original and the newly restored part of the ruined structures.

Repair works never appear to reconstruct the complete original shape of a building as it was before its destruction by war, weather, or, for example, the damage caused by the unthinking removal of certain parts of Hamburg's St. Nikolai Church, where stone blocks from the ruins were taken away to build the retaining walls of the harbor.

As regards the repair of the existing material and structure in situ, the abiding principle appears to be to make the new work visible without alienating it from the existing form and material. This has been done in a number of ways, for example via conspicuous differences between shades of color and between the textures of the restored materials to point out the difference between old and new. This approach to restoration accords with the spirit of the Venice Charter that in cases of reconstruction advocates reference to the traces of time. But this may not necessarily be the right course. It suggests that restoration is not so much an attempt to retrieve a lost original but rather a way of harmonizing the elements of architecture. This principle should be reexamined in situations where a building has completely lost parts of the original layout so that there is no key with which to relate the reconstructed elements to the original. In such cases, reconstruction that is as close to the original as possible becomes the approach of choice.

When preserving a war ruin as a reminder of the past, difference in treatment may have to be considered in order to distinguish war wounds from changes caused by natural erosion or previous human intervention. This argument squares with the Venice Charter but may stand in contradiction to an approach that regards some stages in history to be more relevant than others. Different treatments may appear within one and the same ruin when replacing missing or collapsed parts of the ruins. The use of new brick alongside original brickwork in the ruined Anhalter Bahnhof station in Berlin is a prominent example.

The authenticity factor in the preservation of a ruin as a memorial needs to take into consideration other important dimensions as well, notably the townscape itself and the feelings of the people living in the environs of a war ruin. The Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church (Fig. 4) stands out grotesquely like a "hollow tooth," against its surroundings. Highly charged with both individual and collective memories, this ruin is assigned a strong symbolic character, recalling both the face of the city before the war and the wounds inflicted by the war itself. Later, its silhouette came to play an important (political) role for the townscape of West Berlin, the "free" part of the city. If the ruined building had been preserved as it was after its



Fig. 4 Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, Berlin. Most parts of the building collapsed after the air raid on 23 November 1943. In the 1950s, the shape of the original war ruin was altered, and the site

collapse, it would have displayed heaps of rubble spilling over the ground, scars inflicted by the flames and the rising smoke that blackened the wall paint and murals which were left on the bare skeleton structure. It would have been a ruin “in the raw,” a truly haunting image of the ravages of war. However, the original war ruin was “cleaned” in the 1950s. It was converted to a “reasonable shape” that would be acceptable to the eye of the beholder, and further conservation works have been undertaken since the 1980s. At present, cracks in the joints between the stonework of the façade, in the stone blocks themselves, and in the brickwork are the main conservation problem. They are caused by ageing, exposure to the weather, and by constant vibrations from the underground railway and the nearby heavy traffic. Water penetration via these cracks causes flaking in frosty weather and loss of adhesion between the stonework and the bricks behind it. The joints and cracks need to be scraped out and refilled with special mortar or stone substitute, while crumbling masonry has to be removed.

Thus, in post-World War II Germany, the approach to maintaining the remnants left after the air raids caused a general dilemma. One of the reasons for further dismantling and “cleaning” of the ruins may have been that the war ruins offended people’s sensibilities. Resident citizens could hardly feel at ease with ruins in their surroundings. But at the same time, a crippled structure and a pile of extant material were definitely an authentic memorial of the destruction wreaked by the war. Ruins were made memorials precisely to recall the days of a building’s past, its former beauty and glory ravaged by war (and further modified up to the present). In the words of Alois Riegl, many buildings underwent a change from being “deliberate” (Ger. *gewollt*) monuments to “unintentional” (Ger. *ungewollt*) historic monuments. The more directly the ruins recalled a haunting scene, the more they played on sense and sentiment.

“Cultivated” Ruins

In Nepal, both communities and the state are involved in the restoration of monuments in urban settlements (see Sudarshan Raj Tiwari’s contribution in this volume). Religious motivation, functional needs, and posterity are the primary motives behind the restoration of memorial artifacts. In contrast to its southern neighbor India, where conservation “ideologies” were introduced by the British in the second half of the nineteenth century, the preservation of ruins as memorials to history, and as a conscious approach to historiography, is unknown in Nepal. The ruined state of some shrines is due rather to natural overgrowth or the absence/neglect of the custodian, which may be an individual family or a community.

Fig. 4 (continued) was declared a war memorial. A new church and a chapel designed by architect Egon Eiermann were added to its precincts. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 13 October 2009

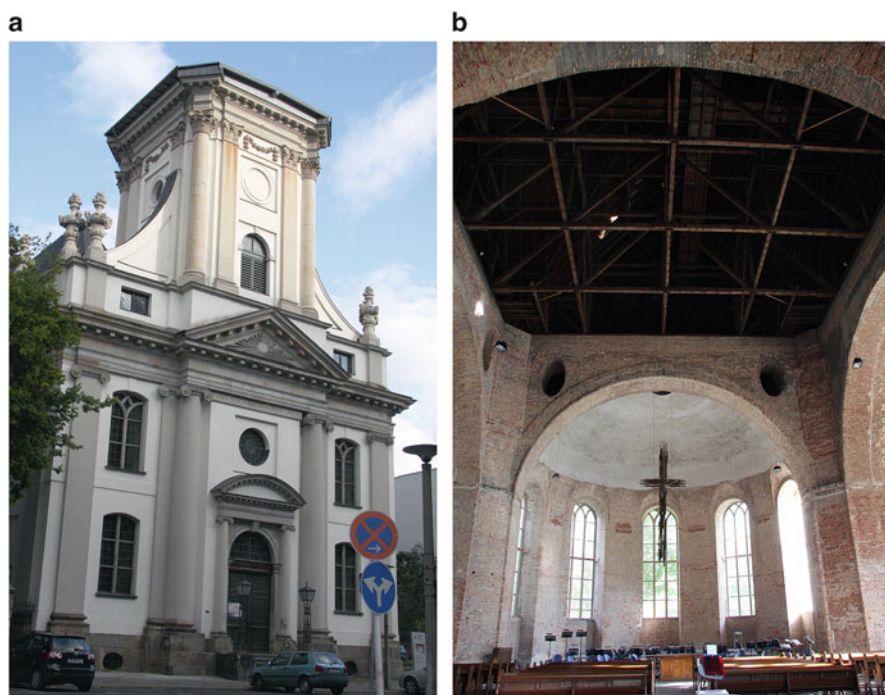


Fig. 5 (a) Parochial Church, Berlin. Firebombing on 24 May 1944, completely destroyed the tower and the interior of the church. Works on the porch and tower were discontinued in 2001, restoration of the nave in 2004. (b) A new roof was put on in 1988. From 1991 onwards the building was gradually restored. Photos by Katharina Weiler, 14 October 2009

In Germany, it is community initiative rather than the state or municipal government that champions the preservation of those war ruins that are being maintained today. In general, the preservation of war ruins such as churches primarily depends upon the availability of funds or the role that a church community is prepared to play. If funds for restoration are available, total reversion to the state of the structure that existed before the collapse may be preferred.

One example of active community conservation is the early seventeenth century Parochial Church (Fig. 5a) that used to be located in East Berlin before the reunification of Germany. The roof and the spire in particular were partly destroyed by World War II bombs. Though the roof of the hall was reconstructed (Fig. 5b), the main church hall was never used for church services. Instead, a smaller hall on the second floor of the bell tower accommodating around 80 people was used for this purpose. The community now intends to restore the spire if sufficient funds can be raised to support the restoration works. The church, which has lost its original congregation, is attempting to organize various promotion programs to this end.

The Schlossarkaden façade (Fig. 6) in Brunswick, rebuilt only a few years ago, is another example. The proposal for new spatial planning on this ruined site was a highly debated issue, particularly the idea of revamping the restoration of the



Fig. 6 Palace Arcades, Brunswick. The ruins of Brunswick Palace, which was destroyed in World War II, were completely demolished in 1960 at the behest of Brunswick's city council. A park was laid out on the site. A large shopping centre, the so-called Schloss-Arkaden ("Palace Arcades"), was erected on the spot, following a resolution by the city council in 2004. Its western facade was to be a faithful reconstruction of the façade of Ottmer's palace. The rebuilt "palace" was opened to the public on 6 May 2007. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 12 October 2009

former castle, which would require the destruction of the park constructed on the site in 1960s after the ruin had been cleared away. According to Walter Ackers, who was ultimately entrusted with the reconstruction of one wing of the castle and the building of a new mall on the spot, it was his aim to cultivate the formerly "deserted" area around the park and also to revive the castle as a memorial element and as a factor in the pride citizens took in their city.¹ Furthermore, he was highly concerned about the urban quality of the place—both historically and socially—and was keen to meet the needs of the present-day inhabitants of the city. His proposal was to restore the façade with its neoclassical Greek pediment raised on a high pedestal with high Corinthian columns, and a central feature, the victory motif with Apollo and his four horses. Most of the window jambs, sills, and lintels are original material. After the war, they were either buried underground or stored somewhere else. The Corinthian columns feature original elements recognizable by the dark, smoked surfaces resulting from extreme heat and burnt carbon particles. Yet this front is only a curtain. Inside the "castle" a brand new shopping complex and a library have been built. The historical importance of the building is now confined to one single façade. The fact that the palace was reconstructed and the manner in which the works were executed sparked off a great deal of controversy, and it does indeed seem difficult to imagine a convincing argument in favor of this "façade only" restoration solution.

¹ Personal interview with Walter Ackers in Brunswick on 12 October 2009.

Concluding Remarks

In the Nepalese context, a temple ruin would qualify for reconstruction, as it houses a deity and marks the place where it has resided for centuries. If people continue to worship the deity, the structure has to be given a formal layout enabling minimum ritual services to be resumed. In Germany, however, with respect to ruins as war memorials, succeeding generations are doomed to live with the physical scars of the war. It is true that memorial profundity is better achieved by visible traces in the urban space than by human recollection, which fades with the passage of time. As for all historical monuments, each new generation faces the challenges and problems raised by shifting priorities regards the maintenance of these ruins.

If we were to concede that the motive behind preserving a monument is more its value as part of the national heritage than its style or beauty, then we would have to accept ruins in their totality and their function as representative and authentic memorials. But in the broader sense, the present-day German war ruins are merely the remains of once-original ruins that have fallen into a state of disrepair. In times that followed World War II, many ruins were brought to a certain scale and shape to fit to the value and need of the society. The war ruins have thus taken on a new shape; today, they are “cultivated” ruins.

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Part I
Case Studies from South Asia

The Idea of Place in the Practice of Restoration and Replication in India

A.G. Krishna Menon

Abstract The modern system of “protecting” architectural heritage was introduced about 150 years ago when the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) was established by the British colonial government; it purposefully supplanted indigenous practices and knowledge systems, thus creating the schism between official and local practices which has plagued conservation practice in India ever since. This process has been continuously defining the contemporary objectives of architectural heritage protection in India. At the same time there is a revival of interest in indigenous cultural practices, underpinned by the fact that it has continued to exist between the interstices of the modern building system as an alternative way of meeting the spatial needs of society. The perception of this remarkable cultural continuity as a “living heritage” that may be as valuable as the physical structures of the past is a critical issue. This essay investigates the clash of different values in the Indian conservation scene that has produced a hybridised notion of authenticity and a hybrid practice of conservation.

Maintaining or Protecting?

The concept of authenticity in architectural heritage must take into account the fact that maintenance is a cultural activity, while conservation is a scientific discipline. Because of the diversity of cultural contexts, there can be no universal definitions of authenticity. While we may acknowledge this fact in theory, in practice however, one finds that the complexity of dealing with cultural diversity persuades practitioners to deal with the conservation issue almost exclusively as a scientific discipline. The ambiguity inherent in the cultural dimensions of conservation issues is regularly underplayed. Official conservation policies, especially in developing countries, therefore tend to limit themselves to focussing on universal themes

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contained in so-called international charters. These policies, moreover, are considered to be modern and scientific approaches to conservation, implicitly superior to indigenous practices. Such perceptions create problems beyond the discipline itself. The exclusion of the aspirations of local societies, for instance, highlights the gap between official objectives of conservation and ground realities.

Ideally, the two approaches to architectural conservation, the cultural and the scientific, should be mutually compatible. In practice, however, there are fundamental differences. These differences are often bitterly contested in India, spilling over into the political arena, for example the demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya in 1992. Conservation architects in India routinely face this problem and in the process learn to develop conflict resolution skills in their practice. Working in the field of conservation, I have learnt that conserving architectural heritage requires intellectual reflexivity and a catholicity of approach not common among purists in the profession. The historical circumstances of the development of conservation in India may be the reason why practitioners like me have to carry such an additional burden. I will explain these circumstances in order to throw light on my proposition.

The Beginnings of Conservation in British India

The philosophy and practice of building and the subsequent care for certain structures have existed and evolved in India over several centuries. This is still an extant practice and may be described as the “indigenous” system. The modern system of “protecting” architectural heritage was introduced about 150 years ago, when the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) was established by the British colonial government. The colonial objectives and visions were, however, limited to the preservation of only the exemplary Indian monumental heritage. Conservation practice under British colonial power ignored several other types of architectural and civic heritage that existed in India. It purposefully supplanted indigenous practices and knowledge systems, thus creating the schism between official and local practices which has plagued conservation practice in India ever since.

India in the nineteenth century is characterised by the exploration by European surveyors and scholars who “discovered” its people, cultures, and monuments. The terms of discovery finally determined the nature of further engagement with the discovered architectural heritage. It relegated earlier, indigenous practices to the past by introducing “modern” systems of construction and preservation of buildings. This break with the past was decisive and was not restricted to building and conservation practices alone but underpinned the entire modernisation project, including the construction of national identity. Thus traditional cultures of conservation were replaced by a new, and at the same time Eurocentric, culture. This process has been continuously defining the contemporary objectives of architectural heritage protection in India. But the situation is changing in no small measure, catalysed by globalisation and the problems of global warming. Professionals all

over the world, in fact, are rethinking the “modern” development paradigm. They are becoming aware of the significance of ecologically sensitive, indigenous practices of building and argue for a people-oriented approach to decision making. In fact, the “revival” of indigenous practices of architectural heritage conservation is redefining the concept of authenticity in present-day India.

Contesting Conservation Philosophies in Present-Day India

The revival of interest in indigenous cultural practices is also underpinned by the fact that it was never wiped out in India. It has continued to exist between the interstices of the modern building system as an alternative way of meeting the spatial needs of society. The perception of this remarkable cultural continuity as a “living heritage” that may be as valuable as the physical structures of the past is a critical issue with which present conservation architects in India are confronted.

The ASI had almost exclusively focused its attention on preserving the exemplary monuments of the country. It was institutionalised by eminent contemporary British archaeologists like John Marshall (1876–1958), director general of the Archaeological Survey of India from 1902 to 1928, and Mortimer Wheeler (1890–1976). Moreover, since the philosophy and working methods of these archaeologists were dictated by the colonial British government, they were programmed to see Indian heritage through Western eyes. In fact, it was this close affinity between the conservation movements in India and England that persuaded people like Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and cultural leader Pupul Jaykar to consider establishing the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) on the lines of the National Trust of England. In the early 1980s INTACH was finally set up with funds bequeathed by Charles Wallace (1855–1916), a British businessman and entrepreneur.

The consultants who worked on INTACH’s projects were not trained professionals and therefore had not been schooled to valorise “modern” norms of preservation. They soon realised that dealing with a living heritage required strategies that differed from the ones executed by ASI in order to preserve monuments. This understanding accentuated the difference between conservation and preservation and distinguished the works of INTACH and ASI. INTACH consultants began to question the ASI’s Eurocentric concepts with regard to the authenticity of architectural heritage. According to the ASI, the authenticity of a building inheres in its fabric. The conservationists working for the ASI were expected to preserve the tangible traces of architecture in accordance with the ethical and technical benchmarks they had developed through their own specific cultural evolutions. This perspective was translated as an “international norm.” It was also invested with the aura of being more “scientific.” By contrast, indigenous practices of dealing with architectural heritage were branded as “unscientific” and therefore harmful to the preservation of the authenticity. The establishment of INTACH on the lines of the National Trust by its founders was no doubt intended, at least subconsciously, to

induct this perspective into India and bring the growing Indian conservation movement within the folds of “universal norms.” The history of INTACH shows that these expectations were not fully realised.

INTACH did indeed succeed in training a substantial cadre of young professionals in the best traditions of English conservation practices. They have transformed the conservation scene in India, once limited to the rudimentary preservation of 9000 odd monuments by the ASI and their counterparts in the various Indian states, into a booming business involving the conservation of several thousand forts, palaces, *havelis*, religious structures, historic gardens, and historic precincts which had been ignored and unprotected by the ASI. Heritage conservation is now high on the agendas of many Indian state governments, private trusts that own heritage properties, and individuals who are venturing into the field of heritage tourism as entrepreneurs.

In the process of dealing with the basic realities of architectural heritage in India, however, even the young conservationists struck a new path. If one looks carefully at their projects, it becomes apparent that many strayed from the Eurocentric principles in which they had been trained. They were “stained” by the compelling force of indigenous cultural norms and expectations.

Hybridised Conservation Practices

What is therefore emerging from this clash of different values in the Indian conservation scene is a hybrid practice of conservation. This process of hybridisation needs to be appreciated in order to understand the emerging concepts of authenticity in the Indian context. It was in this light that I helped to draft the Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India (Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage 2004). The charter does not reject the universal approach to preservation adopted by the ASI, but at the same time it recognises the relevance of maintenance and the role of indigenous practices in promoting it.

It would be difficult to rationalise the hybridised position taken by INTACH’s charter without understanding the cultural conditions prevailing in postcolonial Indian society. Typically, many Indians, particularly those educated in English middle schools and colleges, are culturally Janus-faced. We have learnt to profess two, often contradictory, value systems—just as we acquire several languages in order to live in India. Our English education has exposed us to the compelling logic of Eurocentric civilisation and we accept it as a universal force of modernisation. Implicit in this acceptance is also the unfortunate denigration of indigenous traditions. Nevertheless, the virtues of Indian traditions and traditional maintenance practices become self-evident for those intimately experiencing the many facets of India’s culture, for conservation architects in particular. The INTACH charter attempted to come to terms with these contradictions. In the process it has been opening the floodgates to new terms of dialogue in the field of conservation in India

and conservationists have become open-minded about indigenous concepts of authenticity. What comes out of this is not a “pure” notion of authenticity but a “hybridised” version of the latter. It is in this perspective that the idea of place as a determinant of the concept of authenticity may be examined in the following. *Inter alia*, I also look at the role of restoration and replication as related parameters in the construction of authenticity in the Indian context.

The Spiritual Force of the “Centre”

For a society that proclaims its antiquity with almost jingoistic fervour, it is surprising to repeatedly come across evidence of its unconscionable neglect, or worse, the wilful destruction of architectural heritage. It is hard to explain why priceless heritage buildings are torn down and replaced with modern replicas. The paradox is that the emotional relationship between the user and the new building continues to be palpably present. A new temple is regarded with just as much reverence as the old structure it has replaced. A new residential building which replaces a historic wooden *haveli* provides at least as much pride to the owner as did the former building. To understand this paradox, we need to be aware of the importance of the “place value” of architectural heritage.

The *Vāstu Śāstra*, ancient texts on architecture, highlight the importance of establishing the “centre” of a building, the *brahmasthan*. A building emanates from this spot, which represents the essence. The centre is therefore imbued with theological and psychological significance. From this perspective, a building is only a shell accommodating the powerful centre. In simple terms, this is the importance of place in the construction of architectural heritage. It constitutes what is authentic in a building. Retaining its centre is important; the fabric of a building is a secondary issue.

Adam Hardy, whose research has largely been done on the history of architecture in South Asia, has explained the evolution of Indian temple designs as an “outward” movement of aedicular elements: the centre holds, the periphery expands (Hardy 2007). The architect Shikha Jain has also identified the importance of the centre in domestic architecture, which she says is “paramount in all aspects of traditional Indian architecture” (Jain 2004, 78). The importance of the centre constitutes traditional building design. It invests the building site or place with an idea and spiritual force that is superior to any historical value the tangible building shell may possess. An ancient myth or even a recent pronouncement by a religious leader can also invest any site with religious significance, thus imbuing it with a spiritual force that is as powerful as the age value of the actual structure built on it. So it is not unusual to come across newly constructed shrines and temples claiming to be ancient. What remains authentic in the concept of architectural heritage is therefore determined rather by geography than by history. Conservation architects in India have to take into account this factor in their work.

As the fabric of the building is thus reduced to a secondary issue, the practice of replication or reproduction of the original building is not anathema to Indian conservationists. It does not attract the same degree of censure as it does in European cultures. These issues were discussed extensively at the Architectural Imitations symposium at the University of Utrecht in 2002 (Denslagen and Gutschow 2005). In my contribution to that symposium, I presented the practice of reproduction and imitation in a positive light (Menon 2005). I argued that it was a valuable social propensity that characterised Indian aesthetics and that far from displaying an imaginatively moribund quality, it was a tremendously inventive activity.

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Humayun's Tomb: Conservation and Restoration

Ratish Nanda

Abstract India celebrated the 50th anniversary of her independence in the year 1997. On this occasion, His Highness the Aga Khan, chairman of the Aga Khan Development Network, one of the world's largest private philanthropic agencies, gifted a garden restoration project at the World Heritage Site of Humayun's Tomb built in the mid-sixteenth century in Delhi. As documented in this text, the gift was the beginning of a long association between the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and the site, which was later to involve a conservation and restoration project for the mausoleum, and several other monuments in its environs. Within this framework, the latest conservation efforts on the site posed a special challenge to the different local and transnational, governmental, and non-governmental parties in charge of the project. They were confronted with the transcultural genesis of the site's preservation history that testifies on the one hand to centuries of maintenance through Mughal rulership and local builders and on the other to preservation and repair attempts by the Archaeological Survey of India since the late nineteenth century. The present project aims at the revitalization of the architectural spirit and original intentions of the builder. As such, it has provoked some exciting discussion pointing up the need for a critical dialogue with architectural preservation in India as an originally colonial discipline.

A Mughal Tomb

Emperor Humayun (1508–1556 CE), the second of the great Mughal rulers, was forced into exile soon after ascending the throne upon the death of his father Babur. In 1555, after over 15 years in Persian exile, he won back the empire he had lost, only to fall to his tragic death on the steep staircase of his library a year later.¹

His son Akbar, considered the greatest of the Mughal emperors, was only 13 when he was crowned emperor. He spent the next two decades consolidating

¹ This article was written in 2012.

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and expanding the empire. Almost 10 years after Emperor Humayun's death, Emperor Akbar had the financial resources enabling him to devote his attention to building his father's tomb.

Humayun's Tomb was built on a far grander scale than any earlier tomb in the Islamic world. It was constructed under the supervision of Mirak Mirza Ghiyas, a Persian whose father had worked for Babur. It was the first of the great Mughal tombs on the Indian subcontinent and the precursor of the famed Taj Mahal, built 80 years later.

Unlike Europe, India had no tradition of architects as we understand the term today. Master craftsmen (*mistris*) were responsible for supervising the construction of buildings that had been approved by the patron (in this case, Emperor Akbar) probably on the basis of architectural models. Humayun's Tomb, built as a family tomb, is unlike any other building that preceded it, not only because of its size but also because it was the first time that material such as marble and sandstone—imported over large distances—was used in such great quantities for a building located in Delhi.

Humayun's Tomb was set amidst an enclosed *charbagh* (Pers. *chahār bāgh*, a garden with four quadrants) inspired by the description of paradise in the Holy Quran and built along the banks of the river Yamuna. Until the nineteenth century this river was oceanic in width and appearance and was used to transport the stone required for the construction of the mausoleum. Part of the “outstanding universal value” accorded to this World Heritage Site is the fact that the Humayun Tomb complex is a unique ensemble of sixteenth century garden tombs.

Conservation Systems in India

Soon after construction, Humayun's Tomb became a place of pilgrimage for the Mughal emperors. Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan all made regular visits recorded by their respective chroniclers. During these visits, generous gifts were made to the keepers of the tomb, among them (perhaps) the families of craftsmen permanently “employed” to assure the upkeep of the tomb.

Also, in keeping with other similar sites such as the Taj Mahal, there is no doubt that the construction of the tomb will have been accompanied by a maintenance strategy including gifts of lands to the tomb, the revenue from which would have been used to look after both the upkeep of the tomb and the families of those engaged in its care.

With the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in the late nineteenth century and its institutionalization in the early decades of the twentieth century, the protection and preservation of monuments considered to be of “significance” became a major concern of contemporary archeologists and engineers. At the turn of the century, Lord Curzon (1859–1925) was appointed Viceroy of India (1899–1905). Amongst the many acts of conservation performed in the early twentieth century was the completion of the minarets on the gateway of Akbar's

Tomb²—which like the Qutub Minar had been damaged by lightning or possibly an earthquake—resulting in the top half, including the canopies, being reconstructed on the basis of an understanding of Mughal architecture. Deeply interested in India's great monuments, Lord Curzon revived the Archaeological Survey of India with John Marshall (1876–1958), who was appointed director general of the Archaeological Survey of India (1902–1928). Marshall advocated due concern for local conditions, i.e., political and religious convictions, highlighting the difficulty of applying the rather general principles underlying the protection of monuments (Weiler 2013, 56). In Indian Archaeological Policy of 1915 (1916), Marshall on the one hand celebrated the ruin, emphasizing conservation and investigation as the two main functions of the archeological department. According to Marshall, the government was “fully alive to the deplorable harm that may be done in the name of restoration, and except in special circumstances, [was] opposed to its being undertaken” (Marshall 1916, Paragraph 19). On the other hand, he remarked that

in the case of monuments which are still serving the purpose for which they were built, whether they be Hindu temples or Mohammedan mosques or tombs or palaces where ceremonial functions are still performed, there are frequently valid reasons for resorting to more extensive measures of repair than would be desirable, if the buildings in question were maintained merely as antiquarian relics.

While distinguishing between “dead” and “living” monuments, the ASI laid down guidelines for the conservation and restoration of the architectural heritage that suggested the importance of repair or restoration for buildings that still incorporated everyday practice. Nonetheless, it publicized an essentially Western concept of authenticity guided by a structure's historical value (Weiler 2013, 56). However, in his *Conservation Manual* published in 1923, Marshall recognized that “the reproduction of geometric designs is sometimes admissible, particularly in living monuments of the Muhammadan epoch” (Marshall 1923, Paragraph 84).

In his *Conservation Manual*, Marshall provides a definition of authenticity as assigned to monuments under protection (“their *historical value is gone when their authenticity is destroyed* [italics in the original]” (Marshall 1923, Paragraph 25) that focuses on ruins or structures devoid of any contemporary use that should remain as documents of historical value and that were qualified as protected monuments guarded by the state (Weiler 2013, 57). He further stated that “preservation should be primarily aimed at and repair attempted only in cases where its advisability is undoubted and where special funds can be provided for the purpose” (Marshall 1923, Paragraph 23).

Conservation practice under the colonial power thus commonly differed from Indian practices and traditions of renewal, disrupting official and local conservation practice in India down to the present day. As the role of the local craftsmen became almost irrelevant in conservation, “modern” materials such as cement began to be used across the country, and machines replaced hand tools in a manner that in retrospect proved to be inappropriate to serious conservation work. Following the decline of the Mughal Empire, Humayun's Tomb suffered at least two centuries of

² Several pictures and paintings of the pre-Curzon intervention exist.

neglect in which the gardens were used for agriculture. For at least a century, inappropriate repairs were undertaken under the supervision of the ASI, not least over a million kilos of concrete to remedy defects on the roof.³

Following independence in 1947, India's leadership was determined to modernize and industrialize the country. Economic growth was paramount, and conservation was low on the list of priorities. In 65 years of independence, the Archaeological Survey of India has protected only a handful of additional buildings, and in India today, there are fewer than 15,000 structures that enjoy any kind of legal protection, a smaller number than the structures protected for their heritage status in New York City alone. With scant resources and little regard for the architectural heritage, architectural integrity had been forfeited in most monuments by the end of the twentieth century. This resulted not only in the local public losing interest in their heritage but also in the loss of several ruined monuments no longer considered to be of any value.

The History of the Garden Restoration (1997–2003)

In 1993, Humayun's Tomb was designated a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. As such, it was considered to be of significance to "mankind as a whole" and not only for the people of Delhi or India. With this distinction, which reckons Humayun's Tomb amongst the most significant sites in the world, comes the responsibility to ensure that the significance of the site is never diminished. When the World Heritage designation was given, the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) expert review recognized that the Humayun Tomb gardens were in a poor state of repair and that restoration was required.

In 1997, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) offered to join forces with the Archaeological Survey of India to restore the gardens. Surprising as it may sound, this was to be the first garden restoration and also the first privately funded and implemented conservation initiative for any of India's protected monuments. It was understood from the outset that the significance of the garden was its layout and its function as a setting for one of the most spectacular buildings built by the Mughals. Thus the aim of the garden restoration project, besides restoring the layout, significant elements, levels, flowing water, and repair of deteriorated elements, was also to enhance the setting of the monument and to create an important public space in the heart of Delhi.

The garden restoration project was the first in India to adopt a multidisciplinary approach, with archeologists working together with a design team led by landscape architect Mohammad Shaheer and including landscape and conservation architects,

³ A summary of preservation, conservation and restoration works (1881–1999) at Humayun's Tomb, including references to archival files and historic photographs is published in a compilation of archival records on the Humayun's Tomb complex, see Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2008.



Fig. 1 The earliest photograph of Humayun's Tomb dates from 1849 and shows water channels and tanks. © Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

historians, botanists, ecologists, designers, hydraulic and civil engineers, and significantly, master craftsmen: stone craftsmen, masons, bricklayers, plasterers, etc.

This was the first partnership of its kind, and though the purpose of the project had been agreed in 1997, it was only in 1999 that the memorandum of understanding that marked the commencement of the project was signed. After the memorandum came an ambitious study of the site, together with archival research, archaeological excavations, and data collection.

The National Archives, the Archaeological Survey of India's archives at Delhi and Agra, the British Library, Delhi Archives, and the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal are some of the collections that house archival material containing the histories of the site and indicating where research has been carried out. Archival research brought to light miniatures, paintings, photographs (continuous record since 1849) (Fig. 1), drawings to scale, and conservation notes (both from 1860's onwards). On the basis of this material, the history of the garden and its development was successfully ascertained.

The Mughal miniatures reveal how gardens such as Humayun's Tomb were used by the Mughals for a variety of purposes, with platforms for pitching a tent and carpets laid out on the "weed-like" green cover in the garden plots. As the Mughal Empire declined in the eighteenth century, the Humayun Tomb gardens no longer

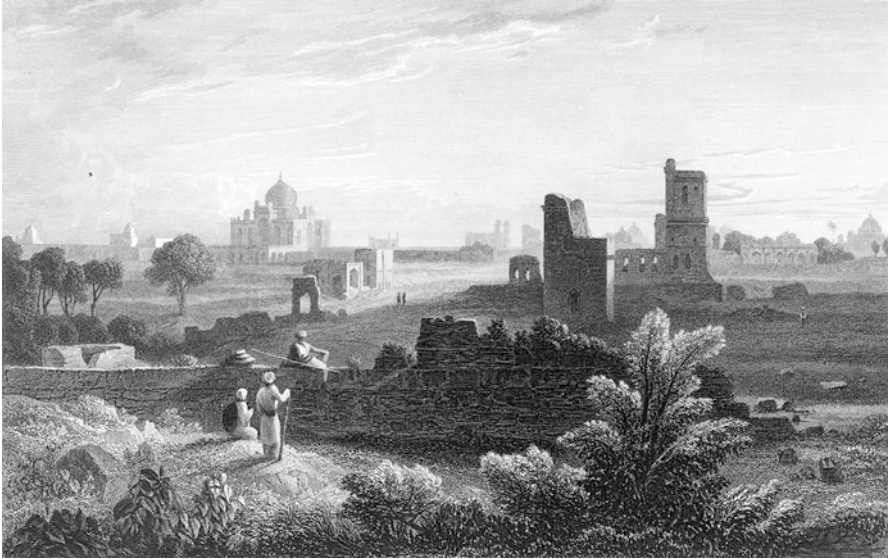


Fig. 2 “The Tomb of Humaioon, Delhi” around 1822 or 1823, seen in the distance on the left-hand side of the plate, with part of the enclosure wall. In the foreground ruins are visible, overgrown with shrubs. Engraving by William Miller after William Purser, after sketch by Captain Robert Elliot R. N. Published in Elliot 1833. By courtesy of Aga Khan Trust for Culture Archive

received the attention and care they deserved and seem to have soon gone into decline, with the garden plots rededicated to agricultural use.

Early nineteenth century paintings of the tomb complex reveal that the garden was in a dilapidated state (Fig. 2).

The earlier planting patterns suggested the planting of trees along the pathway edges leaving the centers of each garden plot for “weed-like” green covering, possibly for laying out Mughal carpets during royal gatherings.

Most photographs from the late nineteenth century show views of the tomb with portions of the garden visible. A careful study of archival images reveals that the water channels and tanks visible in the 1849 image were covered over and filled up in the 1860s. Clearly, once the last Mughal, Bahadur Shah Zafar, was arrested here, following the first war of independence in 1857, there was renewed colonial interest in Humayun’s Tomb. The result was the imposition of British landscape gardening ideas superimposed on the site as it stood. Two photographs from 1860, taken from the roof of Humayun’s Tomb, indicate the nature of the landscape beyond. They document that following its recognition as an important monument and its inclusion by the Archaeological Survey of India in its list of monuments to be protected as significant archeological sites of national importance, the British super-imposed



Fig. 3 British Government landscaping of the western entrance zone of the Humayun Tomb Gardens in the mid-1860s. Circular carriageways replaced formal Mughal tents. Beyond the gateway on the right-hand side are the Afsarwala Mosque and Afsarwala Tomb. Photo by Samuel Bourne, ca. 1863 (“View from the top of Humaioon’s Tomb, showing the Ruins and Tombs of old Delhi”). Albumen print from wet collodion glass negative. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

carriageways on the western edge of the garden (Fig. 3), while the remainder of the walled enclosure continued to be used for agriculture (Fig. 4).

With John Marshall’s appointment as director general of the Archaeological Survey of India at the turn of the century, a major restoration of the Humayun Tomb garden to the original Mughal layout was carried out. It included restoring the water channels and tanks by removing the earth that had been used to fill them up. In fact, channels were even put in the center of pathways where the original builders had not envisaged flowing water, e.g., those in the south-west quadrant of the garden. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) team discovered ASI files stored in the crypt of Safdarjung’s tomb and which are now housed in the National Archives. Inspection notes from the files revealed that when no channel remains were discovered in the pathways of the south-west quadrant, the conservation assistant requested advice from the director general, who recommended that channels be put in the center of the pathways anyhow. Despite these documents, the AKTC garden restoration project did not include restoring these channels for flowing water but limited conservation works in this zone to repairs only.



Fig. 4 View from the roof of Humayun's Tomb overlooking the Sundar Nursery and Batashewala Enclosure of the early nineteenth century. Courtesy of Alkazi Foundation, New Delhi

Following the completion of the restoration in 1904, the Viceroy inspected the garden and found that the plaster channels were deteriorating quickly since oxen used in farming were treading on them. Two decisions were taken, to stop use of the garden for agriculture and to line the plaster channels with red sandstone. For the next 6 years, sandstone was prepared to line the water channels of Humayun's Tomb, even though flowing water could not be restored.

In the late nineteenth century, a whole set of to-scale drawings were commissioned for the Humayun Tomb site. Though the original drawing of the garden was untraceable, a photograph of the drawing was discovered in 1999 in the ASI photo archives. High-resolution scans of this photograph led, amongst other things, to the discovery of three wells within the garden enclosure. These wells had been filled in and covered sometime in the early twentieth century. On the basis of this archival image, the wells were discovered and desilted during the 1997–2003 garden restoration project using traditional well-digging techniques. They were repaired and integrated into the normal garden management system by ensuring that water from the wells was used for irrigation (Fig. 5), as was formerly the case, while excess rain water was routed to recharge the ground water aquifer.

Upon completion of civil works in the early twentieth century, trees were planted. The AKTC-led garden restoration project was fortunate enough to discover landscape drawings documenting a major planting campaign carried out in 1916, which included the planting of tamarind trees on platforms built here for Mughal tents, a neem tree on the octagonal platform possibly meant for the emperor in the



Fig. 5 View of Humayun's Tomb after the restoration of its water system in 2003. Photo by AKTC © Aga Khan Trust for Culture

north-east corner, six palm trees on each of the four corners of the tomb platform, and large ficus trees at the four corners of the squares (Hind. *chowks*) created by intersecting pathways. Not only was it inappropriate for trees to be situated on platforms meant for Mughal tents, the species chosen were also inappropriate for Mughal gardens.

In this respect, a study of Mughal chronicles revealed the presence both of plants favored by the Mughals and references to plants grown in the Humayun Tomb garden. The evidence indicated that fruit-bearing and flowering plants including mango, neem, lemon, orange, chandni, anar, and hibiscus were originally planted by the Mughal builders of the Humayun Tomb gardens.

Following systematic archival research commencing in 1998, two seasons of archeological investigations revealed much about the gardens of Humayun's Tomb. The discovery of fountain mechanisms, the remains of aqueducts, and terracotta pipes running beneath the surface underlined the significance of water in the garden enclosure.

Since the garden plots were irrigated by flooding and the water channels were functional rather than esthetic, the pathway garden plot levels were determined by the original builders. However, over four centuries the garden levels had risen and in places the earth was covering not only the pathways but the channels themselves.

The subsidiary channels from the principal channels to the garden plots, noted as having been restored in the early twentieth century garden restoration project, were rediscovered on several pathways and though not in use anymore were covered with

Fig. 6 Minarets on the roof of Humayun's Tomb which served as the inspiration for the design of the stone fountains in the gardens. Photo by AKTC © Aga Khan Trust for Culture



sandstone slabs, as was the case originally. Four trenches on each side of every garden plot at the beginning of the AKTC garden restoration project revealed that the original levels were mostly 30–50 cm lower than the pathways, as the huge blocks of quartzite stones lining the edging of the garden plot were found to be resting on earth and not on masonry, as is the case with some later Mughal gardens such as Akbar's tomb garden in Sikandra. This exercise was important as, following nineteenth century writings on Mughal gardens, there seemed to be a strong belief that garden plots were sunk to such an extent that the pathways were at treetop levels. However, the eastern edge of Humayun's Tomb garden along the river Yamuna was indeed much lower, and in this area over one meter of earth had to be removed to restore original levels.



Fig. 7 Humayun's Tomb Garden Restoration. Fountains were reintroduced on the basis of evidence from archeological excavations. Photo by Christian Richter. © Aga Khan Trust for Culture

In 2003, flowing water was returned to the tomb garden, probably after an interim of 400 years. This undertaking was largely made feasible by the large quantity of archival material used as a basis for the conservation plans. The fountains in the central tanks on the four axial pathways are today enjoyed by millions of visitors although no evidence has been found indicating what the fountains originally looked like. Clearly, as with several ornamental elements—lattice screens, eaves, stone finials—removed in the twentieth century from monuments in the complex, the fountains too may have ended up on the antique market. After failed attempts to arrive at a satisfactory modern design for the fountain head, it was decided—in consultation with the stone craftsmen—to use the design of the minarets (Fig. 6) on the roof of the tomb as an inspiration for the fountains (Fig. 7). The effect is striking but harmonious.

The restoration of the garden evoked multiple historicities, and certain asymmetrical aspects in the past construction of the site were explored by the conservationists in a spirit conducive to hybrid solutions. None of the trees were removed that had been planted in 1916, including the palms or tamarinds positioned on spots where Mughal tents would have originally stood. It is hoped that these will not be replaced as they die out.

The plot levels of the restored Humayun Tomb gardens had been scientifically determined in each of the 32 plots, and present-day visitors to Humayun's Tomb would have considered the Mughal green cover to be no more than weed. Less than 5 years after the garden restoration, the “weed-like” green cover used by the

Mughals had returned to large parts of the garden. But the Archaeological Survey of India—flush with funds from the Commonwealth Games of 2010—chose to needlessly replant grass in the entire garden area. This way history and memory were reordered.

Craft-Based Approach

In the course of three millennia of stone building traditions, Indian societies have developed processes and systems for conservation. These were traditionally centered around craftsmen and their families who were attached to a site and were “paid” through the revenues generated from lands attached to the site and donations to the site. These practices were dismantled with the formation of the Archaeological Survey of India by the then British government in favor of a colonial system based on nineteenth century European conservation ideologies which stipulated that archeologists and engineers were now responsible for India’s heritage. Disregarding traditional building crafts, the idea of surveying and protecting monuments led to great monuments being inappropriately conserved and repaired, using modern materials such as cement that often accelerated the decay process, leading to the collapse of several buildings of national importance.

Inappropriate repairs have left many of the monuments in a state of neglect or even ruin. This was initially much favored by the British and by numerous nineteenth-century Orientalists, who regarded India’s ancient architecture as “a form of text in stone, more stable and hence authentic than ephemeral written records, in which one could read essential truths about the values and creative propensities of the peoples who had produced it” (Scriver 2007, 28).⁴ This attempt in its turn led to a lack of interest amongst the public, often followed by decay, encroachment, and even demolition for roads and other infrastructure projects.

Several of the World Heritage Sites in India have suffered on this account and continue to do so. After intense dialogue with the Archaeological Survey of India, coupled with peer reviews by national and international experts, there was unanimity that in order to ensure long term preservation of the Humayun’s Tomb World Heritage Site it had become necessary to remove inappropriate twentieth-century materials and replace these with authentic materials applied with traditional tools by master craftsmen.⁵ In fact, the actual restoration works vividly demonstrate the transformation process that has occasioned an important shift in the identity and meaning of the site.

⁴ Also see Cohn 1996, 76–105.

⁵ See <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.311512458899454.89524.180959275288107&type=1>

Aspects of Material and Architectural Integrity in the Conservation and Restoration of Humayun's Tomb (2007–2012)

Overview

All conservation works at Humayun's Tomb were preceded by exhaustive documentation and a state-of-the-art 3D high-definition survey using laser scanning technology. Similarly, archival research, construction archeology, and condition assessments formed the basis of the Conservation Plan.

Amongst the first tasks undertaken at Humayun's Tomb was the removal of over a million kilos of cement concrete from the roof of the structure. This concrete was laid here in four layers, each roughly 10 cm thick, throughout the twentieth century to prevent water seepage. In fact, however, it had blocked rainwater drainage spouts and obliterated architectural elements. The significant rise in roof levels—the previous layer was added in 2004 by the Archaeological Survey of India—had resulted in rainwater falling into the principal tomb chamber through the lattice screens in the neck of the dome.

In order to achieve this removal without further damage, 15-cm cuts were first applied on the roof on a 1-m grid and hand tools were then used to remove the concrete as the vibrations caused by machine tools would have posed a risk. Removing the concrete was a huge challenge as the monument was always open to the public. A traditional lime-based concrete layer was then applied to the roof with proper slopes and compaction, and for 4 years now no water seepage has materialized.

Several other major conservation tasks have been undertaken at Humayun's Tomb since commencement of works in 2008, and though these have all been preceded by documentation, discussion, and debate, some have generated discomfort amongst regular visitors, who over the decades have witnessed the gradual decay and progressive dilapidation of this great structure.

The Plinth

As with the roof, the plinth of the tomb, originally paved with large stone blocks, was covered with cement concrete in the late 1950's by the Archaeological Survey of India (Fig. 8) and then again in 2004 (Fig. 9). It is now assumed that the cement concrete was applied to level the ground, as accumulating rainwater from the mausoleum covering 2 acres of ground area had led to unequal settlement of many of the stone blocks, some of which weigh more than 3000 kg.

The plinth is considered to be a significant element and an interface between the garden and the structure, and it was felt to be important to restore the stone paving. Since grey Delhi quartzite is no longer available, the removal of cement on the



Fig. 8 Humayun's Tomb, Delhi. South plinth flooring (1956). *Source:* Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2008, 35. Courtesy of AKTC

plinth was preceded by the purchase of Delhi quartzite stone blocks used as kerbstones on Delhi roads but replaced by concrete kerbstones in the run-up to the 2010 Commonwealth Games.

As shown by the restoration of the plinth, the conservation works at Humayun's Tomb turned out to be a highly controversial matter. Following the removal of the cement, the documentation—with each stone marked—revealed that the paving had a pattern that was related to the building (Fig. 10).

As the blocks were dismantled to prepare a lime concrete base and to ensure proper slopes were maintained, some, including archeologists at the ASI, objected to the twentieth century cement layer being removed. When a junior officer at UNESCO's Delhi office objected to the conservation measures on this count—and



Fig. 9 Lower plinth of Humayun's Tomb with layers of cement concrete, prior to the conservation works. Photo by AKTC © Aga Khan Trust for Culture



Fig. 10 The unsightly concrete layer on the lower plinth of Humayun's Tomb was removed to restore the original Mughal period quartzite paving in its original patterns. Photo by AKTC © Aga Khan Trust for Culture

inappropriately wrote to ASI without understanding the issue in any depth—the project was threatened with derailment. But after several long weeks of impasse, common sense prevailed, apologies were offered and accepted, and work toward restoring the paving recommenced, using traditional craftsmen, tools, and building techniques. Over 4200 square meters of paving were restored, some stones requiring 15 men to lift them.

Poor maintenance and repairs with inappropriate materials such as cement over the last 100 years had caused severe deterioration at Humayun's Tomb and associated structures. Nowhere was this deterioration more visible than in the lower cells, which contained over 160 graves as the mausoleum was designed as a family tomb. Water percolation from the sandstone-paved platform above had led to the disintegration of much of the lime plaster on the walls and even the lime concrete on the flooring. Large portions of this had been replaced with cement plaster, again as recently as 2003/2004.

In order to prevent further damage caused by cement and to restore material integrity, there was agreement that the cement should be removed and the wall and floor areas restored with lime plaster and lime concrete, respectively. Prior to this, however, it was necessary to reset the sandstone-paved roof above, which was letting through an alarming degree of water percolation.

A study of the sandstone platform revealed that recent repairs between 2002 and 2004 had in portions reversed the water slope toward the building and the very distinct patterns of the stone paving as recorded in an 1880's drawing had been altered significantly. There were also many stones with mason marks still visible and a few cases where sixteenth century mason marks had been copied onto twenty-first century stone replacements. It was agreed that the principal objectives of repair would be to ensure prevention of water penetration, thus requiring badly affected areas to have the paving removed entirely and a base layer applied. In those portions where this was to be done, the original stone patterns used by the Mughal builders were also to be restored.

Not only were the patterns disturbed but the recent twenty-first century repairs by the Archaeological Survey of India had also changed architectural details, with one foot high monolithic sandstone steps along the building's edge being replaced with 5-centimeter-thick stone slabs with an infill of concrete. These inappropriate alterations were reversed by restoring stone blocks prepared with traditional tools by workers keen to emulate the craftsmanship of their forefathers.

Despite these efforts, it was found that water percolation could not be halted in all parts. Two years after these works were first undertaken, manual pressure grouting with lime mortar from joints in the stone work continues on the more than 4000-square-meter platform.

Lime Plaster

Major works have been carried out on the lower-level cells at Humayun's Tomb, including the restoration of over 200,000 square feet of lime plaster (including the

Fig. 11 Master craftsman restoring the ornamental plasterwork of the lower cells of Humayun's Tomb. Half-domed ceilings of the external alcoves of Humayun's Tomb were originally decorated with incised plasterwork with star patterns. Master craftsman restoring the original pattern in lime mortar. Photo by AKTC © Aga Khan Trust for Culture



lime concrete on the floor surface) and the introduction of sandstone edging on the interface with the Delhi quartzite flooring to hold the lime and prevent the edge from disintegrating. The wooden doors and their sandstone door frames were restored to their pre-1947 state, when refugees accommodated in the complex used the doors for firewood.

As the cement plaster was removed from the external surfaces of the 68 half-domed cells, several revealed ornamental plasterwork with star motifs. Four of the cells on the north-west corner least affected by water percolation from above displayed the remains of large areas of this ornamental plasterwork. Detailed documentation of the intricate ornamentation and prolonged training of craftsmen to restore the Mughal patterns (Figs. 11 and 12) resulted in this being undertaken over a 2-year period.

Discussions during a peer review headed by Herb Stovel (ICOMOS) and A.G. Krishna Menon (who contributes to the present volume) in July 2010 led to the understanding that the Mughals had intended the final 1-mm layer of lime plaster mixed with marble dust to give a marble-like appearance to the base. The importance of the red-white contrast was further emphasized in a peer review by an expert on Mughal architecture, Ebba Koch.

As the final white layer of plaster began to be applied, some opinion leaders—a senior architect, a renowned painter, an ancient history expert, and an art

Fig. 12 The final plaster layer comprises a 1:1 lime-marble-dust layer, which is how the Mughals used to mimic marble. Evidence discovered at the tomb suggests that the star patterns are highlighted with red polychromy; they continue the prominent red-white contrast. Photo by AKTC © Aga Khan Trust for Culture



conservator among them—who had silently seen decades of inappropriate repairs being carried out here began to object to the way in which the “ruinous” appearance was being compromised. Influenced by the British love for ruins in the countryside, it was no longer possible for them to accept that Humayun’s Tomb is one of the grandest buildings in India and that both architectural integrity and the original builder’s intentions also needed to be taken into account. Similarly influenced by the philosophy of art conservation, where significant effort is made to match the patina, there were repeated requests to artificially age the new plaster, as has been done in the past here, using machine oil for the purpose and thus compromising the plaster itself.

Rather than participate in discussion or review the evidence and the rationale of the conservation project, the critics attempted to influence public opinion by involving the media, political leaders, and the notorious Delhi cocktail circuit. Even though the plaster surface is less than 1.6 % of the Humayun’s Tomb façade, the critics exaggerated this to “50 %” in articles in the national press. Six months of delay later, the works could recommence, and the grandeur of Humayun’s Tomb will soon be restored to its former glory.

Following conservation works on the monumental west gateway to the Humayun Tomb enclosure, the zone was used as a site exhibit, casting light both on the architectural and historical significance of the site as well as on significant aspects of the ongoing conservation initiative. Similarly, collapsed portions of the 6-m-high arcaded enclosure wall have been reconstructed using traditional craft skills and materials used in the original construction.

Enclosure Wall

Though an expert visitor will be able to distinguish between the original and the recently reconstructed arches of the enclosure wall (Fig. 13), the project team decided against leaving any markers to inform general visitors of the new elements. Given that exactly the same building crafts and materials as those used by the original builders have been employed and thousands of photographs of Humayun's Tomb are uploaded to the World Wide Web each day by visitors, it was considered unnecessary to date the repaired sections as was the norm for the Archaeological Survey of India in the early twentieth century. Also, the project documentation has been uploaded to the project website, and there are plans to share all documentation on a special website in the coming years.

Conservation works at Humayun's Tomb continue. The two significant works yet to be undertaken are the conservation of the principal tomb chamber and the restoration of tilework on the two rooftop canopies standing in the center of each of the four sides.

In 1919, Maulvi Zafar Hasan, assistant superintending archeologist of the Archaeological Survey of India, described the main tomb chamber as follows: "The domed ceiling of the central chamber some 80 f. above the level of the floor, and said to have been adorned originally with gilding and tilework, is now covered with whitewashed plaster only, as is the greater portion of the interior walls of this chamber. Traces can still be seen, in several places, of the original tile decoration" (Hasan 1919). Sadly a conservation program in the middle of the 20th century led to the re-plastering of the interior chamber with cement plaster and destroyed all traces of the original treatment. This being the case, the present initiative can only remove the cement and replace it with lime plaster, respecting the red-white contrast of the interiors based on the original patterns.

Canopies

Restoring the tilework on the canopies has kept the project team engaged in research, analysis, discussion, and experimentation for over 4 years now. Much to everyone's surprise, careful documentation of the existing tilework in 2007 revealed that despite years of neglect, installation of lightning conductors on each



Fig. 13 Conservation of the enclosure wall of Humayun's Tomb. Master craftsmen have used traditional materials and building techniques employed by the original builders to complete the portions of the wall that had collapsed in the twentieth century. Photo by AKTC © Aga Khan Trust for Culture

of the eight canopies in 2003 (also resulting in over 10,000 iron nails embedded in the stonework), and cement patches, enough of the tilework remained for the patterns to be discernible. One helpful factor was that the four canopies on the north and south sides and the four on the east and west had the same pattern.

Since there was now no need to resort to conjecture and since tilework was both a prominent intention of the original builders and a protective layer, not only have the original tiles been scientifically analyzed, but the tile restoration at Humayun's Tomb was the subject of a workshop in 2010, in which delegates from 10 countries participated, supported by UNESCO and the Archaeological Survey of India. Since then, craftsmen from Uzbekistan have given a year's instruction to local young people about how to manufacture handmade tiles matching the Mughal tiles in their physical and chemical properties.

None of the original tiles, even those that have lost their glaze, are to be replaced. What would once have been simple conservation procedure turned out to be a long, drawn-out process due to the fact that the requisite craft skills were no longer available in India. In the 1980s, the restoration of glazed tiles on the dome of the adjoining sixteenth century Sabz Burj involved removing all the original tiles (said to have been in four colors) and replacing them with a single color tile, an approach that was severely criticized in the absence of any explanation of the rationale behind the decision.

Impetus for the Future

In an attempt to overcome the inappropriate attitudes evinced in preceding colonial and postcolonial conservation efforts, recent restoration works aim at reviving the original intentions of the builders, the authenticity of the materials and craft techniques used, and the architectural integrity of the mausoleum. The engineers, conservation architects, and craftsmen conducting the project were thus challenged to acknowledge that the medley of translocal and local aspects discernible in the design and the building materials is one of the major characteristics of the site. With a special focus on analogy and material integrity, architectural patterns have been restored on the basis of extant sixteenth-century prototypes. The craftsmen employed were specially trained in ancient techniques for this restoration project and were evidently keen to emulate the achievements of their predecessors. Their skills made it feasible to remove the effects of the inappropriate interventions by earlier conservation and restoration workers and to replace them with new copies.

The impact of a fresh look at conservation against the backdrop of the global transfer of information and knowledge is making itself felt in India. In his speech at the 150th anniversary celebrations of the Archaeological Survey of India on 20 December 2011 underlining the Aga Khan Trust for Culture's project philosophy, the Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh remarked:

There is today a growing recognition of the relevance of multi-disciplinary approaches to material culture with a view to evolving a holistic view of our past [...]. In some of the advanced countries, the preservation movement has evolved in innovative ways that are meaningful to the living communities that surround historic monuments [...]. In India too we need to evolve a more holistic understanding of conservation that combines our preservation efforts with the social and economic needs of the community. I would urge the Ministry of Culture and the ASI to seek greater integration of preservation and conservation efforts in cities with public policies and schemes for urban renewal. Successful conservation efforts in the past have incorporated local area development through employment generation, boosting local crafts and arts, building of infrastructure, environmental conservation and landscaping [...].⁶

With the example of Humayun's Tomb and the urban renewal initiative in Delhi, transcultural flows emerge as ongoing and controversial processes of negotiation centering on history and the value of our tangible and intangible heritage, processes in which architectural values such as authenticity and integrity are reformulated and created anew and traditional techniques are married to state-of-the-art methods.

The project has invested significant resources in ensuring transparency, peer reviews, and the information of the interested public on a global scale via a detailed website⁷ and regular updates on social media such as Facebook⁸.

⁶ "PM's address at 150th Year of the Archeological Survey of India, 20 December 2011, New Delhi," Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, accessed 8 July 2012, <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=79018>

⁷ See www.nizamuddinrenewal.org

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Sompura: Traditional Master Builders of Western India

Rabindra J. Vasavada

Abstract The text deals with Indian *Sompura*, a regional traditional community of master builders and master craftsmen working for religious trusts. They maintain and restore “living” temples in an effort to recreate the buildings. They perceive themselves as handing down building traditions from generation to generation with the help of descriptive building manuals whose descriptions and drawings are not however slavishly followed. The intention is not to produce a true replica, but to capture the spirit of the original thus creating a work of merit. The *Sompura* are not aware of the term authenticity, but they do appreciate the value of truthfulness in architecture. For a few decades now, this aspect has also been given attention in the framework of the international debate about the concept of authenticity. Spiritual connections and the continuous passing on of skills add to the variety of aspects of authenticity that have to be taken into account when debating conservation strategies in a specific local context.

Sompura

The Sompura are a regional traditional community of master builders and master craftsmen. They originate from western India and are natives of Prabhas Patan, also known as Somnath Patan. There their lineage extends back to ancient times and they were, and still are, associated with building activities of the Somnath Temple. The title *sompura* refers to their origins in native Somnath Patan, though their generic name could be any of the prevalent family names adopted by the Brahmins in this region. They are of Brahmin caste and by religion they devote themselves to the art of temple building, which is a form of Saiva worship. Members of another branch of this Sompura-Brahmin community devote themselves to performing the rituals related to worship in the Somnath temple. Thus their identity is regional

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though their works are now spread all over the country and indeed all over the world, wherever new temples dedicated to the Hindu (and other) faith are built.

Three Lineages of Sompura

Prabhashankar and Chandrakantbhai Sompura

There are several families of master builders that have been active in temple building activities in western India. One of the most prominent figures is Prabhashankar Oghadji Sompura (1896–1979), who headed the rebuilding of the Somnath Temple after Indian independence in 1947. After independence, the rebuilding of the Somnath Temple was linked with the resurgence of “Hindu” culture. A trust was established to reconstruct the temple and it virtually took on symbolic status as one of the oldest *Jyotirlinga*—a self-emerging deity of light. So this was a project of national importance for which Prabhashankar Sompura was officially appointed as the “architect” (*sthāpati*). The construction of the temple began in 1947, and its first phase was completed in 1952. Thereafter works continued till 1997, when it was fully completed. Prabhashankar, an authority on Vastu texts, has reinterpreted and published 20 books on classical Indian architecture. His works include hundreds of projects all over India in a career spanning six decades. He had four sons and grandsons and his traditions are continued today by Chandrakantbhai Sompura (b. 1943), whose father, Balwantrai, was Prabhashankar Sompura’s eldest son.

Chandrakantbhai Sompura was responsible for completing the Somnath Temple Project including its associated shrines. He designed the first great temple of the Svāminārāyaṇa sect in Gandhinagar, which was the first temple on this scale to be undertaken in India. It was built from 1978 to 1985 and followed by the Akshardham Svāminārāyaṇa Temple in Noida, Delhi. Besides, he also designed the Akshardham Svāminārāyaṇa Temple in Neasden, London (1991–1995) with a Haveli adjoining it. For the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), the “World Hindu Council” founded in 1964, Chandrakantbhai also designed the famous but controversial proposal for the temple of Rama at Ayodhya, which is yet to be built. He has also headed the construction of a Hindu temple in Pittsburgh, USA (1981–1985) and a Śiva temple in Singapore (1991–1995). His design for a Sun Temple for J. C. Mills in Gwalior (1984–1988) is the one most redolent of classical traditions in the true sense of the term. He has also masterminded the huge development in Uttar Pradesh, the most recent resurgence of Buddhist shrines patronized by a section of the present political elite in Uttar Pradesh. He is one of the most important temple architects in the country today, acting as a consultant to the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) for important restoration and protection projects in Puri, Orissa, and other places.

Chandrakantbhai's two sons, Nikhil and Ashish, the latter a trained architect, uphold these traditions and collaborate with their father. They have worked on over a hundred temples so far and thus rank among the most important temple architects in the country.

Narmadashankar Muljibhai Sompura

Narmadashankar Muljibhai Sompura (1883–1956) was another illustrious self-made master builder from Dhrangadhara. He is one of the most important Sompura and his works have been an example to his successors. His understanding and interpretation of classical texts attracted the attention of the famous ruler of Baroda, Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar, who invited him to Baroda in 1926 as a state guest and later asked him to write interpretations of the classical texts in Gujarati to make people aware of the great classical traditions of the building arts. Thus Narmadashankar wrote an important reinterpretation of the classical text *Shilpa Ratnakar* that was published in 1939 at the behest of the Late Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar. The latter appointed Narmadashankar Sompura professor of architecture at the famous Kalabhavan in Baroda in 1926, where he had started a department of architecture. In the same year, he designed the famous Kirti Mandir in Baroda as a memorial on the royal funerary site to the former rulers of Baroda. This building is an example of Indian architecture employing a classical Indian idiom for a contemporary building. During the last century there were many Indian master builders originating from the traditional schools. They worked in their own contemporary contexts to reinterpret and adapt the classical canons and idiom to the demands of their prevailing times while still adhering to an understanding of their traditional profession of master builders as one based on Indian classical philosophy. Narmadashankar is survived by his only son and three grandsons, who continue their work in the same traditions.

Amrutbhai Mulshankar Trivedi, Krushnachandra Trivedi, and Virendrabhai Trivedi

One of the other prominent families among the Sompura master builders is that of Amrutbhai Mulshankar Trivedi (1910–2003), who settled in Ahmedabad. Amrutbhai was 92 years old when I first met him in 2002. He told me about his early years in the profession and elucidated for me his approach to, and methods of, designing temples and working on temple projects.

He was involved in the restoration (Skt. *jñṛṇoddhāra*) of the famous Vastupal Tejpal Temple at Dilwara at Mount Abu in Rajasthan in the 1950s. In this project he was working for the Sri Anandji Kalyanji Trust, one of the most important Jaina trusts looking after the *jñṛṇoddhāra* of Jaina Temples all over the country. Like all ideal master builders, Amrutbhai was a great sculptor and had in-depth knowledge

of classical sculptural arts and iconography. His understanding and artistic quality as a sculptor are evident in his early restoration work of the ceiling of the Vastupal–Tejpal Temple *maṇḍapa*. This ceiling, with its sculptural details, is one of the most exquisite examples of marblework in the history of Jaina Temple architecture in India.

Amrutbhai was a very humble man, very acute for his age and still able to produce very accurate drawings on account of his immaculate architectural draughtsmanship. He had a keen appreciation of the proportional system defined in the classical canons. He knew the geometry and scales of the various temple parts and the positioning and the formal variations prescribed by the classical texts underlying the Indian traditions. His knowledge of the text was profound, and he had a tremendous understanding of its precepts and canons plus their applications. Furthermore, he was very creative as a designer, fully able to interpret and appreciate the departures from the canon that designers can choose depending upon their artistic abilities and different project situations. In fact, from those precepts and canons he had actually worked out his own standard reference catalogues for use by his apprentice and the successors in his family. These catalogues were like ready reckoners providing all the details and parameters of planning and designing a temple based on the availability of funds from the patrons funding the projects. Catalogues like these are now widely used by his grandsons and many other Sompura in their day-to-day work.

Amrutbhai had an innate ability to estimate the quality and strength of stones and other material by just looking at them. This was enough to identify their origins and also their density in terms of weight. His knowledge of geology and the soil was also intuitive, enabling him to assess the foundation requirements for buildings erected in different soils. His perception of the structure was both formal and dictated by its mass requirements for stability. Though Indian temple forms were essentially designed for horizontal spans and vertical load transference only, he designed some amazing single-span floors, equipping them with structural innovations while maintaining the basic principle of designing structures (Fig. 1). The

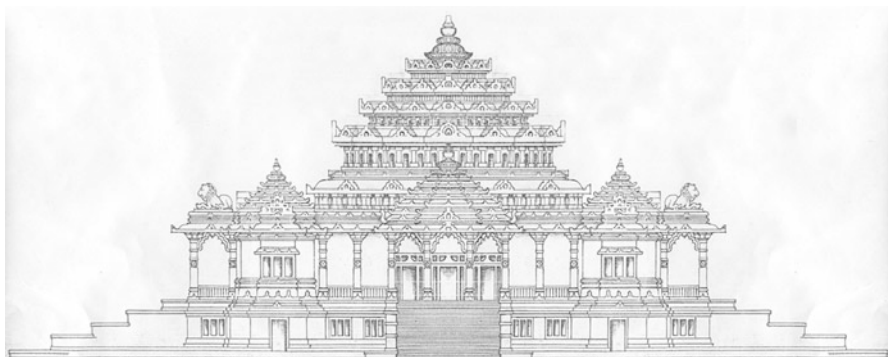


Fig. 1 Drawing of proposed front elevation of Vallabh Smarak at Delhi with dome. The external design of the actual temple building was realized with a stepped roof, 1979. Drawing by Amrutlal Mulshankar Trivedi

Fig. 2 Vallabh Smarak at Delhi. Porch. Photos by Virendrabhai Trivedi, ca. 1990

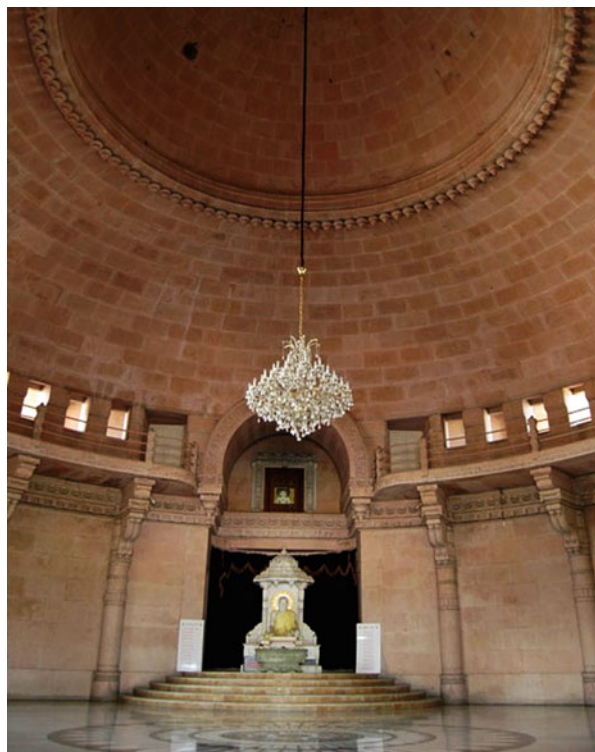


main hall (Figs. 2 and 3) of Vallabh Smarak Jain Mandir (started in 1979, completed in 1988) (Fig. 1) on G. T. Karnal Road near Delhi is a brilliant example of his ingenuity as a structural designer.

Amongst many of the institutional buildings he designed, the small museum at the foot hill of Śatrunjaya in Palitana is a very significant example. It is a simple building with a very fine central hall and a domical ceiling admitting light from the roof. Amrutbhai also participated in a competition for the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial at Rajghat in Delhi in 1957, where his entry won the second prize. He was also an advisor for the Radhasvami Temple now being built in Agra. He was an active promoter of welfare for his own community and member of an educational trust looking after the younger generation of Sompura so that their traditions can be cultivated.

For those communities unable to afford high expenditure but still approaching him to design their temples, he made free use of plain cement concrete blocks cast in rubber molds taken from highly-carved stone forms to recreate similar artistry at a cheaper cost. The molds provided the same form and appearance for the temples, which looked like stone temples when painted. His versatility and his ability to change with the changing times while adhering to the philosophy and principles of

Fig. 3 Vallabh Smarak at Delhi. Main hall in their present state. Photos by Virendrabhai Trivedi, ca. 1990



classical architecture confirmed his connections with his ancestral origins. At the same time, he was an ardent contemporary, absorbing the novelties associated with advancement and progress with a discreet sense of traditional roots ensuring continuity in change and cultivating traditional leanings without denying the claims of contemporary culture.

Amrutbhai had three sons whom he trained in the traditional temple building arts. His son Krushnachandra Trivedi (1936–2009) was later employed by the trust as the master builder looking after *jīrṇoddhāra* activities. In fact, my association with this family came about through Krushnachandra when I was studying the Mahavir Swami temple at Osiya in Rajasthan in the early 1980s and witnessed the *jīrṇoddhāra* of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Mahavir Temple at Osiya which was being enlarged. Some of the pillars of the main shrine were very badly damaged due to the aging of the stones (Fig. 4a). Krushnachandra had them copied and refitted. The replicas (Fig. 4b) were so precise and accorded so well with the original that I resolved to find out more about the restoration work and the way original material was being used to make the replicas. The Mahavir Temple at Osiya is one of the most important examples of the *Pratihara* tradition, an important post-Gupta revival school with its origins dating back to the seventh century. The Mahavir Temple is also the oldest surviving Jaina shrine with a very high status for Jaina

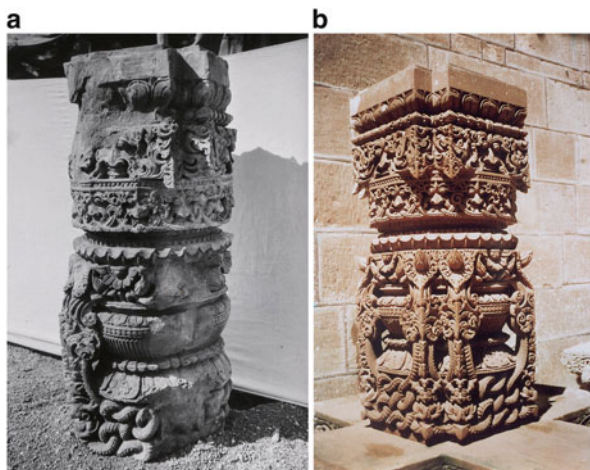


Fig. 4 a and b. Osiya, an ancient town located in the Thar desert of Rajasthan. The entrance hall (*maṇḍapa*) of the Mahavir Temple, built in 783 CE by King Vatsaraja of the Gurjara Pratihara dynasty, was restored by Krushnachandra Trivedi in 1975. The project included the replication (*right*) of fragmented columns (*left*). Outstanding craftsmanship ensured seamless visual continuity in the temple. The incorporation of a chipped fragment would have offended the religious sensibilities of the Jain community. Photos by Krushnachandra Trivedi, ca. 1975

pilgrims. The restoration work was looked after by Krushnachandra and the parts required for replacement were produced in a sculptor's yard in Palitana, the famous Jaina pilgrimage town in southwest Saurashtra.

In the aftermath, I also met Arvindkumar Iswarlal Acharya (Fig. 5), Krushnachandra's son-in-law, a stone sculptor and master craftsman with a workshop in Palitana. He was engaged in producing exact replicas for the parts to be replaced in the temple at Osiya.

Arvindkumar's grandfather Kantilal was the chief assistant of Prabhashankar Sompura (referred to earlier) when he was working on Somnath and devising his plans for the Somnath Temple in 1947. Comparing the original is helpful for an understanding of the philosophy behind his work. He learned his craft from his forefathers, their supreme ancestor being Visvakarma, the supreme creator. They uphold the quality of their work by giving the best they have to offer in terms of talent and imagination. They feel this to be their duty to their ancestors, who passed the craftsmanship and knowledge on to them. They always believe in learning from the past and recreating the originals as an homage to their forefathers. This is why for them creating a replica is not merely "copying" something. A replica is fashioned by drawing upon their excellent craftsmanship, by perceiving the spirit of the work, and applying their imagination to recapturing the spirit of the object or the form of the temple in true service to their ancestral heritage.

Krushnachandra's two sons Virendrabhai (b. 1959) and Devdutt (b. 1964) are also involved in traditional temple building and were trained by their grandfather



Fig. 5 Śatrunjaya in Gujarat: Sculptor Arvindkumar Acharya in his workshop. He holds up a copy of Mulk Anand's *Homage to Khajuraho*, first published in 1960, for comparison of an original sculpture with his replica (second from left). Photo by Niels Gutschow, 21 November 2009

Amrutbhai Trivedi. Virendrabhai is a civil engineer by education but he has also plumped for the temple building profession and calls himself a “temple architect.” Devdutt was trained as a modern architect at a school of architecture and happened to be my student briefly in Ahmedabad. He has also undergone the family training but ultimately prefers contemporary architecture. Thus, though the family has upheld traditional temple construction, one wonders how much longer this will still be the case after this generation.

Virendrabhai works as a temple architect with a very large temple-building contractor in Ahmedabad who also owns marble mines and stone quarries in Rajasthan. This firm has state-of-the-art Computer Numerically Controlled (CNC) machines to sculpt stones and produce parts of temples designed by Virendrabhai (see the article by Katharina Weiler in this volume). They employ a CNC machine expert who translates the drawings for execution on the machines. Temples of monumental dimensions are prefabricated in this factory and transported by a team of masons who help assemble them on site all over the world. The entire enterprise is now an assembly-line business, but the finishing of all the parts is done by female polishers. A contemporary Sompura is now a person who still imagines and designs temples in a traditional manner but who employs computer operators to produce AutoCAD drawings which are then used by the CNC experts to transfer them to machines. This way, the whole production process is



Fig. 6 Akshardam in Noida near Delhi. The site was designed by Virendrabhai Trivedi and constructed from 2000 to 2005. The building involved hundreds of craftsman. The sandstone was quarried and crafted in Rajasthan. Photo by Virendrabhai Trivedi

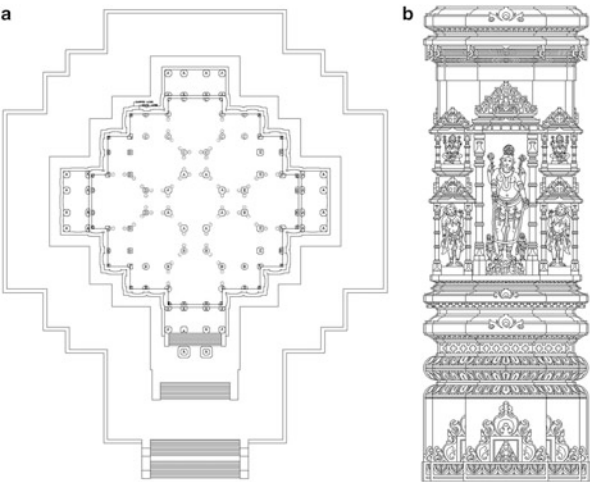


Fig. 7 (a) Groundplan of Akshardam in Noida near Delhi. Design by Krushnachandra Trivedi. (b) Detail of the ornate external wall (*mandovar*) of the Akshardam temple (*mandir*) in Noida near Delhi. The architect drew his inspiration from the repertory of traditional forms. Design by Krushnachandra Trivedi

greatly speeded up. Manually finished parts are shipped and assembled by masons who are trained in assembling the entire temple wherever it needs to go.

Virendrabhai's most important work so far is the monumental Akshardham temple (Figs. 6, 7a, b) in Noida (2000–2005) near Delhi, which is world famous. He is involved in many such large projects nationally and internationally connected with Jain, Svāminārāyaṇa, and Shikh religious shrines across the world.

Virendrabhai also restores historic temples, employing the traditional philosophy of recreating the original character of the works of his ancestors. Wherever he works in western India, he encourages people to undergo training in the relevant craftsmanship. The foremen for all these construction sites are from within the family, but craftsmen with the requisite skills and abilities are hired to deal with the temple artworks. There are no strict lineage or caste restrictions on people joining in and learning the requisite craft skills. Sons of farmers, for example, are offered work opportunities in temple building activities, including the work on sculptures. In this sense, the Sompura no longer consider temple arts to be a jealously guarded family domain but allow other craftsmen from different backgrounds to participate in these activities. Over the passage of time, this policy has greatly enlarged the resource group available to meet the increasing demands of temple building activities all over the country.

The contemporary expansion in the followers of various faiths within larger mainstream Hinduism, like Swaminarayan, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), and Jaina has triggered temple-building activities all over India and in places abroad with large communities of Indians. Most of the places of worship subscribe to classical Indian imagery, and this has substantially expanded the activities of these families and the associated professionals who have acquired the requisite skills and abilities to uphold the traditions. Large groups of temple-building contractors have established their construction yards in regions where stone is abundantly available. Accordingly, Rajasthan and Gujarat have become centers of temple-building activity with the capacity to cater to these increasing demands.

Conclusion

The master builders of the Sompura community perceive themselves as handing down building traditions from generation to generation. As the ancient texts were rarely illustrated, they started producing illustrated handbooks in the early twentieth century. The descriptions and drawings in these manuals, however, were not slavishly followed. Similar to the ancient *Śilpa Śāstra* texts, the South Indian Mayamata of the twelfth century or the seventeenth century Śilparatnaśā from Orissa, the lavishly illustrated manuals of the Sompura were intended to be descriptive rather than prescriptive. Recent discussions with Sompura who have now bestowed on themselves the title of temple architect demonstrate considerable

liberties in their approach to the design of details.¹ This is also true of the column fragments illustrated above. The intention was not to produce a true replica but to capture the spirit of the original. The Sompura are not aware of the term authenticity, but they would claim truthfulness to be the supreme value, an idea that has also gained ground in international debate. An essential requirement is that such truthfulness must encompass the kind of spirit that will arouse religious sentiments.

In general, Sompura master builders do not inhabit the world of conservation. They do not work within the framework of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) but for religious trusts. They are engaged to maintain and restore temples classified as part of the living heritage. They do not preserve ruins, they recreate buildings. Their work is widely covered by the Sanskrit term *jīrṇoddhāra*, a rather ill-defined concept applicable to any intervention from mere maintenance to repair and replacement. All these activities are of course very deserving, and this merit is publicized by inscriptions naming the respective donor and his/her *jīrṇoddhāra* activity without going into detail on the nature of the work.

Since the design for a new and much larger temple on the site of the ancient Somnāth temple in 1947 at the latest, the Sompura have claimed status of master builders who design their structures in line with age-old traditions. The image of Viśvakarma, the celestial architect, is found in the text mentioned above with vermilion marks indicating repeated veneration. Viśvakarma is considered the author of all treatises and the master builders claim that they act as his tool. Such spiritual connection and the continuous passing on of skills from father to son add to the aspects of authenticity that have to be taken into account when debating conservation strategies in a specific local context.

A critical question remains. To what extent does the spirit of the architecture get lost in cases where Computer Numerically Controlled (CNC) machines take over to simply save time and money. Hundreds if not thousands of temples are being built at present in India with substandard workmanship. Handicraft work is reduced to surface treatment, while the profiles are industrial replicas. The Sompura may have arrived at a turning point in their tradition, sundering careful restoration and replacement from automated mass production.

¹ The way of considering ancient prototypes to proof original design intentions since the late nineteenth century has been changed by a growing tendency to consult picture books which combine ancient texts and graphics drawn by painters who may have been trained under the colonial system.

Contested Evaluations: Authenticity and the “Living Traditions” of Master Builders and Stonemasons in India

Katharina Weiler

Abstract In accordance with a universal consensus, India’s cultural heritage is presently being evaluated with recourse to parameters such as “tradition” and “authenticity.” Concealed behind such characterizing approaches to material and immaterial cultural goods are covert value assignments that from a historical perspective themselves derive from transcultural sources. The present article investigates the historical formation of parameters such as “authenticity” with respect to “living traditions” in the Indian context. Ever since the nineteenth century, concepts such as tradition, originality, and authenticity have figured as contested notions in a dynamic field of tension. They have been negotiated by colonial agents (British and Indian), postcolonial Indian protagonists, and an international community of conservationists. Recently, postmodern conservation architects have displayed an inclination to reflect on the concept of authenticity in heritage preservation by focusing on its relation to new understandings of validity based on, for example, non-physical essence and spirit (including inspirational re-creation and craft traditions). With this in mind, the article inquires into the relevance of craftsmanship for the architectural heritage in present-day India not least with a view to foregrounding the skills of master builders and stonemasons.

The Authenticity of Living Traditions: A Transcultural Approach

The Nara Document on Authenticity was drafted at the Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention in 1994 “in response to the expanding scope of cultural heritage concerns” and to encourage “respect for cultural and

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heritage diversity.”¹ Before that, diverse notions of authenticity had been discussed earlier in the same year at a preparatory workshop in Bergen, Norway. In the proceedings of this workshop, multifaceted aspects of the term “authenticity” are proposed in connection with the world heritage drive. In his contribution to the proceedings, Finnish architect Jukka Jokilehto² makes the following claim: “Essential in the repair and maintenance, as well as in the eventual renewal, of structures that are part of traditional continuity is their ‘esoteric dimension’, their non-physical essence and spirit” (Jokilehto 1994, 11).

This idea acts as a counterpoise to the principle according to which authenticity is mainly determined by the awareness of time’s irreversibility and the emphasis this places on the temporal qualities/characteristics of objects (Menon 1994, 42). In contrast to this perception of material authenticity and the pressure it places on conservationists to protect all traces of time past, Jokilehto argues that constructions may be legitimately maintained, repaired, rebuilt, repainted, or redecorated as long as a tradition continues and “authenticity could be identified—if it is at all possible—not so much in the originality of material or form, but rather in the process.” In his eyes, the cultural heritage cannot be defined by merely taking into account the objects and their historical value “but rather in the knowledge and skill of producing them, understanding the forms and colours” (Jokilehto 1994, 12).

An immediate response to the rather ill-defined internationalist persuasions voiced in the Nara Document on Authenticity came from the postcolonial, non-governmental Indian conservation scene. Since the late twentieth century, conservation architects such as Delhi-based A. G. Krishna Menon, who is critical of the state-run practices of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI)—a colonial legacy—and who views “the imposition of modern systems of conservation, such as the Venice Charter, as a threat to cultural continuity in building and conservation practices in India” (Menon 2011, 19) have been committed to the idea that living traditional knowledge systems play a major role in defining the authenticity of the cultural heritage. Accordingly, they have devoted special attention to the role of Indian master builders and stonemasons (Menon 1994 and 2005).

The present investigation is an attempt to engage with recent attempts by local Indian (and international) agents to redefine the concept of authenticity in heritage preservation by capturing its relation to new understandings of validity based, for

¹ I would like to thank Rabindra Vasavada (Ahmedabad), R. G. Sharma (Jaipur), Harshad Chavda (Sirohi), and Mukhtar Ali (Makrana) for their kind assistance during my fieldwork in India from 2 to 25 March 2010. Furthermore special thanks are due to the Cluster of Excellence “Asia and Europe in a Global Perspective,” University of Heidelberg, for the financial support I was given for this fieldwork.

² Jukka Jokilehto, an architect from Finland, has lived in Rome for the past 35 years. He was Assistant to the Director General of UNESCO’s International Centre for Conservation in Rome (ICCROM) and ran the architectural conservation course for 25 years. He is the president of the International Training Committee of the International Congress of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). He has been active with UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention for many years and with Sir Bernard Feilden was the main author of the World Heritage Site Management Guidelines.

example, on non-physical essence, spirit, feeling, inspirational re-creation, and craft traditions (cf. A. G. Krishna Menon, Ratish Nanda and Rabindra Vasavada in this volume). It does so by situating the issue in its historical context. Concealed behind the characterizations ascribed to various aspects of material and immaterial cultural goods are covert value assignments that from a historical perspective themselves derive from transcultural sources. Ever since the nineteenth century, concepts such as tradition, originality, and authenticity have figured as contested notions in a dynamic field of tension (Cohn 1983; Thapar 1998; Weiler 2013a, b). As I set out to show by taking this historical perspective into consideration, the craft traditions of Indian master builders and masons and the discursive construction of tradition (its processual shifts in meaning) are subject to controversial debates conducted by colonial agents (British and Indian), postcolonial Indian protagonists, and an international community of conservationists. Taking into account the universal consensus that nowadays encourages the evaluation of cultural heritage solely in terms of parameters such as “tradition” and “authenticity,” workmanship traditions and the architectural cultural heritage in India turn out to be constructs testifying not only to conceptual exchange but also to identity formation.

Finally, my article takes a look at four actual stone workshops in India and asks about the relevance of craftsmanship for the architectural heritage in present-day India in appreciation of the skills of master builders and master stonemasons.

Historical Background: The “Native Craftsman” and Colonial Art Education

A discourse on the value of craftsmanship as practiced by master builders and masons in India has been going on since the nineteenth century, when the concept of “art education” as a central issue in the Arts and Crafts Movement was established under British colonial rule.³ The movement went in search of a style that reflected the value of craftsmanship, and its members supported the reunification of “art” with “craftsmanship.” This conceptual segregation, which I shall return to later, is clearly European in origin and was introduced to India in the course of the “civilizing” mission. The Arts and Crafts Movement was a spin-off of the historicism of the Victorian era and opposed the “soulless” objects mass-produced by industry. Accordingly, fascination with the uniqueness of Indian craft traditions surfaced in the framework of a colonial discourse about art education and the protection of cultural goods in India.

³ The “native craftsman” is the subject of numerous recent articles in the context of colonial studies, see for instance (Dutta 1997, 2007; Dewan 2004; Mathur 2007, 27–51 and 52–79; Tarar 2011). The authors analyze the copious historical sources from the second half of the nineteenth century. Special attention is devoted to the role and the outside assessment of the craftsman in the framework of the colonial discourse on art education.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, art critics and figures like the textile designer, artist, and writer William Morris (1834–1896), George Birdwood (1832–1917), curator of the Indian collections at the South Kensington Museum in London, and the art teacher, illustrator, and museum curator John Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911) believed in the importance of preserving the social structure from which hereditary Indian craftsmen originated. They expressed their concern about the declining state of Indian arts and accused the ruling Raj, whose policies were partly determined by developments in Britain, of being responsible for the destruction of Indian industrial art by enforcing the introduction of mass-produced goods from Britain (Mitter 1994a, 5). Concern about the decline of Indian art resulted in a number of debates on art education, highlighting the native craftsman and his role in the evolution of Indian art.

Deepali Dewan, an art historian whose work on colonial South Asia examines the links between early art education, the circulation of objects, and the production of knowledge in art history as an academic discipline, studies the role of British art schools in colonial India. In her essay on “The Body at Work: Colonial Art Education and the Figure of the ‘Native Craftsman,’” she suggests that the obviously contradictory figure of the native craftsman “was constructed within colonial discourse as both the hope of Indian art’s revival and as the source of its corruption” (Dewan 2004, 118). In both cases, however, the craftsman symbolized “the success of colonial art education at revival through reform and reform through revival” (Dewan 2004, 130). Both written descriptions and visual representations of the Indian craftsman foregrounded the body of the indigenous craftsman in the process of creating art. According to Dewan, “This representation of the native craftsman at work suggested an ‘authentic’ moment of production in which the knowledge of traditional Indian arts was captured in the process of being transferred from the craftsman’s body to the object he produces” (Dewan 2004, 119).⁴ In her analysis of

⁴ The craftsman is the subject of a plethora of studies from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that need to be read against the different historical and political contexts they materialized in. See e.g., Pandian (1897, 63f): In his book *Indian Village Folk: Their Works and Ways* that was first published in London and addressing a British readership, the Indian author Thomas B. Pandian dedicates one chapter to the “famous Indian stonemasons” and praises their skill. Alive to the spirit of the times, he highlights the process of making as interplay between the stonemason’s mind and hands: “The beautiful and attractive stone pillars, which stand in some of the temple *mandapam* (cloisters) were first conceived in the mind of the stonemason, and then fashioned into shape by his skilful hands.” The stonemasons’ “fingers have formed images of all the living creatures of India, and placed them in the sacred buildings of the Hindu community,” while the craftsmen “have told the histories and mysteries in the works of their hands.” With these words, Pandian unmistakably invests the mason with mystical skills and highlights his unifying role for an imagined and religiously organized collective; Ashbee (1909): The designer and entrepreneur Charles Robert Ashbee (1863–1942) was a prime mover of the English Arts and Crafts Movement. In his foreword to Ananda K. Coomaraswamy’s *The Indian Craftsman* (1909), Ashbee pines for a “continuous existence of an order” (1909, viii) destroyed in the West by industrial machinery but still existent in India. He is passionate about the living traditions that “still exist in great measure in the East, and it may be that the East, in her wisdom, and with her profound conservative instinct, will not allow them to be destroyed” (Ashbee 1909, ix). Ashbee’s emphasis is on the Indian affinity to

colonial fascination with Indian craft processes from a postcolonial perspective, Dewan retroactively ascribes to craft the value of being “authentic” expressing something real, original, or genuine.

These images of the male Indian craftsman engaged in his work were reproduced in books and journals and also displayed in exhibitions.⁵ For example, in 1870 Lockwood Kipling had been commissioned by the British Government in India to tour the northwestern provinces and make a series of sketches of Indian craftsmen, for example textile manufacturers or woodcarvers (Fig. 1). Many of these sketches were exhibited at the International Exhibition held that year in London.⁶ On the occasion of the largest colonial exhibition ever organized in Britain [the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (1886) in South Kensington (London) with its *Journal of Indian Art*] a number of artifacts plus 34 Indian “natives” and their occupations were put on show to represent the geographic regions they came from. Among them were stonemasons (Unknown author 1886, 92). This approach was designed to make it easier to view the crafts and traditions of each province and to identify specific styles (Report of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1887, 103). The categorization mirrors the changing political organization of colonial India from a centralized apparatus to a decentralized system of federal but partially autonomous entities and their respective governments (Dutta 1997, 119). In the eyes of Maria Antonella Pelizzari, whose research is dedicated to issues of cultural representation, historiography, and collection, with a special focus on nineteenth-century British colonialism, what was being conceptualized as “heritage” in India “was being used as a kind of cultural commodity manufactured by colonial surveyors and curators” (Pelizzari 2003, 34).

The romanticizing attitude toward the Indian craftsman, who was considered the counterpart to the medieval craftsman in Europe, resulted in a focus on the indigenous artist in preindustrial places as a source for the revival of so-called traditional art. In reports by the officials of colonial art schools in the latter half of

tradition, and he cites an “appeal to the Government on behalf of Indian Arts and Crafts against the effects of English commercialism upon the production of Indian craftsmanship.” His statement is indicative of the Western perspective, while his romantic dream of India is also revealed in his yearning for a “spiritual reawakening in the West” (Ashbee 1909, x) that “may yet leave the ancient East fundamentally unchanged, and bring us once again into some kindred condition through our contact with her” (ibid., xi). This widespread perspective evinced by many Westerners on the cultures of others was based on a formula opposing “civilized” to “primitive,” “industrial machinery” to “the purpose of hand” (ibid., xii) and “the individuality of human production.” In Ashbee’s visions, certain elements of Indian art became associated with decline and industrial mass-production, while other aspects such as “traditional” designs, the living traditions of hand-craft techniques, and the originality of craftsmanship were upgraded.

⁵ The galleries set up by George Birdwood at South Kensington focused on the process of production but also on the end product, and later some of the drawings that Lockwood Kipling produced were displayed alongside original objects from India.

⁶ Many of the sketches dating from 1870 were exhibited at the International Exhibition of that year held in London, and over a hundred of them were subsequently acquired by the India Museum in London, whose collections were later dispersed.



Fig. 1 Woodcarver in Simla, Himachal Pradesh, drawn on 24 October 1870 by John Lockwood Kipling; the craftsman is producing a geometric pattern and working with a mallet and chisel. On his right is an adze, on his left are two drafts. Pencil and ink on paper, from a series of sketches of Indian craftsmen. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

the nineteenth century, the figure of the native craftsman was claimed to be a “repository of traditional artistic knowledge” and a “living archive of traditional knowledge” (Dewan 2004, 125). Accordingly, the art schools that had been established by the British and aimed at the survival of the Indian arts employed master craftsmen as teachers, “providing ‘authentic’ knowledge to students who had not been sullied by the effects of inexpensive and low-quality imports” (Dewan 2004, 125), thus symbolizing a link between past knowledge and present production.

The education at the schools took place in accordance with curricula reflecting different approaches (Mitter 1994b). Of these, I intend to focus here on the approach espoused by art historian Ernest Binfield Havell (1861–1931), as he explicitly links the issue of colonial art education with the subject of architectural heritage preservation. In their Government School of Art in Calcutta, Havell and Abanindranath Tagore (1871–1951) propagated a form of art education that had its roots in the precolonial Indian cultural context. From this school resulted the Bengal School of Art, a national movement that opposed academic art education in India. With respect to Indian (temple) architects, Havell made a clear distinction between the “real Indian craftsman” and the “incapacity of the Public Works *mistri*” or “paper-architect” who had received his education from one of the colonial art schools and who complied with archeological rules. Havell thus distinguished between “living craftsmanship” and “archaeological dilettantism” (Havell 1913, 227f.).

Heritage Preservation in Colonial India

What constituted this living tradition of craftsmanship and what set it apart from what Havell called “archaeological dilettantism”? In the course of the debate on the value and spirit of living traditions, the Ceylonese philosopher of art and curator at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, presented in his book *The Indian Craftsman* (1909) an account of the work of the Indian craftsman in precolonial and preindustrial India. According to Coomaraswamy, the Indian craftsman was associated either “as a member of a village community; as a member of a guild of merchant craftsmen in a great city; or as the feudal servant of the king, or chieftain of a temple” (Coomaraswamy 1909, 1) (Fig. 2). In the eyes of Coomaraswamy, the term “hereditary craftsman” was justified by the “hereditary fixity of social function under the caste system” rather than expertise depending upon “the direct inheritance of his father’s individual skill,” which is “an acquired character.” In this respect, Coomaraswamy defies prevalent colonial race theories, which in fact suggested that notions of inheritance extended to the biological transmission of artistic skills. Lockwood Kipling, for instance, chose his pupils on the basis of their craftsmanly roots and made no distinction between natural talent and inherited profession (Kipling 2003, 73). Coomaraswamy distinguishes “innate artistic genius” from “actual skill in handicraft” and attaches supreme



Fig. 2 Illustration from the *Akbarnama* chronicle (ca. 1590–1595). Mughal ruler Akbar (clad in white, upper left-hand part of the picture) visits the city of Fathpur (later known as Fatehpur Sikri) under construction in the year 1571. The miniature painting shows the organization of a crowded

importance to the educational and environmental conditions (e.g., the workshop) implicit in the expression “hereditary craftsman” (Coomaraswamy 1909, 83f.). In this sense, tradition is understood as a learning sequence, an acquisition of artistic knowledge and skills that may, however, be developed further. Last, but not least, Coomaraswamy calls devotion and respect for the teacher a “perfected instrument for the transmission of a living tradition” (Coomaraswamy 1909, 87). What Coomaraswamy describes as hereditary craftsmanship is in fact the continuation of tradition, the authenticity which can be identified in ongoing processes, the significance of knowledge and skill in the production of cultural goods underlined by Jukka Jokilehto in the late twentieth century (Jokilehto 1994, 12).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, around the time when Coomaraswamy published his work, the ASI was being institutionalized by eminent contemporary British archeologists like John Marshall (1876–1958), director-general of the ASI from 1902 to 1928 (also referred to in the article by Gutschow, Menon, and Nanda). That was when the strategies of state-run, centralized preservation of Indian cultural relics were defined. In her thoughts on “A Conservation Code for the Colony: John Marshall’s *Conservation Manual* and Monument Preservation between India and Europe,” Indra Sengupta (2013), whose main research interests center around the history of encounters between European and non-European cultures (German orientalism, British colonialism, culture and modernity in India), points out the “European history” of the preservation movement in late-nineteenth century Britain that concerned the interest in India’s ancient architectural remains displayed by British artists, scholars, and statesmen operating in colonial India. Yet the necessity to dovetail metropolitan concepts with local priorities in the various regions of India is evident in the code for the practice of monument preservation in colonial India (Weiler 2013b, 40). At the beginning of the twentieth century, as I have written elsewhere (Weiler 2013b, 56), John Marshall’s differentiated evaluation of the rather general principles underlying the protection of monuments and the transnational European discourses on preservation resulted from his engagement with the role of the colonial state in preserving India’s architectural heritage. Marshall advocated taking into account local conditions, e.g., political and religious considerations, thus emphasizing the difficulty of applying general rules. In the Indian Archaeological Policy of 1915, John Marshall introduced conservation and investigation as the two main functions of the archeological department. He emphasized the general state-driven refusal of restoration efforts (Marshall 1916, Paragraph 19, 18). At the same time, he found “frequently valid reasons for resorting to more extensive measures of repair than would be desirable” in case monuments were still serving their original purpose, i.e., Hindu temples, Muhammadan mosques, tombs or palaces.



Fig. 2 (continued) building site with stonemasons and male and female construction workers. The court artists Tulsi (composition), Bandi (colors and details), and Madhav Khord (portraiture) made the painting with opaque color and gold on paper (32.7 × 19.5 cm). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Museum Nummer: IS.2:91-1896)

The general objective, however, was not “to reproduce what has been defaced or destroyed, but to save what is left from further injury or decay, and to preserve it as a national heir-loom for posterity.”

Ernest Binfield Havell commented on the ASI’s work. In 1913 he noted that Indian craftsmen (temple architects and masons) were given temporary appointments by Lord Curzon (1859–1925), Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, to restore ancient monuments. According to Havell, Marshall “has frequently testified to their intelligence and skill in work of this kind” (Havell 1913, 226). But at the same time he deplores the “great misfortune for India that Lord Curzon’s interest in craftsmanship did not extend further.”⁷

In their conservation practice, the ASI distinguished between “dead” and “living” monuments and the implementation of guidelines for the conservation and restoration of the architectural heritage that propagated an essentially Western concept of authenticity. This concept was squarely based on a structure’s historical value but at the same time accepted repair or restoration for structures that still incorporated everyday practice. Nevertheless, in Paragraph 25 of John Marshall’s (1923) *Conservation Manual* [based on the older pamphlets and the operative ideas of the British Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (Marshall 1923, ii)], Marshall’s definition of “authenticity” as assigned to a monument under protection reads as follows:

[...] Although there are many ancient buildings whose state of disrepair suggests at first sight a renewal, it should never be forgotten that their *historical value is gone when their authenticity is destroyed* [italics in the original], and that our first duty is not to renew them but to preserve them. When, therefore, repairs are carried out, no effort should be spared to save as many parts of the original as possible, since it is to the authenticity of the old parts that practically all the interest attaching to the new will owe itself. Broken or half decayed original work is of infinitely more value than the smartest and most perfect new work (Marshall 1923, Paragraph 25, 10).

These lines introduced the concept of authenticity to the Indian context. A preoccupation with buildings devoid of contemporary use and regarded as documents of historical value comes to the fore—antiquarian relics, qualified as protected monuments and entitled to state protection. Conservation practice in India under colonial rule thus commonly came into conflict with traditional Indian practices and traditions of maintenance (Weiler 2013b, 56f.).

At all events, it is clear that (a) the claim to preserve age value and (b) colonial ambition resonate through this evaluation and that such tangible determination of

⁷ Cf. Begg (1920): The British architect John Begg stated in an essay read before the Royal Institute of British Architects on Monday, 12 April 1920 that “an uninterrupted living tradition in architecture exists to-day, linking the present direct with the past in India alone [...]. It contends that the true policy ought to be to shun all imported forms and ideas and imported architects alike, but to foster and feed the existing living tradition by the agency of the men—call them what you will, native architects, staphis, mistrys, craftsmen—with whom that tradition resides” (Begg 1920, 343). This statement emphasizes the idea of a “need for action calculated to maintain the tradition in view of the fact that the latter is actually dying out for want of sustenance.”

the authentic was transmitted and implemented in the Indian context by configuring European conservation philosophies for Indian monuments. In terms of conservation, ASI practice until the end of the twentieth century largely neglected traditional Indian craftsmanship and methods of repair, restoration, and maintenance or (Skt.) *jīrṇoddhāra* characterized by inspirational re-creation, as documented by Rabindra Vasavada in the present volume. The voices of Indian craftsmen themselves did not find their way into the discussion on conservation policies.

“Indigenous” Versus “Universal” Traditions in Contemporary India

A distinction between genuine precolonial and imported colonial (or preindustrial and industrial) craftsmanship, which was the subject matter of colonial art education and, as Havell tells us, was even transmitted to the ASI’s archeological practices, has been continuously propagated by different agents in India. The survival of the “spirit of the guilds of old” (Begg 1920, 345) that was once discussed in the discourse on colonial art education has today become a postcolonial Indian concern.

Some representatives of colonial art education had favored the precolonial cultural landscape and romanticized the life and work of “native” craftsmen. They were later stylized as Indian nationalist images in the wake of Mahatma Gandhi’s professed admiration for the supposed integrity of the village (Mathur 2007, 48f.). “Visualizations of nationalist ideology, they borrowed from the associations of cultural authenticity established by the art-school images,” writes Dewan (2004, 131), while untainted folk art and the image of indigenous craftsmanship were required to strengthen Indian national identity. With respect to the living heritage in India, tradition, for example the tradition of craftsmanship, has been made a substitute for “authenticity.” This becomes especially clear in the guidelines issued to the states by the Government of India for submission of tableaux proposals for India’s Delhi Republic Day Parade. The guidelines place special emphasis on tradition, genuineness, and authenticity. They propose that “in case of tableaux on cultural, historical/traditional themes, the colours, designs, costumes, materials, etc. used should be authentic.” In this regard, Jyotindra Jain, professor at the School of Arts and Aesthetics at Jawaharlal Nehru University, notes that temporal and spatial distance is the nation’s criterion for cultural authenticity. He detects these tableaux as deriving in part from “colonial anthropological archives, registers of orientalist photography, and the colonial museum dioramas, now reassembled to dream up a self-image for a nation vying for political and cultural solidarity” (Jain 2007, 68).

In this sense, craft museums such as the National Handicrafts and Handlooms Museum in Delhi, craft villages, e.g., Shilparam in Hyderabad, and replicas of “typical Indian,” (read “preindustrial”) villages such as Kala Gaon in Uttar Pradesh nowadays increasingly promote traditional skills, processes of



In Rustic Retrospect

A replica of a typical Awadhi village promotes folk art and offers an authentic rural experience

Fig. 3 Kala Gaon in Uttar Pradesh, “A replica of a typical Awadhi village” that “promotes folk art and offers an authentic rural experience” was featured in *India Today*. According to the author of the article, the village is located “along the picturesque Indira canal,” and replicates a “typical Awadhi village untouched by modernity.” It is equipped with several larger-than-life figurines representing “different aspects of rural life,” offers “typical food” and a “crafts bazaar.” Dharmendra and Neeta Kumar, the creators of the village, state that they have “tried to create an authentic village” within which they attempt to “revive folk art and craft.” *Source:* India Today. Text: Farzand Ahmed, 3 December 2007, 11. Photo by Maneesh Agnithori

craftsmanship, and indigenous craftsmen. They offer both the rising urban Indian middle class and foreign tourists “an authentic rural experience” (Ahmed 2007, 11) (Fig. 3).

This trend is both Indian and global. It highlights the search for authentic Indian traditions and also reflects local responses to cultural developments perceived by the majority worldwide as offshoots of the homogenizing impact of globalization. The fact that from colonial times until today such living traditions have been showcased as exhibits (Fig. 4) with museum character that highlight the authentic cultural heritage points to the ways in which representations of the colonial and postcolonial, the local and traditional are produced.

“Our craft traditions are becoming extinct, sadly comments every scholar seriously concerned with the study of Indian crafts as they reveal the material and non-material culture patterns of this country,” writes M. K. Pal (1978, 285) in his book on *Crafts and Craftsmen in Traditional India*. He deplores the fact that



Fig. 4 Hyderabad: Life-size sculpture of a master stonemason working on an elephant sculpture in the theme park *Shilparam*. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 2008

“foreign rule and its imperialistic policies, the downfall of princely states and their rulers (who were the chief patrons of the crafts) and the coming of the machine age have combined to bring about an almost complete paralysis of our centuries old craft traditions.” Pal refers to the Indian nation’s “heavy responsibility of revising those traditions,” thus associating Indian cultural authenticity with a link between the present and the precolonial past. This way, he underscores the differences between precolonial indigenous and colonial concepts while making strategic use

of tradition at a local and national level through the employment of rhetoric recalling notions of precolonial unity and national identity.

A. G. Krishna Menon, too, discusses the putative oppositions in this volume.⁸ He gives an inside account of the schism between official and local practices, i.e., between an accepted “universal force of modernisation” and “indigenous concepts of authenticity,” which has plagued conservation practice in India ever since British colonial rule. In his essay “Rethinking the Venice Charter: The Indian Experience” (Menon 1994, 42), Menon envisages the role of the master stonemason in contemporary India as follows: Master stonemasons continue to maintain buildings but remain invisible as far as the contemporary conservation movement is concerned. Ancient temples in good repair all over the country substantiate Menon’s assumption. (In India, numerous temples, old and new, are in the possession of trusts responsible for the care and maintenance of the sites. In these cases, the Archaeological Survey of India cannot claim to be a “protective” agent. Craftsmen are employed mainly at “unprotected” heritage sites to prepare the sandstone or marble elements required to replace those that have deteriorated beyond repair. Furthermore, Indian masons prepare the stone carvings for new temple buildings, which are presently having a heyday).

Even the Archaeological Survey of India, founded by the British and still firmly dedicated to the guidelines set down by the former colonial power, employs master stonemasons to work on the basis of their traditional experience. But their work is not necessarily recognized in contemporary conservation practice, since the mason works under “alien norms—alien to his method of working, and alien to his sensibilities” (Menon 1994, 42). As Menon aptly suggests, “his worth is only recognized at the level of physical skills and techniques, not in the matter of determining the objectives of conservation itself.”

The role of the master stonemason in the maintenance of Indian architectural heritage lives on. By contrast, the modern conservation architect seeks to live up to international conservation guidelines and practices. According to Menon, “India today is heir to not one but two traditions, one, the ‘universal’ view which was first imposed, and then accepted by us in our dialogue with the West, and the other, an indigenous one which continues to be practiced, as exemplified by the tradition of the master-mason.” The first tradition is based on a bias propagated in the West. It rejects all reconstruction and restoration and calls for a contemporary stamp on restored buildings (Articles 9 and 12 of the Venice Charter). It “propagates a sharp edge between the past and the present and thus denies any continuity of tradition in the evolution of a building” (Menon 1994, 43). Over and against this practice, the Indian master stonemason builds and restores in the tradition of his forefathers, and one characteristic of his work is that it is often difficult to distinguish between old and new, original and copy. The distinction between indigenous and universal concepts of authenticity is employed to create a picture of local identity. It testifies to the quest for original Indian traditions that can assert themselves against an apparently global consensus.

⁸ See also Menon (1994) and (2011).

Hybrid Practices and Their Transcultural Aspect

However, this schism—precolonial versus colonial, universal versus local Indian—has now allegedly been overcome, and the clash of different values in the Indian conservation scene may thus result in a hybrid approach to conservation practice, as Menon stresses in the present volume. The outcome is not a pure notion of authenticity but a hybridized version that accepts values taken both from Indian traditions and mainstream conservationist thinking. “This process of hybridisation,” says Menon, “needs to be appreciated in order to understand the emerging concepts of authenticity in the Indian context.”

In this sense, authenticity has been reframed and reconceptualized to fit in to the Indian context. As Menon sets out here, by adopting the Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India (2004), the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) responded to the transcultural discourse on architectural conservation principles and guidelines for heritage preservation. The charter does not reject the transnational approach to preservation adopted by the ASI, but it does recognize the relevance of maintenance and the role of indigenous practices in promoting it. The professionals initially engaged in the INTACH projects—mid-career planners and architects—“were able to re-examine entrenched shibboleths and deconstruct the principles of the Venice Charter in order to define conservation imperatives that suited local exigencies” (Menon 2011, 20). The Indian charter recognizes “the unique resource of the ‘living’ heritage” of master builders “who continue to build and care for buildings following traditions of their ancestors.” This approach is in line both with Jokilehto and also the historian and geographer David Lowenthal⁹, another contributor to the workshop in Bergen, who advocates honoring “fidelity of processes and skills and their transmission from generation to generation” (Lowenthal 1994, 62). The “Conservation Ethics” of the INTACH Charter suggest that the “traditional knowledge systems and the cultural landscape in which it exists, particularly if these are ‘living’, should define the authenticity of the heritage value to be conserved” (INTACH 2004, 4). In this regard, two major aspects of authenticity—material and immaterial—come to the fore. The authenticity of an object that may be determined by the spirit of living traditions practiced, say, by the Indian master builders and stonemasons. In the logic of the INTACH Charter, master builders and stonemasons embody a living cultural heritage, their craftsmanship itself being considered characteristic of authentic processes (that transfer authentic knowledge of craft traditions to the objects).

A recent example of the entanglement of so-called universal and indigenous conservation practices (processes in which architectural values such as authenticity

⁹ David Lowenthal is a prolific writer, and some of his many articles and books are concerned with landscape tastes and perceptions and the relationship between history and cultural heritage. His studies embrace North America, the West Indies, and Britain. Lowenthal has held a vast range of ancillary posts and organized conferences on heritage and conservation issues and authenticity.

and integrity are reformulated in the Indian context) is found in the Conservation Proposals for Humayun's Tomb as a World Heritage site. The proposal was adopted in 2008 by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), Delhi in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India. The conservation philosophy was guided by John Marshall's *Conservation Manual* (1923) and influential charters, especially the Venice Charter and the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter (1979, revised in 1999). At the same time, the approach should be "rooted in the Indian context where craftsmen take great pride in replicating the skills of their fore-fathers" (Archaeological Survey of India and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2008, 29).

Thus it becomes obvious that concepts such as tradition, originality, and authenticity are transcultural mentefacts whose meaning and appreciation are being reconceptualized in the wake of transfer processes. In terms of the contested notions used at present in an attempt to define architectural authenticity and conservation practice in India, I now turn to the identification of basic values in the process of stone carving in contemporary India—craftsmanly traditions that are linked to shifting production processes. The following case studies from India are designed to encourage further consideration of what is nowadays being conceptualized as the authenticity of living tradition.

Notes on the Appreciation of Building Traditions: Impressions from Four Sites

The Conservation Works at Humayun's Tomb in New Delhi

As described by Ratish Nanda and in the introduction to the conversation between experts in the field of conservation in Delhi 2009 in the present volume, the construction of Humayun's Tomb (ca. 1569), the mausoleum for the second Mughal Emperor, in Delhi is one of the earliest examples of negotiation on architectural features and building elements familiar to both Persian and local building traditions. Skill in handling the different kinds of sandstone and marble becomes particularly apparent at Humayun's mausoleum, built mainly with red sandstone and white marble. The sandstone for the main building comes from Tantpur near Agra and is combined with marble from Makrana in Rajasthan. Today, the region around Dholpur in Rajasthan, not far from Agra, is still famous for its sandstone quarries.

Between 2007 and 2012, Humayun's Tomb has been restored in the framework of a public-private partnership initiative involving the ASI, the Central Public Works Department, and the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. Prior to the establishment of a stone workshop in situ, 50 quarries at a distance of up to approximately 150 km around Dholpur were visited by Shika Jain from the village of Drona for the Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Ultimately, a total of seven samples were taken from the Rasthani quarries of Kurali Nadi in the Dholpur district, Jaggu Mali in the

Dholpur district, Vinayaga More at Kiraoli Road in the Dholpur district, Bansipaharpur in the Bharatpur district, and a quarry in Tantpur in the Agra district (Uttar Pradesh) and subjected to petrological studies. Finally, the masons from the various quarries that had qualified for the conservation work on Humayun's Tomb came to inspect the construction site to get an idea of the stone required, its texture, color, and quality.

The workshop was located in the grove to the left-hand side of the west gate leading to the garden-tomb site. The “voices” of the chisels wielded by the masons at work rose from the site like some monotonous, rhythmic concert piece. A circular mortar mill for the mixing and making of lime mortar stood at the central point. Clusters of red sandstone chunks, quartzite, brick, brick dust, and sand piled up. Here and there, finished and numbered pillars were laid in rows, copies manufactured to replace those originals that were in disrepair or had to be replaced.

The principal stone craftsman on the site, the foreman overlooking the craftsmen, was Atar Singh from the village of Dorari in the Dholpur district. He was responsible for drumming up a team of craftsmen via word-of-mouth advertising. Many of the craftsmen were relatives of his. A group of five craftsmen were chosen as supervisors, supporting Atar Singh in supervising up to 200 craftsmen who were employed for the conservation of Humayun's Tomb. Many of them came from villages in the Dholpur district, others came from Mathura and Agra. Their jobs as masons were not necessarily hereditary. Nem Singh Bhasker from Mathura, for example, started working as a mason in 2006 and had been working on Humayun's Tomb since 2009. The father and grandfather of Balbir Singh from Dholpur used to work as masons. Balbir Singh, who together with Atar Singh took part in the meeting of experts in 2009 and voices his opinions in the chapter containing the on-site exchange of views, was the archeological engineer in situ. There was a hierarchy distributing responsibilities in accordance with the different levels of skill (Fig. 5).

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture was engaged with an area development project in the vicinity of Humayun's Tomb, focusing on the building complex itself as well as on the Hazrat Nizamudin Basti and the Sundary Nursery site. It was also concerned with the conservation of the step well (*baoli*) in the Nizamuddin area. The step well dates back to the fourteenth century and is enclosed by walls on a rectangular ground plan. In March 2010, the craftsmen working at Humayun's Tomb were in the process of carving the last of four similar grill windows for the Nizamuddin *baoli* in their workshop close to Humayun's tomb.

In the case of the carving work done at Humayun's Tomb and on the Nizamuddin *baoli*, the architects would copy each pattern on a 1:1 scale from the surviving traces of each original. They prepared the patterns on Auto-Cut and printed it on an aluminum template. In the eyes of the architects, this method guarantees the authenticity of the design. If the required carvings were very delicate, the pattern was printed on paper, e.g., in the production of floral pillar designs.

The mason set the pattern sheet on the smooth surface of the piece of stone that was to be made into the window grill (*jali*) and transferred the pattern by powdering



Fig. 5 Stone workshop at Humayun's Tomb, Delhi: Training of the youngsters and newcomers in basic techniques, for example the working of the raw stone slabs from the quarries in a three-step system. In order to obtain the required depth, extra layers were initially removed from the sandstone with a pointed chisel (*gadai*). This gave the stone a temporary texture. After that, the surfaces of the stone were subdivided into regular partitions with a wide chisel (*dalpai*). This method made it easier to achieve a regular overall surface since these fields were removed progressively with a wide chisel. Work with a pointed chisel resulted in a pointed surface, whereas the wide chisel was used for smooth textures. The craftsmen at Humayun's Tomb worked with approximately 50 different kinds of chisel, *gadai*, and *dalpai*. In the end, the worked stone slabs could be used for the further stages of the work, e.g., for grill windows (*jali*) or pillars. They were the basis for the carving of those elements designed to replace original material that had deteriorated beyond repair. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

the shapes of the negative parts with indigo (Fig. 6). After that, the imprints were outlined with chisels. The sculptor could then start to carve the blue imprints so that the outcome of his work was a grill. The fine dust created by chiseling was blown away at intervals through the hollow hammer that also functioned as a blowpipe. To fashion the pattern three-dimensionally, the craftsmen drew a thin pencil line in the middle of each part of a *jali*. Furthermore, they drew their inspiration from the original. A method of this kind is only possible if the workshop is located right next to the conservation site, as in the case of Humayun's Tomb.

Further Considerations: The Value of Hand Chiseling

Step by step, the craftsmen felt their way to the final form and texture. The treatment of the stone differed from each step to the other. Hand chiseling, as opposed to the use

Fig. 6 Demonstration of the transference of a geometric pattern onto sandstone with the help of a template and blue powder. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010



of electric devices, enables the finish to match the original form and treatment of the material, which eventually adopts a similar patina. In this way, the philosophy behind the conservation of Humayun’s Tomb sought to preserve the design and original appearance of the mausoleum rather than conserving its original, authentic material in its deteriorated state. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture justified this approach by claiming that restoration was possible only due to the work of the skilled masons, who mainly did without the use of electric tools, and because similar sandstone as was used for the cladding of the masonry was still available from the Rajasthani quarries. The intangible heritage of craftsmanship, even if understood in a figurative sense, was not only the precondition for this decision by the architects and conservationists but also left its specific, tangible traces on the finish of the red sandstone.

Stone Workshops in Rajasthan

Harshadbhai Chavda, a marble and sandstone contractor and designer of temples, is the owner of the Divine Stone enterprise in Pindwara, Rajasthan. Around 800 craftsmen are employed in his four workshops in and around Pindwara. Chavda is an expert in stonework. Among other projects, he was entrusted with the task of acquiring stones



Fig. 7 Siwera: The craftsmen work singly or in groups, formed in accordance with the different types of building elements or layers they are manufacturing, e.g., plinth, beams, pillars, or ceiling. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

for the monumental Swaminarayan Akshardham in New Delhi, erected between 2000 and 2005, and having them carved in his workshops. For this project he also set up 24 workshops in and around Sikandra (80 km from Jaipur). Around 7000 workers who carved the stones for the Akshardham were employed in these workshops.

At the time of my visit to Rajasthan in March 2010, Yogesh Sompura, a mason from Pindwara, headed one of Chavda's workshops with around 250 workers in Siwera near Pindwara in the Sirohi district of Rajasthan (Fig. 7). The workshop under his guidance was preparing some of the stone carvings for the Akshardham in New Delhi. The workshop covered an area the size of a football field. The masons worked under high roofs of corrugated iron sheltering them from the sun.

The red sandstone used for the cladding of the Swaminarayan Temple under construction in Nagpur was mined in Bansipaharpur near Bharatpur in Rajasthan (see also "The Conservation of Humayun's Tomb in Delhi") and carved under the guidance of Yogesh Sompura in Siwera. The craftsmen worked in smaller or bigger groups depending on the different types of building elements or layers they were manufacturing, e.g., plinth, beams, pillars, or ceiling. The masons were assigned either the rough or the finer carvings depending on their individual skills. Between two and five men worked on one element for one layer of a plinth, up to eight men were busy with the chiseling of a ceiling element. Four stonemasons were involved in finishing the fine carving on the reliefs, each exhibiting five different images of Swamy. Around 50 workers from Orissa were employed for this task alone. Unlike the rest of the craftsmen, who were local people, the masons from Orissa were accommodated on the site, living and working in the same place.



Fig. 8 Tools: A hammer with a hollow shaft for blowing away stone dust and a range of 14 different carving chisels. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

Measurements and drawings on a 1:1 scale were given to Yogesh Sompura by the architects. In the workshop, these patterns were copied onto plastic folios or paper and then cut. These copies also reflected the depth of each element required. They served as templates with which the workers imprinted the forms onto the stone surface using a sack filled with red earthen powder (*gehru*). The lines of these imprints were drawn with pencil before they were subsequently chiseled.

On this basis, the mason finally began with the fine carving in accordance with the design. Every worker was equipped with a bag containing a hammer and a range of different chisels (*farsi*) (Fig. 8) for carving, broad steel chisels (*chhini*), slightly finer chisels (*doki*), and around 14 other chisel types. The shaft is made of steel, whereas the tip (coated carbide made in China) is embedded in brass.

Whereas the steel tools required sharpening by the workshop blacksmith every 15 min, the chisel had to be sharpened every two weeks if used for sandstone carving. Furthermore a white stone (*amry*) required to give the stone surface its finish was part of each craftsman's equipment.

On 21 March 2010, Yogesh's workshop was busy with the carvings for the Swaminarayan Temple in Nagpur, Maharashtra. Several groups of masons (Fig. 9),



Fig. 9 Up to five men work on a single block of sandstone. Each worker carves the same décor while shaping the stone with his tools. This kind of teamwork takes account of the fact that people work at different speeds. At any one time the sculptors will have arrived at different stages in their carving work. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

spread out over the whole workshop compound carved the floral pattern of elements destined for the first layer of the temple plinth.

The masons worked on the floral form from the outside inwards. First, the corner parts were chipped away with a chisel. The next stage was the bas relief of the floral design (Fig. 10). The sculptors working on the frieze used different kinds of chisels. The sandstone dust produced by the chiseling was blown away through the hollow shaft of the hammer that also functioned as a blow pipe (*hathodi*). Every now and then, the mason would immerse the tip of his tool in a small plastic pot of water and dampen the sandstone to clarify the outline of the relief. This method enabled the craftsmen to bring out the relief forms (Fig. 11) very precisely.

Four craftsmen from Orissa kneeling or squatting before six rectangular stone blocks each (Fig. 12) were busy with the fine carving of five Swamy images. The finest pointed chisels were used for the carving of delicate details, such as faces, hands, robes, and jewelry. The work required intense concentration on the part of the masons. One token of the genuine craftsmanship involved was the different order each craftsman chose in going about his work to finally achieve the same result as his workmate. While one mason kept the face of the figure he was working on till last, another might conclude with the fine carving of the hand. Another mason finished all parts of the figure before devoting his final concentration to the details of the jewelry or the surface of the robe. The figures were regularly cleared of the stone dust accumulating on the surface and in the fine scores on the trimmed stone. Furthermore each figure was regularly sprayed with or doused in water to bring out the full relief and the definition of the stone.

Further Considerations: Authentès: The Genuineness of Indian Craftsmanship

As noted earlier, the terms “artist” and “craftsman” distinguish different types of visual production, the dividing lines being defined notably by Western art academies in the nineteenth century (Dewan 2004, 134, note 1). The prevalent Western conception of the difference between “art” and “craftsmanship” can be described as follows: While “art” focuses on a single piece of art or outstanding work, “craftsmanship” refers to a steady, collective, and anonymous practice (Sennett 2008, 94). However, sociologist Richard Sennett detects “originality” as a “social etiquette” (2008, 94) and asks who is entitled to pass judgment on claims of originality—the producer or the consumer?

A generalizing assumption suggests that as with hundreds of other craftsmen, a stonemason working in an Indian workshop such as the one headed by Yogesh Sompura will consider himself to be engaged in an act of inspirational re-creation rather than claiming to produce “original” pieces of work. Yet he is eminently skilled in shaping the material, stone, and his work implies an awareness of the character of the material he is carving. His training is based on re-creating the



Fig. 10 Using different chisels, a sculptor brings out the floral design of the bas relief. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

Fig. 11 The frieze with its floral pattern is characterized by the repetitiveness of the forms, but individual traces of workmanship are discernible. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

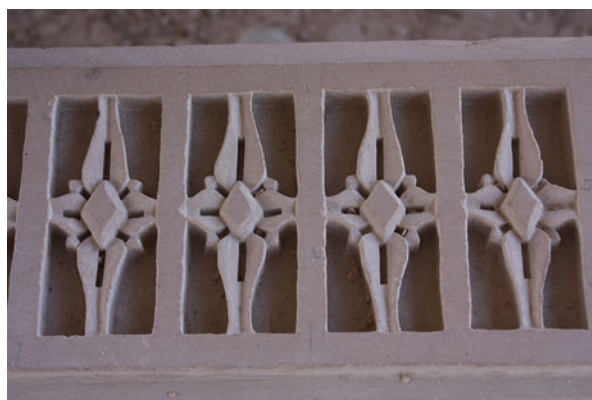


Fig. 12 Four craftsmen from Orissa kneel in front of a rectangular stone block to do the fine carving on five Swamy images for the Swaminarayan Temple in Nagpur. The sandstone was mined in Bansipaharpur near Bharatpur in Rajasthan. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

techniques of others. Furthermore, the mason copies and reinterprets patterns to capture the spirit of the original, as set out by Rabindra Vasavada in the present volume. Ultimately, the craftsmanship we find in the workshop supervised by Yogesh Sompura represents a process, from initial reproduction of working methods to overall knowledge in the use of skills, e.g., with regard to the work of the craftsmen from Orissa. Using the finest chisels, they had the necessary skill to bring out all the elaborate detail of their sculptures, the body parts, the idealized



Fig. 13 A mason finishes the lips of a figure doused in water to accentuate the contours and to allow for minute craftsmanship. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

faces, or the robes. The figures were blown free of dust and bathed by the masons; the carving of the finest contours with the tips of the tools was reminiscent of sensitive ministrations to the ears of the sculptures, make-up for the lips (Fig. 13), or manicure, while the smoothing of their cheeks with an *amry* stone was more like cosmetic “peeling.”

In other words, the chisel seems to be more than a mere tool, and the mason maintains constant eye contact with the sculpture to assure correct proportions. In Nepal, the tools are even consecrated before they are used, as Niels Gutschow documents in this volume. The skills acquired by constant, repetitive, autographic practice are commensurate with the tasks of a stonemason. The moment he opens the figure’s eyes, the dead stone becomes alive.

Given that originality can be defined in terms of “autonomy” (Ger. *Selbständigkeit*, *Ursprünglichkeit*), as Gottfried Kiesow contends (1988, 113) in his seminal article on “Identität—Authentizität—Originalität” (“Identity—Authenticity—Originality”)—here the autonomy of a mason—the final result is an art

object that displays “intrinsic singularity” (Ger. *wesenhafte Eigentümlichkeit*). Seen thus, the etymology of the word “authentic,” the Greek term *authéntēs* with its first syllable rooted in *autós*, suggests a creator, executor, or even somebody who creates with his own hands (Drodowski and Grebe 1963, 42). The oldest meaning of authentic is thus genuine, e.g., a genuine record. In this sense, the process of handwriting may be compared with that of carving, which leaves a record in stone. The “handwriting” of a mason is characterized by his individual way of treating the stone. It has a special tempo and a sound of its own produced by the mason’s tools chipping and carving the material. Hundreds of genuine handwritings may be found in one single workshop.

Makrana: The Marble Quarry and Workshop of Mukhtar Ali

Makrana, near Nawa, west of Kishangarh in Rajasthan, has long been a stronghold for marble mining and workshops. Makrana marble was used for the building of great Mughal buildings such as Humayun’s Tomb in Delhi and the Taj Mahal in Agra. Today there are some 700 marble workshops distributed all over town.

Mukhtar Ali’s family possesses two mines situated right next to each other in the so-called Sahab wali quarry (Fig. 14) of Makrana. *Sahab wali* can be translated as



Fig. 14 Makrana, Rajasthan: The *Sahib wali* quarry houses a dozen mines, separated by high marble walls. Cranes look down on the mines, their ropes extending into the depths. The marble is mined from a current depth of more than 100 m. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

“the mine from which the marble for the sahib comes from,” an allusion to the British Raj, who ordered marble from this source in the colonial period. The marble business is nowadays run by the seventh generation of Ali’s family. The names of his forefathers can be traced back to Mukhtar’s great grandfather Gisa Ali, his grandfather Din Mohammad Ali, and his father Shokat Ali. Mukhtar supervises the marble workshops that belong to the Ali family. They are organized in six decentralized branches and are located at different places in Makrana. The models for all elements of a given building are always manufactured by craftsmen in one of the workshops. These models are then exhibited in the other workshops, where the required number of copies is made.

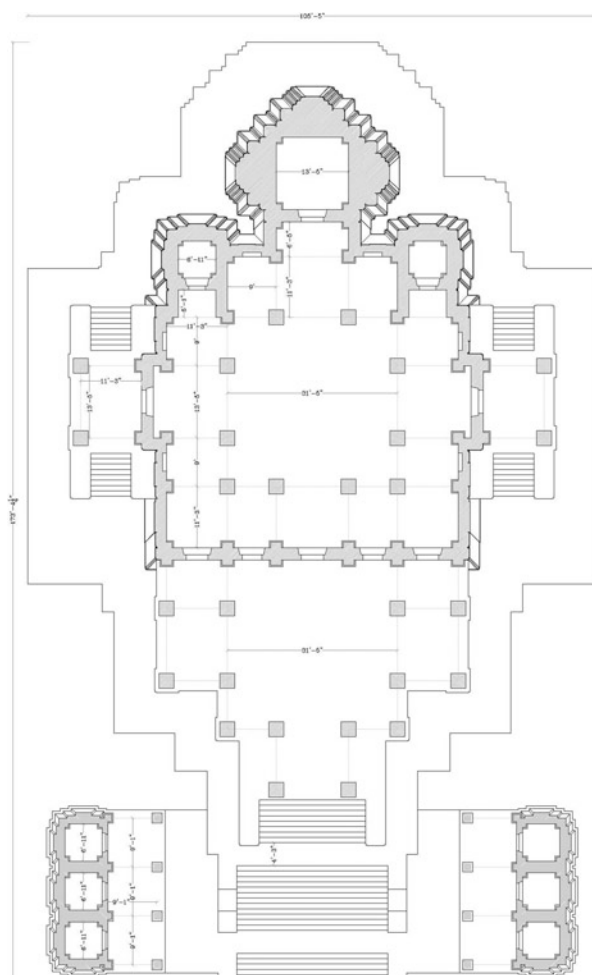
The workshops handle stone carving for various clients, including numerous temples for various religions, providing architects or master builders (*sompura*) with the finished elements and sculptural features. The structural elements are dispatched from Makrana to the construction site along with the craftsmen, who assemble the pieces on the construction site. Depending on the complexity and number of orders, a total of between 100 and 150 craftsmen are employed in the workshops at any given time, but no one stays in workshop camps overnight. Almost all of them are Muslims (*salat*) from Makrana. Hence the craftsmen contribute to the building of temples irrespective of their own religion, and *salat* may have the same profession as Hindu craftsmen (*salawat* or *mewada*). Some of the older foremen received their training from their fathers, whereas the younger craftsmen in particular are initially trained in the workshops. Mukhtar Ali organizes daily assemblies in each of his workshops to supervise the work.

Before the rough-hewn blocks of marble are delivered to the workshops, they are mined from a current depth of over 100 m. Around a dozen mines are located next to each other in the Sahib wali quarry, separated by high marble walls. Cranes look down on the mines, their ropes extending far down into the depths. The heavy blocks of marble are attached to the ropes and are lifted out of the ground. The so-called unskilled workers (*majdoor*) who do the risky job of mining climb down long ropes into the depths of the quarry.

In the next stage, the giant rectangular blocks are taken to an open-air storage location situated on the site of the model workshop. There they are cut and reduced in weight and size is reduced by an electric sawing machine. The material value of uncarved marble is 1000 Indian rupees for a block measuring $30 \times 30 \times 30$ cm. In the workshops the various blocks undergo rough carving by the skilled masons. Trained architects provide the craftsmen with detailed information on the dimensions of the temples.

On my visit to Makrana on 11 March 2010, the craftsmen of the workshop had just been provided with the measurements for a Jain temple, Shri Jain Vardhaman Tirtah (Fig. 15), under construction in Varman near Mandar in Rajasthan, 200 km northwest of Ahmedabad and designed by temple architect Shri Virendra Trivedi of Ahmedabad referred to by Rabindra Vasavada in the present volume. The required measurements (Fig. 16) were transferred to the blocks with pencil and ruler, and the final result (Fig. 20) was achieved in a succession of work stages. The electric

Fig. 15 Shri Jain Vardhaman Tirthah: Plan of the temple in Varman designed by the temple architect Virendra K. Trivedi in 2007. The new temple stands in the tradition of its predecessor. Like its precursor it serves as a site for the performance of rituals and is thus sacred. The drawing was made by Virendra K. Trivedi from Ahmedabad in October 2007



grinder was a well-established and much-used tool in the workshops of Mukhtar Ali. The grinder followed the thin pencil lines on the white stone surface, and ultimately heavy chisels were used to chip off the superfluous sections (Fig. 17). The marble was then fashioned into an approximation of its final shape. The surface of the stone was also smoothed with the grinder.

When the stone had been given its final shape and the surface was smooth, the sculptors began with the fine carving. Different patterns provided by trained architects such as Virendra K. Trivedi were measured, drawn on tracing paper, and printed on a 1:1 scale (Fig. 18). The craftsmen copied the patterns with the help of carbon paper that imprints each design on the surface of the marble. Electric tools were then used again in the process of fine carving (Fig. 19).

The workshops were constantly shrouded in a cloud of white marble dust produced by permanent activity of the electric saws and grinders. These tools

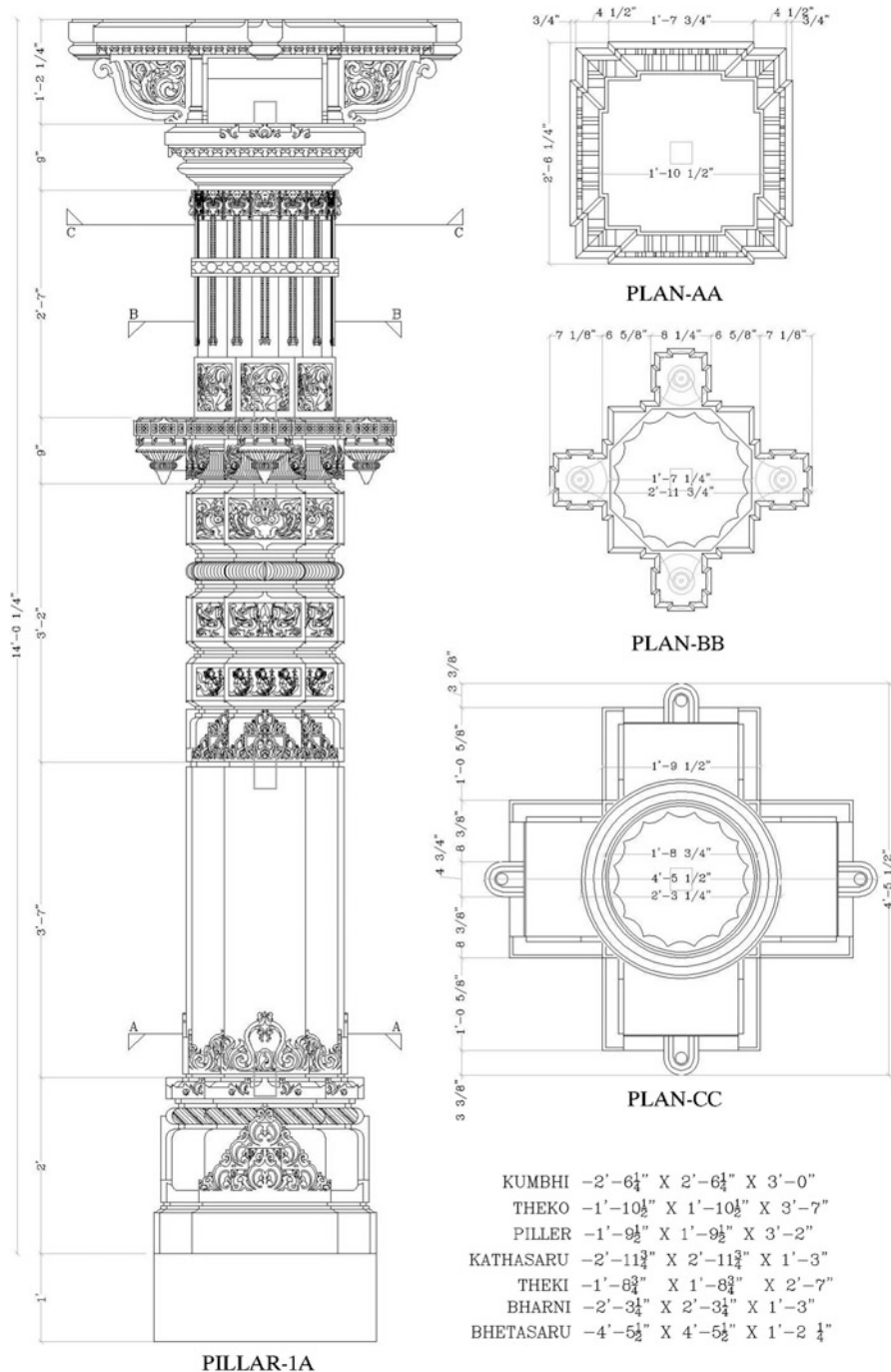


Fig. 16 Drawing of a pillar for the new Shri Jain Vardhaman Tirthah. It was done by temple architect Virendra K. Trivedi from Ahmedabad in December 2009



Fig. 17 Makrana: A mason uses a heavy chisel and a hammer to chip off the superfluous parts of an ashlar. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

created an ear-shattering, screeching noise rendering verbal communication almost impossible. Marble dust covered the craftsmen from head to toe. Unlike the craftsmen working for the conservation project at Humayaun's Tomb or in the workshops of Pindwara, whose hammers were provided with an additional function as a blowpipe to blow away the dust from the sandstone, the masons in Mukhtar Ali's workshops blew the marble dust away with an electric grinder.

Periodically, the mason's work involved chiseling by hand. The final polish, however, was given to the stone with the electric grinder to reduce the number of visible tool traces produced by hand chiseling. Those traces that did remain visible testified to mechanical working routines and were circular in shape.

Fig. 18 Makrana: Craftsmen provided with the measurements and different patterns for the torc of a pillar for the Shri Jain Vardhaman Tirthah. The pattern is printed on tracing paper, scale 1:1. The craftsmen copy the pattern with the help of carbon paper that imprints each design on the surface of the marble. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010



The degree of skill attained by each mason was the factor that determined whether he was entrusted with rough or fine carving. Kamal, an 18-year-old employed in the workshop providing the carvings for a Jain temple under construction in Ahmedabad, started in Ali's workshop as a mason two years before. For more than 18 months, he did rough carving work, including initial smoothening of the marble before he was finally given training in the technique of fine carving. For each step he used mainly electric tools.

Mohammad Iqbal, aged 55, had been employed in the Ali workshop for 40 years and took over the profession from his father. Initially, his work was characterized by the use of hand tools, but for the last 25 years he has been using electric tools.

Only those craftsmen working under contract marked the surface of their work, which would no longer be visible when the stone formed part of the finished structure, with their initials as evidence for later payment. "F M" were the initials of Fahan Mohammad, who completed the fine carving of the "H" layer (Figs. 21 and 23) for Shri

Fig. 19 Makrana: Electric tools are used in the process of fine carving following the imprints on the marble torso of a pillar for Shri Jain Vardhaman Tirthah. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010



Jain Vardhaman Tirthah, under construction in Varman (Fig. 22). Aslam Nahaman, “A N,” carved the décor for another part of this layer. The craftsmen working on a daily basis did not leave their initials on the stones they had carved.

Further Considerations: Aspects of Originality in a Hereditary Twenty-First Century Marble Workshop

The design process for state-of-the-art temples is still conceptualized by *sompura*—temple architects such as Virendra K. Trivedi—and is based on the established typology of temples described in ancient texts (*Śilpa Śāstra* or *Vāstu Śāstra*). In India, buildings were traditionally based on the *Śilpa Śāstra* and *Vāstu Śāstra*, that is, on texts that are descriptive rather than prescriptive. These texts about general, auspicious building principles do not prescribe the strict observance of rules but are reinventive. The text underlying the design of the Shri Jain Vardhaman Temple is the *Śilparatnakāra*, which derives from the main *Vastu* text. The profiles and its details are described in the text; the architect prepares the drawings and the overall design.



Fig. 20 Makrana: The inverted capital and torc of a pillar for Shri Jain Vardhaman Tirthah taking shape. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

The site dates back 700 years and exemplifies the construction of a new temple (Fig. 22) in place of an old historic brick temple that was allegedly dilapidated. The decision for a replacement in the form of a new, enlarged temple was made by the trust that spent 15 million Indian rupees on the project. The new temple stands in the tradition of its predecessor and like the latter serves as a place for the observance of rituals and is thus sacred.

Architect Balkrishna V. Doshi speaks of “the qualitative aspect of the experience” (Doshi 1989, 337), referring to architectural forms that may live on in the memory. The building is cherished by the community and its individual members, and when passed on to subsequent generations, it may become part of their heritage. In this case, the realization of a new Jain temple is more than a mere replacement. It is a further testimony to the need for marking the *tirtha* (a place where the self-existent divine once revealed and still reveals itself in encounters with devotees). In this sense, the new temple ensures continuity for the site. Thus, as claimed in the Québec Declaration of 2008, it is the intangible elements like (ritual) renewal that “give meaning, value, emotion” (ICOMOS 2008) to the place rather than the tangible elements represented by the historical substance of the building. In the understanding of international charters such as the Venice Charter, Article 9, the declared aim of restoration is “to preserve and reveal the authentic and historic value of the monument” (ICOMOS 1965). This aim “is based on respect for the original material and authentic documents.” But this concept of conservation may be at odds with the requirements of a *tirtha*. The motivation for a new temple is the

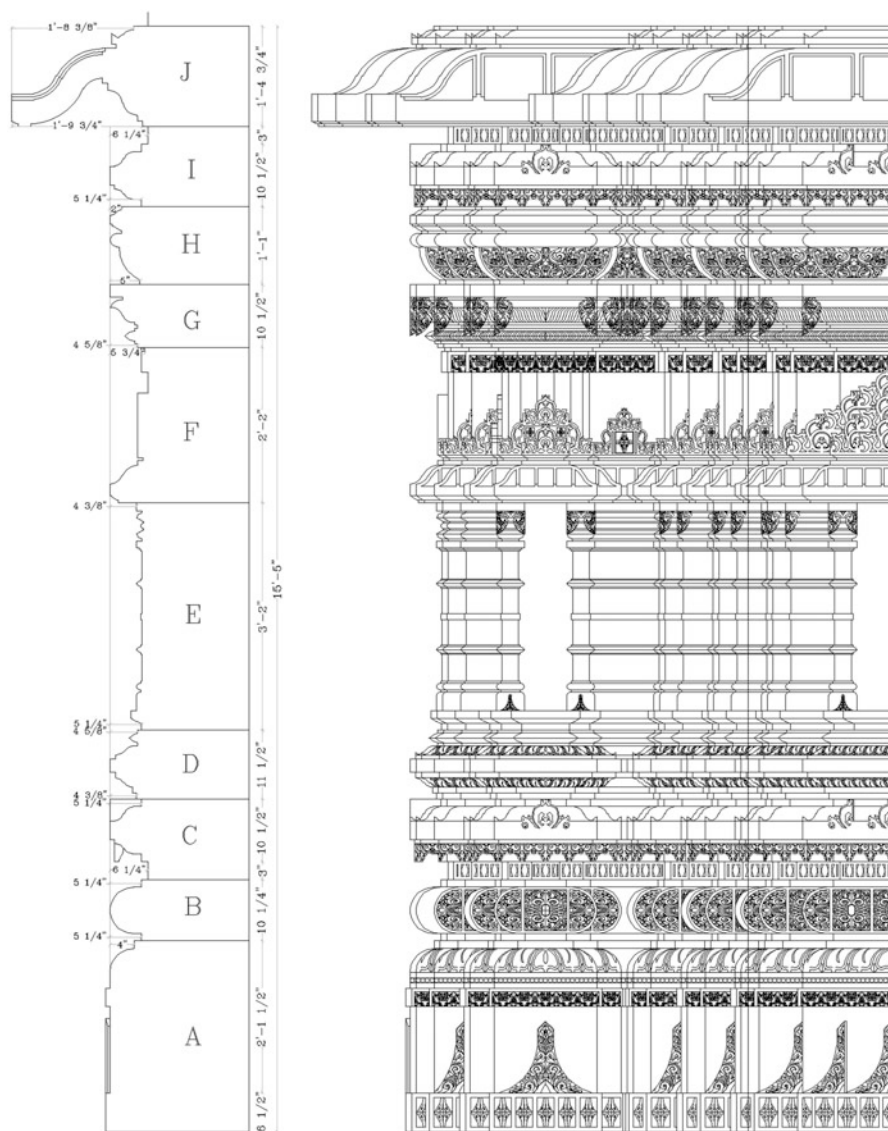


Fig. 21 Elevation of the outer marble shell for the plinth of the Varman Tirth (mandapa detail). The different layers were carved in the marble workshops of Mukhtar Ali in Makrana and brought to Varman, where the new Jaina temple was erected. CAD-Drawing by Virendra K. Trivedi, May 2009, Ahmedabad

idea of the reestablishment of the temple as a ritual and valuable replica of the original construction. Seen thus, restoration “certainly is not related only to the material consistency of the temple, but especially to the relevance of its traditional function, the ‘non-physical heritage’” (Jokilehto 1994, 12).



Fig. 22 Varman, sanctuary and eastern mandapa: The marble elements for the Jain temple were designed in Ahmedabad and manufactured in Makrana, then brought to the construction site for the new temple. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010



Fig. 23 Varman: Elements of the “H” layer manufactured in Makrana and ready to be placed on top of layer G in the construction process. Photo by Katharina Weiler, March 2010

The vague idea of symbolically following the guidelines of ancient *Vastu* texts and employing masons to copy the ancient patterns in the process of renewing a *tīrtha* (even if they use electric tools instead of the traditional hand chisels) testifies to an Indian understanding of historical value in its local context that is related to the concept of *jīrṇoddhāra*, “the symbiotic relationship binding the tangible and intangible architectural heritage of India” (INTACH 2004, 2). The Sanskrit term *jīrṇoddhāra* is composed of *jīrṇ*—meaning “not intact” and *ddhāra*, denoting the act of “reconstituting” or “maintaining.” But *jīrṇoddhāra* does not specify which work has been done on a building. Accordingly, historical value may well be attributed to a place, a text, a form, and craftsmanship itself, whereas the originality of the material is considered meaningless. This vision requires the establishment of a hierarchy of notions of authenticity: first, the authenticity of place (*tīrtha*), second, the authority of the ancient text, third, the historical value of forms—all three aspects referring to immaterial aspects—and finally, the skill of the craftsman entrusted with re-creation. He or she gives an outward and visible form to the re-creation of the site, thus covering both aspects of “immaterial authenticity” and notions of “intangible heritage.”

In the workshop of the Ali clan there is still evidence of the different processes of “making” (stone treatment). The motorized saw, drill, or grinder may be more efficient than the hand chisels as far as speed of production is concerned. But despite all their advantages, electric tools do not become a “natural extension of the hand as the original tools do for their greater manoeuvrability itself gets them out of hand,” as contemporary Indian painter K. G. Subramanyan (b. 1924) maintains in his deliberations on *The Magic of Making* (2007, 163). The use of the hand saw, chisel, or file is controlled by the fine, motoric skills of the craftsman’s hand, which itself gives the sculpture its shape in terms of planes and edges. To work with electric tools the artisan needs a more resourceful graphic imagination. But the “body dialect,” as Subramanyan characterizes the relation between the mason, his tools, and the material (here marble) has changed on account of the nature of the work process with electric tools. In a way the notion of a “body dialect,” which I have adopted here for my own purposes is reminiscent of the language employed by the German conservationist Rudolf Steinbach, who is cited by Niels Gutschow in the present volume. In a quite different cultural context and a number of decades earlier than Subramanyan, Steinbach suggested that the “rough-hewing of the surface should be felt when levelling and dressing” the stone and like “a human face, the face of the stone should convey traces of the process it has undergone on the way towards its final shape” (Gutschow in this volume, 26).

The Trivedi Workshop in Changodar, Ahmedabad

Kiran Trivedi Group Private Limited has two factories in Changodar. One workshop is situated in Changodar on the road to Bawla, an industrial belt spread out along the highway, about 20 km from Ahmedabad. Shri Virendrabhai Trivedi,

architect and civil engineer, is in charge of all the design and execution work for India's largest stone craft factory equipped with computer numerically controlled (CNC) machines. The enterprise contracts for various types of work in stone, including the design and execution of large-scale projects (e.g., the construction of Hindu, Jain, and Sikh temples or mosques) plus all types of stone craft for reputed private clients in India and abroad. The factory is equipped with exquisite, world-class Italian facilities and is one of the best-known Indian outfits involved in temple construction. Among Trivedi's projects are the recently-built Swaminarayan temple known as Akshardham in Delhi and several other temples in India and other countries, notably the USA and the UK. In each case, the work involves the design and production of all building elements and sculptural attributes required for the completion of an architectural site.

The design for the sculptures required is frequently done on the computer, especially if the forms are not figurative. Ultimately, these drawings represent the basis for the mechanical shaping of the stone. However, the older of the two factories also boasts a sculptor's studio, where a craftsman from Kolkata prepares clay models for three-dimensional sculptures and reliefs. They are scanned and finally cut from stone by the rotating CNC machines that can shape any kind of stone into any form required. The relief work is measured in square meters, whereas the sculpted forms are measured in cubic meters. The machine can produce two square meters (up to 75 mm in depth) of relief work a day and sculpt a stone block 60 cm thick, 1.80 m long, and 90 cm across in about two days. The cost of the machine work is calculated on an hourly basis, it ranges between 1000 and 1500 Indian rupees depending on the quality of the stone used for the work.

The machines are essentially used for sculpting large forms, while smaller details require hand chiseling executed by craftsmen. Furthermore, the machines produce delicately crenulated surfaces, the tender horizontal striation being the result of the machines' ability to seesaw. The mason finally chisels away these machine traces with his diverse tools. The sculptures are given their finish by women who polish the stone surface with grainy *amry* stone and whose fingers can work effectively on delicate moldings.

Further Considerations: Craftsmanship in the Age of Computer Numerically Controlled Machines

Obviously, the use of machines is optimally efficient in cutting down on laborious work, e.g., shaping broad profiles. In the context of construction of a new temple, the use of machines saves time and makes the entire process of stone crafting affordable for large-scale projects. But the machines, however effective they may be, are no substitute for the precision of the craftsman. In the face of this contemporary trend, the representatives of the traditional master builders (*sompura*) and the promoters of the stone craft industry continue to keep the craft tradition alive.

Craftsmanship is indispensable in the building sector despite the introduction of these machines. The main reason is that a machine that can produce the final product with all its details and a smooth surface has yet to be invented. And yet such machines represent a reduction of craftsmanship and the use of hand tools contributing to the visualization of a conventional shape while “working in an ordered sequence—cut, chip, file, drill, chip, cut, file or something similar,” in the words of K. G. Subramanyan (2007, 162). The craftsman has taken on the role of the executor of a strategy or approach, but he is not truly party to the strategy himself since “many of the formal nuances are the result of this ordered or *programmed* [italics in the original] sequence of tool use.” For the relation of the mason to his work, such a transformation in the working process may cause a loss of sensitivity, reduced awareness of the relative proportions of an object and their maneuverability. In this way, the “production balance” (Subramanyan 2007, 163), the craft itself, may forfeit features of its authentic “linguistic matrix.”

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Material Authenticity and Conservation Traditions in Nepal

Sudarshan Raj Tiwari

Abstract In Nepal, the maintenance of temples and the tradition of reconstruction via replacement of deteriorated components have been upheld for a long time. If the definition of material authenticity is restricted to the building material and restricted to a building's initial construction, then very few extant buildings in Nepal are "originals." The Nepalese tradition of conservation has built on a sense of authenticity bodied forth in the design of a temple or its elements and in craftsmanly skills and experience passed on from one generation to the next. This article contends that the practice of conservation—an intangible but defining factor in Nepalese building traditions—deserves to be seriously examined in order to promote a sophisticated understanding of authenticity both in the local context and in the framework of "universal" conservation standards for use in Nepal.

Conservation and Authenticity

The tradition of conservation in Nepal represents an enlightening case of practice that responds to a context of major natural change agents. Aspects of continuity and change in the Nepalese architectural heritage can be examined in particular in the tiered temples of the Kathmandu Valley, which provide major insights into these traditions of active conservation. Typical of many structures is a permanent seesawing between decay and recovery caused by construction with semi-perishable materials such as wood and brick and the effects of a harsh monsoon climate. Furthermore, the Kathmandu Valley is located in an active fault, so structures located there are occasionally damaged by major earthquakes. These jeopardous and detrimental conditions have a significant impact on conservation approaches and methods and have accordingly affected the evolution of the architectural heritage itself.

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The practice and tradition of conservation as a particular mixture of preservation, restoration, and reconstruction seem to have begun with the construction of those buildings housing Nepal's earliest images. It has evolved over centuries, right up to the present day. This cycle of recovery, restoration, and reconstruction has not only led to the overlapping of multiple layers of history, meaning, and material in a building, it has also established certain standards for understanding, knowing, and safeguarding a structure with regard to its presentation, preservation, and enhancement. This gives us access to information on how past societies and preceding generations have taken action to conserve their architectural heritage.

The practice of regular maintenance for temples and the tradition of reconstruction through the replacement of deteriorated components have been upheld over a long period. In terms of tangible heritage, very few extant buildings in Nepal are "originals," if the definition of authenticity is restricted to the building material and a building's initial construction. Yet some inscriptional sources illustrate that the Nepalese tradition of conservation itself has built on (1) a sense of authenticity bodied forth in the design of a temple or its elements, and (2) the experience passed on from one generation to the next as a family trade. The Nepalese practice of replacing the old with the new—for example, replacing weather-damaged windows with freshly carved new ones—may appear to fly in the face of current international conservation principles based on ideas inherited from romantic historicism in Europe which emphasize original material and its scientific dating as the key criteria for authenticity. It is entirely conceivable that this interest in the remote and accurately dated past plus associated "Western principles" that regard time as a linear entity simply run counter to the architectural traditions of the Kathmandu Valley that are based on a cyclical concept of time that takes its bearings from seasonal renewal. These are also the reasons why the "practice" of conservation—an intangible but defining factor in the Nepalese building tradition—deserves to be examined in all seriousness. This could lead to a different understanding of genuineness and a redefinition of conservation standards for use in a Nepalese context.

Repair and Replacement in Conservation Practices

The traditional construction techniques and design of Nepalese architecture characteristically employ weather-sensitive materials such as wood, brick, and mud. Licchavi inscriptions indicate (and archeological investigations confirm) the use of semi-perishable materials like wood and brick in Nepalese architecture from even before the Licchavi period (second to ninth century CE).

Wood, brick, and mud have remained the dominant and defining building materials in the Kathmandu Valley throughout its history. These building materials are exposed to a moderately subtropical climate with a monsoon season from July to September. Climatic variance and occasional minor earthquakes pose considerable challenges for the building material and the structural integrity of the buildings. Every 100 years or so, earthquakes devastate the towns on a larger scale. On April 25, 2015, a 7.8 magnitude earthquake struck central Nepal; its impact on the

Kathmandu Valley was devastating. Ritual offerings of light and incense in worship have been the cause of many fires in temples. These factors have occasionally necessitated reconstruction or replacement of buildings and the components and elements affected. The Newar builders appear to have expended much effort on devising materials and construction methods to take account of these circumstances and adapted construction techniques and conservation practice accordingly.

In this respect, the close connection between climate, deterioration, and architectural design and detail is well demonstrated by the doors (Nev. *lukhā*, Nep. *ḍhokā*) and windows (Nev. *jhyāḥ*, Nep. *jhyāl*) of Newar buildings. Until very recently, doors and windows were made of wood, and the windows were equipped with lattices or shutters instead of sheet glass. Doors and windows shared the same construction principle, with an external and an internal framework placed at the outer and inner face of the thick brick wall. The two frameworks were made separately, connected with structural spacing ties, and put in position before starting with the masonry. Both doors and windows represented a sophisticated building structure since several frames could adorn the actual opening or lattice window. The bearing frame of a decorated door was set behind the surface of the wall. The outer framework (Nev. *purāṭva*)—decorated, consisting of several frames (including a secondary frame and another frame mediating between the primary and secondary jambs), and stepped—surrounded the whole door and bridged the gap between the surface of the wall and the level of the bearing frame.¹

The external brick wall itself was designed as a “two-leaf” construction, the outer finishing layer done in glazed wedged bricks (Nev. *dāciāpā*) offering the requisite resistance to weathering, whereas the inner layer of rectangular unglazed brick (Nev. *mā-āpā*) was designed to bear the building load.

Due to seasonal heavy rain, protruding bricks (so-called “eyebrow bricks”) designed for the purpose were placed above the decorative window lintel in order to shelter elements of the window from rain dripping off the wall surface. Additionally, the Nepalese builders provided the window with a double frame so that when the outer decorative window elements decayed, they could be replaced without having to open the brick wall. Clearly, thought had been given to the question of eventual restoration. Built-in features such as timber windows and doors were constructed in such a way as to facilitate future restoration efforts. This illustrates that awareness of the eventual replacement of a building element that has deteriorated is a customary conservation response in Nepal.

The Tradition of Maintenance in Nepal

Inscriptions from as early as the fifth century CE tell of the conservation of images, monuments, and urban utilities and the establishment of endowed civic trusts (Skt. *goṣṭhi*, Nev. *guthi*) with pious objectives. With its local principles and standards,

¹ For an illustrated analysis of a characteristic lattice window, see Gutschow et al. (1987, 197f). See also Tiwari (2009).

the Nepalese conservation tradition is a remarkable response to the particularities of cultural, material, and environmental contexts. It was developed by the community and dominated by sociocultural values. This fact is a challenge to contemporary conservation efforts that are frequently thrown off course by disagreements over the approach to authenticity between the “professionals” and *guthis* and civic bodies, although the latter two parties have managed to arrive at agreements on recent conservation action.

Traditionally, Nepalese architectural design professionals basing their action on ancient architectural texts (Skt. *Vāstu Śāstra*) took the lead in erecting the initial construction. By contrast, renovation and conservation activities have been largely undertaken and technically coordinated at a lower level, by craftsmen and skilled workers. Craft experience was handed down to subsequent generations as a family tradition with the son apprenticed to the father in daily working life. Along with the requisite skills, this family tradition also passed on knowledge of motifs, iconography, and systems of composition and proportioning. As a result, restoration is virtually impossible without a gift for educated imagination. Be it the restoration of the charred carved divider panel of Pratappur temple at Svayambhu in 2004 or the weather-damaged motifs and images in the base of the outer framework (Nev. *purātva*) of the central door of Bhaktapur’s Fifty-Five-Windows Palace (2008), it is always the traditional carpenter who has proposed the most acceptable conservation solution, proving that the expert carpenter-restorer is just as conversant with traditional design as a skilled craftsman.

From *Pratisamskāra* to *Jīrṇoddhāra*

Extant Licchavi inscriptions distinguish new construction (Skt. *samsthāpana*, *sthāpana*) from repair by the specific terminologies they use. The key term to describe conservation by the early Licchavi benefactors is *pratisamskāra*, a Sanskrit word composed of the root *samskāra* with a range of possible meanings including “what has been handed down from respected tradition,” “put together,” “refined, or made perfect,” or “as per sacred precept” and the prefix *prati*—meaning “near to” or “making it close to.” In the context of architectural maintenance, the term *pratisamskāra* is frequently expressive of the effort to “keep a building in a perfected state of repair,” i.e., as it was when it was originally created. In contrast to the broader understanding of conservation as “physical intervention in the actual fabric of the building to ensure its continued structural integrity” (Fitch 1990, 46) or of “restoration” as “the process of returning the artifact to the physical condition in which it would have been at some previous stage of its morphological development” (Fitch 1990, 46), the term *pratisamskāra* also appears to authorize subsequent architectural additions and new embellishments to a structure as integral aspects of Nepalese maintenance and conservation practices. Respect for such traditions that are still alive today calls for a redefinition of authenticity that assigns significance to the authenticity of evolutionary integrity—particularly in regard to

design and workmanship—and to traces and layers of earlier active conservation as loci of (re-)creation.

In the Malla period, conservation terminologies reflect a wider acceptance of renewal (Skt. *karoti navakam*), restoration, and reconstruction (Skt. *jīṇoddhāra*) guided by various rules and standards (Skt. *vidhivata*). Partial incorporation of previous/original components into the reconstruction seems to have been the practice. An inscription recording major restoration of the Baghbhairav Temple in the Newar town of Kirtipur in 1414 CE indicates that the condition of the tiered temple built of brick and wood was dilapidated. The temple and its topmost roof had collapsed (Nep. *bhagnavesmashirah su*) and the work, *jīṇoddhāra*, was done under the aegis of a specialist, *jīṇoddhāraavidhanesmim* (lit. “expert in the rules of reconstruction”). The inscription also tells us that the restoration work was overseen by two other experts, one on rituals, the other on astrology.

The Beginnings of Modern Architectural Conservation in Nepal

Nepal’s first encounter with so-called international conservation philosophies dates back to the second half of the twentieth century. In 1953 the Department of Archaeology was set up by the Government of Nepal and in 1956 the Ancient Monuments Act was formulated and enacted. The act is largely geared to the protection of the artistic, archeological, and architectural heritage of the Kathmandu Valley. In 1962, the Department of Building initiated the first “official” steps towards conservation efforts in the traditional core areas of the Newar towns by setting up a planning office with the assistance of the United Nations. One of the first recommendations issued by this institution was to impose a building code for the monumental core of the city of Kathmandu and to provide guidelines for its development and for heritage preservation. Though this building code was never actually implemented, two projects came to fruition in the following decade.

Firstly, a UNESCO sponsored project for the Hanuman Dhoka in Kathmandu undertook the conservation of both the terraces and the tower pavilions of the palace’s (Darbār) main residential courtyard building between 1973 and 1978. As it was realized before the first set of guidelines was formulated in the course of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site declaration, the project developed its own approaches to monument conservation. Largely based on the know-how of traditional craftsmen, these approaches and methods were later compiled by the project’s British architect John Sanday (1978) and published by UNESCO. It also took rather a heavy-handed approach to the strengthening of architectural structures, for example by introducing concealed concrete ring beams into the medieval design.

Secondly, the Bhaktapur Development Project (Parajuli 1986) supported by the German government was instituted in 1974 with a clear emphasis on the restoration of historical buildings and temples in the town of Bhaktapur. Prior to this project

and instrumental to it was the restoration of the Hindu sanctuary Pūjārīmaṭh in 1971, a wedding gift to the then Crown Prince Birendra.

This was probably the last project to faithfully adhere to the original roofing, with a lower layer of flat roof tiles (Nev. *cikā-āpā*) and mud-based molded tiles (Nev. *āypā*) as the top layer. In 1978 the project office, exasperated by the inevitable leakages, re-roofed the building, introducing tarred-felt waterproofing layers to “improve performance” but compromising the integrity of traditional Newar technology.

Today, such ill-advised technological improvements have been accepted as standard conservation practice. By 1978 the project had added a new focus on the conservation of the town’s infrastructure, its rehabilitation, and development. The project provided for direct conservation activity on private buildings through the use of public funds, instead of complying with the approaches of the building code as suggested by the Department of Archaeology.

UNESCO and its panels of technical experts had not yet come up with standard norms and approaches for conservation, so both these projects defined conservation in their own ways. The members of both projects learnt a lot from local traditional craftsmen, and it was from this knowledge that the “technical experts” themselves developed their expertise, particularly with regard to restoration and reconstruction. Between the two projects, restoration approaches and norms for the conservation of woodworks and traditional Newar roof forms were established and became the standard for later projects. The “professional” engineers, architects, and archeologists also began to appreciate the experience of Newar craftsmen, as did the government’s Department of Archaeology, which had the legal responsibility for heritage conservation under the Ancient Monuments Act. Up till then, the Department of Archaeology had largely adhered to the reconstruction mode with regard to restoration projects dedicated to temples and other public heritage buildings. When seven monument zones of Kathmandu Valley’s architectural heritage were listed by UNESCO as the “Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site” in 1979, the list included the three central palaces (Nep. *darbār*) and neighboring monument zones in the cities of Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur. Since then, UNESCO and its missions appear to have been acting as “arbiters in conservation.” It is worth noting that the building code was enacted by the Department of Archaeology in order to influence conservation activities at the territorial and private level. But with regard to the conservation of public monuments within the “Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Sites,” it persisted with its reconstruction approach. The restoration of Keshavnarayan Chowk in Patan’s Darbār Monument Zone, the first conservation project (1984–1998) undertaken after the inclusion of the Kathmandu Valley in the World Heritage List and implemented with funds from Austria, did not take much note of the earlier guidelines. The project even introduced a newly designed postmodernist façade for the exterior of the eastern wing. Major interventions took place in the interiors. Consideration of authenticity seems to have been limited to exposed woodwork and brickwork on the exterior and in the courtyard. In 2003, the “failure” to achieve the conservation of the historical fabric in the monument

zones of the Kathmandu Valley plus rampant urbanization finally prompted UNESCO to list the Kathmandu Valley as a “World Heritage in Danger.”

The Present State

In 2003, the Department of Archaeology and the Bhaktapur Municipality started work on the conservation of Bhaktapur’s *Darbār* by instituting the “55-Windows Palace Conservation Project.” A devastating earthquake in 1934 had severely damaged the structure, which had subsequently been re-erected. The “55-Windows Palace Conservation Project” brought to a close 15 years of debate largely focusing on the right choice of technology and the engineering knowledge that would help make the structure earthquake resistant. The primary requirements dictating the conservation approach were the preservation of the murals and the main room in the first floor, the straightening of the main wall, which was leaning outwards, bulging and severely off-plumb, and reversion of the second floor to the “pre-1934 original state.” Retrofitting to provide earthquake protection was deemed secondary.

The project, fully funded from national and local resources, was also totally prepared, planned, and implemented by national conservation professionals and local craftsmen. One of the landmarks in the local consultation process was the assembly of over 200 senior traditional building tradesmen of Bhaktapur, carpenters, bricklayers and tile layers, who sought to bring the experience of craftsmen in defining solutions to bear on the identified problems of the conservation project. Retrofitting actions were based on traditional technology and materials (Fig. 1) and included the insertion of timber uprights concealed behind the outer board of the straightened main wall.

The reconstruction and restoration approach was adhered to in all sections of the building except the inner leaf of the first-floor walls with murals, which was preserved with the least interventions (Fig. 2). All less weathered and salvageable wooden architectural elements such as doors (Fig. 3) and windows and their component parts were retained and refitted.

Only about 30 % of the former bricks were retained in the reconstructed brickwork. All other interventions, such as a change in the east façade of the half-court, interchanged location of the door and window in the south end of the east exterior façade, and increased projection of the second-floor gallery, reverted the building back to its “original” state before it was damaged by the earthquake of 1934 and subsequently restored. All other “incompatible” interventions made on the building in recent times were also removed to reinstate the earlier condition. The stairway installed in the southeast corner room is the only element that differs from its earlier form—the steps have been widened and the risers lowered for easier negotiation.

The reconstruction of the temple of Naxal Bhagavatī (Fig. 4) in Kathmandu in 2010 is another interesting example of recent conservation practice in Nepal. The temple, visited notably by religious Hindus during the ninth day (*Navarātri*) of the annual Dashain festival dedicated to the goddess Durga, had been completely



Fig. 1 Bhaktapur, Fifty-Five-Windows Palace. Installation of pairs of old and new posts. Photo by Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, 18 October 2004

dismantled since most of its structural parts were considered to be on the verge of collapse. In January 2010, when the dismantling of the existing temple began, a public outcry questioned the reconstruction approach embarked upon by the community committee (Naxal Bhagavatī Upabhoktā Mul Samiti) and led to the formation of a technical committee under my chairmanship to supervise the process and ensure that the civic committee complied with accepted conservation norms and standards in its work. The local committee organized and managed the reconstruction, the sectional drawing of the old temple to scale was provided by the Kathmandu Metropolitan City as a “design,” and through its nominated member of the committee the Department of Archaeology formulated the key conservation guideline that the new temple should be built in the exact shape of its predecessor, thus retaining its original appearance.

The funding for this was mainly provided by the Kathmandu Metropolitan City Council and local stakeholders. On 15 February, the ritual laying of the foundation for the new temple took place. The reconstruction was surely justified due to the extreme state of deterioration in the structural timber beams, the rafters, and the core wall around the sanctum and the porous state of its metal sheet roof. By way of discussion with the civic committee, the technical committee sought to salvage the temple’s authenticity in reconstruction by ruling out any design interventions and making major reuse of salvageable and unweathered carved elements such as

Fig. 2 Bhaktapur, Fifty-Five-Windows Palace. Replacement of weathered bases of timber posts to preserve as much of the old fabric as possible. Photo by Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, 17 August 2004



windows, struts, and cornice string bands as well as special shaped bricks and elements from the metal sheet roof. The technical committee also persuaded the community to agree to leave the historic ancient image of Bhagavatī (Fig. 5) on its original venerated spot. In the present case and in the eyes of the members of the technical committee, moving the deity would have greatly impaired the authenticity of the place as a seat of the deity (Skt. *śaktipīṭha*).

The civic committee agreed to relinquish various actions it had planned as “improvements to the temple,” e.g., raising the plinth of the temple, adding a side door in the sanctum room, and introducing a stone string course (Nev. *nāgva*). These actions would indeed have compromised the integrity of the temple design itself. The craftsmen were most reluctant to reuse the old wooden cornice bands as they thought that the “quality and style” of the extant carvings was poor and the wood itself did not come from the “right species of tree.” Only one quarter of the old band was reused on the back side of the sanctum walls as a token of respect for the stance of the technical committee.



Fig. 3 Bhaktapur, Fifty-Five-Windows Palace. Weathered or lost parts of the decorative timber door frames of multiple parts were carved and fitted according to the old design. Photo by Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, 17 August 2004

Negotiating Authenticity in Nepal

With its general appeal “to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument” (ICOMOS 1965, Article 9) the Venice Charter has since 1964 provided guidance for architectural conservation activities the world over. The “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” for short “World Heritage Convention” (WHC) formulated by UNESCO in 1972, has fostered a globally generalized understanding of conservation. The authenticity of monuments is examined in the context of the outstanding universal assets leading to their acceptance as World Heritage Sites. In 1994, The Nara Document on Authenticity was drafted “in response to the expanding scope of cultural heritage concerns” and encouraged “respect for cultural diversities” (Larsen 1995, xxi). However, The Nara Document on Authenticity proceeds on quite a broad definition of conservation as “all efforts designed to understand cultural heritage, know its history and meaning, ensure its material safeguard and, as required, its presentation, restoration and enhancement” (Larsen 1995, xxv). Conservation doctrine has thus largely evolved with reference to the three defining criteria of understanding, knowing, and safeguarding heritage, mainly in regard to three aspects—history, meaning, and material—and the three objective stances of



Fig. 4 Naxal Bhagavati, Kathmandu. The temple was completely dismantled since most of its structural parts, such as the existing structural timber beams, the rafters, the core wall around the sanctum, and the roof were feared to be on the verge of collapse. The new base was constructed in the same style and on the same scale as its predecessor in order to retain the original appearance. Photo by Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, 26 February 2011

presentation, restoration, and enhancement. In this context, “authenticity” is spelled out with special focus on the history and material of a building and is applied for the purpose of restoration only. In practice, the notion of material authenticity is often limited to the initial construction of a structure, the first phase of its historical timeline. A building’s identity—the stages of reconstruction or renovation of an object that add significantly to its meaning in the context of living cultures—is thus oversimplified and presented as one hazy aggregate. This reduction of the history of a heritage building to only three phases—the creation of the object, the past, and the perceptual present (Feilden and Jokilehto 1993, 16)—lumps together its whole existence, including a great accretion of evolutionary cultural meaning and the detailed, sequential imprint of an object’s evolutionary history, into a perfunctory consideration. If a heritage building that is substantially reconstructed in the present is considered a new building or a product of the present and its historical value is denied, the site’s earlier reconstructions would also amount to a progressive loss of authenticity rather than enrichment. It is however possible to challenge this way of deducing the historicity of a heritage site on the basis of a purely linear reckoning of time and defining its authenticity with respect to the historical past. A cultural understanding of time as a recreative force considers acts of (architectural) renewal



Fig. 5 Naxal Bhagavatī, Kathmandu. In the course of the dismantling of the old and reconstruction of the new temple, the ancient image of Bhagavatī (*right*) remained unmoved on its venerated spot. The image was, however, provided with a new brick stand. Photo by Sudarshan Raj Tiwari, 24 May 2011

in seasonal cycles as auspicious, rather than looking for an historical value that is fixed in time and space. The reconstruction of the temple of Naxal Bhagavatī (Fig. 6) in Kathmandu is a Nepalese case where the re-creative cultural genius emphasizes the site's fixity in space while recognizing its evolutionary context, its existence as a function of time and local participation. While the new temple is located on the same place as the old, the structure itself was "To Be Reborn" (Adhikari and Shahi 2010) as the *Kathmandu Post* aptly claimed.

Since the assurance of authenticity is possibly the most important requirement for any conservation action worldwide, it is necessary to understand how authenticity and conservation standards may have to be redefined based on local traditions of conservation—in the Nepalese case, as practiced by our ancestors. In the context of the history of Nepalese architecture and conservation, any notion of authenticity that only considers the value of the original construction will fall down. The purpose of the interventions made by our ancestors many times in the past was to defer to the integrity of a site that allowed for seasonal renewal and thus assured due concern for the re-creative aspect of time. Accordingly, just as much value must be assigned to the authenticity of evolutionary integrity—particularly in regard to



Fig. 6 Naxal Bhagavati, Kathmandu. The temple after restoration in 2011. The recently built community building (*sattal*) in the background is undergoing a process of beautification. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 6 December 2011

design and workmanship—or to traces and layers of past acts of conservation as points of (re-)creation.

With reference to cultural practices evolving from a predominantly religious context revolving around a cyclical and seasonal notion of time, “history” becomes diachronic and its layers seasonal. These seasonal layers may accumulate across a span of centuries and entail sociocultural and religious actions that are authenticated by a view of time closely associated with seasonal renewal and re-creation and practiced on original sites or in parts of buildings. Similarly, a multiple diachronic layering of meaning is also a factor to reckon with, as religious practice itself has undergone layered changes over the past and several sites may have reflections of changing Hindu or Buddhist associations.

Generally speaking, strenuous efforts must be made in each case to understand cultural heritage of any kind from the perspective of the respective community of living heirs and to look at the layers of history and meaning through the eyes of the communities involved. Against the backdrop of the discourse on aspects of

authenticity and the discussion about the norms and standards for architectural conservation (particularly for those World Heritage Sites such as the Kathmandu Valley that meet selection criteria such as “to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared,”² or “to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance”³), efforts of this kind are the foundation for activities designed to materially safeguard particular, culture-specific practices of presentation, restoration, and enhancement.

The examination of meaning and value from the perspective of a living community can be taken into account when reformulating notions of authenticity. This occurred in 2005, when a new version of the UNESCO Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (OPG) was issued.⁴ Paragraph 78 of the OPG reads as follows: “To be deemed of outstanding universal value, a property must also meet the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity.” These reformulations extend the definition of authenticity from material aspects like form and design, material and substance, location and setting to include other intangible aspects. Paragraph 82 states that

Depending on the type of cultural heritage, and its cultural context, properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural value[s] [...] are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes including: form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting; language, and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors (UNESCO 2005).

In the following paragraph, we are told that “spirit and feeling” are “important indicators of character and sense of place, for example, in communities maintaining tradition and cultural continuity,” even though these attributes “do not lend themselves easily to practical applications of the conditions of authenticity.” Accordingly, the keynote topic at the International Scientific Symposium on the occasion of ICOMOS’ 16th General Assembly was “Finding the Spirit of Place.”

This rethinking will not only take shifting ideas of conservation and new tests of authenticity beyond the purely physical fabric to the realm of associative values, it will also give priority to history, meaning, and material to those components accrued after the initial creation. Such an approach will be of particular importance to the conservation of heritages that have had a very long history of development. The importance of a heritage site cannot be based on its material age alone. It must also consider the range width of history it is able to recount.

² Selection criteria (iii), see UNESCO (2011). Accessed 16 August 2012, 20.

³ Selection criteria (vi), see UNESCO (2011). Accessed 16 August 2012, 21.

⁴ The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention aim to facilitate the implementation of the “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” issued for the first time in 1972. The “Operational Guidelines” are periodically revised to reflect the decisions of the World Heritage Committee.

Some of the inscriptions dating back to the period when the Licchavi kings reigned (second to ninth century CE) testify to the fact that assuring esthetic and material integrity is as noble a requirement for conservation in Nepal as maintaining the historical integrity of the original. Yet, as the pinnacles of our architectural heritage have been largely pigeonholed into the seven monument zones inscribed as Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site, current conservation practice and the Nepalese professionals are subject to global conventions and expertise. Due to globally accepted principles of conservation that largely signify a prevailing lack of understanding, international and Nepalese “conservation experts” regard any renewal actions based on the original design as interventions that have brought about a loss of material authenticity. The lengthy deliberations that considerably delayed the conservation of the Fifty-Five-Windows Palace of Bhaktapur Dārbar are a case in point.

In contrast to these shifts in conservation that tend toward globally homogenous practices, the local foremen, skilled workers, and Newar craftsmen are continuously inspired by practice that has been handed down to them as a family tradition. Experience and assessment of actual conservation works done in Nepal show that traditional knowledge and practice triumphs in the detailing and execution of conservation action applied to the architectural heritage, whereas the global knowledge of experts and the force of convention have been of greater consequence in planning and addressing issues more broadly. However, there has been little assimilation of the global into the local, and global theory tends to hold local practice at arm’s length.

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Part II

Case Studies From East Asia

Authenticity and Heritage Conservation in China: Translation, Interpretation, Practices

Yujie Zhu

Abstract The examination of the value of authenticity, the interpretation of the term, and the consequences for heritage conservation practices in China have followed a trend that is both global and local. The existence of two translations of authenticity, *yuanzhenxing* 原真性 and *zhenshixing* 真實性, has documented two understandings of what heritage conservation in China is concerned with: the conservation or recreation of an “original state”—understood as a building’s original form—or the preservation of the present form including different stages of a structure’s building history. The Chinese conservation scene has attempted to define its own authenticity criteria through learning from both its history of restoration and from international principles. Defense of the principle of “restoring the old as it was” (Chin. 修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*) needs to be considered, as well as the attempt to preserve a site’s “historic condition,” including different stages of its history. The quest for authenticity has taken on a dynamic and diversified form through local economic, social, and cultural development. The juxtaposition of different value systems on heritage conservation in the process of globalization and modernization in China repeatedly leads back to diverse Chinese practices.

Authenticity: From a Global to a Chinese Discourse

The global discussion of the concept of authenticity plays an essential role in academic research on cultural heritage, conservation, and restoration planning, alongside the World Heritage Convention’s inscription procedures. The ICOMOS 1965 identifies the historical and physical context of a site or a building as the main markers of authenticity. The Nara Document on Authenticity of 1994 (1995) suggests a rather broad definition, highlights the importance of taking authenticity

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as a culturally specific concept, and calls for respect for the cultural and social values of diversified societies in examining the value of cultural properties. It defines authenticity as “original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage” (Article 9, xxii) leaving room for stakeholders in different cultural contexts to arrive at their own interpretations of this term according to diverse cultural, political, and economic conditions. From the Venice Charter to the Nara Document and beyond, the ways of defining authenticity have demonstrated a continuous development in the understanding of the linkage between cultural diversity and heritage conservation. This trajectory has generated substantial discussions on the interpretation of authenticity and its relation to the ever-expanding encounters and exchanges between people from different parts of the world.

In China, people’s appetite for accessing and appreciating the country’s historic and natural heritage has been whetted by massive urban construction, expanding industrial capacity, and increasing social mobility on an unprecedented scale, all of which has resulted from the country’s fast and steady economic development due to the open-door policy and the modernization and globalization process since 1978. The impact of the economic, social, and cultural transformations in the past two decades is profound and has presented new challenges for protecting and conserving the archeological and historic legacies of the country. Consequently, response to the process of modernization and globalization in China has generated uncertainties and tensions connected with the following three aspects: the introduction and interpretation of the “international” factor “authenticity” in the Chinese conservation discourse; the way the Chinese government implements heritage conservation under its interpretation of heritage guidelines; and the way stakeholders (e.g., investment companies and private agencies in the tourism industry) and local people identify appropriate practices for themselves with respect to authenticity as a key criterion for heritage preservation. In examining Chinese discourse and practices, we first look at some examples relating to Chinese restoration ideas and ways of translating authenticity.

Translations of Authenticity in China: Two Versions, Two Voices

Originally, the term “authenticity” comes from Greek and Latin, means “authoritative” and “original,” and has largely been used in ethics, linguistics, culture, and the arts. Merriam Webster’s eleventh *New Collegiate Dictionary* (2008) relates authenticity to “authoritative,” “fact or reality,” “trustworthy,” and “original.” In research on the arts, archeology, and cultural relics and laws, authenticity today mainly refers to “the truthfulness of origins, attributions, commitments, sincerity, devotion and intentions; not copy or forgery” (Zhang Song 張松 2001, 45–50).

Originating from Europe, the term “authenticity” was gradually recognized, introduced, translated, and accepted in China after the country joined the

Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1985. Chinese scholars have mainly translated “authenticity” in two ways, both of which figure today in academic contexts and government policies. In recent publications, Xu Songlin 徐嵩齡 (2005, 15–60), Zhang Jie 張傑 (2007, 80), and Zhang Chengyu 張成渝 (2010, 55) use “*yuanzhenxing* 原真性” as the translation of authenticity, in which *yuan* 原 means “original” and *zhen* 真 “real” and “trustworthy.” This understanding of the term highlights the significance of a building’s original state (原狀 *yuanzhuang*). Other scholars like Chang Qing 常青 (2009, 118) and Wang Jinghui 王景輝 (2009, 87) prefer the translation “*zhenshixing* 真實性,” in which the word *zhenshi* 真實 emphasizes only “real,” “true,” and “verifiable” as the core of authenticity. They argue that using *yuanzhenxing* 原真性 will limit authenticity to the original state of any architectural heritage and neglect the historic development of a structure (Zhang Chengyu 張成渝 2010, 57–58). These two voices can be taken to stand for the debate on a “Chinese understanding” of the notion of authenticity, that is, whether or not the original state is essential for the evaluation of authenticity. The next section gives a brief historical review of the history of the interpretation of authenticity with respect to heritage conservation.

Chinese Interpretation: From Liang Sicheng’s Notion to the China Principles

One of the most authoritative documents on authenticity, the Venice Charter, clearly states in its preamble that “It is essential that the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis, with each country being responsible for applying the plan within the framework of its own culture and traditions” (ICOMOS 1965).

Compared to brick or stone structures, ancient Chinese timber structures as the fundamental form of Chinese architecture are difficult to conserve for a long time. Liang Sicheng (1901–1972) is the pioneering figure in the preservation and conservation of Chinese architecture. He benefited from his education in architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, which later influenced him in becoming one of the most outstanding Chinese architects. In 1964, the same year as the Venice Charter was formulated, Liang pointed out the following: “In restoring architecture that has historic and artistic values, in general we must follow the principle of restoring the old as it was [(修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*)]. However, there may be some difficulties in applying this principle to wooden structures, as it should be less difficult than repairing brick and stone structures” (Liang Sicheng 1984, 56). As a result, Liang’s idea of “restoring the old as it was” (修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*) refers to the original form as the essential aspect of architectural authenticity. As he said, “we have the responsibility to preserve or restore the original state (Chin. 保存恢復原狀 *baocun huifu yuanzhuang*) of the architecture of different historical periods,” and “we should do our best to keep or restore the forms when these buildings were first

built” (Liang Sicheng 梁思成 2001, 15–50). In this regard, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between new and original members in the repair of historic timber structures, because most Chinese wooden architectures have been reconstructed as wholes (Lin Nan 林楠 and Ran Zhang 張然 2002, 53).

The Venice Charter differs from the restoration philosophy expressed by Liang. According to Article 9 of the Venice Charter, the declared aim of any restoration process is “to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents” (ICOMOS 1965, Article 9). Restoration, as defined in the charter, “must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp,” in order to preserve the authenticity of a structure. In 1999, five years after conservation experts had met at the Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention in Nara, Japan, with the express aim of clarifying the application of the “test of authenticity” to World Heritage nominations by revising and extending the Venice Charter’s definitions, ICOMOS adopted the Principles for the Preservation of Historic Timber Structures at its twelfth General Assembly in Mexico. According to Paragraph 9 of these principles, “In the repair of a historic structure, replacement timber can be used with respect to relevant historical and aesthetical values, and where it is an appropriate response to the need to replace decayed or damaged members or their parts, or to the requirements of restoration” (ICOMOS 1999). Paragraph 10 states: “It should be accepted that new members or parts of members will be distinguishable from the existing ones.”

Translated into a “Chinese framework,” these “international” principles read like a concession to both the Venice Charter and Liang’s assertion of the principle of “restoring the old as it was” (修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*). Only to a certain extent is the hybrid understanding of the need for replacement or the requirements of restoration and concern for historical and esthetic values expressed in the Principles for the Preservation of Historic Timber Structures in accordance with an old Chinese practice that forgoes the need to distinguish between new members and original members of historical timber structures.

Along with the development of heritage conservation in China and increasing communication and cooperation with international organizations on heritage projects in recent years, the concept of authenticity has been adopted by the Chinese government¹ but continuously interpreted, implemented, and adjusted in China on the basis of its links with culture, history, and institutions. The need to further address the complexity of the concept has led to the creation of a set of “professional guidelines” including the Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics (“Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa 中華人民共和國文物保護法” 2007)² and the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage

¹ In China, cultural sites are mainly managed by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage. Natural sites and national scenic areas are managed by the Administration of Construction.

² The law was adopted in 1982 and revised in 2002.

Sites in China (China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute 2004), known generically as the “China Principles” (Lai et al. 2004).³

Taking up Liang’s idea about “preserving or restoring the original state” (保存恢復原狀 *baocun huifu yuanzhuang*), which indicates the maintenance of forms, the Chinese government has implemented the term *yuanzhuang* 原狀 in official conservation guidelines such as the China Principles, which were issued in 2000 by the Chinese National Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (China ICOMOS) with financial support from the Getty Foundation (Agnew et al. 2004, 41). These principles have been approved by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH). They comply with present legislation and link the international concept of authenticity recommending respect for original fabric and authentic documents with the key term of “the original state” (原狀 *yuanzhuang*), which first appeared in Article 21 of the Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics.⁴ In the China Principles, *yuanzhuang* 原狀 is translated as “historical condition,” a term that has been central to discussions on heritage sites (China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute 2004, 50). In the China Principles, this term is understood as the condition of a site through historical time. *Yuanzhuang* 原狀 refers to the following conditions: the condition prior to any conservation intervention; the condition after being subjected to interventions judged to be significant (treatments, adaptations, reconstructions) during the course of its history or a ruined state revealing important historical attributes; the reinstated condition after the restoration of elements that were buried, deformed, partially collapsed, braced, or incorrectly placed, where the original components and form of the structure exist; the historical condition of a setting that is of significance to the site.

Such an understanding of *yuanzhuang* 原狀 confirms the Venice Charter’s claim that “The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration” (ICOMOS 1965, Article 11) and resists a tendency towards restoration to an earlier state or rejuvenation.

The Declaration of Qufu—a “Consensus on the China-specific Conservation Theory and Practices of Historic Buildings”—was ultimately drafted in 2005 by practitioners in the field of conservation (such as artisans and scholars) in response to the discourse on heritage conservation in China. The drafters support “any efforts to benefit from the world’s advanced experiences and concepts in conservation, but such experiences and concepts have to be analyzed, digested and absorbed according to the actual situation in China.” According to the draft, “damaged

³ Adopted in 2000, first printed in 2002; second printing with revision in 2004.

⁴ The English translation of the Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics is found in the *Collection of Important International and National Documents on Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management*, 239–262 and 271–284. Article 21 of the law suggests “keeping the cultural relics in their original state,” 246. The Chinese version is “*bugaibian wenwu yuanzhuang* 不改变文物原状,” literally meaning “do not change the original state of cultural relics.”

ancient buildings can retain their scientific, artistic and historical values if carefully repaired and scientifically restored by following the original designs, using the original materials, adopting the original procedure, and applying the original techniques.” The authors of the draft speak out against a widely held opinion by contending that such repaired or restored buildings “should not be called ‘fake antiques.’” In an attempt to define a monument’s “historic condition” (borrowing from the China Principles’ notion of “original state”), the Qufu Declaration suggests “a healthy rather than ruinous or ramshackle state [...] In the event of any alteration in the historic condition, efforts should be made to restore the cultural heritage to its historic condition as early as possible.”

Such interpretations exemplify shifting and highly controversial notions of authenticity in heritage conservation in China that are the result of multilateral negotiations on “global” and “local” concerns.

Diversified Ideas About Authenticity in Local Practices

After the creation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, the agenda for monument preservation officially suggested recognizing “the achievement of the ancient working people in architectural creation and to critically evaluate the national tradition and embrace its good aspects, thereby developing a new socialist structure” by “constructing the new and demolishing the old” (Liang Sicheng 梁思成 2001, 35). During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) in China, heritage sites including temples, palaces, and monuments were regarded as the relics of a feudal system of organized superstition and many were demolished. Since the 1990s, the open-door policy, the economic reform, and public sentiments about returning to culture and history have led to an urgent call for the revitalization of the country’s cultural identity. This in turn resulted in the launching of a number of heritage (re) construction projects at historical sites throughout the country. Currently, local governments, investment companies, and local agencies in China are developing a tourism and real estate industry at archeological sites, monuments, and places of cultural and historical significance for the purpose of economic gain. Heritage development for local recreational and commercial use has diversified the criteria for authenticity values (Agnew et al. 2004, 41). However, local understandings of authenticity are not the results of a passive adoption of global ideas but rather juxtapose global and national concepts in dynamic negotiation with aspects of homogenization and heterogenization (Zhu 2015). As a consequence, different forms of heritage practice emerge in China, showing a range of understandings of authenticity localized by different actors in the network of heritage conservation (see also Katharina Weiler’s article on “Aspects of Architectural Authenticity in Chinese Heritage Theme Parks”). The following cases demonstrate the diversity of authenticity applications such as archaizing, reconstructing, and performing cultural heritage in the present-day Chinese heritage business.

Archaizing Buildings

Due to increasing involvement with the international heritage conservation movement around the world, the Chinese government has gradually recognized the importance of “the old” and the value of history. The method of “restoring the old as it was” (修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*) propagated by Liang has become one of the key terms in understanding heritage “authenticity” for architecture conservation. The ideological transformation from a Maoist perspective on cultural heritage to a perception of the matter in the age of China’s open-door policy enables Chinese people to rethink and redefine the idea of “the old” (Chin. 舊 *jiu*). The interim notion of “the old” implying something backward and hidebound has yielded to an appreciation of tradition and culture, tangible and intangible heritage.

However, local practices have still evinced different understandings of “the old.” Archaized buildings and “antique” products have been copied and reproduced to attract tourists and visitors. As significant factors in a marketing strategy, such architectures suggest a “past” in order to develop local business. For instance, established by a local real estate company in 2006 in Chuxiong County, Yunnan Province, the Old Town of the Yi Minority Group (Chin. 彝人古鎮 *yiren guzhen*) (Fig. 1), serves as an example of how local ethnic culture has been used for commercial purposes to expedite the development of tourism and the real estate market.

The buildings in the recently erected Old Town of the Yi Minority Group, mainly in the form of souvenir shops and accommodation for tourists and visitors, are designed for the purpose of showcasing ancient Yi architecture, culture, and traditions. Classical symbols and decor are purposely used to adorn windows and roofs and make the buildings attractive for tourists and visitors. Assessed through the prism of the China Principles, this project is in no way related to heritage conservation and authenticity. It is the Chinese people’s quest for authenticity and the visitors’ imaginativeness that authorize and merchandize this “old town.” The site’s existential value is not attached to any historical meaning or archeological evidence. It arises from the people’s marked nostalgia for their heritage, which has developed in the course of rapid modernization and industrialization over the past few decades.

Reconstructing Heritage

In his 1999 essay on Chinese architectural conservation and the restoration of cultural properties, Luo Zhewen, Liang’s former assistant, insisted that “scientific restoration and reconstruction” should be built on “scientific evidence” (Luo Zhewen 羅哲文 1999, 20). In the main, this view is based on the Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics (2002). Article 22 of the Law of the People’s Republic states: “Where immovable cultural relics are



Fig. 1 Old Town of the Yi Minority Group (Chin. 彝人古镇 *Yiren guzhen*), Chuxiong County, Yunnan Province. Established by a local real estate company in 2006, the “old town” sells local ethnic culture to tourists. Souvenir shops and accommodation for tourists and visitors are decked out with classical symbols and designed to showcase ancient Yi architecture, culture, and traditions and to satisfy tourists’ quest for authenticity, in this case represented by recreation. Photo by Zhu Yujie, 23 September 2010

totally damaged, the ruins shall be protected and the damaged relics may not be rebuilt on the original site.”⁵ However, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage may be asked for consent “where under special circumstances it is necessary to have such relics rebuilt on the original site.” In the case of rebuilding a major site protected at the national level, the suggestion advanced is that “the matter shall be submitted by the People’s Government of the relevant province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the Central Government to the State Council for approval.” In accordance with the law, reconstructions of historical buildings and monuments are only permissible when sufficient scholarly and scientific information about the architecture from all historical periods can be provided.

However, actual heritage reconstructions may work in a different way. Mu’s Residence (Chin. 木府 *mufu*) (Fig. 2), for example, is situated in the political center of the Naxi community, an ethnic group from the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) to the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) in the southwest of the Old Town of Lijiang, Yunnan Province. Most of its houses were destroyed during the wars waged in the Qing Dynasty and later in the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s. After Lijiang’s inscription in the World Heritage List in 1997, the current residence was rebuilt in 1999 on the original site with funds from the World Bank.

⁵ See *Collection of Important International and National Documents on Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management*, 246.



Fig. 2 Lijiang, Yunnan Province. Mu's Residence (Chin. 木府 *mufu*) was once the residence and work site of the Naxi rulers of Lijiang. It was first built in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and like most of the buildings in Lijiang was destroyed during warfare in the late Qing Dynasty. Financed by the World Bank, the present site was rebuilt between 1996 and 1999 without any historical information whatsoever about of the original architecture of its predecessor. *Source:* World Heritage Old Town of Lijiang Management Bureau, Lijiang. Photo by Xu Ji, 2004

Unlike the project associated with the Old Town of the Yi Minority Group, the current venture with Mu's Residence is a reinvention of tradition where no historical information about the original architecture of its predecessor is available. The reconstruction did not even abide by the historical construction principles of Naxi culture. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of Mu's Residence is regarded as an exemplary pilot project by the local government and is marketed as one of the main tourist attractions in Lijiang. Mu's Residence is not an academically sound reconstruction, but the local government allegedly drew upon the idea of “restoring the old as it was” (修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*) while reinterpreting the notion to maximize its local benefit.

Performing Traditions

The proliferation of commercially oriented discourse on tourism development has become an increasing serious challenge to the notions of authenticity and heritage conservation. In the actual practices employed for the showcasing of heritage in



Fig. 3 Lijiang, Yunnan Province: the historic town was listed as a World Heritage site by UNESCO in 1997 and is increasingly threatened by tourist development and commercialization. Photo by Zhu Yujie, 19 June 2006

China, the government and tourism agencies recognize the commercial value of what they consider the appropriate culture and preserve its value via cultural expression. Accordingly, intangible heritage items are often simulated as cultural performances for tourist consumption. For example, the old town of Lijiang (Fig. 3) in southwest China “has retained a historic townscape of high quality and authenticity. Its architecture is noteworthy for the blending of elements from several cultures that have come together over many centuries” (UNESCO, “Old Town of Lijiang”). In the course of tourist development, the commoditization of the local Dongba religion as practiced by Naxi shamans has been invented as a new form of culture and is vividly represented in ritual performances, folk festivals, music and dance. It has thus been revitalized and staged as a cultural product on the tourist circuit.

One of the culture projects featured is called the Naxi Wedding Courtyard (Chin. 納西喜院 *Naxi xi yuan*) (Fig. 4) and aims to stage Naxi wedding celebrations and arrange traditional marriage rituals for tourists and local people by offering a complete traditional Naxi marriage package including Dongba wedding rituals, song and dance performances, dinner, and shows.

Although the wedding ceremony in the Naxi Wedding Courtyard is a paid service, the project manager and the government official insist that it aims to protect



Fig. 4 Naxi Wedding Courtyard (Chin. 纳西喜院 *Naxi xiyuan*) in the old town of Lijiang, Yunnan Province. The commoditization of local religious ceremonies as practiced by the Naxi shamans (Dongbas) has invented new forms of culture, represented in revitalized ritual performances, folk festivals, music, and dance. Photo by Zhu Yujie, 30 September 2010

local culture in the name of education and heritage conservation.⁶ Tight tourist schedules have prompted the organizers to shorten the ritual in the wedding house from the original three days to a 5 min performance. However, the Dongba master as the ritual performer and most of the tourists who get married here consider the wedding performance to be an authentic experience (Zhu 2012).

In this context, “authenticity of place” does not refer to a building’s fabric, as in the Venice Charter or the China Principles, but provides a performative link to an intangible item of the local cultural heritage. Besides the tangible heritage, “increasing intangible values and benefits, including local cultural identify [sic] and community pride, the links with local history, educational value and symbolic role of heritage, are addressed in studies measuring benefits of built heritage, as

⁶ Personal interview on 10 December 2012 in Lijiang.

they constitute ‘cultural capital’ in the development programme” (UNESCO 2008, “Mission Report,” Article 6).

Authenticity in China: The Show Must Go On

The examination of authenticity value, its interpretation, and the consequences for heritage conservation practices in China has followed a trend that is both global and local. The existence of two translations of authenticity, “*yuanzhenxing* 原真性” and “*zhenshixing* 真實性,” has documented two understandings of what heritage conservation in China is concerned with: the conservation or restoration of an original state—understood as a building’s original form—or the preservation of different stages of a structure’s building history. From Liang’s defense of “restoring the old as it was” (修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*) through Luo’s concept requiring “scientific restoration and reconstruction” to the development of the Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics and the China Principles, the Chinese government has attempted to define its own criteria for authenticity by learning from China’s history of restoration and “international” principles, and by embracing the modern world of conservation and UNESCO conventions. Some major restoration projects have started to acknowledge and respect traces from all historical periods as important indicators of the value of architecture by a thorough evaluation of the historic, artistic, scholarly, and social values of the heritage site.

Regarding the actual practices of heritage conservation, the authenticity discourse in China has created space for dynamic negotiations between the local and the global, the cultural and the economic. The top-down approach of the global movement of heritage conservationists on authenticity is continuously and dynamically negotiated with respect to local conditions, leading to the complex blend of seemingly contradictory criteria: homogenization and heterogenization. Different value systems have been competing with each other against the background of the country’s political, social, and economic transitions. Differing from the official statement that refers to the preservation or restoration of an “original state” [in Liang’s words “restoring the old as it was” (修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*)], local authorities, investment companies, and the tourism industry have developed a variety of interpretations for the notion, transforming it into “making something look old.” This interpretation of “old” results from the development of modernization.

In Chinese discourse, authenticity criteria are conceptualized in transnational and contradictory processes that embody a mix between the homogenizing power of sameness and uniformity and the diversifying forces of difference and hybridity. The official Chinese value system for authenticity criteria is increasingly confronted by the shifting power structures of new social orders constructed by different actors in the social network. During the process of localization, authenticity has formed a dynamic and diversified presentation through local economic, social, and cultural development. The juxtaposition of different value systems for

heritage conservation in the process of globalization and modernization in China continuously leads to new practices. In return, the official Chinese understanding and interpretation of authenticity will in the long term be informed by this notional coexistence.

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Restoration and Conservation of the Yisu Society Theater in Xi'an

Shaohua Grasmück-Zhang

Abstract The Yisu Society (Chin. 易俗社 *Yisushe*) is a modern Qinqiang 秦腔 folk opera company founded in 1912 by members of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (Chin. 同盟會 *Tongmenghui*). This paper describes the conservation history of the society's theater, the massive interventions in the theater's fabric and form since the late 1910s, and its listing as an officially protected heritage site at national level since 2006, followed by recent restoration works in 2010 approved by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) (Chin. 國家文物局 *Goujia wenwuju*) in Beijing. Within this framework, the confrontation between “universal” and “local” conservation philosophies occurs in a special field of tension. Dealing with an item of the living heritage, the stakeholders in Xi'an cared more about the theater's esthetic features and tended to favor “architectural restoration” (Chin. 修復 *xiufu*) in their bid to revive and beautify the building and suit it to new economic needs, instead of paying much attention to the conservation of the building's historical information (material authenticity). Evidently, the value of the Yisu Society Theater was identified as residing in the intangible historical, social, and academically interesting information it contains. Concern was clearly with emblemizing the site's multiple identities and the revival of the national cultural patrimony.

Xi'an Yisu Society (Chin. 易俗社 *Yisushe*)

The establishment of the Republic of China in 1912 was the result of a revolutionary and democratic wave that had affected China for some time. In this regard, members of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (Chin. 同盟會 *Tongmenghui*) in Shaanxi province—among others Li Tongxuan 李桐軒 (1860–1932) and Sun Renyu 孫仁玉 (1872–1934)—founded the Shaanxi Yisu Society, a Qinqiang Opera¹ company. They decided to organize a new drama society and write and

¹ Qinqiang Opera is one of the oldest forms of Chinese folk opera.

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direct new plays, hoping in this way to achieve the aim of “reforming a new society” (Jiao Wenbin 焦文彬 2002, 291). The “Shaanxi Yisu Society” was founded on 12 August 1912 (Lei Zhenzhong 雷震中, and Wang Aimin 王藹民 1987, 95).² The name *Yisu* means “change the custom” and manifests the intention of the founders to transform social morale through drama performance and to change social customs.

The Yisu Society was the first drama performance company with a democratic administrative system. This folk opera company integrated school education for the actresses, which greatly affected the development of the Chinese opera training system. Furthermore, it reformed the old paternalist training structure with its master-learner system and carried out a new director-responsible system.

Due to those novelties, the Yisu Society is regarded as a milestone in the history of Chinese folk opera. Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936), the eminent Chinese modern historian, visited Xi’an in 1924 and was impressed by the plays and the modern organization of the Yisu Society. On the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of the Yisu Society, he presented an inscription with the words “Ancient Melody Distinctively Plays”³. This inscription was made into a signboard that hung in the most prominent place over the stage until it was destroyed in a Japanese air raid that demolished most parts of the building in 1940 (Zhang Yuxin 張雨新 and Chen Chaowei 陳超維 2010, 26). Nevertheless, the theater is also a place where many significant incidents in Chinese modern history took place. On 9 and 11 December 1936, marshal Zhang Xueliang 張學良 (1901–2001) and Yang Hucheng 楊虎城 (1893–1949) organized two evenings of opera at the Yisu Society Theater for the retinue of generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887–1975) to cover the launching of the Xi’an Incident (Chin. 西安事變 *Xi’an shibian*) (Qiu Fuke 丘富科 2009, 342).⁴ In 1938, propagandistic plays railing against Japanese invasion were performed in cooperation with the Service Corps of the north-west battle front (Chin. 西千戰地服務團 *Xibei zhandi fuwutuan*) and greatly encouraged the Chinese people during the war (Lei Zhenzhong 雷震中 1995, 18).

After the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, the Yisu Society was taken over by the Xi’an people’s government and became the first

² Some articles suggest that the Yisu Society was established on 1 July 1912. This is likely to be an error caused by confusing the Western calendar with the Chinese calendar. 1 July in the Chinese calendar corresponds to 12 August 1912 in its Western counterpart.

³ Gudiao dutan 古調新彈. cf. Xi’an shi difangzhi biancuan weizuanhui 西安市地方誌編纂委員會 (Compiling Committee of District Annals of Xi’an) (2002, 139).

⁴ The Xi’an Incident (*Xi’an shibian*) took place in Xi’an on 12 December 1936. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped by Marshal Zhang Xueliang, who after the Mukden Incident turned over his forces to the Chinese National Party (Chin. 國民黨 *Guomindang*) and supported Chiang. After unsuccessfully attempting to persuade Chiang to threaten the Japanese troops, Zhang and general Yang Hucheng planned and launched the kidnapping of Chiang in order to force him to stop the Civil War and cooperated with the Communist Party to fight against Japan. The incident prompted the Nationalists and the Communists to form a united front against the increasing threat posed by Japan. For more details, cf. Ferby (2004, 279–286), and Taylor (2009, 124–137).

publicly operated opera company. Under the direction of the Culture Administration in Xi'an, the Yisu Society continued recruiting trainees and rehearsing plays. Due to their revolutionary character, the plays were even performed during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), although the Yisu Society staff themselves were involved in the struggles against Mao's movement.

The Yisu Society's Theater Building and Its Past Restorations

Due to its unalterable location and name, the theater has been inextricably bound up with the history of the Yisu Society and has become an embodiment of Qinqiang Opera. Founded in 1912, the Yisu Society did not have its own permanent location for training and administration until the society finally bought two housing courts in June 1917. In the eastern court was a two-storied theater at the north-east corner called "Garden of Spring Harmony" (Chin. 宜春園 *Yichunyuan*)⁵, the predecessor of today's Yisu Society Theater. *Yichunyuan* had been initially founded in the first decade of the twentieth century⁶ as a private theater for high officials and noble lords of the Manchu.⁷ In 1914 it was rebuilt in brick and timber with a gable roof (Chin. 歇山頂 *xieshanding*) and double eaves (Chin. 重檐 *chongyan*) with 14 galleries and 150 seats in the auditorium.⁸

This form has been preserved to this day, although several alterations and restorations have been carried out in the last 100 years. Major changes to the

⁵ At the end of the Qing dynasty, Zhang Shaoyun bought a piece of land in front of the Guanyue Temple (*Guanyue miao*) in the southwest corner of the City of Manchu in Xi'an. There he built a theater named "Yichunyuan" (Garden of Spring Harmony). Zhang Shaoyun was the son of Zhang Xingzhi (died 1919), the provincial commander (*Tidu*) in chief of Guyuan, Gansu province. After Lu Jianzhang (1862–1918) was promoted to the post of military governor (*Dujun*) in Shaanxi province, he bought this theater from Zhang Shaoyun. At the time he left his post, his son sold the theater to the Yisu Society, cf. Xi'an shi difangzhi biancuan weizuanhui 西安市地方誌編纂委員會 (Compiling Committee of District Annals of Xi'an) (2002, 472), and Tian Kegong 田克恭 and Wang Minquan 王民權 (2007, 142).

⁶ There is no accurate date for the construction of the Yichunyuan Theater. According to the curriculum vitae of Zhang Xingzhi, he took the post of provincial commander-in-chief (*Tidu*) of Guyuan in the year 1896. The theater was thus possibly erected between 1896 and 1912, cf. "http://whly.weinan.gov.cn/structure/whly/wnmr/xdmr/content_130255_1.htm." According to the article "Bainian yisushe jinxiang jingdian zungui 百年易俗社盡顯經典尊貴 (Hundred-Year Yisu Society Presents its Pride)," the construction of the "Yichunyuan" was in the Xuantong era of the Qing dynasty, which is between 1909 and 1912. However, there is no further information on the source, cf. <http://www.xaqjy.com/yisushe/show.asp?id=1587>.

⁷ Xi'an shi difangzhi biancuan weizuanhui 西安市地方誌編纂委員會 (Compiling Committee of District Annals of Xi'an) (2002, 213).

⁸ *ibid.*

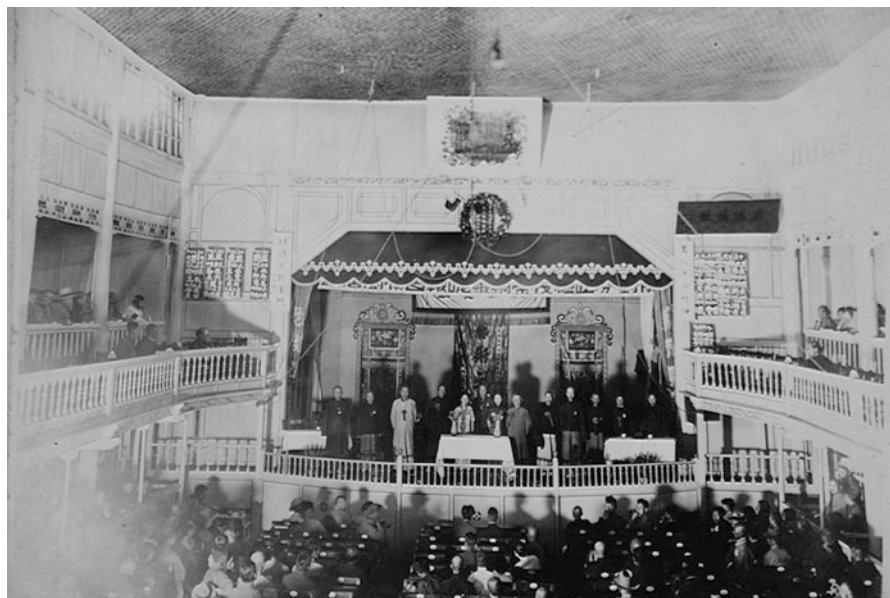


Fig. 1 Yisu Society Theater, Xi'an (1930s). In 1933 the interior of the theater was renovated under the dramatist and performance director Feng Zhimo 封至模 (1893–1974). The floor of the auditorium was formed into a gentle slope. In order to get more spectators in, the seats were replaced by numbered lounge chairs. Furthermore, guardrails were installed between the lateral boxes and the auditorium. Behind the guardrails there was standing room only. The gallery seats were divided into two levels. *Source:* Yu Xun (1998, 601)

theater's interior in the early 1930s increased its seating capacity from 650 to 885. Additionally, it provided standing room for over 100 theatergoers (Fig. 1).⁹

During the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), the building was completely destroyed in a Japanese air raid (Lei Zhenzhong 雷震中 1996, 46). However, it was rebuilt immediately after the war.

In 1964 the theater building was reconfigured. All the timber components were replaced, an entrance hall was added, and the seats in the auditorium were renewed. Furthermore, the stage was altered (Fig. 2).

In 1983 the Yisu Society Theater was listed as an “officially protected heritage site at city level” (Chin. 西安市重点文物保护单位 *Xi'anshi zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei*). However in 1992, the people's government of Xi'an began to build a larger theater to the east of the existing Yisu Society Theater. Besides the new construction, some alterations were also carried out in the old theatre (Fig. 3). New electronic devices were incorporated, the signboard with Lu Xun's inscription was

⁹The history of restoration works in the Yisu Theater is mainly based on Xi'anshi difangzhi biancuan weizuanhui 西安市地方誌編纂委員會 (Compiling Committee of District Annals of Xi'an) (2002, 472).

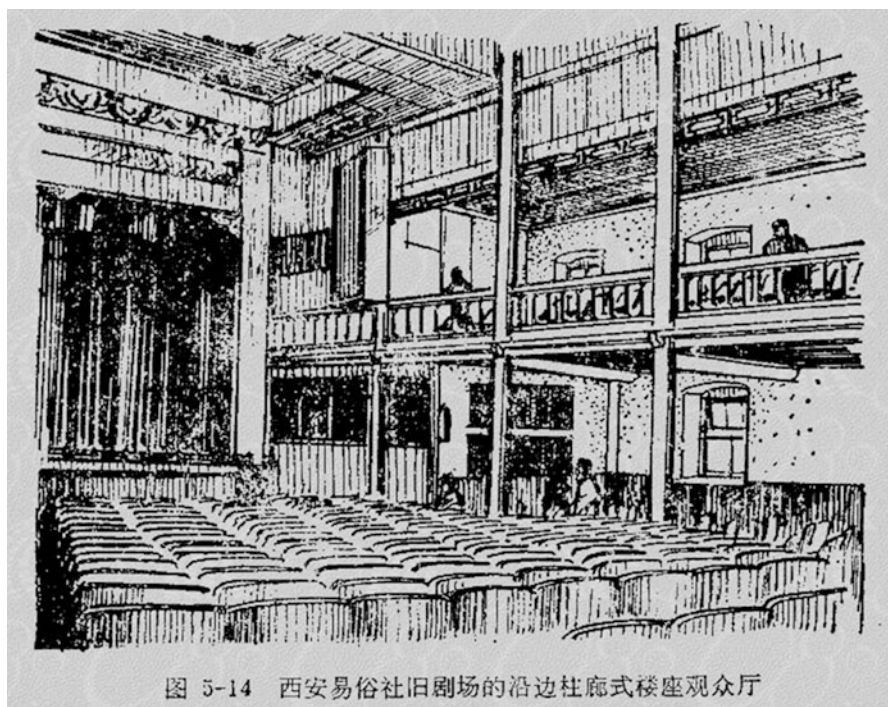


图 5-14 西安易俗社旧剧场的沿边柱廊式楼座观众厅

Fig. 2 Yisu Society Theater, Xi'an. Interior of the theater after the general restoration in 1964. The stage was enlarged to 11 m; two attached stages were extended. Two years later, new lounge chairs were added, and the number of seats increased to 900. The guardrails on either side of the auditorium were removed and the resulting space used as standing room. *Source:* Liu Zhenya (1989, 85)

refashioned, and the archway dating from 1917 was removed.¹⁰ However, in its general form, the characteristic timber-brick structure was left very much as it had been in 1914.

In 2003, the theater was listed as an “officially protected heritage site at provincial level” (Chin. 陕西省重点文物保护单位 *Shaanxisheng zhongdian wenwubao hu danwei*). In 2006, it was categorized as an important historic site in modern history and architecture in the list of “officially protected heritage sites at national level” [Chin. 全国重点文物保护单位 *Quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei*, lot no.: VI-1066 (Qiu Fuke 丘富科, 2009, 342)]. Three stelae in front of the theater record each of the denominations. Carved inscriptions praise the architectural value of the Yisu Theater as one of the earliest existing theaters in the new style and its social value as the site of a positive contribution to the country's New Culture Movement (Chin. 新文化运动 *xinwenhua yundong*).

¹⁰ <http://www.yisushe.com/Article/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=500>.



Fig. 3 Yisu Society Theater, Xi'an. Northern façade of the theater after the restoration in 1992. *Source:* Xi'an shi difangzhi biancuan weizuanhui 西安市地方誌編纂委員會 (Compiling Committee of District Annals of Xi'an) (2002, 2)

Recent Conservation and Restoration of the Yisu Society Theater in Xi'an

In 2009, the Yisu Society in conjunction with another two Qinqiang Opera companies established the Xi'an Qinqiang Opera Theater Co., Ltd., which belongs to the Xi'an Qujiang Cultural Industry Investment (Group) Ltd. (Chin. 西安曲江文化產業投資有限公司 *Xi'an qujiang wenhua chanye touzi youxiangongsi*). At that time, the theater had been closed for almost one year.¹¹ Restoration and preservation work was urgently needed. In October 2009 the newly established company drafted a conservation plan and handed it over to the State Administration for the Cultural Heritage (SACH) (Chin. 國家文物局 *Goujia wenwuju*) in Beijing. In April 2010 the plan was approved. The SACH stipulated that the conservation work

¹¹ The following information about the background of the restoration project is taken from: http://www.snwh.gov.cn/whdongtai/bsxw/shwh/201012/t20101211_105328.htm.

should be carried out on the apparently contradictory principle of “restoring the old as it was” (Chin. 修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*) with “minor interventions” (Chin. 最小干預 *zuixiao ganyu*) and “without changing the original state of the cultural heritage” (Chin. 不改變文物原狀 *bugaibian wenwu yuanzhuang*).¹² Furthermore, the “authenticity” (Chin. 真實性 *zhenshixing*) and “wholeness” (完整性 *wanzhengxing*) of the cultural heritage and its historic setting should be protected.¹³

As required by the SACH, the conservation project for the Yisu Society Theater was placed under the supervision of the Shaanxi Provincial Institute for the Design and Conservation of Ancient Architecture (SXAA) (Chin. 陝西省文化遺產保護規劃設本研究院 *Shaanxisheng wenhuayichan gaohu guihua sheji yanjiuyuan*). Based on the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics (Chin. 中國文物保護法 *Zhongguo wenwu baohu fa*) (1982) and the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (“China Principles”) (Chin. 中國文物古跡保護準則 *Zhongguo wenwuguji baohu zhunze*) (2002)¹⁴, the building was thoroughly inspected and reappraised before work began. It is worthy of note that the China Principles were first formulated within the framework of a collaboration between three institutional partners—SACH, the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI), and the Australian Department of the Environment and Heritage (DEH), formerly the Australian Heritage Commission—and issued by China ICOMOS. They are the result of a multiple transnational dynamic. After the investigation of the building, a master plan was drawn up comprising an “Assessment of Value,” a “Status Survey,” and a “Restoration Design.” On closer scrutiny, the rhetoric of the master plan reflects the tensions existing between Chinese approaches to conservation under the country's existing laws for the protection of the cultural heritage and the dissemination of “universal” values as proposed by China ICOMOS.

“Assessment of Value”: The Intangible Assets of the Yisu Society Theater

On the first page of the master plan, under the heading “Assessment of Value” (Chin. 價值評估 *jiazhi pinggu*), the significance of the Yisu Society Theater is described mainly from four perspectives.

Firstly, the “Historic Value” (Chin. 歷史價值 *lishi jiazhi*) is listed, which refers to the history of the building itself. The theater is more than a hundred years old and is the only preserved Qinqiang Opera theater in Xi'an. The original appearance of

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ First printed in 2002, second printing with revision: China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute (2004).

the building in the later Qing period, however, remains unknown. The building itself has undergone numerous transformations and several restorations.

Under the second heading, “Artistic Value,” (Chin. 藝術價值 *yishu jiazhi*), the architectural style of the theater is prized. The hybrid architectural style of the theater combines Chinese esthetics with Western expertise in theater engineering. In the early twentieth century the building was esteemed as one of the best syntheses of this kind in modern Chinese theater.

The third heading is “Academic Value” (Chin. 科學價值 *kexue jiazhi*), under which the site of the theater is taken as a scale for measuring the development of the city of Xi’an. The predecessor of the Yisu Society Theater—the Garden of Spring Harmony (Chin. 宜春園 *Yichunyuan*)—was located at the southwest corner of the City of Manchu (Chin. 滿城 *Mancheng*), whereas today the theater is situated directly in the center of the city. This shift in relative location is indicative of the urban extension of the city of Xi’an over the last hundred years.

The fourth heading, “Social and Cultural Value” (Chin. 社會文化價值 *shehui wenhua jiazhi*), points out that the theater has become one of the cultural centers for the Xi’an people, qualifying it for inclusion among the historical and cultural resources of the city as well as a landmark in the cultural landscape of Xi’an. Furthermore, the Yisu Society Theater is the place where the best Qinqiang Opera company—the Yisu Society—still performs, and this has made it the embodiment of the Qinqiang Opera. Accordingly, it is also regarded as a symbol of the local culture of Shaanxi province.

In sum, the value of the Yisu Society Theater is not so much in the original architecture as in the intangible historical, social and, academic information it contains. Moreover, under the master plan heading “Points Requiring Attention,” much importance is attached to the “regional architectural style” (Chin. 地方建築風格 *difang jianzhu fengge*). The article emphasizes that the style of the local buildings and their artistic aspects are immensely valuable for research on regional architectures and traditional construction techniques. Accordingly, this should be borne in mind during the restoration work, so that the variety of local architectural styles, the regionalization of traditional techniques, and the particularity of constructional conventions can be preserved. Much significance is accorded to intangible heritage aspects such as traditional techniques.

“Status Survey”

The results of the investigation and surveying of the building show that there were many dilapidated and defective parts. The extent of the damage was analyzed separately for each section of the building. In accordance with the investigation results and the Technical Code for Maintenance and Strengthening of

Ancient Timber Buildings (Chin. 古建筑木結構維護與加固技術規範 *gujianzhu mujiegou weihu yu jiagu jishuguifan*)¹⁵ (1992), minor restoration is suggested, including “the uncovering of tiles and bare rafters”¹⁶ in the roof area, renovation of the floor, replacement of rotting timber structures, and repair and realignment of non-uniform doors and windows.

“Restoration Design” (Guidelines for Restoration Work)

In theory, the master plan of the Shaanxi Provincial Institute for the Design and Conservation of Ancient Architecture for the restoration and conservation of the Yisu Society Theater adheres to the principle of “keeping the cultural relics in their original state (Chin. 保持文物原狀 *baochi wenwu yuanzhuang*).”¹⁷ But in terms of architectural style, restoration to accord with a unified style is not in fact advocated. The conservation work should not aim to highlight any original “resplendence” of the building. Instead, the physical remains of each historical period should be preserved as far as possible, especially in the case of the northern façade and the walls on the west and east sides. As regards those components with typical period characteristics, physical protection is the only practice permitted.

Minor intervention is insisted on throughout the conservation plan. With respect to the condition of the theater building and the China Principles, the following measures regarding structure, style, technique, and settings are discernible: In terms of structure, for example the interior timber structure, partial or complete disassembly is only permissible in cases where the main structure is seriously deformed or damaged. This is designed to cover all the prospectively dangerous factors of the structure so that the building will not need to be repaired in the near future. To restore the building to a safe and stable condition, repairs and minor additions to the defective and dilapidated timber components are permitted. By contrast, major additions, new components, or replacements for components capable of reuse are not allowed in the restoration work. The following measures are permitted: adding new and strengthening old components, using stiffening materials, replacing dilapidated features. The added components should be located in hidden places and substitute features have to be marked as such.

¹⁵ See Sichuansheng jianzhu kexue yanjiu yuan 四川省建築科學研究院 (Sichuan Institute of Building Research) (1993).

¹⁶ “Uncovering of tiles and bare rafters” (Chin. 揭瓦亮椽 *jiewa liangchuan*) is a local term to describe restoration work on the roof of traditional timber architecture in Shaanxi province, cf. “Linwei fangyan 臨渭方 (Dialect of Lintong and Weinan Area),” http://whly.weinan.gov.cn/structure/whly/dffq/mjwh/fyqt/content_28468_1.htm.

¹⁷ The principle of “keeping the cultural relics in their original state” (*baochi wenwu yuanzhuang*) is one of the key principles in the Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics, cf. “Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa 中華人民共和國文物保護法,” Article 26.

The ruling principle of the conservation work should be “only decreasing, not increasing” (Chin. 只減不加 *zhijian bujia*) or “more decreasing, less increasing” (Chin. 多減少加 *duojian shaojia*).¹⁸ This means priority for maintenance of the overall structure and restoration of slewed, collapsed, or disordered components to their original state. “Valueless” components added recently should be demolished, for instance, the granite floor of the auditorium, the external cement brick wall, the modern windows, and the red bed bricks.

The use of traditional techniques is also referred to in the plan as a priority concern, examples being the treatment in the replacement and repairing of terrazzo flooring, blue brick walls, timber structures, and blue stone façade.

Last but not least, the setting of the theater should be “improved.” A scientific investigation should be carried out to determine the unfavorable factors in the existing setting. All the miscellaneous objects and excrescences interfering with the view of the surroundings of the building should be removed.

“Restoring the Old as It Was” (修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*)

From a transcultural perspective, interesting perspectives crop up in connection with the restoration of the theater when it comes to semantics. Evidently, the multidirectional and diverse ways of construing notions of restoration and authenticity may (or may not) prepare the ground for actual paradigm shifts in local theories and practice of conservation. To give an example, the term “authenticity” does not appear in the master plan approved by SXAA. Neither is it familiar to Wang Changsheng, the former director of the Centre of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Relics in Xi'an (Chin. 西安文物保護修復中心 *Xi'an wenwu baohu xiufu zhongxin*) and supervisor of the Yisu Society Theater conservation and restoration project. He describes the work being done on the construction site as “restoring the old as it was” (修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*).

This colloquial expression was first pinpointed by the architect, architectural historian and early Chinese conservationist Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–1972) in his article “Free Talk on the Reconstruction and Protection of Architectural Heritage” published in 1963 (Liang Sicheng 梁思成 1963, 6). In the mid-1920s, Liang was one of the first Chinese architects to study architectural design at the University of Pennsylvania, and he was well-versed in the Beaux-Arts tradition. Initially, Liang's experience of studying abroad made him adopt a conservation philosophy that focused on the importance of maintaining the historical information a building has preserved. During his work as an architectural historian in the Society for the Research in Chinese Architecture (Chin. 中國營造學社 *Zhongguo yinzhao xueshe*)

¹⁸ See Shaanxisheng wenhua yichan baohu guihua sheji yanjiuyuan 陝西省文化遺產保護設計研究院 (Shaanxi Provincial Institute for the Design and Conservation of Ancient Architecture, SXAA) (2009, 2).

as of 1931, he integrated more and more traditional Chinese ideas into his concepts of architectural restoration, notably as the result of his experiences with many restoration projects in China. Liang used the term “restoring the old as it was (修舊如舊 *xiujiu rujiu*)” in order to express his idea of architectural restoration and conservation within the framework of “Chinese sensibilities.” What this boiled down to was maintenance or restoration of the original state of the architecture. The intention was informed by the traditional Chinese method of architectural maintenance and restoration aimed at reviving a building’s splendor. In traditional restoration practices, materials or even designs were generally renewed from time to time. In fine, the notion of “restoring the old as it was” is redolent of a hybrid understanding of conservation practices. A building’s historical information should be maintained by preserving any old fabric worth retaining and above all by relying on the historical form and design thus allowing for any intervention likely to produce an esthetic corpus based on the artefact’s original status. This idea was then seen as the basic principle for restoration work of any kind in China. However, there is never any mention of contemporary official regulations or laws. Instead, the expression that communicates a similar concept and is found in the Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics is “keeping the cultural relics in their original state.”¹⁹

After China’s open-door policy in the 1980s, the usage of Liang’s term was seriously questioned. Conservationists agonized over the correct interpretation of the second *jiu* 舊 because the word *jiu* has two meanings in Chinese: “old” and “former.” Some conservationists preferring to understand the use of the word as “former” argued that historical buildings should be restored to their original condition. In accordance with “international” conservation standards, other conservationists propagated the meaning “old” and insisted that historic architecture should be preserved in the same physical condition as it had arrived at rather than being restored to its former (original) state. This dispute still rages today. If we look at Liang’s original idea, the first interpretation is more consistent with his intentions.

Authenticity and Maintenance

Following the publication of the China Principles in 2002, the word “authenticity” made its first official appearance in China. As we saw earlier, the principles were drawn up by the National Committee of China ICOMOS under the leadership of the deputy director-general of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), in cooperation with the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) and the Australian Department of the Environment and Heritage (DEH). The China Principles are the major

¹⁹ “Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohufa 中華人民共和國文物保護法 (The Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics)” (2007, 159).

“bridge” between local Chinese and universal regulations on architectural restoration and conservation, the latter being predicated on specifically Western ideas about esthetic and historical value. As such, they assess architectural “authenticity.” Not only does the word “authenticity” appear six times in the English version of the China Principles, the preface also emphasizes that “it is the responsibility of all to bequeath these sites to future generations in their full integrity [Chin. 完整 *wanzheng*] and authenticity [Chin. 真實 *zhenshi*]” (China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute 2004, 3). This expression reveals the foregoing cross-cultural negotiations with international charters, for example the Venice Charter (1964), which insists in its preamble that “It is our duty to hand them [ancient monuments] on in the full richness of their authenticity” (ICOMOS 1965).

With respect to existing Chinese laws and regulations on conservation and restoration of the cultural heritage, Xie Li, program officer at ICOMOS China, concludes from the Western-rooted authenticity concept that the latter is equivalent to the term 原狀 *yuanzhuang* (“original state”) used in the Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics of 1982.²⁰ This term is also translated as “historic condition” in the English version of the China Principles (China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute 2004, 39), in which it is discussed in a Commentary on the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China 2.2.1 (China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute 2004, 15): “Physical remains must be in their historic condition. This includes a site’s condition as it was originally created, its condition after undergoing repeated adaptation throughout history, or its condition as a result of deterioration or damage over a long period.”

The formulation of the China Principles is often at odds with Chinese realities, for example in the case of the Yisu Society Theater conservation project. The schism may be described as follows: From the definition cited above one might conclude that the conservation of both “historical condition” and “original state” is an attempt to maintain the authenticity of historic architectures. However, this explanation only seems to be accepted in academic circles. In actual practice, conservationists and construction workers in China still adhere to the philosophy of “keeping the cultural relics in their original state” or “restoring the old as it was” (China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute 2004, 28) an approach that is often informed by the intention to restore a (historic) building.

The Actual Conservation Work on the Yisu Society Theater

The conservation master plan indicates beyond all doubt that the restoration of the Yisu Society Theater was to be carried out in the form of an interaction between local and universal ideas on architectural restoration and conservation. Based on the master plan of the SXAA, the restoration work on flooring, timber columns, purlins

²⁰ Personal interview with Xie Li on 20 August 2010 in the offices of China ICOMOS, Beijing.

and architrave, roof, interior decorations, façade, grounding of yard, and the setting was carried out by Fengye Construction Company (Chin. 楓葉家裝公司 *Fengye jiazhuang gongsi*) from June to the end of November 2010. Wang Changsheng was commissioned by the Administration of Cultural Heritage in Shaanxi (Chin. 陝西省文物局 *Shaanxisheng wenwuju*) to supervise their labors. According to Wang²¹ the conservation work was based on the SXAA master plan.

For hundreds of years, Chinese architectural restoration had attempted to maintain the built form in order to prevent a building from falling into desuetude. Old materials were regarded as signs of neglect and not given any (scholarly) attention. They were always replaced by new materials to ensure a building's longevity. If a brand new building could be put up in place of an old house, this was widely regarded as the best thing that could happen (Peng Wenli 彭文立 and Liang Guozhao 梁國釗 2000, 104).

In the 1930s, Chinese conservation architects felt confident about modern materials such as reinforced concrete and used them in all kinds of architectural restoration (Jin Hongkui 晉宏達 2005, 8) to extend the life of a building to the maximum. Even though the handling of old materials, though not necessarily the original materials, played a major role after the 1960s, restoring the esthetically pleasing appearance of an historic building was still the most important task for conservationists to attempt.

By contrast, the China Principles declare that the "original components must be retained as far as possible" (China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute 2004, 28). In the Yisu Society Theater restoration and conservation project, maximum care was lavished on some of the existing materials. With regard to the auditorium's decrepit columns, for instance, the rotten parts of the columns were removed and spliced with new wooden elements, while iron bands were added around the joints to reinforce them (Fig. 4). The joints were "inverse barbed nail"²² tenon joints. After insect prevention and antiseptic treatment, the columns were coated three times with wood oil²³ in the traditional manner. Moreover, in order to reduce the capacity of the columns so that they would stand longer, conservationists added iron supports on both sides of the unstable columns. Although such treatment impairs appearance, the restoration team considered it more important to maintain the old materials.

Another example of special treatment for old building elements is the handling of the existing roof tiles dating back to the year 1964. The quality and color of manufactured tiles depends on the ratio of raw material and its firing, so it is

²¹ Personal interview during on-site inspection on 15 September 2010.

²² The tenon joint is described here as the "inverse barbed nail" form. Normally this form is known as "half carving (*keban*)," or "Yin and Yang palm (*yinyang bazhang*)" due to the treatment of the joint. Both parts of the columns to be joined together are cut away half way across their 40 cm diameter, so that the two remaining halves of the columns can be used as tenon and joint, cf. Du Xianzhou 杜仙洲 (1983, 27).

²³ Wood oil is also known as "tung oil" (*tongyou*). It comes from *Aleurites cordata*, the wood-oil tree, which is valued for oil widely used in paint.



Fig. 4 Yisu Society Theater, Xi'an. Timber columns and their iron supports. The rotten bottom ends of the decrepit columns were cut away and joined with the same kind of wood. Iron bands were added around the joints to reinforce them. Steel reinforcements were added on both sides of the columns. Photo by Shaohua Grasmück-Zhang, 21 September 2010

Fig. 5 Yisu Society Theater, Xi'an. The existing roof tiles of the theater building date back to 1964. To replace damaged roof tiles, matching tiles had to be found. Wang Changsheng, the former director of the "Centre of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Relics in Xi'an" (Chin. 西安文物保護修復中心 *Xi'an wenwu baohu xiufu zhongxin*) and supervisor of the conservation work at the Yisu Society Theater, presents roof tiles salvaged from houses in Weinan, Lintong, and other towns. These tiles show traces of the manufacturing process. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 15 September 2010



difficult to produce exactly the same roof tiles as were customary in 1964 using modern techniques. Preserving these old roof tiles was indicative of a sense of history. To find similar tiles as replacements, Wang and the conservation team traveled through Weinan, Lintong, and many other towns to collect suitable tiles from old buildings (Fig. 5).

However, this esteem for material was by no means universal. The existing floors and ceilings as well as the enclosures on the balconies of the theater were completely demolished. Negotiations between local restoration philosophies and conservation ideas with a universal approach are also obvious in the treatment of the architectural style of the theater. The master plan for the restoration emphasized that "the restoration to a unified style is not pursued. Rather, the maintenance of the physical remains of each past historical period should be maintained as much as possible." This argument is, however, at odds with the fact the post-restoration façade is resplendent in brand new red and golden colors. Also, the lattices of the windows and doors in the façade were changed from different patterns to a unified "brocade-in-every-step" form (Chin. 步步錦 *bubu jin*). Even the architraves

between the pendent floral beams (Chin. 垂花柱 *chuihuazhu*) were broadened and modeled on the same *bubujin* pattern.

According to local manuals for architectural restoration, ceilings and partitions are grouped under the category “arrangement and beautification” (Chin. 裝修 *zhuangxiu*). In the Manual of Techniques to the Restoration on Chinese Historic Architectures (Du Xianzhou 1983, 76) *zhuangxiu* refers to subordinate parts of a building, e.g., all kinds of doors, windows, lattice partitions, ceilings, and lacunars. In the Yisu Society Theater case, cultural and non-cultural heritage are strictly distinguished, and the Administration of Cultural Heritage of Shaanxi is only responsible for the restoration of what is considered to be part of the cultural heritage. In fact, the interior fixtures, furnishings, and decorations were neither part of this cultural heritage, nor did they have to comply with the Law of China on Protection of Cultural Relics or China Principles. Instead, an upholstery company was put in charge of interior modifications. In September 2010, the whole interior construction—ceilings, floors, enclosures of the balconies, partitions between the side seats and balconies in the second floor, as well as the decoration above the stage and all the seats—were removed and replaced with wood furnishings and decorations in the so-called Qing style. This gave the interior of the theater an appearance reminiscent of the 1920s teahouse theaters.

Unlike many historians and conservationists, who advocate the conservation of the historical information to be found in old buildings by preserving the original material, local Chinese craftsmen aiming at “architectural restoration” (Chin. 修復 *xiufu*) as a way of reviving and beautifying a building care more about esthetic aspects. As a “compromise,” the conservationists of the Yisu Society Theater restoration and conservation project subjected the structural components they regarded as representative of the architecture to “international treatment” in the full sense of the term. In certain details, however, they replaced the old elements to satisfy the common people’s need to uphold esthetic values.

The Significance of the Site

In sum, the Chinese conservationists working on the Yisu Society Theater on the one hand had the knowledge and understanding deriving from local customs and traditional esthetics. On the other, they had to reconcile these with “international” conservation standards and at the same time respond to economic standards and the claims of local politics. Zhang Hongwu, the director of Xi’an’s marketing department for the Qinqiang Opera Theater Co., Ltd. explained that after restoration the Yisu Society Theater would be a high-class Qinqiang Opera club.²⁴ The company

²⁴ The information about the reuse of the theater is based on: http://cul.china.com.cn/2011-03/30/content_4098127_2.htm.

invested more than 13 million RMB in this work to present the theater as a place “for the political or business communication of the elite people.”

Despite the interventions dedicated to material aspects, Wang Changsheng emphasized the “significance of the site” (Chin. 地點的重要性 *didian de zhongyaoxing*). He contended that the architecture itself was not of any special historic interest, because in 1964 the building was completely restored and all the components were replaced. Aside from relatively new building materials, the place where the theater is located has never changed. In the case of the Yisu Society Theater, importance was attached to the connection between the place and its history. It is the place where modern Qianqiang Opera was first presented to the public; the place where famous performers like Li Yunting 李雲亭 (1872–1921) and Liu Zhensu 劉箴俗 (1901–1924) have graced the stage; the place where the Xi'an Incident was prepared; and the place where many national leaders like Zhou Enlai 周恩來 (1898–1976) and He Long 賀龍 (1896–1969) have watched plays. Accordingly, in comparison with the assigned value of the site, the fabric of the building was a secondary issue.

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Aspects of Architectural Authenticity in Chinese Heritage Theme Parks

Katharina Weiler

Abstract In China, theme parks dedicated to Chinese folk legends, ethnic folk culture, and scenes/buildings from the history of the country are extremely popular. In the framework of Chinese culture, folk, and heritage theme parks, which are thematically located in the past and generate translocal imagination, replicas of landscapes and buildings undergo an authentication process. The national heritage in general, whether original or re-created, poses conservation issues: cultural relics require protection. The text documents significant shifts in meanings of the concept of authenticity and originality as Chinese art history and architecture have been concerned with notions of authenticity, independently of “international” conservation ideologies. Gradually, the term “authenticity” has been introduced, recognized, and accepted in Chinese documents on cultural heritage conservation and management in the second half of the twentieth century. This article investigates the different ways in which architecture is authenticated in Chinese heritage theme parks: three examples illustrate the ascription of authenticity value and the polycentric and multifaceted meanings accorded to the term in the cultures and traditions of Chinese building.

Revisiting China’s Past

The theme park, an “increasingly international phenomenon,” (Young 2002, 1) is by no means a twentieth century invention. Elements of it have developed in Europe, China, and elsewhere over the last 400 years. Nowadays, spaces are “themed” in many Asian countries, from India to Vietnam. Their histories and locations differ widely, but in terms of the builders’ intentions and the way they are laid out, many of these parks seem to exude a “general aura of pastness” (Lowenthal 2002, 17) while at the same time remaining superbly “indifferent to linear

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chronology” (Lowenthal 2002, 16), lumping together whole epochs with a blithe disregard for historical contexts. As David Lowenthal noted in 2002, they qualify as “a realm of faith, not of fact” (Lowenthal 2002, 16).

In the early 1990s, an inventory of theme parks in China listed a total of 95 major parks, with 40 of them devoted to Chinese folk legends, 34 to ethnic folk culture, and eight to historical reconstructions. Some 2000 theme parks opened between 1995 and 1999. Though many of them had closed down again by the end of the decade (Oakes 2006, 179), theme parks are still a highly productive subject in present-day China. So far, they have mainly been studied from anthropological perspectives.

Nick Stanley, whose research focuses on visual display and representation both in museums and at popular entertainment sites, sees the layout of Chinese and Taiwanese theme parks as an expression of nationalist politics. In their own way, all his examples, much as they may differ in approach, offer visitors “a theatrical experience that seeks to suggest realism through performances of a variety of indigenous peoples in an elaborately constructed setting of both landscape and architecture” (Stanley 2002, 269).

There may be different motivations for the creation of cultural heritage replicas, e.g., the miniaturized evocation of landscapes, architecture, or customs. The microcosm represented by Chinese heritage theme parks invites the investigation of diverse aspects of authenticity. Cultural geographer and China expert Tim Oakes works on issues related to regional cultural development, culture industries, tourism, the national heritage, and regional and place-based identities. In his study “The Village as a Theme Park. Mimesis and Authenticity in Chinese Tourism” (Oakes 2006), he examines aspects of authenticity in Chinese theme parks with special reference to the social acts of (self-)display evidenced by “ethnic” villages and their inhabitants in order to attract tourists and the trans-locality of tourist villages that often “replicate (or *hope* to replicate) across space the urban theme park model of what is often regarded in China as advanced or modern tourism” (Oakes 2006, 167, *italics in the original*). Oakes avoids “evaluating village theme parks in terms of an unreflexive loss of authenticity,” viewing the theme park model rather as an “*authentic replica* [*italics in the original*], in which the yardstick of authenticity is consciously wielded to both mark the originality of tradition and the replicability of modernity” (Oakes 2006, 169). In China, cherishing inherited traditions appears to be a quest for, and a confirmation of, the forms, materials, origins, purposes, and creative minds associated with them.

Chinese culture, folk, or heritage theme parks (heritage museums (Chin. 遺址公園 *yizhi gongyuan*) with educative intentions and theme parks (Chin. 主題公園 *zhuti gongyuan*) with an entertainment factor) are thematically located in the past and generate translocal images. Here, the replica factor of an object or theme is not devalued as “not being the original.” In her essay “Authenticity and Otherness. The New Japanese Theme Park,” Sarah Chaplin even goes so far as to compare the Japanese earnestness in designing cultural theme parks with the “thoroughly authentic practice” of ritually rebuilding the Shinto shrine in Ise at 20-year intervals (Chaplin 1998, 77). In China too, the fidelity and skill lavished on the ritualized

re-creation of some buildings occasionally seems to be the main concern rather than the actual antiquity of a structure.

Indeed, the replica factor in general seems to be less important than the conservation of an idea or an (imagined) past by bringing it into the present and taking it on into the future. Paradoxically, this latter aspect may even seem to be the ultimate concern in a country like China with its “monumental absence of the past” (Ryckmans 2008). In this context, the renowned Sinologist, writer, and literary critic Pierre Ryckmans detects “parallel phenomena of spiritual preservation and material destruction” (Ryckmans 2008) in the long history of Chinese culture. In China, the past is ubiquitous through the “cultivation of the moral and spiritual values of the Ancients” in the form, say, of a written language that has remained practically unchanged over the last 2000 years, or in Tang poems that are continuously learned from one generation to the next. Yet there appears to be “a curious neglect or indifference (even at times downright iconoclasm) towards the material heritage of the past.” Ryckmans suggests that the striking absence of original historical buildings in Chinese cities allows for a past that is spiritually active, seeming to “inhabit the people rather than the bricks and stones.” This hypothesis is of cardinal importance to the consideration of practical conservation in modern China.

Dwellings are a focal point of many cultural theme parks claiming to be “anthropological museums,” because a house performs the function of an “accessible ‘object’ by which one can communicate with the ‘past’” (Wang 1999, 1). What these museums are trying to do is to “rescue the architectural heritage of the ethnic nationalities in China.”

Dealing with Semantics: The Problem of Authenticity in Chinese Art and Architecture

The emergence of Chinese heritage conservation philosophies (in the modern sense of the term) began in the first half of the twentieth century. It stands as an instance of the transcultural entanglement between conservation strategies and conversation practice(s). The Society for Research on Chinese Architecture (Chin. 中國營造學社 *Zhongguo Yingzao Xueshe*) was founded in 1930 by Zhu Qiqian 朱啓鈞 (1872–1964), a former official of the Qing government and of the government of the Republic of China (1912–1949). After he had resigned from office in 1916, he devoted his energies to research on the historical architectures of China. He asked Liang Sicheng 梁思成 and Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨, both of whom were living abroad (in the United States and Japan, respectively) to join the society. Liang and Liu became the society’s main researchers and initially propagated the preservation of historical architecture and craftsmanship. The articles published by the society are among the first written encounters between Western conservation and restoration

principles and the classical Chinese understanding of architectural maintenance (Zhu 2009, 22).

Decades after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China started to develop conservation theories and guidelines in accordance with national conditions. In 1982, the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics was adopted by the national government. In 1985, China joined The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO in 1972. The Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China ("China Principles") adopted in 2000 and first issued by China ICOMOS in 2002 and approved by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) are based on the Law of the People's Republic but also draw upon the Venice Charter (1964).

The term "authenticity" has thus been gradually introduced, recognized, and accepted in Chinese documents on cultural heritage conservation and management. However, the Chinese history of art and architecture has been concerned with notions of authenticity that are independent of "international" conservation ideologies. Problems occur, for example, in connection with the translation of the English term into Chinese, the identification of the initial meaning of the notion when translating a Chinese expression into English, and the detection and assignment of authenticity with its polycentric and multifaceted meanings in the framework of China's cultures and traditions.

On the subject of authenticity, James Cahill, a historian of Chinese art, suggests distinguishing between two categories of art in ancient China (Cahill 2001, 18ff.). In his view, painting and calligraphy correspond roughly to a Western notion of the fine arts, where "the hand of the maker and his original style are absolutely central to appreciating them." By contrast, "the identity of 'the original hand of the artist' plays no part in evaluations of architecture, sculpture, bronzes, ceramics, and other works" that would qualify in our culture very largely as applied arts.

Cahill also differentiates between two separable but related factors inherent in the term "authenticity." "An object can be authentic by being genuinely what it is presented as being (for instance, the work of a certain master or from a certain period), or else by being the product of authentic or genuine impulses (the maker is not trying to fool us or make his creation seem what it is not)" (Cahill 2001, 20).

Attending only to the class of objects that basically derive their value from "being genuine products of the hands of particular people," Cahill assigns the following classical Chinese expressions to the word "authenticity:"

The word *zhen* [Chin. 真], with a basic meaning of "real," can be used for "authentic" in the compound *zhenji* [Chin. 真跡], or "authentic traces" of some artist's hand—that is, a genuine work of painting or calligraphy. It can also be used in the compound *zhenren* [Chin. 真人], meaning "authentic person" or "realized person" in the Daoist sense. The link between these, in art theory, is the idea of self-expression through the traces of one's hand, which were read as the imprints of one's mind, comparable to verbal expressions in poetry. Traces reliably from the hands of a certain moral stature and spiritual attainment, then were authentic in both senses. One was to "see the man himself" in the painting" (Cahill 2001, 20).

Given all this, the author establishes that Chinese emphasis on the execution of an artwork has some validity in judgments of authenticity in connection with painting and calligraphy. In addition, he proposes extending the “toolbox” when working on problems of authenticity by paying more attention to the social functions and esthetic qualities of art objects, and by reading them for the way in which they were designed to perform those functions (Cahill 2001, 22). In this respect, Cahill considers it easier to distinguish between an original and a copy or forgery respectively.

In his comments on Cahill’s essay, Jerome Silbergeld lists some examples of the many shades of meanings detectible in the designations for “copying” to be found in classical Chinese:

as *mo* [Chin. 摹], an exact copy; as *lin* [Chin. 臨], a freehand copy or close approximation; as *fang* [Chin. 仿], inspired creativity freely done in the manner of someone else; as *zao* [Chin. 造], an outright original; or as a *daibi* [Chin. 代筆], literally a “substitute brush,” following the dictates of, and standing in for, a fellow artist [...] (Silbergeld 2001, 31).

True, these considerations refer solely to painting and calligraphy. They exclude architecture, architectural maintenance, and preservation. James Cahill may be right to assume that in practice an historical building in China does not need the identity of the original builder to make it “authentic.” And it is extremely rare in traditional architectural maintenance for a distinction to be made between original building elements and their copies.

On the other hand, the negotiations between “international” and Chinese conservation experts in the second half of the twentieth century prompted scholars working in the field of architectural conservation and the cultural heritage to veer towards the international agenda when drawing up the more recent national guidelines for China. These experts were in need of a coherent set of guidelines for heritage conservation practice and management, and in this connection an equivalent for the term “authenticity” had to be found. Accordingly, the term *yuanzhenxing* 原真性 was introduced as the Chinese translation of authenticity, the juxtaposition of the single characters being a neologism. Composed of *yuan* 原 (“original”), *zhen* 真 (“real” and “trustworthy”) and *xing* 性 (“character” or “quality”), the term *yuanzhenxing* 原真性 emphasizes the importance of “originality” as the key factor in the Chinese interpretation of authenticity.

But in examining “international” conservation guidelines an awareness grew among some conservationists that *yuanzhenxing* 原真性, which in many cases refers to historical architecture, was not the appropriate term because most of the structures contained little or no original material. A term needed to be found that made a distinction between a building’s “original” character (substance and form) and the progressive nature of its building history. The China Principles may have played a key role in coming up with the expression *zhenshi(xing)* 真實(性).

The editors of the English translation of the China Principles remark in their foreword that “the approach to preservation of heritage is consistent with present-day international practice while reflecting both the legal requirements of the nation and the characteristic needs of China’s cultural heritage.” Though the Chinese

expression *zhenshi(xing)* 真實(性) is translated as “authenticity,” while the literal meaning is made up of “true” plus “fact/real” (plus “character/essence”) (China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute 2004, 51) and neglects the “original.” Article 2 of chapter one of the “General Principles,” for example, reads as follows: “Conservation refers to all measures carried out to preserve the physical remains of sites and their historic settings. The aim of conservation is to preserve the authenticity of all the elements of the entire heritage site and to retain for the future its historic information and all its values” while the historic condition must not be altered.¹ Article 21 states that “Technical interventions should not compromise subsequent treatment of the original fabric. The results of intervention should be unobtrusive when compared to the original fabric or to previous treatments, but still distinguishable.”

This principle underlies what Tim Oakes detects in a slightly different context for the Chinese theme park model as “an unproblematic association of authenticity with ‘the original.’” (Oakes 2006, 170). “Such an assumption marks the replica as a ‘fake’, the opposite of the authentic or ‘real’,” he states. Following Oakes’ logic, such an assumption marks the reconstruction or replica of a building or site as a “commercial fake” and “meaningless imitation” in the context of Chinese heritage theme parks or anthropological museums. However, by assuming that authenticity is indissolubly bound up with an original, one eschews the option that replication may itself be considered as authentic, the possibility of an “authentic replica” (Chin. 真實再現 *zhenshi zaixian*) (Oakes 2006, 170).

In most cases, in fact, contemporary conservation activities in China, whether on a special heritage site or in the context of a heritage theme park, do not strictly adhere to the scholarly distinction between original and copy as their guiding principle. As James Cahill puts it: “There is, that is, some gap between what is articulated and what is practiced” (Cahill 2001, 21). Therefore we shall now shift our attention from the mere question of semantics to different instances of authenticating architecture in Chinese heritage theme parks. The following examples tell us that the architectural heritage is a creation, and it becomes evident that authenticity is not a value inherent in a building but is rather itself a creation, thus figuring as an assigned value nurtured by local concerns.

¹ In Article 7 the word is exceptionally translated as “verifiable” instead of “authentic:” “Verifiable records should be maintained and preserved. These comprise all forms of historic and contemporary documentation, including detailed records for each step of the conservation process.”



Fig. 1 Beijing, China. The ticket for the China Nationalities Museum presents China's 56 "ethnic minorities" displayed in replicas of their landscapes and dwellings. *Source:* China Nationalities Museum, Beijing

Ways of Preserving the Past in the China Nationalities Museum, Beijing (Chin. 中华民族博物馆 *Zhonghua Minzu Bowuguan*)

Beijing's China Nationalities Museum² (Fig. 1), an "anthropological museum" with a clearly educational bent, seeks to preserve elements of Chinese cultural tradition against the "advent of information age and modernization" (Wang 1999, 1). Copies of historical relics and replicas of typical dwellings and the sites of China's 56 "ethnic minorities" have been collected and restored, and they are displayed on a total area of 50 ha complete with descriptive notes. Every "ethnic landscape" in the China Nationalities Museum forms a separate unit.

The construction of the site was directly supervised and supported by the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Beijing Government. The museum was initially founded as the China Ethnic Culture Park. Construction work started in October 1992 and the park opened on 18 June 1994. The museological approach was to copy important sites in areas claimed by China, such as parts of the Jokhang temple of Lhasa, Tibet, the temple square, the octagonal Bajiao street surrounding the temple, the "Altar Temple" (Fig. 2), and the pilgrimage road flanked by Kangba-style houses leading to the temple. According to the descriptive notes, at least some of the sites within the Lhasa museum compound, for example Bajiao street and the "Altar Temple," were built by Tibetan craftsmen on their original scale with special building materials

² In a first phase, the museological concept of the park was to exhibit important sites such as the Lhasa temple. The park was later extended and today displays additional dwelling houses.



Fig. 2 China Nationalities Museum, Beijing. The replica of the “Altar Temple” is located in front of the Jokhang temple replica within the museum. The building houses the Buddha. The site was built on its original scale by Tibetan craftsmen, with special building materials being transported to Beijing from Lhasa. In April 1994 a senior monk from Tibet blessed the place in a ritual. Today, Tibetan monks and nuns still authenticate the site with their presence. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 8 September 2010

transported to Beijing from Lhasa. According to the museum catalogue, the murals inside the temple were painted by so-called Living Buddhas (Chin. 活佛 *huofo*), a term used here to refer to recognized incarnations of previous religious masters, also known as “Tulku” (Tib. *sprul sku*).³ In April 1994, a senior Buddhist monk from Tibet blessed the place in a ritual.

Various shrines in China have been rebuilt, reconstructed, replicated, and even relocated without vitiating the spiritual power invested in both places and buildings. It appears that spiritual power is not limited to a building’s original fabric, nor is it even to a building site. In fact, relocation or replication of religious structures requires them to be reconsecrated. In the case of the “Altar Temple,” the consecration of the replica authenticates the site. At the same time, the act communicates the site’s ritual validation, inevitably, perhaps, in a Chinese open-air museum such as the China Nationalities Museum, whose claim to preserve and showcase the cultural expression of the nation’s ethnic minorities can be decoded as an expression of the politics of nationalism.

³ *Catalogue of the China Nationalities Museum Beijing Architecture* (Beijing 1999), 3.

In the late 1990s the park was extended. It was reopened in September 2001 and renamed the China Nationalities Museum. Today it also exhibits additional dwellings. The museum is characteristic of the re-creation of vernacular building forms with characteristic building materials located in specific, yet artificial, landscapes. In addition, members of diverse ethnic groups are employed to “live” in their respective environments in order to demonstrate to visitors their specific cultural features. “Without doubt,” states Wang Ping 王平, director of the museum and vice-president of the Chinese Society of Ethnography in the museum’s 1999 catalogue, “these valuable cultural relics need preservation and inheritance. With the advent of information age and modernization, the traditional culture and natural look of the originally isolated areas are undergoing tremendous changes or rapid extinction that calls for pressing actions to preserve and study the ethnic historical culture.” In this respect, a visit to the museum is designed to function as “a recall of the past living stages of [...] humanity, a recall of different social life and historical cultures.”

The Salar Museum within the China Nationalities Museum is built round a courtyard and comprises a characteristic hedge building (Fig. 3) and the minaret of a mosque. It contains two of the very few architectural exhibits at the China Nationalities Museum that claim to be originals. The exhibits at the Salar Museum have been translocated (Chin. 拆遷 *chaiqian*) from their original sites in the Xunhua Salar Autonomous County of Qinghai. The original components (Chin. 原舊 *yuan jiu*) were re-erected in accordance with the original form of the buildings (Chin. 原狀 *yuan zhuang*) in 2003. Both structures date back to the late Ming



Fig. 3 China Nationalities Museum, Beijing. The Salar Museum encloses a courtyard and comprises a characteristic hedge building that claims to be an original translocated from Mengda Village in the Xunhua Salar Autonomous County of Qinghai and assembled in Beijing in 2003. The L-shaped, two-story earth and wood structure with its flat roof dates back to the late Ming Dynasty. The house’s hedge walls are made of reed wicker and plastered with yellow mud on the inside. Today, the original frame and main room remain, whereas the east wing was partially damaged and has therefore been restored. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 8 September 2010

Dynasty (1368–1644). The residential building was originally located in Mengda 孟達 village. It is an L-shaped, two-story earth and wood structure with a flat roof. The house's hedge walls are made of reed wicker plastered with yellow mud on the inside. After translocation, the original frame and main room remain, whereas the east wing had been partially damaged and was therefore restored. The three-story minaret was originally found in Baizhuang 白莊 village, where it was allegedly built in the sixteenth century. The brick and wood structure takes up the form of a temple tower and is accessible from west and east.

Another example of a building translocated from its original site is to be found in the China Nationalities Museum's Tu Museum. A water-powered grain mill (Fig. 4) from Gelong 格隆 village in the Huzhu 互助 Tu Autonomous County of Qinghai 青海 Province, built in the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 CE) and probably dating back



Fig. 4 China Nationalities Museum, Beijing. A water-powered grain mill from Longge village in the Huzhu Tu Autonomous County of Qinghai Province, probably dating back to the second half of the nineteenth century, has been moved to the Tu Museum. It is situated on the banks of an artificial creek. The water mill is built of stone and wood and its outer walls are plastered with mud. Wire netting, a “modern” material, has however been used to make the mud walls more durable. Part of the building hovers 2.6 m above the creek, supported by stilts masoned with ashlar. The grinding mechanism is regarded as “an intangible heritage,” while the mill as a whole is accorded the status of a “first-grade cultural relic of the museum” (Chin. 一級文物 *Yiji wenwu*). Photo by Katharina Weiler, 8 September 2010

to the second half of the nineteenth century, has been moved to Beijing's China Nationalities Museum where it is situated on the banks of an artificial creek. The water mill is built of stone and wood, and its outer walls are plastered with mud. Wire netting, a "modern" material, has however been used to make the mud walls more durable. Part of the building hovers 2.6 m above the creek, supported by stilts masoned with ashlar.

The mill is referred to as a rare reminder of agricultural production on the upper reaches of the Yellow River and of the hydrotechnology developed by the Tu people for farming purposes. It belongs to the category of China's first-grade cultural relics. The grinding mechanism is regarded as an "intangible cultural heritage (Chin. 非物質文化遺產 *feiwuzhi wenhua yichan*)," while the mill as a whole is accorded the status of a "first-grade cultural relic of the museum (Chin. 一級文物 *yiji wenwu*)."

According to the descriptive notes, most of the architectural exhibits in the China Nationalities Museum are "exact replicas (Chin. 復原 *1:1 fuyuan*)" of village houses. Special emphasis is given to the fact that certain building materials have been produced locally, and in some cases craftsmen from the actual specific ethnic localities came to Beijing to build the houses. The building materials, for example "Banma grass from Tibet, stone slabs for Bouyei architecture, China fir for Miao architecture and wooden tiles for Yi architecture"⁴ are ascribed distinctive "ethnic features."

Another example is the Uyghur Museum, started in 1999 and first opened to the public in September 2001. It boasts replicas of several structures from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, including residential buildings, the Sugong 蘇公 Tower (also known as the Emin Minaret), or a mosque (Fig. 5) from the city of Kashi in south Xinjiang. These buildings are all built of bricks with a smoothed surface (Chin. 磨磚 *mozhuan*) (Fig. 6), produced locally, and transported to Beijing, where the building work was carried out by Uyghur craftsmen. The architecture displays a variety of carved brick forms that give the façades their decorative patterns.

"So, in our restoration of ethnic architecture we are extremely careful about the authenticity of the materials used [(Chin. 建築原材料的真實性 *jianzhu yuancailiao de zhenshixing*)]," claims Wang Ping 王平 and adds that for this reason alone "original artisans are essential for the job." Wang Ping 王平 states that a building will be devoid of any genuine spirit (Chin. 神 *shen*) if it is not built by original, traditional artisans (Chin. 原傳統工匠 *yuan chuantong gongjiang*).

Adequate building material for construction and local craftsmanship are the two major factors underlining the originality of a building and creating its authenticity. As Wang Ping 王平 says, "The restoration of the architecture has been carried out with the materials and art from the original places, so it is the true and authentic replica," while "restoration" is understood here in the truest sense of the word: the

⁴ Ibid.



Fig. 5 China Nationalities Museum, Beijing. The Uyghur Museum has replicas of several structures from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. In terms of their material authenticity, the structures are built of bricks with smoothed surfaces, all of them produced locally and transported to Beijing, where the building work was carried out by Uyghur craftsmen. The architectural exhibits include a mosque from the city of Kashi in south Xinjiang and display a variety of carved brick forms that give the façades their decorative patterns. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 8 September 2010

creation of copies or the re-creation of originals based on ancient or specifically local models.

In the China Nationalities Museum, the visitor experiences “the past as a theme park” (Lowenthal) in which the notion of China as a nation rooted in a united multiplicity of ethnic minorities is evoked. This past is (re)created and preserved in the present and kept alive for future generations, while putting special emphasis on the design of specific environments that allegedly shaped cultural, building, and communal behavior prior to modernization. Moreover, the architecture of China’s ethnic minorities in all its forms collected and therefore preserved in the museum are significant repositories of the past to the extent that they embody certain building traditions and characteristic materials that authenticate the buildings. The authentication of a replica—copying the dwelling style of an ethnic minority



Fig. 6 China Nationalities Museum, Beijing. Detail of the replica of the brick mosque from the city of Kashi, with a copy of the Sugong Tower (Emin Minaret) in the background. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 8 September 2010

and reconstructing it in the museum with the help of the respective local craftsmen familiar with traditional building techniques and building material—was a guiding philosophy of the theme park and testifies to a degree of fidelity to original techniques, form, and substance. With respect to architectural conservation, questions about the “identity of ‘the original hand of the artist’” as defined by James Cahill and about originality in general become controversial and may have to be reconsidered in a context where “original artisans” create “authentic replicas.”

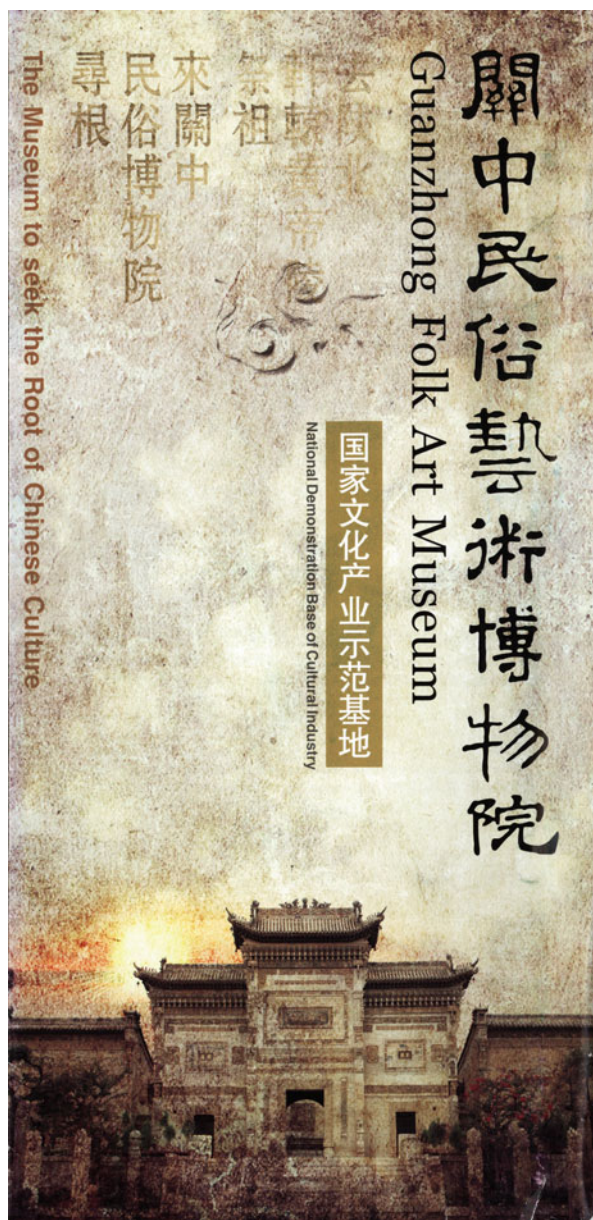
Aspects of Authentication in the Translocation of Folk Houses to the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum (Chin. 關中民俗博物館 *Guanzhong Minsu Bowuguan*) in the Shaanxi Province

The Guanzhong Folk Art Museum, located at the foot of Nanwutai 南五台 mountain in the district of Chang'an 長安, Xi'an in Shaanxi province is a privately funded museum (Fig. 7) dedicated to “the rescue, restoration, collection, research and interpretation of folk cultural heritage.”⁵ Wang Yongchao 王永超, collector

⁵ Flyer of the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum.

Fig. 7 Guanzhong Folk Art Museum, Xi'an. The museum flyer shows the entrance to the museum, a place to “seek the Root of Chinese Culture.”

According to the flyer, the museum site is located in “one of the birthplaces of Chinese nation and one of the cradles of Chinese folk culture.” The sun sets behind the museum gate on the graphic backdrop to reinforce the notion that the translocated folk houses assembled inside the open-air museum together with their re-created environment are anchored in a specific area. *Source*: Guanzhong Folk Art Museum, Xi'an



and director of the museum, has devoted his life to collecting ancient artifacts and exhibiting them in his museum, which opened in December 2008. Visitors are invited to “trace the history, experience the folk customs and enjoy the charm and

everlasting splendor of the 5000 year old Chinese culture”⁶. Accordingly, over 8600 ancient Chinese hitching posts and hundreds of tombstones make up a prominent part of his collection of 33,600 artifacts from the Zhou (1046 BCE–256 BCE), Qin (221 BCE–207 BCE), Han (202 BCE–220 CE), and Tang (618 CE–907 CE) dynasties. They are stored and exhibited in around forty relocated Ming and Qing houses (dating back to the late Ming dynasty, 1368–1644 CE and the Qing dynasty, 1644–1911 CE) that enclose the corresponding courtyards and are the focus of the museum.

According to Wang Yongchao 王永超, these houses were bought from eight communes in Shaanxi province and thus “salvaged” from demolition, because even though they are officially unprotected he considers them to be part of the cultural heritage. Ming and Qing houses form a threatened building group in the Xi’an area, most of them having already been lost due to increasing urban development and expansion.

As a private collector of unprotected heritage material, Wang Yongchao 王永超 was initially frequently accused of suspicious and illegal behavior when he started “collecting” (i.e., translocating) houses in the late 1980s. The structures collected and preserved by Wang did not enjoy the protection and conservation lavished on official heritage sites and state-owned immovable cultural relics, so they would otherwise have been lost. But until today, each dismantling has required official administrative approval. Translocation is a major part of the work done by the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum, not only in connection with the houses but also with all the other artifacts in Wang’s collection.

In fact, the following guidelines for the relocation of “immovable cultural heritage” are proposed in Article 18 of the China Principles issued by China ICOMOS: “Conservation must be undertaken in situ. Only in the face of uncontrollable natural threats or when a major development project of national importance is undertaken and relocation [(Chin. 遷移 *qianyi*)] is the sole means of saving elements of a site may they be moved in their historic condition. Relocation may only be undertaken after approval in compliance with the law.” In the China Principles, the English term “relocation” is the translation for either *yidi baohu* 異地保護 (literal meaning “another” plus “place” plus “conservation”) or *qianyi baohu* 遷移保護 (literal meaning “move” plus “place” plus “conservation”). In Article 32, “relocation” (*qianyi* 遷移) is mentioned in connection with “major restoration” because it is considered to involve “the same degree of complexity, including disassembly of the structure” (China ICOMOS and The Getty Conservation Institute 2004, 105). In the context of elements of archeological sites, ruins, and tombs that cannot be conserved in situ and may thus be removed, *yidi baohu* 異地保護 is translated in Article 35 as “conserved at another location.”

Independently of the notions *yidi baohu* 異地保護 or *qianyi baohu* 遷移保護, Wang Yongchao 王永超 describes his practice of translocating constructed folk art objects as *chaiqian* 拆遷. In the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum the buildings are

⁶ Ibid.



Fig. 8 Guanzhong Folk Art Museum, Xi'an. Around forty relocated Ming- and Qing-style houses enclose the corresponding courtyards and are focus of the museum. The buildings are reassembled to form a street, while the terracing strategy for the exhibiting of heritage buildings suggests an unbroken, if not linear, continuity of cultural history. The structures thus collected and preserved did not enjoy the protection and conservation of official heritage sites and state-owned immovable cultural relics. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 19 September 2010

reassembled to form a street (Fig. 8), while the terracing strategy for the exhibiting of heritage buildings suggests an unbroken, if not linear, continuity of cultural history. With respect to the integrity of the heritage buildings in the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum, the houses are situated in so-called Ming- and Qing-style gardens and courtyards. In many ways, however, Wang and his team of over a dozen skilled workers are not bound to any conservation principles upholding the integrity of some “protected” building. Proposed restoration guidelines of this kind have no impact on Wang’s preservation practice.

The China Principles, for instance, stress that “All conservation measures must observe the principle of not altering the historic condition” (Article 2) and “intervention should be minimal” (Article 19). The principles also specify that “Technical interventions should not compromise subsequent treatment of the original fabric. The results of interventions should be unobtrusive when compared to the original fabric or to previous treatments, but still should be distinguishable. Detailed archival records of all restoration should be kept and there should be permanent signage indicating the date of intervention” (Article 21). “Original fabric” is the translation of *yuanyou shiwu* 原有實物 with its literal meaning “original” plus “have” plus “physical” plus “substance/property” in the Chinese version of the Chinese Principles.

The Beijing Document on the Conservation and Restoration of Historic Buildings in East Asia, adopted by the International Symposium on the Concepts and Practices of Conservation and Restoration of Historic Buildings in East Asia, Beijing, 24–28 May 2007, also proposes that a “precise programme of recording and documentation should be part of any restoration project in the form of analytical and critical reports, illustrated with drawings, photographs, mapping, etc. Every stage of the restoration work, materials and methodology used should be recorded.”

But independently of such principles, Wang Yongchao 王永超 and his team seem to have developed their own logic for the dismantling and construction of these historic houses. It is one that does not strictly conform to the species of restoration practice lavished on state-owned, “protected” cultural heritage items, where all existing physical materials (including components, fixtures, contents, and objects) are returned to a known earlier state by “reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material” (Australia ICOMOS 2000). In contrast to all these guidelines for the conservation of heritage sites in China, Wang initially conducted no building surveys or documentations before the houses were dismantled and relocated. Today, however, they are allegedly first documented with the help of architectural surveys, photographs, and video films, and then removed.

In Article 23 of the China Principles, the integrity aspect is matched with two other aspects quickly gaining general relevance for architectural conservation: esthetic value (Chin. 審美價值 *shenmei jiazhi*) and historical authenticity (Chin. 歷史真實性 *lishi zhenshixing*): “Appropriate aesthetic criteria should be observed. The aesthetic value of a site derives from its historic authenticity. Alterations to the historic condition may not be made for cosmetic purposes or to attain completeness.” The Chinese term *yuanzhuang* 原狀 is translated here as “historic condition,” while in the China Principles’ English–Chinese glossary its literal meaning is glossed as “original/previous” plus “condition.” The editors of the translation comment that

‘Historic condition’ (commonly translated as ‘original state’ or ‘original condition’) is a term used in the 1982 *Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics* (1982; revised 2002) and has been central to discussions on heritage sites. In the *China Principles*, it is understood to refer to the condition of a site through historical time—that is, the site’s fabric and components assessed as having value at the time it was formally inscribed as a protected entity, hence translated as ‘historic condition’ (China ICOMOS 2004, 102, italics in the original).

The Guanzhong Folk Art Museum flies in the face of both these criteria that define the esthetic value of the relocated folk houses and prevalent notions of historic authenticity. In Wang Yongchao’s 王永超 eyes, stone, wood, and brick carvings are the most characteristic and esthetic elements of Ming and Qing folk houses. Accordingly, efforts are made to preserve all these building elements in order to integrate these parts of the original fabric into the relocated structures. Features considered less prestigious, including other parts of the original fabric, may be changed during any of the relocations.



Fig. 9 Guanzhong Folk Art Museum, Xi'an. The “original appearance” (Chin. 原貌 *yuanmao*) and “original biological environment” (Chin. 原生態 *yuansheng-tai*) of a house are preserved. The translocation not only of architectures but also of courtyards with their respective trees from an original setting to the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum authenticates the relocated environment. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 19 September 2010

Wang Yongchao 王永超 accordingly formulates his own authenticity criteria for the buildings under his “protection.” To him, the “original appearance” (Chin. 原貌 *yuanmao*) and “original biological environment” (Chin. 原生態 *yuansheng-tai*) of a house are the aspects he sets out to preserve.⁷ In his logic, “original appearance” implies that characteristic building elements and forms of individual houses should be reassembled in accordance with their original appearance to the extent that a recognition factor should be inherent in the relocated houses.

Originally, each house was located in an individual setting, be it a garden or courtyard. The translocation not only of architectures but also of courtyards (Fig. 9) with their respective trees from an original setting to the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum authenticates the relocated environment. As it happens, this emphasis on a site's environment concurs with the Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas adopted by the 15th Assembly of ICOMOS on 21 October 2005, which notes that “The setting of a heritage structure, site or area is defined as the immediate and extended environment that is part of, or contributes to, its significance and distinctive character.”

⁷ Personal interview with Wang Yongchao 王永超, 19 September 2010 in Xi'an.

“Can buildings in their new locations ever retain any of the nuances of time and place, which were embedded in situ [*italics in the original*], or do such buildings become elements in the ever greater ‘placelessness’ that many argue is so much part of the post-modern condition [. . .]?” asks Stephen F. Mills in his study on “Moving Buildings and Changing History” (Mills 2007, 109), suggesting that discussions about relocation are too important to be taken for granted.

Indeed, the translocation approach does challenge active conservation of any kind, including aspects of authenticity. The general lack of conservation plans and scientific documentation at the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum testifies to the transformation and reconfiguration of those strategies of conservation that are informed both by local and “international” principles. In the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum the integrity and the notion of authenticity are primarily given substance by the relationship of a house to its original setting. Certain material features, for example original stone, wood, and brick carvings, are regarded as the most characteristic elements of Ming and Qing folk houses and make a contribution to their “original appearance.” This appearance is directly bound up with the houses’ “original biological environment” and all translocations to the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum that aim to ensure the “preservation” of historic Ming and Qing houses are undertaken on these principles. The fact that these relocated houses are fragmented by demolition, transportation, rebuilding, and amalgamation with other buildings in a new setting does not comply with relevant conservation principles, but in the eyes of the museum curator this does not necessarily devalue it as a matter of principle. The translocated buildings together with their re-created environment are heritage creations that help to locate and anchor the Guanzhong museum site in “one of the birthplaces of Chinese nation and one of the cradles of Chinese folk culture.”⁸ In this sense, the folk houses assembled in the open-air museum, together with the collection of artifacts or preserved intangible cultural heritage items, such as folk songs or puppet shadow theatre performances inside the buildings, are used to express a sense of belonging and at the same time to distinguish the folk customs of this specific area from those with different customs and vernacular architecture.

Qujiang Cold Cave Heritage Park (Chin. 寒窯遺址公園 *Hanyao Yizhi Gongyuan*) in Xi'an

Cold Cave Heritage Park (Chin. 寒窯遺址公園 *Hanyao Yizhi Gongyuan*), located in the southeastern part of Xi'an Qujiang New Area, is China's first theme park entirely devoted to love (Lu 2007). The site and park are based on the legendary love story of Wang Baochuan 王寶釧 and Xue Pinggui 薛平貴. Legend has it that at some time in the later Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE) the then chancellor had three daughters. Wang Baochuan 王寶釧, a smart and pretty girl, was the third daughter.

⁸ Flyer of the Guanzhong Folk Art Museum.

Flying in the face of social custom, she insisted on marrying a beggar, Xue Pinggui 薛平貴, rather than the son of a nobleman. This caused a rupture with her family, and she is said to have moved with her husband to a cave dwelling (Chin. 寒窯 *hanyao*) south of Chang'an in the Wudianpo 五典坡 village of the Dayuan 大苑 commune. Only poor people such as Xue Pinggui lived in caves, and this kind of dwelling was far from fitting for someone of Wang Baochuan's social status. Shortly after their marriage, Xue Pinggui went off to the army, while Wang Baochuan lived in the cave for 18 years, waiting for her husband's return and enduring all kinds of hardship.

Since the Ming era (1368–1644 CE) this romance has been performed in more than 20 different stage versions. In the later Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 CE) the subject had become so popular that a real site was needed where this popular folk story could be localized. It was thus that the first Cold Cave site came into being. It was located in Wudianpo village, some 2.5 km away from the former Qujiang 曲江 Lake. Until the first half of the twentieth century, newspaper articles are said to have reported regularly on this site.

One day, a high-ranking general of the Republic,⁹ Zhang Fenghui 張鳳翽, went to visit the site in Wudianpo. His verdict was that it was too far away from Xi'an city and that there were too many obstacles in the way of people wanting to go there. This prompted him to look out for a new place for the "relocation" of the Cold Cave site. Zhang Fenghui 張鳳翽 chose a site in Qujiang 曲江 Honggou 鴻溝 that was easier for him to reach and where a family shrine had already been dedicated to the legendary Wang Baochuan.

From then on, two Cold Caves existed, the original Wudianpo cave and the new Qujiang Honggou cave. But not many people visited the Wudianpo cave, and it fell into oblivion. In the 1960s, the cave collapsed and the legendary site ceased to exist. Today, the site of the legend is still located in Qujiang Honggou cave. The Qujiang Cold Cave was restored in 1934. In June 1984, the local government funded a second restoration of the cave, which by then had become a much-frequented site. As a place representing the setting of a legend, it combined both intangible and tangible elements of Chinese cultural heritage, and the potential of the Qujiang Cold Cave was finally discovered by the Qujiang Cultural Industry Investment (Group) Co., Ltd (西安曲江文化產業投資有限公司 *Xi'an qujiang wenhua chanye touzi youxiangongsi*), which integrated the cave into the design of the Cold Cave Heritage Park (Fig. 10) newly opened on 1 May 2010 and costing around 335 million RMB.

Nowadays, cave dwellings, once a characteristic dwelling form in China's "Loess Plateau" and peculiar to natural loess formations, are seldom found in Xi'an. The Cold Cave Heritage Park is part of the newly developed Qujiang District in the southern suburb of Xi'an. Against the background of the love story, Cold Cave Heritage Park is a theme park on the subject of love integrating the Cold Cave site into a leisure and entertainment park. It is also a place where weddings are

⁹ Republic 1911–1949.



Fig. 10 Qujiang Cold Cave Heritage Park, Xi'an. The map of the park shows the loop road alongside the places of interest, for example the Pure Jade Archway (Chin. 玉潔樓 *Yujie Lou*) close to the road and the caves, including the Cold Cave (Chin. 寒窯 *Hanyao*) that gives the park its name. *Source:* Qujiang Cold Cave Heritage Park

celebrated, “a happiness industry base integrating heritage conservation, tourist development and cultural industry cultivation” (ICOMOS International Conservation Centre). Inside the park, the love story is presented to the visitor, extolling virtues such as humility and fidelity. Altogether, Cold Cave Heritage Park covers an area of about 4.7 ha (71 Mu) and consists of three sections, the Cold Cave Site section, the wedding celebration section, and the commercial section.

The Cold Cave Site Section with its various caves (including Wang Baochuan’s legendary dwelling), the Cold Cave Story Exhibition Hall, and a number of other architectural items form the core of the park. Its claims to being a heritage park rest first on its intangible heritage (the legend from the past handed down by tradition) and second on its tangible cultural heritage (different architectural styles and the loess landscape).¹⁰ Besides the Cold Cave (寒窯 *hanyao*) itself, claiming to display “the household articles and instruments of labor used by Wang Baochuan throughout her 18 years of persistent stay here,” many of the structures’ names refer to the legend, for example Pure Jade Archway (Chin. 玉潔樓 *yujie lou*)¹¹, Chastity Hall,¹²

¹⁰ See Project Masterplan issued for the Cold Cave Heritage Park in September 2009 by ICOMOS International Conservation Centre, Xi'an.

¹¹ The purity of jade signifies a traditional virtue assigned to Chinese women who keep everlasting fidelity to their husbands and hints at Wang Baochuan’s 王寶釧 legendary character.

¹² The site commemorates Wang Baochuan’s 王寶釧 steadfast loyalty and love.

or Mysterious Horse Cave (Chin. 妖馬洞 *yaoma dong*).¹³ According to the park leaflet, the Third Sister's Spring (Chin. 三姐泉 *sanjie quan*),¹⁴ "After several thousands of years, [...] remains exuberant and pure till this day." As a matter of fact, the tangible "heritage," understood here as physical evidence of the past, or "cultural relics" such as the site itself and certain buildings, were and are created and justified by the legend, which itself is part of the cultural heritage. (Archeological) factuality and belief in the legend have become blurred. In other words, it is an instance of thematizing and merchandising love with the help of a folk legend that requires a site and in a way distorts the classical notion of tangible cultural heritage.

As "cultural heritage" is generally attended by issues of conservation and cultural relics require protection, the ICOMOS International Conservation Centre, Xi'an (IICC-X) was entrusted by the Xi'an Qujiang Gardening Development Limited Company with the overall planning and design of the Cold Cave Heritage Park and made the proposals on the restoration of the site's "ancient" architecture, the reinforcement of the cliff, and conservation, exhibition, and display.

According to the master plan (2009), the loess cliff's surface, partly covered by vegetation, and the existing cave dwellings including the Cold Cave inside the planned park, had been severely weathered and torn owing to the wind and rain, so they required reinforcement. In addition, external structures on the compound, such as the cave dwellings and the Pure Jade Archway, needed to be restored and maintained, the wooden elements in particular. ICOMOS International Conservation Centre, Xi'an finally undertook the overall conservation and also the design for the love-themed heritage park, including the proposals on the restoration of ancient architectures, the reinforcement of the cliff, the display of exhibits, audio guides, and information boards.

The caves (Fig. 11), including the one believed to be Wang Baochuan's, once inhabited but empty for quite some time, were found to be in good tectonic condition except for minor surface cracks that had no impact on the stability of the structures. With respect to the caves' exteriors, the surfaces' outermost layer (originally grass and mud) were mostly lost due to weather and water. Inside the caves the characteristic layer of fine earth and some parts were also missing, as was another layer made of lime and earth. Dampness and minerals were ascending the walls in the lower parts, partially due to cement that had spilled over the natural floor and dammed the water from below.

As a consequence, the conservation campaign for the caves' exterior was designed to re-route the water outside the caves in order to prevent it from flowing down the façade uncontrolled. A rampart on top of the respective cliffs was to be

¹³ According to the legend, a magical, red-haired horse used to live in the Mysterious Horse Cave and used to kill passersby. The chancellor allegedly challenged his son-in-law and suggested to the emperor that Xue Pinggui 薛平貴 should overcome the dangerous horse. In the end, Xue Pinggui 薛平貴 tamed the beast.

¹⁴ "Third Sister's Spring" is the spring allegedly used by Wang Baochuan 王寶釧 to fetch water from during her 18 years of waiting for Xue Pinggui 薛平貴 to return.

五、崖体加固

③崖体立面风化

崖体的整体稳定性好，只有局部较为破碎，个别部位崖体表面有裂隙，形成一些不稳定的小块体（见图2-7、图2-8）。



图2-7 崖体表面形成碎片



图2-8 崖体上部裂隙发育

2.2 窑洞的破坏

不同时代的窑洞均匀地分布于两侧的崖体，崖体及窑洞的整体稳定性较好，窑洞外部依托崖体仅有均匀的土质以及小片状的不稳定结构存在于崖体表面，但是并不影响崖体整体的稳定性。窑洞主要存在以下问题：第一，窑洞外部涂抹了一层草拌泥，其成份为较粗糙的麦秆及粗泥，大部分窑洞外部的草拌泥已经脱落（见图2-9），部分窑洞外部尚有青砖。第二，窑洞内部涂抹了一层细泥，有的细泥上部还涂有一层白灰，部分窑洞细泥已经脱落（见图2-10），露出土体。第三，窑洞年久失修，其中几个窑洞内部有明显的断裂，裂隙长度达1.5m，宽2cm左右（见图2-11）。第四，窑洞底部0.5-1m处酸碱性严重（见图2-12）。



图2-9 窑洞外部泥灰脱落



图2-11 窑洞内部裂隙



图2-10 窑洞内部泥灰脱落



图2-12 窑洞底部碱碱

Fig. 11 The Project Masterplan issued for the Cold Cave Heritage Park in 2009 by ICOMOS International Conservation Centre, Xi'an, documents major damages of the loess cliff's surface (2-7, 2-8) and the existing cave dwellings. The caves were found to be in good tectonic condition except for minor cracks on the surface that had no impact on the stability of the structures (2-9). With respect to the caves' exteriors, the surfaces' outermost layer (originally grass and mud) were widely lost due to weather and water (2-10). Inside the caves the characteristic layer of fine earth and some parts were also missing, as was another layer made of lime and earth (2-11). Dampness and minerals ascended the walls in the lower parts. This was partially due to cement that had spilled over the natural floor and was damming the water from below (2-12). *Source:* Project Masterplan issued for the Cold Cave Heritage Park by ICOMOS International Conservation Centre (Xi'an, September 2009)

built to support the uncontrolled flow of the water. Cracked tiles once covering the canopy in front of Wang Baochuan's cave were to be replaced with new tiles that were numbered and photographed. Ultimately, the surfaces of these new tiles were to be treated to make them look old (Chin. 做旧 *zuojiu*)—an attempt that may itself be seen as a conservation reinvention considering ancient Chinese restoration principles such as “restoring the old as it was” (Chin. 修旧如旧 *xiujiu rujiu*) while reconsidering the very notion in its quest for patina and determination not to make the difference old and new apparent at first sight.

Among other things, the conservation plan suggested restoring the grass-mud layer with the help of traditional techniques, e.g., at Wang Baochuan's legendary dwelling, and restoring the wall surfaces inside the caves. According to the plan, the cement flooring could be removed and replaced by one permeable to moisture. The walls and ceilings with minor cracks were to be consolidated in a traditional manner using wooden clamps, and later clad with a grass-mud mixture.

The reinforcement program for the cliff parts was launched in situ in December 2009 and finished in March 2010. In accordance with the requirements of cultural heritage conservation, measures were taken to conserve and reinforce the loess structure. The primary measures included the use of lumps of clay to fill the lacunae caused by loess collapse. Glass fiber thread anchor bolts and the Potassium Silicate-Chemical (PS-C) solution were adapted to perform anchor-bolt reinforcement and grouting to offset the precarious condition of the earthen area. The grouting was carried out on larger gaps and the PS-C solution plus fiber were used to tackle minor cracks on the surface. Furthermore, PS-C reinforcement was undertaken to counteract the erosion caused by rainwater.

The more hazardous sections have been rectified by way of anchor-bolt reinforcement and grouting, the small and broken clay lumps on the surface have been reconnected to the cliff, and the loose parts of the surface have been tightly consolidated with the help of nails and potassium silicate infiltration, while the vegetation has been preserved. According to an information panel, the “original look has been retained.” Furthermore, the conservation action “not only preserves the natural flavor of the loess landscape but also keeps the original context of the cliff base as a cultural heritage site, being a very successful earthen site conservation program.”

The master plan indicates that the Pure Jade Archway (Fig. 12) built in 1992, through which the visitor passes on his way to the park entrance, was in need of conservation. According to the plan, several brick tiles from the roof had cracked so that water and dampness had penetrated the roof construction. Certain ornaments,



Fig. 12 Qujiang Cold Cave Heritage Park, Xi'an. The Pure Jade Archway (Chin. 玉潔樓 *Yujie Lou*) built in 1992 takes visitors to the park to the entrance. ICOMOS International Conservation Centre, Xi'an (IICC-X) made the proposals on the restoration of the site's exterior structures. The Pure Jade Archway was in need of restoration and maintenance, notably the wooden elements. Photo by Zhu Yujie, 20 September 2010

e.g., the dragon-fish figure (Chin. 吻 *wen*) and others decorating the roof were partially damaged. The timber structure—corbel brackets in a bond (Chin. 斗拱 *dougong*)—were incomplete, the rafter ends (Chin. 椽 *chuan*) had rotted, and the surface of the two inner columns (Chin. 金柱 *jinzhu*)—the “golden columns”—had cracks. The painted script above the passage was partially chipped. Furthermore, certain elements were fashioned in “modern” materials, for example column bases cast in cement.

Conservation arrangements included the removal of weeds from the roof. If possible, old tiles were to be retained and new additions, for example missing or damaged ornaments, should be numbered in order to mark them as new elements. Rotten wooden elements should be replaced and numbered. The roof’s modern materials were to be replaced by traditional ones, but a layer of waterproof material should be placed below the roof tiles. The cement mantling around the timber column shafts should be replaced by a new layer, made this time of a traditional mixture of hemp, clay, and red lacquer containing pork blood, while the columns’ cement basis should be retained but clad in stone slabs. The paintings were to be cleaned and conserved. No new painting was to be added, and the blank space caused by the ageing process and revealing the timber substrate was to be retained.

In a way, the fact that ICOMOS International Conservation Centre, Xi’an (IICC-X) made the proposals for the restoration of the structures in the prospective love theme park and was later responsible for the conservation measures involved parallels the consecration and authentication of the site as part of the cultural heritage. This fact finds new responses to inquiries into veracity, originality, or authenticity. The park’s name-giving cave dwelling not only features an original, “pre-modern” landmark once characteristic of the Xi’an area but the “humble cave has become a symbol of faithful love.”¹⁵ This way, the actual protection of the caves becomes a metaphor for the conservation of such faithful love, an imagined ideal, and nostalgically associated with the past, but at the same time brought into the [“unreliable shifting” (Lowenthal 2008, 5)] present.

Maintaining the Cultural Heritage by Copying or Rebuilding

During the Cultural Revolution (1949–1978), the material and immaterial cultural heritage of China had a troubled history. Although attention was paid to archeological and cultural relics by the Chinese Ministry of Culture in the 1950s and early 1960s, ancient monuments were often severely neglected. More than that, the party made active efforts to destroy temples, walls, and other ancient monuments considered to be the physical embodiment of a discredited feudal past. As

¹⁵ “Xi’an builds China’s first love theme park,” *China Economic Review*, 20 July 2007, accessed 10 February 2011, <http://www.chinaeconomicreview.com/node/47414>.

part of the movement to destroy the “Four Olds” defined as “old ideology, old culture, old habits, and old customs,” the Red Guards pillaged cultural relics and ancient monuments. The population was occasionally encouraged to break with tradition and demolish material symbols of the past.

This politically motivated denial of the historical past is over. In today’s post-1978 reformist era, the past is recalled, reinvented, and re-enacted in order to “heal a wound.” However, Pierre Ryckmans suggests we should situate the destruction perpetrated by the Cultural Revolution in a broader historical context. Then we will realize that it may in fact appear as just one more example of a very ancient phenomenon of massive iconoclasm, the latest expression of the periodic destruction of the material heritage of the past that characterizes Chinese history. He concludes that “the disconcerting barrenness of the Chinese monumental landscape cannot be read simply as a consequence of the chaotic years of the Maoist period. It is a feature much more permanent and deep—and it had already struck Western travellers in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century” (Ryckmans 2008).

Nowadays, following a global trend, nostalgically imagined “pastness” (Holtdorf 2010) has become an inevitable tourist destination and constitutes an important cultural and economic factor in China. The acquisition and reception of the past needs to recognize that the “quality or condition of being past always needs to be established first but even in heritage it is earned, not given” (Holtdorf 2010, 38).

The unifying element in the heritage theme parks discussed here is clearly the preservation and conservation of folk customs, even folk stories (Cold Cave Heritage Park, Xi’an). In other words, the China Nationalities Museum, Beijing, Guanzhong Folk Museum and Cold Cave Heritage Park, Xi’an are following a trend to promote Chinese folk legends, ethnic folk culture, and historical re-creations. The attempt is being made to confirm to Chinese visitors local, regional, or national identities. “The rise of folk museums quickly came to involve not just the acquisition and presentation of country crafts and artefacts, but the provision of suitable buildings within which such items could be displayed” (Mills 2007, 110). It is only in the contextualization of folk museums, anthropological museums, or heritage parks in China, and within a traditional framework of “conserving by copying, or rebuilding” (Stille 1998, 36), that buildings and surroundings, be they originals or authenticated replicas, have become part of the cultural heritage. Conservation issues are the main factors that generate the creation of such museums and artifacts as heritage sites.

Pierre Ryckmans was struck by the fact that many Western visitors to China, even the more perceptive observers, do not evade the trap of being “irritated to the point of obsession with what came to be called ‘Chinese lies’ or the ‘Chinese art of stage-setting and make-believe.’” (Ryckmans 2008). In fact, the authentication of buildings in cultural heritage parks (original size, characteristic or original materials, traditional building techniques, and local craftsmen) results in an attempt to exhibit “real things” and thus obliterate the distinction between museum exhibit and heritage site. By providing each replica (China Nationalities Museum, Beijing) or

relocated house (Guanzhong Folk Museum) with a pedigree, heritage parks claim that their architectural creations are based on scientific evidence. Thus the shaping of a collective past and the creation of cultural memory in such heritage parks is at least partly informed by scholarly archeology, anthropology, and the spirit of conservation that in each case may result from multifaceted preservation philosophies.

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“Repair by Disassembly” (Jap. *Kaitai Shūri*) in Japan

Mihō Fukuda

Abstract This article examines the prevalent meaning of the Japanese term *kaitai shūri* (“repair by disassembly”) before the formulation of the Law for the Protection of Ancient Shrines and Temples was proclaimed by the government in 1897 and the shifting purview of the concept after 1897, when it started to be understood as referring to the reconstruction of a building’s original appearance. The text investigates the trajectories of the concept of *kaitai shūri* in terms of the transformations it has undergone at different points in history. Around 1897, *kaitai shūri* was conducted under the supervision of local academically trained engineers taking over from the tradition of carpenters in this field. As documented in this paper, the early twentieth century in Japan was characterized by a growing interest in surveying disassembled parts of a building in order to learn more about the technological characteristics of different time periods. This new knowledge was then used to classify Japanese shrines and temples and to document the findings of academic surveys conducted by architectural scholars. The paper argues that from the present-day perspective the post-1897 *kaitai shūri* practice and its role in the history of architecture should be reconsidered in the light of the conservation demands posed by the changes in present-day Japan.

The Meaning of the Term *Kaitai Shūri* and Its Use

Kaitai shūri (“repair by disassembly”) is a phrase frequently resorted to in connection with the restoration of historical buildings in Japan. It signifies the complete dismantling of a structure, the repair or replacement of damaged components, and the subsequent reassembly. As the individual characters indicate, the term is made up of the words for “disassembly” (Jap. *kaitai*) and “repair” (Jap. *shūri*).

The standard Japanese dictionary *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Great dictionary of the Japanese language; publisher Shōgakukan, second edition 2001) lists “to dismantle a

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house” as the second meaning for *kaitai* after “to disassemble something that is composed from single parts, for example a machine or a motor vehicle.” It seems, however, that the word was not used in the sense of the deconstruction of a building prior to modern times. There is, for instance, no entry for *kaitai* in *Iwanami kogo jiten* (Iwanami’s dictionary of ancient Japanese, revised edition 1990), and under the existing headword *kaitai* in *Kadokawa kogo daijiten* (Kadokawa’s great dictionary of ancient Japanese 1982) there is no reference to the meaning “to disassemble a thing into its single components.” Likewise, this meaning is neither listed in *Genkai* (Sea of Words 1889) nor in *Shūtei Dainippon kokugo jiten* (An updated dictionary of the national language of great Japan 1939), two titles that can be regarded as representative for the linguistic encyclopedias published since the Meiji period (1868–1912). Only Heibonsha’s *Daijiten* (Great encyclopedia 1934) presents as fourth definition for *kaitai*: “a word of present-day language used to refer to taking apart a machine or disbanding an organizational group.”¹

According to the *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, *shūri* means the “mending and healing of broken or bad parts; reconditioning; restoring.” Since antiquity the semantics of the word has obviously been similar to its modern usage, as can be deduced from some passages of the *Nihon shoki* (The chronicles of Japan, compiled in 720).²

From this overview it is clear that both the phrase *tatemono o kaitai suru* (“to disassemble a building”) and the term *kaitai shūri* (“repair by disassembly”) are relatively recent expressions. Since the Meiji period, words like *toku* or *toritoku* (both meaning “to untie”) have frequently been employed to describe the dismantling of an ancient work of architecture for the purpose of repairs, which then often took place in the course of academic surveys. By contrast, the four-character compound *kaitai shūri* seems to have rarely been used, either in restoration reports or the pre-war *Kenchiku zasshi* (The journal of architecture).

Incidentally, there also seems to be a parallel in classical Chinese, which has a word *jieti* written with the same characters as *kaitai*. Another similarity is that the Chinese word does not refer to the disassembly of a many-part thing into its components. The *Hanyu dacidian* (Great dictionary of Chinese 1986–94) and the *Dai kanwa jiten* (Great Chinese–Japanese dictionary 1990), both representative dictionaries, translate *jieti* as “to disassemble.” However, no example is given for the use of the word to mean “to dismantle a building.”

¹ However, Shōgakkan’s *Kokugo daijiten* (Great encyclopedia of the national language; first and second editions) gives an example for *kaitai* in the sense of “disbanding an organizational group” that dates from the Heian period (794–1185).

² *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan), kan 29: entry emperor Tenmu, year ten (682 CE), first lunar month: *Tsuchinoto no ushi no hi. Uchitsukuni oyobi kuniguni ni mikotonori shite, amatsu yashiro, kunitsu yashiro no kami no miya o osame tukurashimu* (standard annotated edition reads *osame tsukurashimu*) 己丑。畿内及び諸国に詔して、天社、地社の神の宮を修理らしむ (“Day of the sixth zodiac sign and the ox. On imperial command, prayers were uttered in the central provinces and the various peripheral provinces, and the shrine buildings of the deities of heaven and earth were repaired”). Annotated Japanese text in Sakamoto (1965–1967), vol. 2, 444. The *Nihon shoki* frequently uses the verb for “to build” (Jap. *tsukuru*), even if repairs are meant. In the quoted passage, however, the obvious meaning corresponds to “repair” (Jap. *shūri*) in modern Japanese.

A Brief History of *Kaitai Shūri*

The Turning Point

From a very early stage, it was apparently normal practice in Japan to dismantle and repair buildings when necessary. This traditional concept of “repair by disassembly” (*kaitai shūri*) underwent a fundamental referential shift in 1897 (Meiji 30) when the Law for the Protection of Ancient Shrines and Temples (Jap. *Ko-shaji hozon hō*) was proclaimed by the government. One consequence of this legal statute was a profound change in the objectives of *kaitai shūri*, namely the intention of re-establishing the building’s original appearance.

Up to that point, only the categories of the so-called fine arts and crafts had been legally codified as things requiring national protection. The new legislation was the first to extend the concept to encompass works of architecture. Whenever repairs were necessary to structures belonging to ancient shrines and temples designated as worthy of protection, on-site inspections were conducted by the engineers Sekino Tadashi (1867–1935) in the prefecture of Nara, and Matsumuro Shigemitsu (1873–1937) in the prefecture of Kyoto, respectively.

Let us now turn briefly to the practice of *kaitai shūri* prior to 1897. Generally speaking, although repairs are documented in many extant historical records, there are few instances in which the extent and purpose of these works are specified and described in detail. So in many cases it is hard to decide solely on the basis of textual documentation whether disassembly in the proper sense of the word was actually undertaken. However, from findings gathered during disassembly-and-repair campaigns since 1897 it is possible to say with relative certainty whether the structure in question had already been dismantled before. For instance, we have evidence that the esoteric pagoda³ (Jap. *tahōtō*) of the Ishiyamadera Temple (Shiga Prefecture) was disassembled during the Keichō period (1596–1615).⁴ Another example is the Main Hall of the Shin-Hasedera Temple in the prefecture of Gifu. This hall underwent *kaitai shūri* in the years 1950–1953. The subsequent restoration report sets out the relevant findings. Existing documents indicate that a request to rebuild the hall was submitted to the authorities in 1879 (Meiji 12). Because damage was severe, the proposal made was to dismantle the structure, to correct the positioning of the base stones, and eventually reassemble all components. The survey accompanying the restoration in the 1950s found proof that disassembly was actually conducted during the Meiji period. It also established that the Meiji-period campaign reused much of the original substance in an altered way, which enables us to make conclusions about the appearance of the structure prior to this dismantling. The evidence further indicates that during the Meiji-period *kaitai shūri* the installations within the structural framework, the height of the board floor, and the design of the roof construction were altered, apparently with no intention of

³ Although discussed by the editorial board for its possibly orientalist character, the firmly established English term *pagoda* has been retained; the translator.

⁴ See Yamagishi (1961).

recreating the original appearance (Jap. *motodōri no katachi ni suru*) (Shin-Hasedera Hondō Shūri Iinkai 1953, 2 and 4).

One example of a building that was only partly dismantled is the five-story pagoda (Jap. *gojū no tō*) of the Hōryūji Temple in Ikaruga (Nara Prefecture). A *kaitai shūri* conducted during the 1950s revealed that this was the fifth time the pagoda had been through a process of “disassembly and repair” in the Keichō period and that a great deal of new substance had been added during its reassembly (Hōryūji Kokuhō Hōzon Iinkai 1955, 104).

Seen thus, the practice of *kaitai shūri* prior to 1897 can be regarded as a dismantling of the structure to the extent required for carrying out repairs. In cases where complete disassembly was avoidable, as in the aforementioned Hōryūji pagoda, partial dismantling took preference. Reuse of old material was apparently a widespread custom. For instance, if the tips of the rafters had decayed they were cut shorter and reused. Wooden parts were reused at different locations in the same structure where they served as different components, or even in another structure if they had become superfluous in the original setting. Similar methods have been widely used on ancient buildings. Accordingly, there are many cases where construction techniques and decorative features of a given building have been altered in the course of reassembly.

Like the Main Hall of the Shin-Hasedera Temple referred to earlier, the decorative features of the gable pediments (Jap. *tsuma kazari*) in the Golden Hall of Hōryūji Temple are another good example. Originally, the structure displayed a diagonal brace construction (Jap. *sasugumi*), but on the occasion of repairs during the Keichō period the design was profoundly changed, introducing a then fashionable “rainbow beam” (Jap. *kōryō*) plus a “large bottle strut” (Jap. *taiheizuka*) (Fig. 1a, b).

As of the year 1897, *kaitai shūri* campaigns were conducted under the supervision of academically trained engineers instead of carpenters. The first of these projects was the restoration of the Main Hall of the Shin-Yakushiji Temple in the prefecture of Nara in that same year (1897). The inspector in charge was Sekino Tadashi, who was trained at Tokyo Imperial University and highly renowned as a scholar of Japanese architectural history. A comprehensive and detailed account of Sekino’s interventions is to be found in the monograph *Shin-Yakushiji hondō* by Okada Hideo.⁵

According to the report, the Main Hall was found to date from the Nara period (710–94 CE). In the interior, however, there was a ceiling that had been installed during the Kamakura period (1185–1333 CE). Furthermore, the main front of the hall featured a prayer hall (Jap. *raidō*) that had been attached in 1310 (in order to accommodate worshippers during ritual observances; the translator).

During the campaign, Sekino removed both the ceiling (Fig. 2) and the prayer hall (Fig. 3a), thus restoring the building to the original form it was thought to have had (Fig. 3b). During previous repair stints, the master carpenters involved had

⁵ See Okada (1977). Regrettably, Tadashi Sekino himself seems not to have kept any substantial records about his restoration of the Shin-Yakushiji Main Hall.

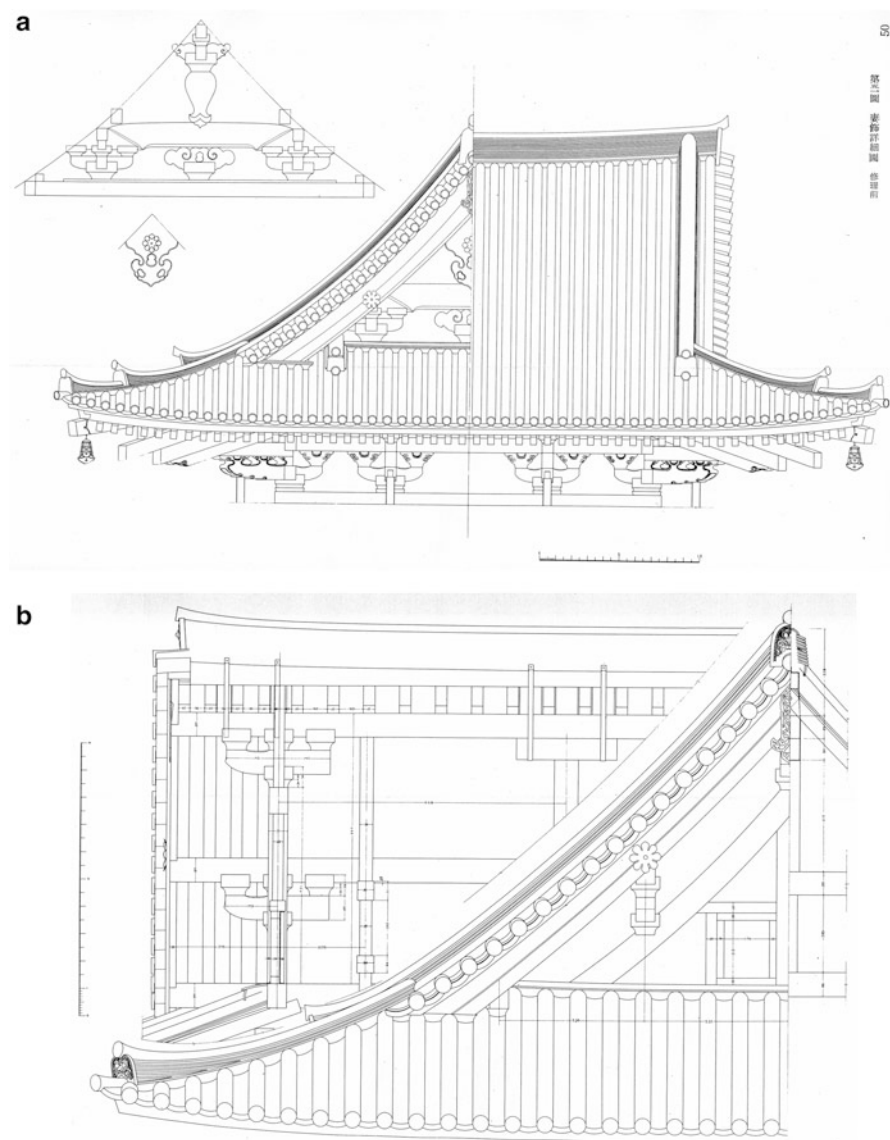


Fig. 1 (a) Hōryūji Temple, Golden Hall (Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture). The ornamental gable side, prior to the restoration of the Showa period. Combined front and side elevations showing the decorative features of the gable pediments (Jap. *tsuma kazari*). Source: Takeshima (1956), Fig. 51. (b) Hōryūji Temple, Golden Hall (Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture). The ornamental gable side of the Golden Hall in the Hōryūji Temple after restoration in the Showa period. Source: Takeshima (1956), Fig. 52



Fig. 2 Shin-Yakushiji Temple, interior view of the Main Hall. Condition of the ceiling prior to the Meiji-period restoration campaign, ca. 1897. *Source:* Okada (1977), Fig. 17

supplemented lost components with techniques of their own time, sometimes altering the layout of the structure in the process. By contrast, Sekino's objective in conducting the campaign was to achieve a thorough understanding of the original design and to reestablish the original appearance as far as possible. The intention of returning to the original form (Jap. *tōsho no katachi ni modosuru*) represents a fundamental difference to earlier repair practices.

However, to reinforce the structure at locations hidden from view, construction techniques recently imported from the West were frequently employed instead of traditional methods. For instance, in the 1898 restoration campaign for the Tōshōdaiji Temple in Nara, which was also supervised by Sekino, so-called king posts were used on covered framework junctions. Likewise, a steel skeleton roof structure and steel enforcements for the eaves were employed at the Great Buddha Hall of the Tōdaiji Temple in Nara, which was completed in 1912. Consequently, as many other scholars of architectural history have suggested, the return to the original that was widely pursued after 1897 was strictly confined to the visible portions of the building.

In 1899, criticism of Sekino's restoration of the Shin-Yakushiji Main Hall was voiced from outside of the specialized circles of architecture, but this dispute was settled when a historian published an article supporting Sekino's approach in 1901.

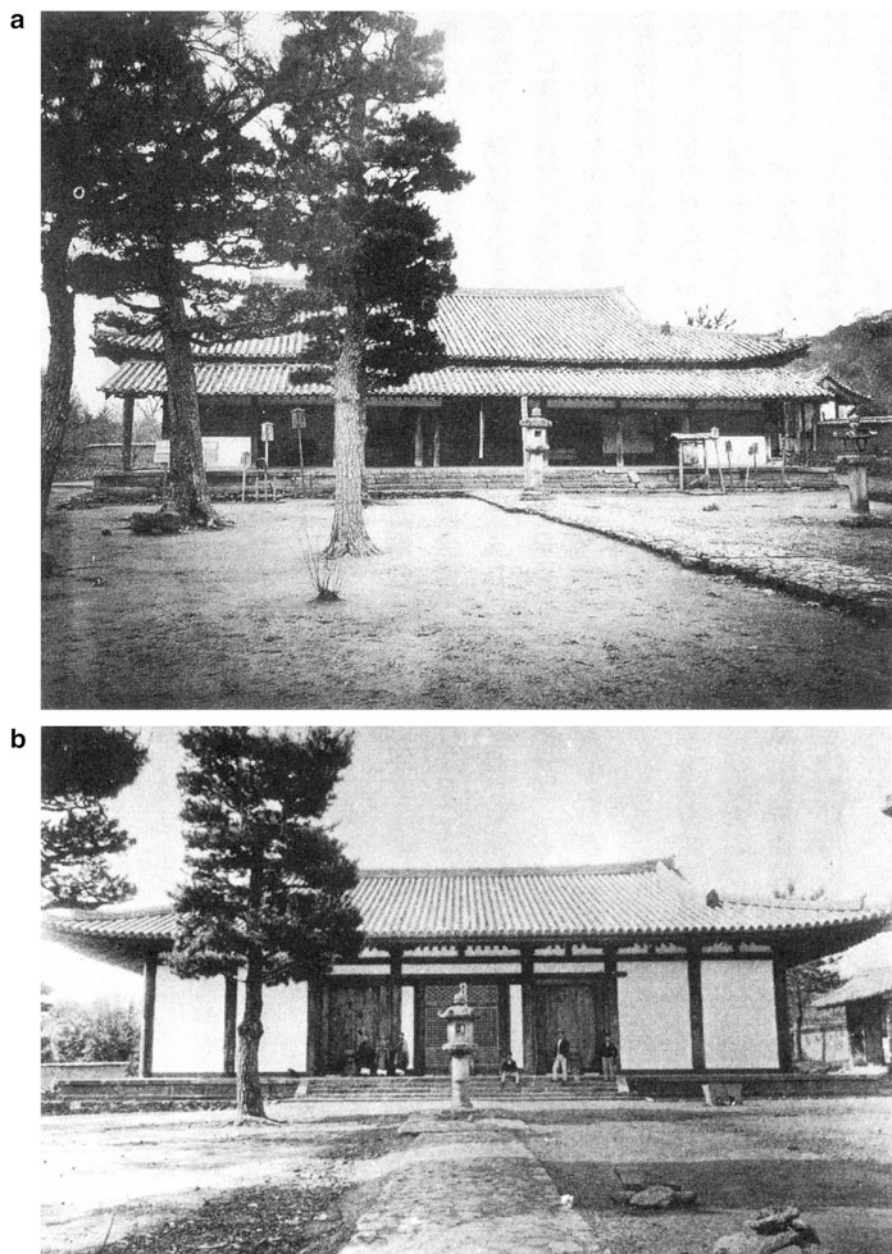


Fig. 3 (a) Shin-Yakushiji Temple, front elevation of the Main Hall (Nara Prefecture). Historical photograph showing the condition prior to restoration, ca. 1897. *Source:* Shimizu (2002), Fig. 1. (b) Shin-Yakushiji Temple, front elevation of the Main Hall (Nara Prefecture). The hall after the Meiji-period restoration campaign, ca. 1899. *Source:* Shimizu (2002), Fig. 1

Within the realm of architecture itself, almost no discussion took place (Suzuki 1972).⁶

Even later, there were occasionally critical remarks made by non-specialists but there seems to have been no far-reaching discourse within the scholarly community. To be sure, there were minor discussions, for instance about the question to what extent architectural coloring should be restored or reconstructed (Fujioka and Hiraga 2000). However, the fundamental principle that the original appearance should be restored was left undisputed, and much the same is true today.

The Efficiency of Accompanying Scholarly Surveys

As we have seen, the principle of restoring a building's visible components to their original appearance (Jap. *tōsho fukugen suru*) as far as is humanly possible introduced by the Law for the Protection of Ancient Shrines and Temples of 1897 was an absolutely new concept. Crucial for its implementation was the establishment of scholarly surveys (Jap. *chōsa*). Accompanying a large number of disassembly-and-repair campaigns, these surveys were gradually developed to a high degree of efficiency perfection and today can be legitimately referred to as the foundation for any contemporary repair work.

Two newly adopted methods must be regarded as pivotal. The first is the painstaking survey of disassembled wooden components. The findings gained in this way make it possible to discern previously unknown technological characteristics of the classical, medieval, and early modern periods and have thus greatly enhanced the progress of scholarship. The second method is the publication of restoration reports that have served to make the findings widely accessible.

Around the time when Sekino started his first *kaitai shūri*, little was known about the differences of architectural technology in the respective periods. Gradually, however, attention was directed towards increasingly minute detail. In 1929 the Law for the Protection of Ancient Shrines and Temples was replaced by the Law for the Protection of National Treasures (Jap. *Kokuhō hōzon hō*). It stipulated that if changes to the present state are to be made during restoration, a proposal of that nature has first to be handed in and approved by a committee of specialists. The committee members included not only architectural specialists but also historians and art historians. Consequently, even more attention than before was given to the findings because in the case of comprehensive restoration of the original appearance many changes would have to be made to the present state.

By the beginning of the Shōwa era, many different features of eaves construction were identified as being characteristic for specific periods. According to the architecture historian Suzuki Kakichi “based on increasing self-confidence concerning the techniques of ancient architecture there were a particularly large number of

⁶ Also see Okada (1977), and Shimizu (1996).

major restoration projects conducted in and around Shōwa 7 (1932)” (Suzuki 1972, 1766).⁷

Today it is normal for restoration reports to be published on the occasion of a restoration campaign, but that was by no means the case from the outset. Yoshida Tanejirō’s article (1943) on the Hakkakuendō Hall of Eizanji Temple in volume 25 of the journal *Seikō* has been identified by Suzuki Kakichi as the earliest restoration report.⁸ This hall was subjected to a *kaitai shūri* starting in 1910. The article was published as late as 1943, but judging from its content it must have been written shortly after the completion of the campaign. This makes it likely that the prototype for our modern restoration reports evolved around 1910.

The first example of a restoration report published immediately after the completion of the actual works was “The History of the Great Buddha and the Great Buddha Hall” on the Tōdaiji Temple in Nara (1915), followed by a similar report on the restoration of the Nandaimon Gate of the same temple published in 1930. Both in content and conception, the second of these reports in particular is widely regarded as the model for many restoration reports published subsequently (Okada 1999).

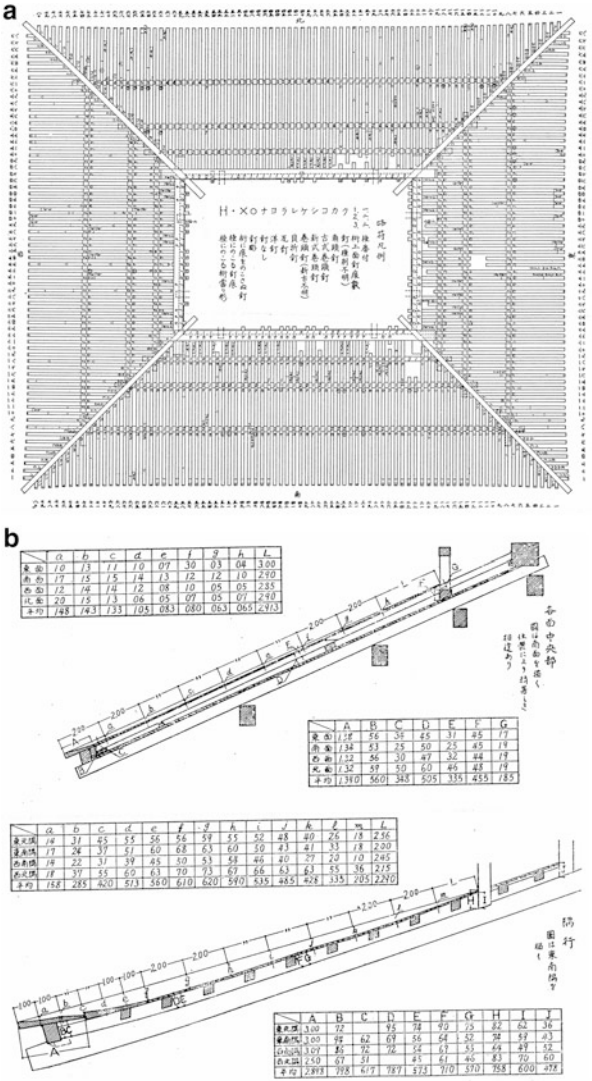
Thus, in the early Shōwa era it had become normal to conduct assiduous surveys accompanying disassembly-and-repair projects, and this was also the time when the first restoration reports were published. It was in this situation that the Shōwa restoration of the Hōryūji Temple was begun, arguably constituting the greatest and most important endeavor on the field of technical surveys. During the campaign, numerous characteristics of classical and medieval building technique were detected one after another, and scholarly methods were devised to cast light on every single evolutionary step since the erection of the building (Fig. 4a, b). Furthermore, we can justly call the extremely detailed restoration report the point of reference for all later *kaitai shūri* projects (no fewer than seven volumes were published prior to World War II).

After the epoch-making restoration of the Hōryūji, detailed restoration reports begun to be published all over the country. The methodological foundations for the modern conservation of cultural property had been laid.

⁷ According to this article, there is no evidence for a three-story pagoda of the Kōfukuji Temple in Nara in 1912. Suzuki points to some misguided decisions: “Because there is a base slope at the location of this pagoda, the pillars of the first storey differ in length from another. The horizontal head-penetrating tie beams (Jap. *kashiranuki*) are designed in such a way that their lower edge is perfectly horizontal but their upper edge is angled to a certain degree. By this adjustment the difference in height was compensated and the upper endings of all pillars were at the same level. Today, these tie beams are erroneously set horizontally at their upper edge and their lower edge is angled. Because the existence of the technique of the angled tie beams was unknown, the carpenters after the Edo period (1615–1868) apparently performed the repairs in line with a common logic.”

⁸ See Suzuki (1972, 1764).

Fig. 4 (a) Hōryūji Temple, Golden Hall (Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture). Schematic elevation showing the arrangement of the exposed rafters (Jap. *keshō daruki*) of the lower roof from below (each rafter has been examined in detail). *Source*: Takeshima (1962), Fig. 76. (b) Hōryūji Temple, Golden Hall (Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture). The degrees of intentional curvature (Jap. *tarumi*) on the sheathing laid upon the rafters of the lower roof between the peak of the beam that forms the base for pillars in the upper story and the eave ends (exact dimensions were measured.) *Source*: Takeshima (1962), Fig. 89



Recent Tendencies

In recent years, there has been increasing debate on the extent to which such hypothetical, reconstructive restorations are meaningful. A representative contribution is Yamagishi Tsuneto’s article “Debating the significance of ‘reconstructions’ [Jap. *fukugen*] of cultural property: from the viewpoint of historical sciences” of 1994 (Yamagishi 1994). Yamagishi discusses both the reconstructions of

archeological sites and of enlisted architectural compounds. But as far as his argument refers directly to the reconstruction of a given building’s original appearance on the occasion of a *kaitai shūri* campaign, his assessment corresponds to my own opinion. He argues that, although there is no question that cultural property needs regular maintenance and repair, returning to the original appearance during such repairs in fact constitutes a problem.

Moreover, there are substantial discrepancies among the various suggestions about the original appearance of buildings that various authorities in the field of Japanese architectural history have advanced and are still proposing. As Yamagishi points out, “the original appearance [Jap. *tōsho keitai*] is not a historical value of absolute supremacy. A multitude of factors which are transported through the building—repairs, modifications, additions—are part of the historical fabric that serves as source material for science. We cannot decide which of them should be weighted in which way. [...] Also the functions which a building assumed [over time] do possess historical document value. To ‘restore the original state’ of a building potentially eliminates a host of such factors added to the structure” (Yamagishi 1994, 102). After all, “even after a *kaitai shūri* there is no guarantee that we know every single detail about the past appearance [and] there are cases in which the fundamental data used for a restoration are ambiguous” (Yamagishi 1994, 100). Based on these arguments, Yamagishi advances the view that it is highly problematic to approve reconstructive restorations uncritically.

To illustrate his position, Yamagishi discusses Sekino’s restoration of the Shin-Yakushiji Main Hall: “It seems that [prior to the restoration] there were several small partitions at the rear and on the lateral side of the Main Hall, which probably served as a built-in retreat for monks and devotees on specific liturgical occasions [Jap. *sanrōsho*] and a chamber to worship the Kasuga deities [Jap. *Kasuga go-yōgō no ma*].⁹ It would have been of great interest to establish the functions of these medieval installations and the corresponding religious practices. But on account of the reconstructive ‘restoration’ there is little evidence left for scientific study” (Yamagishi 1994, 99). This aspect would have been of particular relevance for Yamagishi, who is one of the foremost specialists in medieval Buddha halls. He therefore strongly advocates the preservation of the present status (Jap. *genjō*) of listed cultural properties in architecture.

When Yamagishi published his article, he was working at the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara (Jap. *Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo* or short *Nabunken*). As a member of the research staff, he was in charge of a great number of restoration projects. His article was thus a case of whistleblowing by one of the very persons responsible for the restorations.

In recent years, on the other hand, there has been an increasing amount of research conducted on the repair of traditional Japanese architecture, including the problems of reconstruction that has drawn upon approaches from the disciplines

⁹The translator wishes to thank Lucia Dolce (SOAS, University of London) for elucidation of the religious functions of the two built-in rooms.

of history and the history of ideas. Researchers such as Shimizu Shigeatsu, Fujioka Hiroyasu, Hiraga Amana, and Yamazaki Mikihiro are part of this debate. With reference to our subject, Shimizu Shigeatsu aroused great attention with his disputable claim that the concept of reconstructing the original appearance has its premise in Western approaches to conservation, and that the modern Japanese restoration practice has been created by intermingling the practice of disassembly and repair with this Western concept. He writes: “Since the start of modern restoration towards the middle of the Meiji period, the notion of a ‘reconstruction of the original state’ of Western origins and the traditional practices of repair coexisted as alienated concepts. Around the early years of the Shōwa period they became integrated within the method of disassembly (Jap. *kaitai*), and gained approval as one of the methods of historical studies and ultimately a technological system in its own right” (Shimizu 2002, 38).

Moreover, it seems indisputable that there are interrelations between the recent scholarly trend in conservation strategy to criticize reconstructive restorations and the fact that Japan joined the World Heritage Convention in 1992, an event which probably called for a realignment of the traditional Japanese mindset, which was unfamiliar with the concept of authenticity in the Western sense.

A further strong impulse materialized in 1999 when *The Preservation of Historical Architecture* (Jap. *Rekishiteki kenzōbutsu no hōzon*) was published as volume 50 of *Shin kenchikugaku taikei* (New compendium of architectural science), a work which summarized the whole previous history of architectural preservation in Japan.

The disassembly of buildings for repair and the reconstruction of their original appearance have certainly encouraged major advances in research on Japanese architectural history.¹⁰ However, as we have seen, there has been recent discussion about the rights and wrongs of the practice of reconstructive restorations. Furthermore, the objects considered worthy of preservation have been greatly extended, from the initial shrines and temples to rural dwellings and public institutions. As a result, attempts to recommission farm houses for their original use and to preserve whole townscapes have become legion. Yet in such cases there is little employment of *kaitai shūri*, and even if the original appearance can be determined, there are many factors that militate against the integration of such “original” buildings into normal everyday life, which makes reconstruction very difficult. Probably we have reached a turning point in the history of *kaitai shūri* and will have to develop entirely new technologies of repair.

¹⁰ There is also the opinion that the restoration reports published hitherto are important source material of scholarly value that should be actively drawn upon for further study. See Morris (2006).

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Authenticity in Japan

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Abstract Cultural heritage sites and architectural monuments in particular are increasingly regarded as the common heritage of all humankind, calling for internationally acceptable standards of protection and restoration. The ICOMOS 1965 was a major step towards finding a common model and jointly accepted regulations. Its concept of authenticity postulates that alterations must be avoided.

The subject of this paper is to investigate how Japan, which ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1992, is fulfilling these claims. Authenticity being a very general and vague term, it will be helpful to examine different aspects of what is actually meant by it. Parameters are proposed for identifying authenticity with reference to a particular architectural monument. These criteria are then applied to current monument preservation work in Japan to assess what their achievements in preserving their monuments are based on. There are a number of Japanese translations for the English term “authenticity,” most of which also have strong moral connotations such as “trustworthy” and “faithful.”

Protection of Cultural Properties in Japan

The beginnings of monument protection in Japan go back to the late nineteenth century, earlier than in many Western countries. The political upheaval of 1868, when after more than 250 years the reign of the Tokugawa ended and the emperor was again at the center of political power, had severe consequences for the country’s architectural heritage.

The separation of Buddhist temples and Shintoist shrines in 1868 and the confiscation of their land in 1871 caused most of them to lose their economic foundations, and many temples in particular were forced to close. The imminent loss of their treasures through destruction or sale to foreign collectors prompted initial legislation for the protection of antiquities and triggered a nationwide survey

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conducted between 1888 and 1897. In 1897, the government passed a Law for the Protection of Old Shrines and Temples (Jap. *Koshaji hozonhō*). Works of art in its possession could be designated as national treasures (Jap. *kokuho*) and architecture as special protected buildings (Jap. *tokubetsu hogo kenzōbutsu*), frequently accompanied by a preservation order.¹ Until 1929, when the Law for the Protection of National Treasures came into force, a total of 1122 buildings were protected, most of them religious architecture from the seventh to twelfth century. The range of architecture considered worthy of official protection gradually broadened in scope with fewer ancient buildings qualifying for protection. From 1929 on, the emphasis was on classifying the surviving castles, villas of the former feudal lords, teahouses, and residential architecture. However, there were also some politically motivated designations, when buildings visited by the Meiji-Tenno and some relatively new Shinto shrines were placed under preservation orders. In these cases, the very presence of the emperor was authenticity enough.

Under the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties passed in 1950 and after some amendments still in force today, a number of new categories were added, covering a particularly wide range of cultural assets like archaeological sites (Jap. *maizō bunkazai*), folk art (Jap. *minzoku bunkazai*), and immaterial properties (Jap. *muken bunkazai*) such as traditional techniques used in the fine and applied arts.

Material cultural properties are defined as objects of major historical or artistic value to the country. A third criterion is substantial scholarly/scientific value. The regulations passed in 1975 for the enactment of this law give a more precise description of the various kinds of cultural property. In the case of architectural monuments, buildings qualify for state protection if they are excellent in design, of major historical and scholarly importance or representative of a particular style or region. The frequent stress on high value makes it clear from the very beginning that there will be a limit to the number of objects designated. In Japanese this approach is called *jūten shugi*, a “priority system.”

Authenticity is not an objective explicitly referred to in any Japanese cultural property legislation. However, since the Law for the Protection of National Treasures in 1929, alterations to protected buildings have been subject to official authorization. Under the current law, there is an expert commission that scrutinizes all proposed changes to the present state of monuments. This procedure ensures thorough investigation and avoids manipulation, so that one can say that an indirect objective is to preserve cultural properties without alteration, thus safeguarding their authenticity in terms of form, design, and material.

¹ This law and the regulations that went with it are cited in Bunkazai Hogo Iinkai (1960, 475–478).

Criteria for Authenticity

Particularly with regard to original material, this authenticity objective can only be achieved to a certain extent. Unlike works of art (free and applied) or documents that can be stored under optimal conditions and shielded from adverse external influences, most buildings are exposed to the elements. In Japan there is a little-known form of architecture called *oidō* (a combination of the two characters for Jap. *ou* meaning “to cover/shield” and Jap. *dō* meaning “hall,” also known as *sayadō*, *saya* meaning “sheath”), a class of building used solely to protect very delicate and precious architecture. However, such shelters are limited to a very few small buildings, mainly Shinto shrines measuring one bay in square. The only larger building provided with a protective shelter is the Konjiki-dō of the Chūson-ji temple, a square three-bay hall built in 1124 and entirely gilded. This flamboyant building is assumed to have been covered by an extra roof right from the beginning, there is a document referring to the construction of a shelter dating from 1288. Today, the Konjiki-dō stands behind glass inside a fully air-conditioned, reinforced concrete hall built in 1965. The old fifteenth century shelter, probably the second shelter structure, is thus bereft of its purpose. It has been moved about a hundred meters away and is protected as an Important Cultural Property (Fig. 1).

Apart from the few buildings conserved by protective structures, particularly exposed parts of Japanese wooden architecture, such as the roofing, the eaves, and the verandas running around many halls and houses are subject to relatively rapid decay and therefore require frequent replacement.

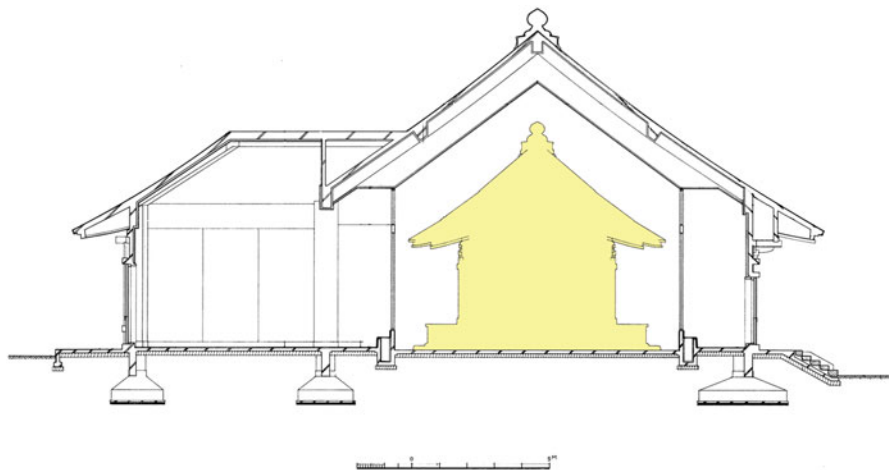


Fig. 1 Chūson-ji Konjiki-dō. The cross section shows the famous Konjiki-dō hall, which is entirely gilded and protected by a reinforced concrete shelter built in 1965. Shelters for particularly precious and delicate architecture are not a recent invention. They can be found on quite a number of small Shinto shrines. *Source:* Chūson-ji Konjiki-dō Restoration Report 1968

The following criteria have been suggested as a gage of degree of originality and possible loss of the same. We will then apply these criteria to case studies to see whether the treatment of architectural monuments is subject to change: (1) Outside appearance: Has a monument been preserved in its original form and measurements? (“visual integrity”), (2) Structure: Has the original structure of the building been preserved? (“structural integrity”), (3) Material: Has the historic material been preserved? Have the same materials been used for unavoidable repair and replacement work? (“material integrity”), (4) Techniques: Are traditional techniques used in maintenance and repair work? Is this work still done by hand or have machines replaced manual work? (“technical integrity”), and (5) Function: Is the building still used for same purpose it was built for or has it been converted? Has conversion involved major alterations? (“functional integrity”).

Outside Appearance: Visual Integrity

The Tōshōdai-ji Hōndo Case

From the very beginning of monument preservation work in Japan, the aim has been to preserve the original design of a building or—where this has been interfered with by post-construction alteration—to reestablish the original design based on a detailed survey.

The Main Hall of the Tōshōdai-ji near Nara is the only extant temple hall from the eighth century (Figs. 2 and 3). The Main Hall was designated as worthy of protection immediately after the first law for the protection of old shrines and temples came into force. It was one of the first three buildings to undergo restoration (between March 1898 and January 1900). In his final report, Sekino Tadashi (1868–1935), the architect in charge, describes the priorities envisaged and the restoration strategy. The original form is of the utmost value and must be determined by means of a detailed survey. Post-construction alterations obviously detracting from the beauty of the building must be reversed as long as the stability of the building does not suffer as a result.²

In the years 1693–1694, major alterations were carried out on this hall with a floor plan seven bays wide and three bays deep. For this work the hall must have been dismantled up to the head of the columns because thick forged iron plates were inserted to secure the connection of the head tie beams (Jap. *kashira nuki*) and prevent deformation by increasing the load-bearing area. The columns of the outer and inner sanctuary were connected two-thirds of the way up with additional penetrating tie beams, which display protruding ends and molding typical of the Edo period. Braces were inserted between the head of the inner columns and the large rainbow beams above the altar to prevent the inner columns from tilting. The

² Records of the 1898–1900 restoration have been compiled by Tanaka (2001).



Fig. 2 Tōshōdai-ji Hōndo. The large eighth century Main Hall in the precincts of the old capital Nara was among the first buildings protected by the Law for the Protection of Old Shrines and Temples in 1897 and also among the first to undergo restoration. *Source:* Nara Board of Education, Tōshōdai-ji Restoration Office.

roof truss was completely changed, the eighth century single-layer roof was replaced by a double-layer roof almost 3 m higher.

The underlying strategy was not one of conservation but of renewal. The structural frame was reinforced, the roof remodeled in a style typical of the seventeenth century and weathered surfaces worked with a smoothing plane to make them look new. Similarly, unsightly ends of rafters were trimmed by a few centimeters and the rafters re-fixed.

Sekino must have felt unhappy about this mixture of styles, for he tried to reestablish the original eighth century design. The penetrating tie beams were removed and the mortises carefully filled. The heads of outer and inner columns were connected by means of newly inserted rainbow beams, the measurements and form of which matched the original rainbow beams above. The braces above the altar were removed. The eaves were secured against sagging by installing two layers of long cantilever beams. Surprisingly, the upper part of the roof truss was completely redone using kingpost trusses, a Western construction introduced to Japan shortly before. The fact that the shape of the seventeenth century roof was maintained is not to be misunderstood as a token of appreciation. The architects of the day were simply not familiar with eighth century roof construction and did not recognize its remodeling. The architect was attempting to reestablish the original design, but from a present-day perspective, the result of his endeavors is an even greater confusion of styles. The changes to the roof truss prove that the value of the building was primarily seen in its outside appearance, not in its structure.

Fig. 3 Tōshōdai-ji Hōndo.
Interior of the hall with nine
Buddhist images standing
on a low stone-clad altar.
Source: Nara Board of
Education, Tōshōdai-ji
Restoration Office



Founder's Hall at the Hokekyō-ji

The restoration of the large hall in Ishikawa near Tokyo is particularly spectacular because the hall was given a completely different roof shape. Before restoration was carried out between 1988 and 1996, it had a high hipped-and-gabled roof (Jap. *irimoya*), as found on most Buddhist temple halls. After restoration, the upper part of the roof now has two small gabled roofs running parallel to the front of the hall and connected at the center to form a ridge like a capital H. The hall was built in 1677–1678 using material from the predecessor building. Even after it had been inspected in 1977 during a nationwide survey of Buddhist and Shintoist architecture from the Edo period, it was not listed for protection because its value was not considered outstanding, and there were many halls dating back to this period. It was during an investigation in preparation for a book on the temple's history commemorating the 700th anniversary of Nichiren's death in 1981 that the remains of two small parallel gabled roofs were found under the large roof. This extremely rare roof form is only found on one more shrine building in the distant prefecture of

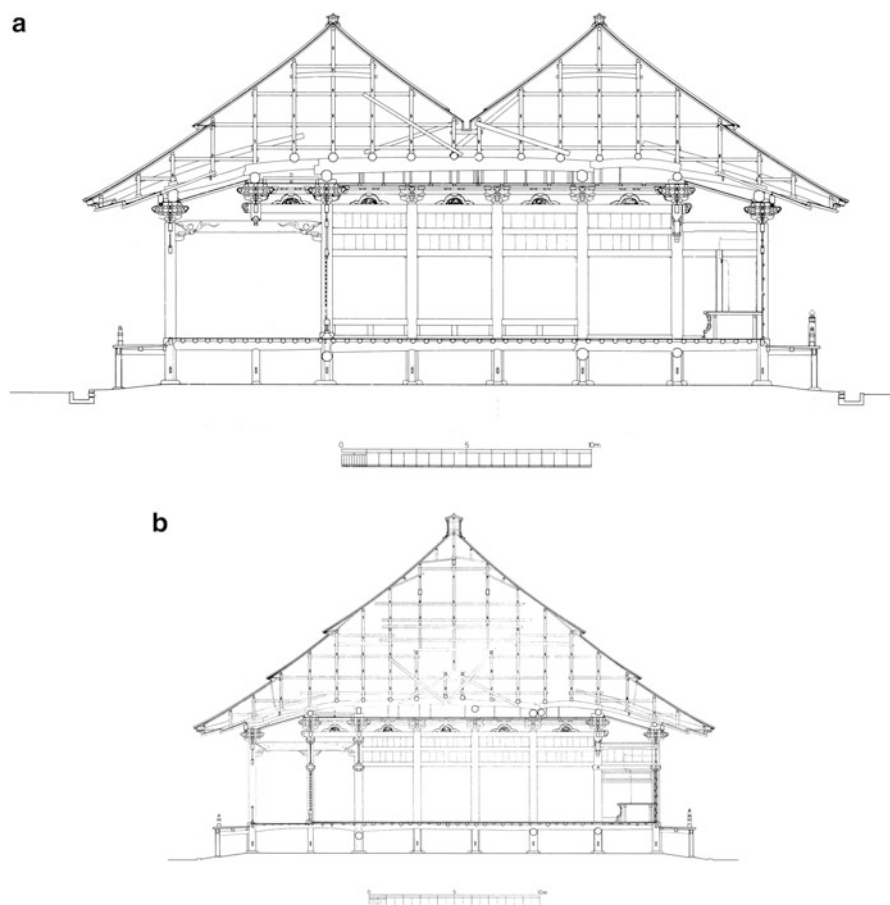


Fig. 4 (a) and (b) Hokekyō-ji Shoshidō. The Founder's Hall of the Hokekyō-ji in Ishikawa near Tokyo underwent massive alterations during its recent restoration. The two cross sections show the framework before restoration with a high hipped-and-gabled roof, and after restoration with a lower roof with two parallel ridges. *Source:* Hokekyō-ji Soshi-dō Restoration Report 1998

Okayama.³ It was the rarity of this kind of roof that led to the prompt designation of the site as an Important Cultural Property in 1985.

In the account of the designation process, the reconstruction of the original roof form on the basis of the remaining traces was regarded as possible.⁴ Right from the very beginning of the restoration campaign, the obvious goal was to reinstate the original roof, although investigation showed that the roof had already been altered in 1741, i.e., 60 years after its completion (Fig. 4a, b). With large parts of the

³ Nichirenshū Daihonzan Hokekyō-ji (1981, 293–313 and 400–418).

⁴ Daihonzan Nakayama Hokekyō-ji (1998, 24).

original roof frame still well preserved, it was possible to determine its construction with certainty. However, some details like the richly decorated gables had to be refashioned on the basis of examples on extant buildings from the same region and period. The roof, which prior to restoration had been clad with copper sheeting, was covered with wooden shingles because traces of this roofing had been found on the old roof truss. Inside, the original floor plan was reconstructed with the knee-high partitions typical of halls of the Nichiren school of Buddhism. In 1931, the outer sanctuary at the south of the hall was reduced in size to enlarge the room inside and accommodate a larger audience. Six columns were removed to reduce the inside of the hall to its original size.

The treatment of the polychrome paintings on the coffered ceiling and the central sanctuary shows how strong the intention was to recapture the original design or at least to achieve a close approximation. There was evidence of three layers of painting, the original and two coats dating back to 1840 and 1931. The geometric and floral patterns as well as depictions of dragons and phoenixes were all applied in a similar technique, mineral pigments dissolved in animal glue. During the renovation of the paintings in 1840, the original coat had been scraped off, leaving only traces of the original sketches drawn in ink. In 1931, only very few parts were repainted, such as the head portion of the four central columns. Other areas were only retouched or fixed with animal glue to prevent peeling. So it was the paintings of 1840 that were largely preserved. Recent restoration work on all parts of the structure where traces of the original design could be recognized has removed the paintings of 1840 after careful documentation, even where the coloring of 1840 was still well preserved. Wherever it was possible to determine the original design, this design was then executed using the traditional technique for the purpose. Where evidence for reconstruction was insufficient, the paintings of 1840 were painstakingly redone.

The extremely detailed record of the restoration work is a testimony to the immense efforts made to clarify the history of the hall. However, the result of the restoration is still in doubt because, in spite of the thorough investigation and the many findings, the design is still based to a large extent on assumptions. The inevitable result is a building that has been lovingly restored, but not in the form in which it originally existed. The aim was certainly to get as close to the original design as possible, but the result is still a kind of manipulation.

Gate at the Tōdai-ji

Alongside the many buildings where huge efforts have been made to recapture the original, there are also a very small number of structures where this has not even been attempted. In these cases, it was either impossible to determine the original design or the result of post-construction alteration were felt to be particularly valuable. One example of this different perception is the Tegai-mon, a gate in the northwest of the large Tōdai-ji compound in Nara. The gate stands on a low stone-



Fig. 5 Tōdai-ji Tegai-mon. The Tegai-mon is the only gateway of the famous Nara temple dating back the founding period in the mid eighth century. The gate was altered and raised around the year 1200. During restoration work carried out in 1931, the gate was not restored to its original state. *Source*: Nara Board of Education, Department of Cultural Properties

clad podium and is one of only three structures dating back to the foundation of the temple in the mid eighth century (Fig. 5).⁵ With strong frame members, a so-called three-ridge construction, and a gable design with two layers of rainbow beams, this three-bay-wide gate displays features typical of the Nara period. However, there are also striking traces of a remodeling that took place around the year 1200. The columns were connected at hip height with additional penetrating tie beams and the roof frame was lifted by inserting an additional layer of beams with small bearing blocks between the large bearing block atop the columns and the lower rainbow beams. The base purlins, up to then supported only by large bearing blocks and brackets running parallel to the wall, were replaced by one-stepped bracket complexes (Jap. *demitsudo*) to support an eave purlin. This made it possible to attach flying rafters and create a so-called double eave instead of the original single eave.

Traces of the remodeling and features of different architectural styles are remarkable, for instance in the different forms of the bearing blocks. However, we can only speculate about the motives for these changes. During restoration of the gate in 1931–1932, which involved complete dismantling, those responsible did not try to restore it to its presumed original state. In the handwritten documentation of the restoration work, the architect in charge explains that the gate displays both features of the Tempyo era (eighth century) and of alterations carried out in the

⁵ The gate was investigated in 1998 by the Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties and a detailed report published, see Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūsho Nara (2003).

Kamakura Period (1192–1333).⁶ The perceived value of the building is that it has elements of two different architectural styles. Accordingly, restoration to a hypothetical original state was rejected, with no changes to form or position not even on the small bearing blocks. The remodeling of the gate and the lack of stylistic unity is not perceived as a flaw but as a representation of the particular value of the structure.

There are two concerns that may have strengthened the observable tendency to recapture the original and reinstate the original design wherever possible. There are relatively few buildings under protection, and those structures buildings designated by the government as National Treasures of Important Cultural Property receive very substantial funding. The effort invested in the investigation and restoration of a monument is immense. The centralized restoration system, the training of restoration architects, and the methods of investigation have undergone a process of professionalization in the over 100-year period of monument preservation. The concern of the architects in charge is to delineate a building's history and to demonstrate their findings in and on the building itself, not just in a report or a scale model.

Structural Integrity

Reinforcement works on wooden architecture in Japan can be divided into two periods. Those carried out prior to the Kobe earthquake of 1995 were mostly reactions to deformation of the frame, sagging at the eaves, or the collapse of individual components. Often damage resulted from planning errors. The carpenters of the day simply overestimated the load-bearing capacity of their buildings. One example is the Great South Gate of the Tōdai-ji in Nara built around 1200. The architectural style with columns extending right up into the roof frame and connected at various levels by penetrating tie beams was influenced by models found in South China. It was a new approach allowing for the construction of large buildings with relatively little material. Particularly at the corners, where beams penetrate in longitudinal, transverse, and diagonal directions, the columns were too weak to bear the heavy roof loads, leading to splits and breakage. To prevent further sagging, column supports were inserted to prop up the eaves. In the 1929 restoration, the architect in charge must have felt uncomfortable with these “crutches.” To him they were an impairment of the pure original state of the gate. The supports were therefore removed and the frame reinforced with steel beams. The major tie beams were cut in half and both halves screwed to an H-beam which was then

⁶ No report has been published after the restoration but the Archive of Nara Prefecture keeps a file with relevant documents, its registration number is Shōwa 5-13/526.1/10 奈良県立資料館、「東大寺転害門一軒、整理番号昭和5-13/526.1/10.

bolted to a T-beam attached to the columns.⁷ Similar reinforcements were carried out on the Large Gate at the Tōfuku-ji in Kyoto.

The Kobe earthquake caused one designated building in the former foreign settlement to collapse, and subsequently making architectural monuments as “earthquake-proof” as possible became a major priority for conservation architects.

In most cases the load-bearing frame is stiffened, which in itself alters the very nature of traditional Japanese wooden structures from elasticity to rigidity. Often plywood and steel panels are inserted, extended mesh stapled on, then a layer of plaster and a final layer of daub applied. Similarly, nodes in the frame are secured using steel or stainless steel fittings. Such panels and fittings are mostly screwed to the original frame members, thereby causing damage to them. They are preferred by most conservation architects because they are hidden from sight and therefore do not impair the design of the building. However, they are difficult to monitor and can only be removed when a monument is dismantled.

Another way of strengthening the frame is to attach tie beams and braces in pairs. They encircle the pillars and roof struts and are drawn together with bolts. If the necessity arises, such reinforcements can be easily removed thereby facilitating future repair work.

A third way of increasing the safety of a building in the case of earthquake is the installation of a standby structure that does not even touch the original building but only gives it support if major deformations occur. This reinforcement, which causes the least interference to the historic fabric of a monument, has only been applied to a very few buildings.

Design and visual integrity are of paramount importance in current reinforcement work. Generally, reinforcements are hidden from sight even if this entails impairing other aspects of a monument.

Material Integrity

New Materials for Replacements

Prior to the conservation of historical architecture as cultural heritage items, parts of structures were only replaced in the case of severe damage. Even then, the replaced parts were often reused in a different, less exposed position, such as the roof frame. Economy was the motive behind these restrictions on material change. Today, it is a self-evident aim to preserve as much of the historical fabric as is feasible, even if this involves enormous effort, because the historical substance is regarded as a major factor in the monument’s significance. Often, new materials are used to limit

⁷ The restoration of the Great South Gate was the first to be documented in a printed report. It contains a summary on the restoration work, drawings as well as photographs showing the building before and after the restoration, see Tōdai-ji Nandai-mon Shūri Kōji Jimusho (1930).

the extent of replacement. Steel and (from the year 2000 onwards) carbon fiber are widely used to strengthen parts of the framework and thereby avoid replacement. Epoxy resin is found on many restoration sites. The use of epoxy resin filler makes it possible to carry out repairs without cutting off material for the execution of a traditional repair joint. It therefore helps to maximize the amount of original material preserved. However, such new materials also represent a dilemma. On the one hand, they are welcome as a means of preserving more of the historical substance, on the other, they constitute a break with traditional building maintenance and impair the authenticity of the building by introducing a completely new material, the long-term properties of which are still largely unknown.

Shortage of Lumber

In the repair of architectural monuments, especially in the case of wooden architecture, which constitutes more than 90 % of the protected architecture in Japan, replacements are inevitable. Cantilever beams for the widely protruding roofs break, the bottom parts of columns decay, and rot sets in in those parts particularly exposed to the weather, like the verandas running around most temple halls. There is general agreement among Japanese conservation architects that such replacements should be carried out in the same material with wood of the same species and of comparable quality. However, it is becoming more and more difficult to achieve this. Some species like pine or fir have almost vanished from Japanese forests, so they need to be replaced by other species or else imported. Even with regard to cypress wood, the material used on most high-class architecture in Japan, there are problems. The relatively short cycles in today's forestry and the overexploitation in the past have made trees more than 200 years old extremely rare. Starting in the 1920s, cypress trees from Taiwan (colonized by Japan from 1895 to 1945) were imported on a large scale. They were used not only for famous reconstruction projects like the Yakushi-ji temple in Nara but also in restoration work where extremely fine material could not be procured locally.

One example is the restoration work done on the Main Hall of the Tenmanjinja shrine in Wakayama, carried out in 1975 (Figs. 6 and 7).⁸ For replacements of the box-shaped ridge and the veranda, large planks of Taiwan cypress were used. In the 1980s, the Taiwanese government discontinued the export of cypress in an effort to preserve the last virgin forests on the island. Today, lumber for reconstruction and restoration work is imported from places even further away. At the Yakushi-ji they use timber from Laos and at the Kōfuku-ji in central Nara, where the Main Hall and inner part of the temple are under reconstruction, lumber is imported from Canada

⁸ Wakayama-ken bunkazai kenkyūkai (1977, 24).



Fig. 6 Tenmanjinja Honden—Elevation. The Main Hall of the Tenman Shrine near Wakayama built in 1604 underwent restoration in 1975. The roofing was replaced, as was the so-called box ridge. *Source:* Wakayama Center for Cultural Properties

and even from Cameroon. Parts replaced during restoration work are usually preserved on site.

Technical Integrity

Manual Work Versus Machines

At Japanese restoration sites, manual work is gradually being replaced by machine work. Especially in the woodworking trades, all preliminary rough work is done by machine. A look at a carpenter's toolbox reveals that whole classes of hand tools once used on a daily basis are conspicuous by their absence. Few carpenters still use an adze, formerly a standard tool for working the tree trunks used in the roof frame or roughing out the underside of floor boards. Special planes such as rabbit planes, rebate planes, grooving planes, and molding planes are rarely used nowadays. The overhead router with its wide range of parts has taken over. The only domain in which hand tools still reign is the finishing of visible surfaces. Most architects in charge of restoration work ask for surfaces finished with a hand plane or in the case of medieval architecture (architecture built prior to the advent of planes in sixteenth century Japan) a spear plane.



Fig. 7 Tenmanjinja Honden—Ridge. The high ridge on the hipped-and-gabled roof is made of planks. The cypress wood for these extra-wide and long planks was imported from Taiwan. On this photo showing the inside of the ridge, the branding-iron marks can be seen identifying material renewed during restoration and an ink inscription referring to the names of the head priest and the architect in charge. *Source:* Wakayama Center for Cultural Properties

Demise of Regional Building Traditions

Apart from large-scale constructions like temples or palace buildings in the capital, most buildings now classified as architectural monuments were built and maintained by local craftsmen using locally available materials. In most trades, this led to strong regional features. Until the 1950s, there still was a wide demand for traditional building skills because most residential architecture was still traditional handiwork. When restoring a monument, the architect could draw on an extensive reservoir of local craftsmen trained in traditional building techniques. However, industrialization in the building sector, the Westernization of housing, and the advent of a few large house manufacturers operating nationwide have all

occasioned far-reaching changes. The market for traditional building skills has shrunk considerably. Apart from a very few niches like new teahouses, shrines, and temples, which even today are still built the traditional way, only the conservation sites provide a small but steady demand for regional skills.

As a consequence, some craftsmen have specialized in the restoration of architectural monuments. One trade where this development is particularly apparent is that of the craftsmen for thatched roofs and for roofs covered with bark or wooden shingles. This was once a job done in local style by local roofers using local materials, but the few remaining craftsmen of this kind now work all over the country. They are organized in an association named “All Japan Federation for Preservation of Shrine and Temple Roofing” and receive government subsidies to train young craftsmen. Nowadays, they all work to the same specifications using, for instance, bark shingles 75 cm long. However, on Mount Koya, the center of the Shingon school of Buddhism and home to many temples with cypress bark roofing, such shingles were only 45 cm long. In addition, there was a tradition here to cover roofs less exposed to view by using both bark and wooden shingles (so-called *mazebuki* or “mixed roofing,” see Figs. 8 and 9). Owing to nationwide standards, this technique can no longer be used. This is just one example of how the dwindling market, the emergence of specialist companies, and standardized specifications



Fig. 8 Kongosanmanin Daidokoro—old roofing. The kitchen building of the temple dates back to the mid seventeenth century. Up to the early twentieth century, a unique roofing technique was used in the mountainous Koyasan region in which layers of cypress bark alternate with thin cedar shingles. This photo shows part of the old roofing. The bark shingles seem to have decayed much faster than the wood shingles. *Source:* Wakayama Center for Cultural Properties, Kongosanmanin Restoration Office, Tadatsugu Tai



Fig. 9 Kongosanmanin Daidokoro—new roofing. The new roofing carried out in autumn 2010 is entirely made of bark shingles to specifications valid all over Japan. The shingles are fixed to battens with bamboo nails. *Source:* Wakayama Center for Cultural Properties, Kongosanmanin Restoration Office, Tadatsugu Tai

have led to the extinction of local traditions. Today, roofers use the same material prepared to the same specifications and execute the details of the roof like the eaves, the hips, and the ridges in the same way.

Industrially Produced Building Materials

The production and the quality of many building materials have also changed. Manufacture and quality have changed significantly in the case of plaster, rendering, and roof tiles. Clay for tiles is now passed through an extruding press and thus has very few air bubbles. The fired tiles are about 30% heavier, consistent in color, and age differently. The changes in tile roofs are particularly striking: since 1960 complete roof replacements rather than partial replacements have become the rule. Roofs which in the past were frequently repaired with tiles from different epochs were pleasingly shaded in color. Nowadays these roofs are uniformly grey after restoration (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10 Imperial Palace. Most Buddhist temples and most historic town houses have tiled roofs. Due to the preparation of the clay—using feet and the varying conditions in the kiln—old tiles come in slightly different colors and surfaces. Maintenance repairs and partial renewal result in very vivid roofing with all shades of grey. Today, the clay for the tiles is prepared by machine and the kiln fired with gas resulting in a very homogeneous color and surface. Maintenance has changed too. In the old days, only severely damaged tiles were replaced, today the roofing is often completely renewed. Photo by Christoph Henrichsen

Dismantling and Re-Erection

Dismantling and moving wooden architecture has a long tradition in Japan. There is evidence that in connection with the transfer of the capital even large buildings were moved from one place to another (Lecture Hall of the Tōshōdai-ji). When the Imperial Palace compound in Kyoto was renewed, old buildings were often rededicated and added to temples with strong ties with the Imperial family. Some were simply dismantled and re-erected on a new site, others were altered to adapt them to a new function. Dismantling and transfer was a tradition carried out for more than 800 years at the Kasuga shrine in Nara. Every 20 years, the shrine buildings were renewed, a practice now only found at Ise. The four small shrine halls in the center of the compound were given to Shinto shrines in the region. Unlike European half-timbered architecture, where most joints are secured with pegs and panels between the structural framing—itsself filled with wattle and daub—in Japanese framing most joints are fixed with wedges or simply put together. The use of hand-forged nails is limited to a few zones, i.e., for fixing non-penetrating tie beams, rafters, and boarding. Traditional buildings can therefore be dismantled relatively easily like a building kit, with little damage. The dismantling of wooden structures can be legitimately seen as authentic Japanese architectural practice. However, total dismantling hardly ever took place in connection with the restoration of a building, merely in the case of transfer. It was only with the beginning of modern restoration work in 1897 that buildings were

dismantled. In some cases, where maintenance had been neglected for a long time and the state of preservation was very bad, there may have been no alternative but to dismantle a building. For the Japanese architectural historian, such dismantling is a stroke of luck. It provides an opportunity for closest possible inspection, rather like a post-mortem. Every single joint of the frame is laid open, all inscriptions and markings are revealed, thereby shedding light on the original design and the extent of post-construction alterations. Once, dismantling for repair was a very rare exception, now it has become a regular practice, a development furthered by high public funding and investigations determining the building's original design.

Ise: Aspects of Cyclical Renewal

Shinto Shrines

Ise lies in the Kii peninsula on the main Japanese island of Honshu. There are two main Shinto shrines 4 km from one another. The Kotai-jingū, commonly known as Naikū (inner shrine), is devoted to Amaterasu Omikami, the sun goddess and ancestress of the Imperial family; the Toyokedai-jingū, called Gekū (outer shrine), is home to Toyouke Omikami, goddess of food, clothing, and shelter. Apart from these, there are 123 auxiliary shrines of various ranks in the region. Since the end of the seventh century, the buildings of the 125 shrines and also the offerings kept in the nearby treasure storehouses have been renewed every 20 years. A new shrine is erected on an adjoining site, and the sacred images are transferred to their new dwelling in a nocturnal ceremony (Fig. 11).

This practice of complete renewal at regular intervals (Jap. *shikinen sengu*) was once found at many Shinto shrines. The intervals differed considerably. At the Izumo-taisha this ceremony was held every 60 years, at the Kitano-jina every 50 years. Today, such a complete physical renewal of the buildings is only carried out at Ise, with its main and auxiliary shrines and a handful of other shrines. Otherwise it has been abandoned completely or reduced in scale, mainly due to the very high costs involved. At the Kasuga-taisha in Nara, a World Heritage Site, the last renewal of the four central shrines took place in 1863. Today, the buildings are repaired every 20 years and only the ritual offerings renewed.

The reasons for this extremely costly renewal are manifold. The buildings at Ise have posts dug into the ground and roofs covered with reed (for the main shrines) or boards (in case of the auxiliary shrines), so they are prone to quick decay. More important, however, are the religious considerations. Purity and renewal are central themes in Shintoism, and the holy objects that symbolize the deities demand an immaculate setting. As a result of the regularity of this renewal, interrupted only once in the fifteenth century during a period of civil war and delayed by four years after World War II, the building style and techniques have been handed down faithfully to the present day.



Fig. 11 Subsidiary shrine—old and new. The process for the subsidiary shrines is the same as for the main shrines. A new hall is erected on an adjoining site, and the divine images are transferred in a nocturnal ceremony to their new dwelling. For a short while, old and new stand side by side. Photo by Christoph Henrichsen, 2004

The shrines at Ise are not protected by law, and they are not treated as architectural monuments, but it is worth applying the criteria of authenticity to see how this practice has been changing.

Visual Integrity

Both the layout of the compound and the individual buildings are renewed during the Sengu in the same form, dimensions, and materials. Everything looks unchanged. Comparing historic photographs of the shrine, it seems almost impossible to differentiate between the buildings stemming from the many renewals. However, there is one detail that undergoes alteration during the ongoing work: the decorative fittings (Jap. *kazari kanagu*). The architectural style at Ise, called *yuitsu shinmeizukuri*, is characterized by a simple post-and-rail construction with elevated floor levels and boards inserted between the frame members, which are all made of cypress and left unpainted. The gable roofs with a pitch of 45° contribute to the austere and archaic appearance. Only a close look reveals that the main hall (Jap. *shōden*) of both the inner and the outer shrine has many fittings. They are made of copper sheeting, decorated with engraved floral patterns, and gilded in the mercury

bath (Jap. *suiginhaku*). Such fittings are found on the end grain of the massive steps at the entrance porch, the plank doors, the ends of the rafters and purlins, and the ridge. The handrails of the entrance porch and the veranda running around the entire building are particularly decorated with fittings. The drop-shaped cover of the front posts (Jap. *giboshi*) and the small jewel-shaped fittings encircled with flames (Jap. *hōju*) originated in a Buddhist context. People working on the shrine's archives had noticed that these decorative fittings were quite different from those depicted on narrative scrolls from the Heian period. The idea that the design of the fittings had changed over time was something they felt rather uncomfortable with. Years before the present campaign started, a committee of renowned architectural historians was formed to investigate the matter and make suggestions for a design in harmony with older pictorial evidence. At present, the fittings for the new main halls are being made in five workshops. The number of fittings has been reduced and their design simplified.

Structural Integrity

The framework of the buildings, made of round posts, penetrating tie beams at floor level, and planks inserted into grooves cut on the posts, is meticulously replicated all the way up to the joints employed. Unlike restoration work carried out on architectural monuments after the Kobe earthquake of 1995, there is no stiffening of the frame with braces, transverse beams, panels, or metal fittings. The relatively elastic load-bearing structure is therefore of the highest possible authenticity.

Material Integrity: Shortage of High-Quality Lumber

Carpenters' workshops classify wood into various grades. In general, it can be said that the higher the rank of the building and the closer a component is to the divine object (Jap. *goshintai*), the better the material must be. The highest grade is called *shihō-ake*. Such material must be free of faults on four sides, as it is used for containers of the holy objects and visible parts of the central buildings. The next grade, *nihō-ake*, must have flawless grain on at least two sides. For parts hidden from the eye, such as the roof frame, quality requirements are not so strict. Knots of a diameter of up to 2 cm are allowed.

More than 70 % of Japan is still covered by forest, the highest ratio among all industrialized countries. However, supreme-grade material grade and particularly thick trees have become extremely rare. In addition, the very few remaining forests with trees older than 200 years are often protected and not available for felling.

This shortage of high-quality lumber becomes readily apparent when looking at some parts at the Ise workshop. The shrine buildings are closed with two large so-called plank doors (Jap. *ita-tobira*). They are made of thick boards tenoned into cleats at both the top and the bottom to prevent them from warping. At the Main

Hall (Jap. *Shōden*) of the inner and outer shrine, these doors are more than 1 m wide. For the fifty-eighth Sengu in 1929, they were made of a single board (Jap. *ichimai-ita*) showing a grain pattern uninterrupted by any joint. For the following Sengu in 1953, the same doors were made of two large planks. The doors shown to me in the workshop in February 2011 for the sixty-second Sengu in 2013 are not only made of three boards, some minor natural faults have had to be filled with carefully fashioned plugs.

Particularly thick components for the sixty-second Sengu will no longer be made of cypress. For the first time, the material used will be hiba wood found in the Aomori prefecture in the northeast of Honshu. It is 75 % cheaper than cypress, can be worked easily, and is even more resistant to water and insect damage than cypress. However, hiba has a strong tendency to develop shrinkage cracks and gives off a pungent smell. The latter is the reason why hiba is only used for secondary buildings, primarily for the large wooden bridges within the shrine compound, such as the famous Uji-bashi marking the entrance to the inner shrine.

Technical Integrity: Use of Machines and Power Tools

Compared with an ordinary Japanese building site, the proportion of manual work and the use of traditional hand tools are still paramount. The trunks are still marked with the plumb line for cutting, the joints are still cut by hand, and all visible surfaces are finished with a hand plane, including the round posts, which are difficult to work. However, the degree of machine work has been increasing steadily. It started with a large bandsaw in the late 1920s, was followed by a large planer and thicknesser in the 1950s, a finishing machine so far only used for the boards of the various fences, and recently a wide range of power tools like drills, handsaws, mortisers, and overhead routers (Figs. 12 and 13).

A similar trend can be observed with regard to the fittings. The techniques for the decorative fittings have not changed, including gilding in a mercury bath. Iron fittings used for secondary shrines, at the small gates, for the substructure of reed roofing, and for fixing the large barrel-shaped pieces on the ridge are no longer hand forged but made from sheet stock.

Function

There is no other type of architecture in Japan where the buildings are as fenced off as Shinto shrines. In the case of the inner and outer shrine at Ise, they are hidden behind four fences. Only one small hall in the northeast corner of the outer shrine is opened on a daily basis to provide a food offering for the goddess. The Main Hall is only opened for a few minutes during four major rites a year. Otherwise, the buildings would only be entered if a natural disaster were to affect them. In such a rare case, a temporary shrine is erected, and the divine objects are temporarily



Fig. 12 Yamada Workshop—Machine hall. View of new machine hall in the Yamada workshop. The amount of machine work has increased considerably. Members of the frame are worked to the desired dimensions with large planers and thicknessers. Photo by Christoph Henrichsen, May 2011

transferred while repair work on the building proper goes on. There are no changes in the use of the buildings and no alterations carried out to meet new use requirements.

Fending Off Threats

With posts inserted in the ground and roofs covered with reed, the buildings at the Ise shrines are not designed to last. As they are renewed every 20 years, there seems to be no need to increase their durability. However, there are a number of measures that aim to slow decay and fend off potential threats. Starting with the sixty-first Sengu in 1993, the bottom parts of the posts are clad in thin copper sheeting to slow decay and facilitate reuse of the material after dismantling the old structures. The copper covering reaches up to a height of only 5 cm above ground and is therefore hardly visible. The same is true of the gabled roofs of the buildings. Originally there was only one layer of thick boarding underneath the reed covering. To make absolutely sure that the divine objects inside and the precious offerings are well protected, the boards are now covered with copper sheeting (Figs. 14 and 15).



Fig. 13 Yamada Workshop—power tools. Power tools are in frequent use. Holes for the tenons are made with a portable mortiser, an overhead router is used for plugs. Photo by Christoph Henrichsen, May 2011



Fig. 14 Yamada Workshop—copper sheet for posts. The feet of the posts are clad with thin copper sheeting to reduce rotting. Photo by Christoph Henrichsen, May 2011



Fig. 15 Yamada Workshop—copper sheet for the roof. The roofs of the major shrines are covered with thatch. This being short-lived and prone to damage, there is a roofing of thick planks underneath. To increase safety even more, these planks are covered with thin copper sheeting as seen on this model in the shrine workshop. Photo by Christoph Henrichsen, May 2011

Conclusion

The preservation of architectural monuments in Japan involves the highest concern for the visual qualities of a building. Other aspects are secondary and open to change, even manipulation. The procedure by which alterations of the present state undergo a strict screening before permission is granted is mostly limited to the visual quality. Issues connected with materials or techniques are not discussed. The predominance of the outside appearance is also reflected in current structural reinforcement work. Reinforcements are generally hidden, even if such an approach creates higher costs and new risks for a building.

Compared with most European countries, only a relatively small number of historic buildings of particularly high value are placed under legal protection in Japan. Subsidies of up to 97 % of the restoration costs are concentrated on a few monuments, ensuring a very high standard in the investigation of these buildings' history and the documentation of what is undertaken. With almost two thirds of the listed buildings being (parts of) shrines and temples and with many preserved like a museum, there are few cases of conflict between conservation and utilization.

Under the conditions outlined here, one might expect that monuments in Japan could be preserved “in the full richness of their authenticity.” Although the conditions seem to facilitate this, we have noted many examples of change, particularly with regard to the structural, material, and technical integrity of a building.

The aim is not to preserve traces from all periods but to return the building to its original state or—where this is impossible—to get as close to such an ideal state as is humanly possible.

Some kinds of wood required for repair and replacement work can no longer be found because species are on the verge of extinction or are only obtainable from restricted sources. Materials for roofing like reed and bark shingles, once available regionally, have to be purchased from further afield.

The Japanese Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties encompasses the concept of intangible cultural properties. At the beginning, people of outstanding ability in the field of the traditional fine arts and applied arts qualified for this protection. The range was further extended with the amendment of 1975 to include even traditional techniques necessary for the preservation of cultural properties. In the field of architectural monuments, 12 techniques have been selected for protection so far.⁹ Trade groups or individual craftsmen can be designated as the bearers of such techniques. They receive annual grants to train young people. Even though Japan has recognized the interdependence between monument preservation and the availability of traditional expertise, there is ample evidence of a loss of traditional techniques simply because there is not sufficient demand for them.

Authenticity may be the ideal to pursue in conservation work, but it is impossible to achieve. Only an approximation seems possible. For architectural monuments of outstanding value, where long-term preservation of the present state is considered necessary, one option is to “put them under protection,” for example to build a shelter as did the Japanese with some of their small Shinto shrines preserved inside a shelter to protect precious architecture (Jap. *oidō*).

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⁹Techniques protected in the field of architectural preservation are described in Seki (2000).

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Part III

Interviews

Changes in Basic Attitudes to Monument Preservation in Germany: A Conversation with Architectural Conservationist Gottfried Kiesow

Katharina Weiler

Abstract In his professional career as an architectural conservationist, Gottfried Kiesow (1931–2011) has been a first-hand witness of the course taken by monument preservation in Germany since the 1960s. “Essential to the identity of a cultural monument is a high degree both of authenticity, meaning genuineness, credibility and reliability, and of originality, meaning independence, distinctiveness and integrity,” he writes in his article “Identity—Authenticity—Originality” (1988). In his article, Kiesow arrived at the conclusion that in monument preservation “the basic attitude to age value and novelty value” is subject to constant change. In the following interview he lists several examples from the late 1950s up to the present to exemplify his thinking. His first-hand descriptions testify to the shifting attitudes towards conservation philosophies and conservation practices in Germany within the last half century. Acting on the assumption that transculture is a concept that describes ongoing processes of exchange through which cultures are not only continually constituted by others, but also constitute and reconstitute themselves, it becomes clear that each monument, e.g., within the framework of a changing German society, can be tested for its transcultural moment.

Some Notes on Gottfried Kiesow

In his professional career as an architectural conservationist, Gottfried Kiesow (1931–2011) has been a first-hand witness of the course taken by monument preservation in Germany since the 1960s.¹ Starting out as district architectural

¹ Niels Gutschow and Katharina Weiler interviewing Gottfried Kiesow on 13 April 2010 at Idsteinerstraße 7, Wiesbaden, Germany. The transcription in German was translated into English by Andrew Jenkins, Heidelberg.

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conservation officer in Hanover and Brunswick, Kiesow became president of the Authority for Monument Preservation of the state of Hesse in 1966, an office he held for the following three decades. Alongside this, he was honorary professor of art history at the University of Frankfurt am Main.

In the run-up to European Monument Protection Year 1975, Kiesow was one of an international group of conservationists, architects and lawyers studying the “Renewal of Historical Town and City Centers Abroad.”² In 1974 this took him to Poland in the company of Niels Gutschow, who is also represented in this volume. Since 1976, Kiesow has headed the work group “Special Issues in Monument Preservation” in the framework of the German National Committee for Monument Preservation, an institution of the Ministry of the Interior in Bonn.

In 1985, his experience with the British National Trust prompted him to join forces with a number of leading German managers and establish the German Foundation for Monument Preservation, of which he was the chairman until 2010. Drawing on his own private assets, he also founded the Gottfried Kiesow Foundation under the trusteeship of the German Foundation for Monument Preservation. Its statutory objectives include the cultivation of old handicraft techniques and the dissemination of knowledge about them. Instrumental in the realization of this aim is the support given by the foundation to the Monument Academies in Romrod, Görlitz and Frankfurt-Höchst, the Görlitz Continuing Education Centre for Handicrafts and Monument Preservation and the stonemasons’ lodges for the young, all of which are institutions of the German Foundation for Monument Preservation.

Kiesow was chairman of the monitoring group “Urban Monument Preservation” of the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development. His proposal to establish a center of expertise for the revitalization of historical towns and cities in Görlitz led to the establishment of the Chair of Urban Renewal and Urban Research at the Faculty of Architecture of the Technical University of Dresden, which awarded him an honorary doctorate on 15 January 2004, for the commitment he has displayed to Germany’s cultural heritage. Gottfried Kiesow has lived in Wiesbaden for many years, where he was made honorary citizen in 2006. He had been active in promoting the inclusion of Wiesbaden in the UNESCO World Heritage list and was a member of the Committee of the German World Heritage Foundation.

“Essential to the identity of a cultural monument is a high degree both of authenticity, meaning genuineness, credibility and reliability, and of originality, meaning independence, distinctiveness and integrity,”³ he writes in his article “Identity—Authenticity—Originality” (Kiesow 1988, 114). In a bid to determine the identity of a building more accurately and distinguish it from a replica or imitation, Kiesow drew upon the “preservation value” (Ger. *Denkmalwert*) of a

² Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne, *Sanierung historischer Stadtkerne im Ausland* (Bonn-Bad Godesberg: Bundesministerium für Raumordnung, Bauwesen u. Städtebau, 1975).

³ Translations by the editor.

monument as a criterion, a term introduced by Alois Riegl back in 1903 (Riegl 1903). In Riegl's view, this preservation value is made up of a number of factors: historical value, present-day aesthetic value, age value, novelty value, structural or formative value and utility value. In his article, Kiesow arrived at the conclusion that in monument preservation "the basic attitude to age value and novelty value" is subject to constant change. So where does German monument preservation stand today?

The Dialogue

Gutschow: Herr Kiesow, your article on "Identity—Authenticity—Originality" appeared in 1988. In it you quote Alois Riegl, who describes "age value" in terms of a monument being un-modern in appearance, referring mainly to weathering and patina. According to Riegl, the ruin is the quintessence of authenticity, though strictly speaking only the neglected ruin gradually crumbling away of its own accord. If a bomb hits a house and ruins it, then that is a different kettle of fish. In that case, the ruin has come about as a result of aggression. You conclude that in Riegl's day, monument preservation avoided "fresh starts and striking restorations" (Kiesow 1988, 115). Up to the First World War, patina was what you might call the *ultima ratio* and ultimately Georg Dehio insisted on "preservation, not restoration."⁴ That is tantamount to saying, don't do anything to a building except perhaps ensuring that no water gets in, that kind of thing. You go on to say that after the Second World War, there was a switch to the systematic reconstruction of "original coloring inside and outside." That means that at the time both the public and the monument conservationists wanted to actually *produce* [emphasis added by the editor] something again. Possibly this was a direct response to the fact that so many towns and cities had literally been reduced to ruins and there was this intense longing to see not only the cities but also the monuments rise again to new life.

Kiesow: That was the big bone of contention at the conference at Altenberg monastery in North Rhine-Westphalia in 1957. At the time, Rudolf Wesenberg, one of my most prominent colleagues, said that all the cities were being revitalized in brilliant hues and our monuments were standing on the sidelines, all drab and bedraggled in comparison. So for him the return to color was the order of the day. His remarks aroused vehement protest from the Austrians. The director of the Tyrolean State Conservation Authority, Josef Zykan, found it an appalling idea to give all the monuments a lick of paint. He said it was like an old lady putting on layers of make-up. In response, Wesenberg said: "I think it's a good thing for old ladies to put on make-up and make themselves presentable!" Despite the banter, we all agreed that we wanted to restore the urban monuments and the result was that big

⁴The original quote is: "Our motto is not to restore but to preserve" (*Unsere Losung lautet: allerding's nicht restaurieren—wohl aber konservieren*) and comes from Dehio (1914, 275).

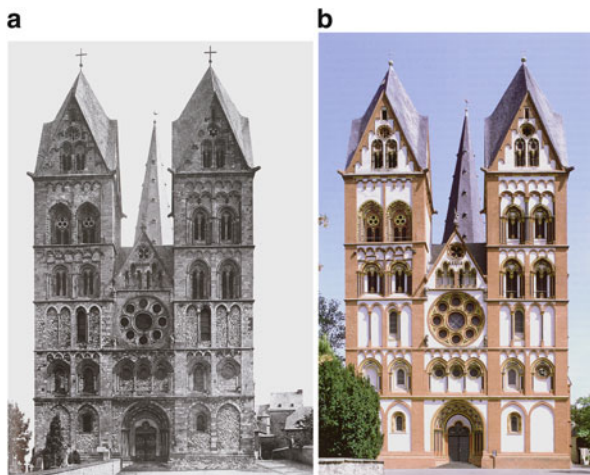


Fig. 1 (a) Limburg, west facade of the Dome. In 1870 the famous Hanover architect Hubert Stier had all the plaster, once colored, knocked off. From then on, an unclad stone facade, created through romanticist visions that insisted that one should see the skeleton, gave distinction to the landmark. By courtesy of Archiv des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege Hessen, B 11.020. (b) Limburg, west facade of the Dome. The conservators in charge decided to revert to the pre-1870 look and initiated the reconstruction of the cladding. They argued that this intervention was necessary due to the weathering of the stones. By courtesy of Archiv des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege Hessen. Photo by Christine Krienke 2006

wave of color. Werner Bornheim in particular painted everything ochre and white, and I decided to put the color back onto Limburg Cathedral. After all, my predecessor had already started to do so. I myself would certainly have left it a pseudo ruin. In 1870/71 romantic feelings had prompted the powers-that-be to knock the plaster off (Fig. 1a), and that of course was the end of the coloring. The cathedral is made of 29 different kinds of stone, tufa, basalt lava and pillar lava, for example. The tufa had deteriorated to such an extent that it had to be supplemented with cast stone. So it was all in this uniform grey, without the picturesque quarry stones, and the cathedral looked dreadful, as if it had just come out of a concrete mixer. As I say, my predecessor had already started restoring the coloring, albeit erroneously in ochre and white. Against massive resistance, I decided to give the building a colored exterior (Fig. 1b). But on the inside we laid everything bare because it was a fresco. Today the interior is 80 % original, authentic. The exterior is a reconstruction, but it was necessary because of the deterioration of the stone. The profiles were badly weathered. The restorer came up with carefully researched references for the exterior. We cheated with two of the archivolts near the west portal, but it is very likely that that was the way they were.

Gutschow: So it was a question of reinstatement, and the ingenious clinching argument was that if you hadn't done it that way, the substance of the building would have been jeopardized. Perhaps we might even say that this was a rationalization of something people wanted to do anyway.

Kiesow: I wouldn't have done it if the stone had not deteriorated so badly. In my view, the state it was in 1870, the way it was left by the famous Hanover architect Hubert Stier, who had all the plaster knocked off, was itself a historical condition. My guiding principle was to revert to the last state that had been inspired by aesthetic intentions. And the intentions in 1870 *were* [emphasis added by the editor] aesthetic, they revolved around the decision not to use plaster or colour. The Hanover School always insisted that one should see the skeleton, not the flesh on top of it.

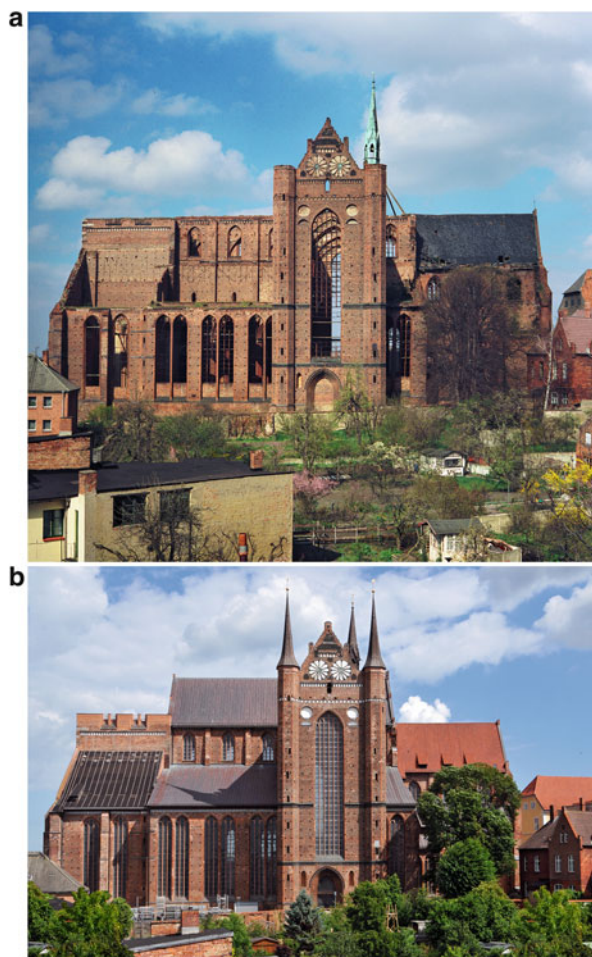
Gutschow: So that means that every generation defines anew what is at stake. And the question is whether we at the moment are standing on a new threshold. Take the New Museum in Berlin, a fabulous building where the ruin stares out at us wherever we look, and everyone thinks it's great. Wolfgang Wolters is overjoyed that at last the "gang of forgers" (Bentmann 1988, 155–169), by which he means the conservationists, has been foiled in their sinister intentions (Wolters 1997, 673 and 678). In the last resort, this is a throwback to Dehio. He wanted nothing restored and definitely nothing reconstructed. And just look at the New Museum now, where every tiniest fragment has been preserved! Absolutely nothing has been added, no coloring, nothing! So it seems fair to ask when the next stage will be arriving. Are we just sick to death of what Wolters calls the "novel" version, so that we find ourselves hoarding every last little fragment and calling it authentic?

Kiesow: I confess that I don't really have any watertight principles in the matter. For me every architectural monument is individual. I've never used coloring on any other monument after Limburg Cathedral. The question is always whether one sees the building as a document in stone for the architectural historians to pore over. If so, then of course you'll leave it as it is. But at the same time, is not a building also a work of art for the present day? If so, then this attitude will determine how we go about things. Of course the Einhard Basilica in Odenwald Forest is first and foremost a document for architectural historians. I'd never plaster anything over there.

Gutschow: Such documents are rare, of course. With other objects, things are not so clear-cut. And above all, it can't be just the historians who get to say what's what, nor the conservationists either. What does society have to say on the matter? If you ask me, the professionalization of this whole sector sometimes goes too far. You hear people railing contemptuously at the taste of the "masses." In my view, you just can't talk that way in a democratic society.

Kiesow: Yes, especially when churches are still in use. The Einhard Basilica is indeed a monument. But the sister church in Seligenstadt is a Catholic church. There I have to get the plasterers in; I can't just leave things as they are. It's always a question of the function a building has to fulfil. If you have ruins in a landscape, you can leave them as they are. But no one wants ruins in the city. In Frankfurt there's not one ruin left. For historical reasons, I would have liked to preserve the Carmelite Church as a ruin, as a testimony of destruction. But our cities have successfully come to terms with the past. We still have the church of St. Aegidius in Hanover, St. Nicholas in Hamburg and others. But in Zerbst, in Saxony-Anhalt, they're dead set on having the ruined municipal church rebuilt. I tried in vain to persuade the city

Fig. 2 (a) Wismar, St. Georgen Church. View from south towards the brick Gothic architecture destroyed on 14/15 April 1945, and kept as a ruin of the war for several decades. Photo by Hanjo Volster, 1989. (b) Wismar, St. Georgen Church. In 1991, the restoration was begun in order to recreate the trinity of Wismar's churches, also characteristic for German Hanseatic towns. Since the completion of the rebuilding, the former church is used as town hall. Photo by Hanjo Volster, 2008



fathers that the building no longer had a function to perform. I mean, who's going to use the church?

Gutschow: The Church of Our Lady (Ger. *Frauenkirche*) in Dresden has no function either, or at least not a very well-defined one. It's a symbol.

Kiesow: It's true, Rosemarie Wilcken⁵ and I rebuilt the church of St. George in Wismar (Fig. 2b). It's not a church any longer, but the town needed a municipal hall. It was the acme of brick Gothic architecture, a superb monumental church, and conserving a ruin (Fig. 2a) is very expensive. But I've always decided from one case to the next. And in Wismar I wanted to preserve the classical trinity of

⁵ Rosemarie Wilcken was mayoress of Wismar (1990–2010) and is member of the executive committee of the German Foundation for Monument Preservation.

churches that you find in the other cities of the Hanseatic League as well, in Rostock, Stralsund, and Greifswald. And there was a lot of material to go on. On this subject, German monument preservation has 16 different authorities and 17 different opinions. For example, the head of the State Conservation Authority of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Dieter Zander, said he didn't want any vaulting. A Gothic church without any vaulting! First of all, there was some vaulting still there over the choir stalls, and secondly, I got some backing from the structural engineer, Professor Fritz Wenzel from Karlsruhe. He said that if he didn't get any vaulting to brace the clerestory walls, he'd have to put in concrete anchor joists. That finally made Herr Zander backpedal. His successors are also against any kind of construction, even of the most insignificant kind, like the pedestals in the church of St. Nicholas in Anklam, for example. The red brick pedestals were still there, though 80 % of them had crumbled. But the new pedestals were not modelled on the extant profiles. Instead, they used yellow bricks, simple, rectangular ones. It looks dreadful!

Gutschow: Of course what we have there is ideology run riot. It means that as soon as you enter that building today, you'll see what faction the conservationists belong to.

Kiesow: In Saxony, things are just the opposite. They reconstruct with an insouciance that makes your head reel, for example the sgraffiti in the castle yard in Dresden, which have been lost for 150 years. I'd never do that myself. For me the *condition sine qua non* is adequate documentation. If we don't have that, then I'd tend to go along with Grete Kühn's decision in Charlottenburg not to reconstruct things the way Antoine Pesne (Fig. 3a) left them but to get the painter Hann Trier (Fig. 3b) to create a new cloud painting. You can't just recreate Pesne. If you start imitating quality like that, you end up with a caricature. So there are lots of factors to be taken into account. What is fundamentally at stake is the aesthetic unity of the building.

Weiler: As regards the Carmelite Church in Frankfurt, you originally contemplated preserving the ruin as a memory of the war. In that case you would have ascribed a historical value to the ruin, its value as a source. Doesn't that mean that historical value is not merely a matter of the existing architectural substance but is also something that is susceptible to negotiation and attribution?

Kiesow: Yes, in the cities I'd like to have some traces of the Second World War

...

Gutschow: ... and now your foundation is funding the restoration of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin and that monstrosity will stay precisely where it is. Between 1950 and 1952, before the politicians decided to let the ruin stand and to run a competition for a new building next to it, everyone wanted to have the thing torn down!

Kiesow: That was the 1950s, when historicism was a dirty word. Today, it's the architecture of the twentieth century that's going through purgatory. Post-war architecture is being torn down wherever you look. Architect Horst von Bassewitz and I protested against the demolition of the Schauspielhaus theatre in Cologne and



Fig. 3 (a) Berlin, Charlottenburg Castle. The New Wing with its White Hall in the eastern upper storey, erected 1740–1742 under Friedrich the Great after the design of Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff was inaugurated as kingly audience hall and dining hall in 1742. The ceiling painting was done by Antoine Pesne and showed the “Wedding Feast of Peleus and Thetis,” oil on stucco,

the Beethoven Hall in Bonn (Fig. 4a, b). We also inveighed against the plenary hall in Hanover. All to no avail. And the worst of it is that it's always the most important examples that get flattened, usually those in the public sphere. If you ask me, the 1950s are doomed to oblivion.

Weiler: What you're saying is that a building, and a public building in particular, is an authentic relic of a given period, so as a monument it can stand for a specific mood prevalent in society at that time. In short, the building is charged with meaning.

Kiesow: Architecture is the truest mirror of the conditions prevailing in human society. No other art can reflect that to the same extent. Take the Third Reich. Despite major resistance, we did everything we could to preserve the huge Nazi vacation and re-creation complex in Prora on the island of Rügen. In the face of bitter opposition, I even declared the euthanasia sites in Hadamar a national monument. They are testimonies to the course of history that one cannot simply scrap.

Weiler: But you wouldn't leave such testimonies to decay until they were ruins?

Kiesow: Well, in this case we had federal resources granted to us and conserved the euthanasia sites plus the incinerators. And much the same is going on in the concentration camps. In the major camps in Poland, the Remmers company is refurbishing the concrete piles so that they don't have to be replaced. I was always keen to preserve at least one wooden hut the way it was, but I've not been successful so far.

Gutschow: There are still some original huts in the subcamps in northern Germany.

Kiesow: In the vicinity of Gellnhausen there's a school hostel located in the huts formerly used to house Russian prisoners of war. But today, of course, they have central heating and double glazing to keep the heat in, and none of the old pallet beds have survived. So the preservation value of those huts is very much reduced. In terms of the Third Reich, it is a kind of structure that left its mark on that period like no other. Half of all Germans lived in wooden huts at some point in their lives, either as refugees or in the Reich Labor Service or in the Hitler Youth. What we're talking about is art history, but the broad mass of the population fails to appreciate that history includes the ugly and the barbaric. When they hear "monument preservation" most of them only think of the beautiful things. And in all this, of course, authenticity does play a certain role. If we simply replaced those camp huts and concrete piles with new ones, then right-wing radicals [historical revisionists; editor] could assert that they were fakes.



Fig. 3 (continued) 7 × 17 m. The dining hall was destroyed by an air raid in 1943. *Source*: Berckenhagen et al. (1958), Fig. 137. **(b)** Berlin, Charlottenburg Castle. After the New Wing was almost completely destroyed in 1943 the White Hall's walls with their once original inner white *stucco lustro* decoration were reconstructed. The lost Friedrican ceiling painting by Antoine Pesne was replaced in 1972–1973 by a paraphrase by contemporary artist Hann Trier, realized with egg tempera on plaster. *Source*: Dehlinger (1997), Plate 3

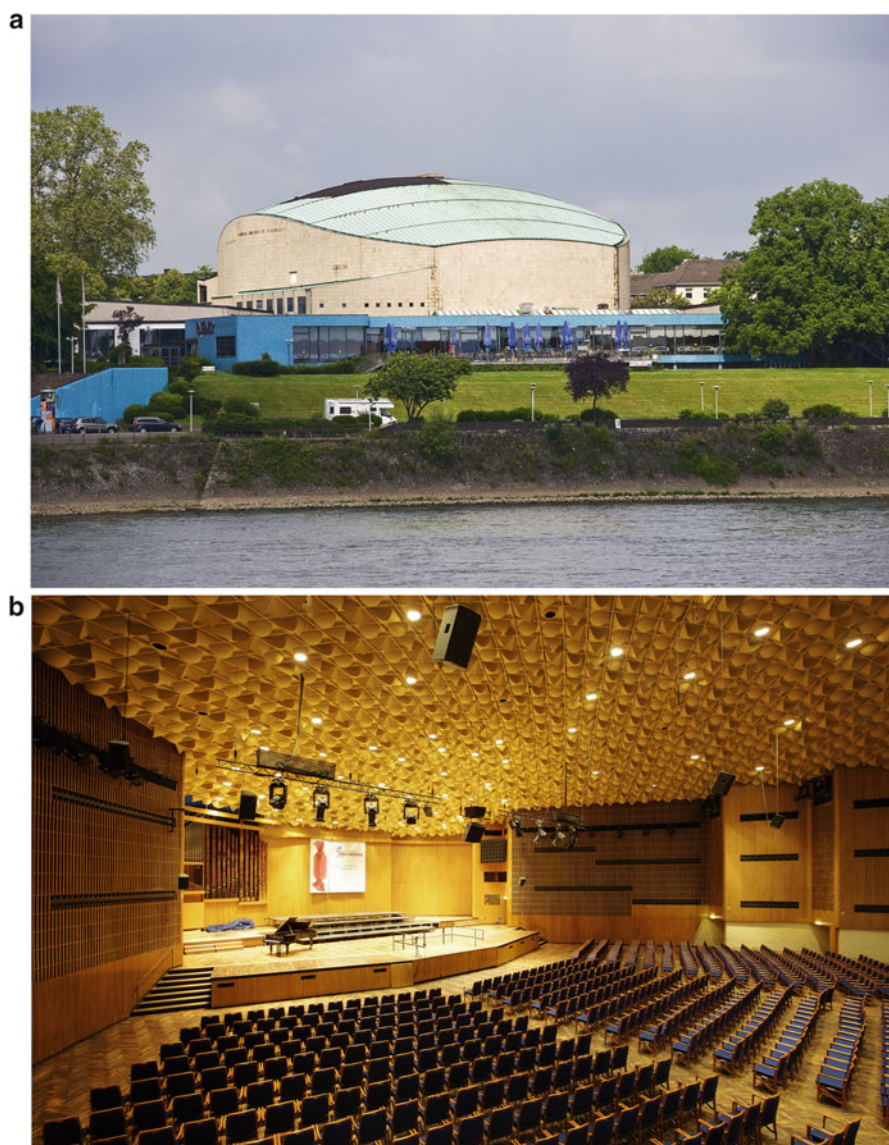


Fig. 4 (a) Bonn, Beethoven Hall. The present-day concert hall was erected after the destruction of its antecessor in the Second World War (1944). It was built after the design and guidance of Siegfried Wolske and was finished in 1959. In 1990 the building was listed as a monument of the City of Bonn. According to the *Appendix of the inscription in the monument list of the city of Bonn* (*Anlage zur Eintragung in die Denkmalliste der Stadt Bonn*) the Beethoven Hall represents “historically the trend of ‘organic building’ that sets itself apart from mere ‘functional building’.” It is further stated that the hall “ranks nationwide among the group of post-war concert buildings, such as for example the Berlin Philharmonics or the Liederhalle in Stuttgart.” Photo by Roland Rossner/Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz. (b) Bonn, Beethoven Hall. In 2009 the hall was in

Gutschow: But it's common practice. In Auschwitz there's a reconstructed guardhouse (Fig. 5).

Kiesow: We have to try and preserve what is authentic. It won't always work, though. At some point, the barbed wire will have rusted through. You can't preserve it. Of course you can, with electrolysis, but then at least initially the wire (Fig. 6) would look as if it were brand new, there'd be no patina left. These decisions always revolve around that one question: patina or no patina?

Gutschow: Precisely. As a practicing conservationist, how would you describe the present situation in which we set such great store by remnants and patina?

Kiesow: We do more now to cultivate patina, not least for reasons of preservation. If you clean stone too thoroughly, you destroy the sinter layer that protects it. It forms when the wet stone comes fresh from the quarry and then it hardens. In this drying process, mineral components gravitate to the surface and form the sinter layer. If that layer is damaged, the stone deteriorates rapidly and radically. So for scientific and technical reasons alone, we do what we can to preserve the patina. But there are aesthetic reasons as well: the patina is part of the age value. In Riegl's day, a distinction was made between the novelty value and the age value of a monument. Today, the age value has perhaps gained ground as an important criterion in monument preservation. The age of "coloration come what may" is over.

Gutschow: It's an interesting thing that every generation comes up with its own specifics and priorities. That vindicates your denial of absolute principles. It means you are free to define for yourself what you do. Riegl's 100-year-old ideas are no good to you at all. His is an historical stance that is irrelevant for you in practical terms.

Kiesow: To understand Riegl, one must of course bear in mind that he was a product of the age of historicism.

Gutschow: Of course it's relatively easy to reconstruct the scaffolding that earlier generations hung their decisions on. But the essential thing is that we know that's how it was, so we shouldn't keep trying to derive something normative out of it ...

Kiesow: ... You're talking about the fundamentalists I come up against every day. As I was saying, I gear my activities to the last artistically motivated treatment of a monument that is not disfiguring but follows an aesthetic intention.



Fig. 4 (continued) danger of being replaced by a new building, financed by German Post, Postbank, and Telekom. In May of the same year the "Initiative Beethovenhalle" (*Initiative Beethoven Hall*) against the demolition plans was posthumously initiated by Bonn University's Department of Art History and Archaeology. In an open letter to the then acting mayoress, Bärbel Dieckmann, the initiative assesses the structure "one of the earliest representative buildings that was erected in the so-called Bonn Republic." In 2009, the citizen's initiative "ProBeethovenhalle" (*Pro Beethoven Hall*) was founded and successfully campaigned for the hall's survival. In February 2011, state conservator Udo Mainzer made the request to protect not only the building but the whole area around the Beethoven Hall. Photo by Roland Rossner/Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz



Fig. 5 Oświęcim/Auschwitz. Guardhouse at the Birkenau concentration camp which served the SS personnel to control the circulation of the inmates. The Barrack was reconstructed in 2000. Photo by Niels Gutschow, May 2001



Fig. 6 Oświęcim/Auschwitz. On the compound of the former Nazi concentration camp the severely weathered concrete posts got a new mantle in the course of a recent conservation measure. The rusted barbed wire, spanned between the posts, was replaced. Photo by Niels Gutschow, May 2001

Weiler: I believe we have a problem here with the definition of “disfigurement.” Surely this can be highly subjective. Every architectural conservationist working in his own age . . .

Gutschow: . . . it’s always subjective, the term itself . . .

Kiesow: . . . I think you can define disfigurement. If you plan a street to run through the middle of the Romanic monastery church in Eberbach . . .

Weiler: . . . That’s destruction!

Kiesow: All right, call it “destruction!” Working on the University Church in Marburg, I was strongly in favor of preserving the expressionist use of space in the former monastery church. I have always advocated the preservation of the use of space typical of a particular stylistic epoch. If it’s there, it should not be interfered with unnecessarily. It’s not always possible, of course. Sometimes we have a case like the baroque fresco by Luca Antonio Colomba in Biebrich Castle that was painted over in classicist style at the behest of Duchess Pauline. Here the decision was very difficult indeed. After all, everything we do has to be reversible. In the case of Biebrich Castle, our decision was not to lay bare the baroque painting on the ceiling. But then the restorer established that the fixative layer of the classicistic painting on top of it had rotted, so if we decided to remedy that, no one would ever have been able to lay bare the baroque painting again afterwards. In the last resort, I felt unable to take the responsibility for fixing the classicist painting because that would have meant that future generations could not decide differently and elect to lay bare the baroque painting underneath. Decisions are always necessary in each individual case, and I do not arrive at them on my own but in consultation with restorers, cathedral master builders, and directors of the state conservation authorities.

Weiler: This is what you call the “identity” of a structure. The afterlife of a monument. What questions do you ask yourself in connection with monument status in a specific case? Does one really make conservation issues and decisions entirely dependent on the material side of things? Or in the case of, say, a fresco, does one spend time thinking about its aura or its relevance for a place or a period?

Kiesow: In this case, the crux of the matter was not aesthetic. It was essential that future generations should have the opportunity to lay bare the fresco if they felt it appropriate to do so. Today, of course, we’re glad that we have the baroque fresco and its portrayal of Aeneas’ admission to Olympus and the world of the gods. Duchess Pauline was very religious, almost pietistic, and she heartily disliked the painting. There was also a Zeus hung up on chains right in the middle of the dome. You won’t find him there today. He was a carved, three-dimensional figure riding on an eagle with a nine-foot wingspan. The duchess had him consigned to the flames; he was probably too heathen for her to stomach.

Gutschow: And you didn’t want to reconstruct that Zeus?

Kiesow: No. We only found one precise description by a contemporary named Thriller. We had no pictures, and excellent documentation is extremely important, in fact the *sine qua non*, for a reconstruction. That’s why I’m against the reconstruction of Berlin Castle. There the external façade was the least important feature.

But you can't reconstruct Schlüter's magnificent staircase with the four continents. Schlüter is "the" German sculptor, Germany's answer to Michelangelo.

Weiler: You're saying that what makes Schlüter so unique would be lost in a reconstruction?

Kiesow: Yes. And the staircase itself is not being reconstructed, the ground plan is not being reconstructed, one façade is to be left out, the pillared rectangle is to be roofed over. It's a caricature of the old castle, not much better than Brunswick, where you'll find the castle as the entrance to a supermarket. If you're going to reconstruct, then you have to do it properly, the way they did it with Dresden's Frauenkirche (Fig. 7). It's the epitome of Protestant church building. The main thing there is the overall form, the centralized construction.

Weiler: But even in Dresden, every preserved stone was integrated into the new structure (Fig. 8), as long as they knew where it went originally.

Kiesow: Yes, it's almost equivalent to anastylosis. The material was preserved and even the stones so disfigured by fire that they couldn't be used had been stored. So it was easy for the stonemasons to replicate them.

Weiler: So one of the key points was to recreate the original forms. Of course the reconstruction was also a highly political matter. What Riegl called an "unintentional monument," the debris of the old church invested with the role of an anti-Fascist monument in the days of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), was "destroyed" some years ago in order to recreate it the way it was originally.

Kiesow: It was a very controversial issue, and some West German colleagues were dead set against the reconstruction.

Gutschow: Yes, all those endless altercations! But you're saying that the subject of reconstruction has nothing to do with monument preservation. And you're right. It's a societal affair. Of course you can have your say on the matter. But the decisions are taken elsewhere.

Kiesow: In the case of Berlin Castle, the German Foundation for Monument Preservation is involved in the conservation of the sculptures originally done by Schlüter. My colleague Jörg Haspel⁶ and I also want the original cellars of the building preserved, as far as they still exist. And we want Schlüter's figures to be exhibited in a lapidarium down there. That would represent authenticity, not like the imitations that others are sticking on the building. In the guidelines of the foundation we have excluded the reconstruction of buildings that have disappeared altogether. But many donors are in favor of the reconstruction of the castle. I have explained to them time and again that monument preservation is for the living, not for the dead.

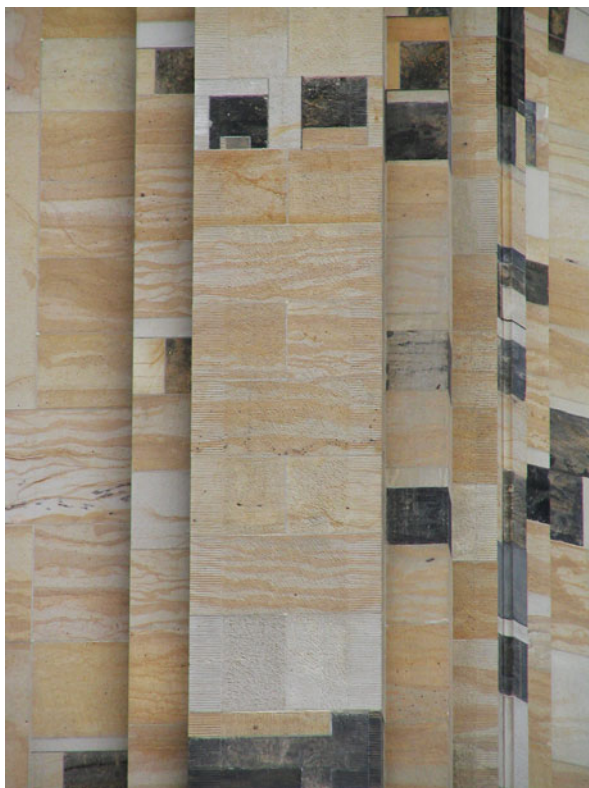
Weiler: In the case of Berlin Castle, how would you describe the tensions existing between the identity of the old structure and its identification, a distinction

⁶ Jörg Haspel studied architecture and urban planning at the University of Stuttgart and art history at the University of Tübingen. In 1992 he became head of the Berlin State Monument Authority (Ger. *Landesdenkmalamt*).



Fig. 7 Dresden, Church of Our Lady. The original Baroque church was designed by Dresden's city architect George Bähr and built between 1726 and 1743. The church was destroyed in the firebombing of Dresden on 13 February, 1945 by Anglo-American allied forces. During the time of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) the blackened stones would lie in a pile in the center of the city for the next 45 years. Shortly after the end of World War II, residents of Dresden had begun salvaging stone fragments and numbering them. In 1966, the remnants were officially declared a "memorial against war" and the heap of ruins was conserved as a direct counterpart to the ruins of Coventry Cathedral in England, which was destroyed by German bombing in 1940 and also serves as a war memorial. Using original plans used by builder Georg Bähr in the 1720s, reconstruction began in January 1993 under the direction of church architect and engineer Eberhard Burger and sponsored mainly by local development associations and donors from around

Fig. 8 Dresden, Church of Our Lady. Detail of a pilaster facing southwest. The original fabric with its blackish patina is reprocessed into the reconstruction. Photo by Katharina Weiler, November 2005



you make in your article? After all, you want to exhibit the originals in a lapidarium to show what once was and can no longer be.

Kiesow: Some of the originals still exist, and we also need to conserve and preserve important sectors of a building. At present, the big bone of contention is what to do with the Eosander portal. In future, we'll have it in duplicate, because you cannot just extricate it from the building of the State Council of the former GDR, because there again it is a very important historical document. But as I have said, reconstructions are not our job, they're political decisions. Years ago, I also disagreed with the reconstruction of the old town hall (Ger. "*Römer*") in Frankfurt and I put my disagreement on record. Subsequently the mayor of Frankfurt said I couldn't prohibit the reconstruction, after all it was not a disfigurement. I replied that I had no intention of prohibiting anything, but reconstruction was not our business.

Fig. 7 (continued) the world. The foundation stone was laid in 1994, the crypt was completed in 1996 and the inner cupola in 2000. The reconstruction of its exterior was completed in 2004, its interior in 2005 and, after 13 years of rebuilding, the church was reconsecrated on 30 October 2005. Photo by Katharina Weiler, November 2005

Gutschow: All in all, I think they made a good job of it.

Kiesow: The reconstructions in Münster (Fig. 9b) and Emden are to my mind exemplary. They're like variations on an historical theme (Fig. 9a). Those who think the Prinzipalmarkt in Münster is a reconstruction should take a careful look at the houses. Aside from very few arcades and pillars, they're all buildings from the 1950s. In Emden the ground floor of city hall was left as it was, the rest is a structure from the 1950s. It's interesting how different the approach to reconstruction was in the fifties.

Gutschow: Above all it was very varied. We mustn't forget that at the time the people of Münster were laughed to scorn throughout the republic. Everyone taunted them for their provincialism. And one generation later, we find ourselves saying: Aha, so you can do that kind of thing as well! What annoys me about this whole discussion is the ideological side of it. As you say, there are no normative principles; you as an architectural conservationist have to find a solution the owner of the building can live with. And it can always be a surprise. That's why the question remains at the end of the day: What is authentic? A few years back, Wolfgang Seidenspinner, a German cultural anthropologist, wrote an essay (Seidenspinner 2007, 1–20) in which he engages with your article. Ultimately, he concludes that authenticity is bound up with the meaning of a thing. So no identification with the material, because that doesn't get us anywhere. But every generation establishes anew the meaning a given object has for it and acts accordingly. Is that not the key factor?

Kiesow: It is indeed! The point at issue is the social background at the time a building is erected and the meaning of that structure.

Gutschow: And this meaning is something that each generation has to reassess.

Kiesow: Depending on the spirit of the age, meaning will always be defined differently. We're none of us impervious to the *zeitgeist*.

Gutschow: We *are* [emphasis added by the editor] the *zeitgeist*!

Kiesow: I've never deluded myself into thinking that my decisions are independent of the *zeitgeist*. No one can completely stand back from the society they live in. The next generation may see this differently again. That's history.

Gutschow: Recently I was talking to Jörg Haspel in Berlin about the New Museum. He said we have to be credible in the way we act. Of course we demand credibility for all kinds of things! He said he would only be credible if he passed on the fragment, the materiality of the former ruin to the next generation. This is like anticipating the appreciation of the next generation. Is that legitimate? For me, it borders on hubris to think up a justification of one's actions for the next generation. Our lives restrict us very much in the way we act, and we need to know that those that come after us will criticize our actions. And they have every right to!

Kiesow: I've always been alive to the fact that the decisions I make are indissolubly bound up with the age I live in.

Gutschow: You've been on the job for two generations. That means you experience in your everyday practice how everything changes.

Kiesow: I became an architectural conservationist in 1956. At that conference in 1957 in Altenburg I too believed that we ought to restore monuments to their



Fig. 9 (a) Münster, Prinzipalmarkt 33–44. Photograph of ca. 1885/90 (reproduction of plate 1999 in Fritsch 1891). The houses, most of them dating from the seventeenth century, were almost totally destroyed in 1943/44 and rebuilt between 1948 and 1961. © LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- u. Baukultur in Westfalen. (b) Münster, Prinzipalmarkt 28–44. Photograph of ca. 1962. Neither the silhouette nor the arcade tries to reconstruct the historical situation but creates something new that recalls the old rhythm. The fabric of the plots and the historical building line, however, remains unchanged in the reconstruction of the urban space. Photo by Christoph Bathe, 1960. © LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- u. Baukultur in Westfalen

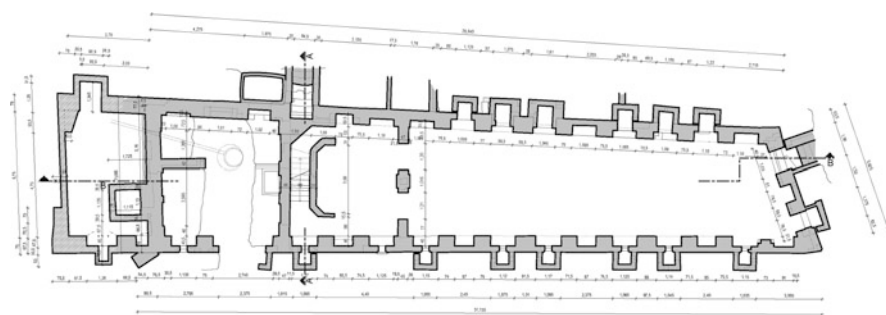


Fig. 10 Wismar, Old School. Plan of the Old School (1380) that was destroyed by war bombs in 1945. Recently, the basement of the brick Gothic building was revealed during road works. Plan by Angelis und Partner, Wismar 2009

original effect with plaster and paint. One generation later I had stopped thinking that way. I asked myself whether that was invariably the right way of going about things. The Old School in Wismar was bombed to bits in the war, and during the subsequent road works the cellars of the old Gothic school built in 1380 were exposed. Interestingly, all the non-combustible objects like gravestones, three outstanding tiled stoves and other things had been hidden away down there. We intend to restore the outlines (Fig. 10) of that structure, and in this case I would even go so far as to say we'll do it with large, monastery-style bricks.

Gutschow: The outlines? That sounds very much like reconstruction, Herr Kiesow!

Kiesow: Yes, what we're dealing with in Wismar is an ensemble (Fig. 11) to which the tower of St. Mary's, the church of St. George and this school belong. And if we want to restore the original urban situation, we're going to have to adjust to those dimensions.

Weiler: How do you think it'll be used in the future?

Kiesow: We want to put the tourist office in there. So we need toilets. And we're collecting all the literature in any language on brick architecture in the Baltic area, because my son Christian suggested to the mayoress that one day it might house the center for brick architecture in the Baltic region. We would also like a collection of all profiled brick mold-stones. We already have a brick barn where tourists can pat a brick into the desired form and scratch their names on it. And then they can fire their stones in the kiln. Ultimately, I would like to use all the bricks made in this way to rebuild the school and thus involve a broad cross section of the population in monument preservation. It may take 50 years, but that's fine by me. At all events, in this case I'd be prepared to reconstruct.

Gutschow: It's interesting to see you getting more lenient in your old age.

Kiesow: Yes, I'm getting more tolerant all the time...

Gutschow: ...and now you're reconstructing a Gothic school (Fig. 12)!

Kiesow: The motivation is to sell monument preservation to vacationers with the help of a medieval stonemasons' lodge. Educational and cultural tourism has become a major economic factor.



Fig. 11 Wismar, Old School. Plans exist for the complete reconstruction of the Old School (*left, red*) that together with the Marien Church and St. Georgen Church is supposed to recreate the town's characteristic architectural trinity. Plan by Angelis und Partner, Wismar 2009



Fig. 12 Wismar, Old School. The plans envision using the former, reconstructed cloister school as tourist information. In a recently erected brick barn in situ, tourists can pat bricks manually into forms and have them fired in the kiln. All these bricks are collected to be one day used for the rebuilding of the Old School. Plan by Angelis und Partner, Wismar 2009

Weiler: In fact, you're not just reconstructing a building, you're going a step further and reviving a traditional craft, claiming that you'll be producing each brick in as authentic a way as possible.

Kiesow: The bricks will be produced precisely as they were fashioned in the Middle Ages. It's just like the way the church of St. George was rebuilt by the Danish outfit Falkenløwe. In north Jutland they have a kiln modelled exclusively on medieval techniques. The people actually stand there with their molding boxes, put clumps of clay into them and pat them smooth with a piece of wood. Then they're taken out again and put into the kiln. The company also has factories where the molding bricks are made by machines. Mr. Falkenløwe devised a machine that does exactly what the brick workers used to do: put the clump of clay into the form and then press it in with both fists. A steel plate just as large as the opening of the molding box was used to press the clay in. But in the end they couldn't use those bricks because the mechanically produced bricks had uniform density from one end to the other, so later you got moisture buildup in the interstices. When you do it manually, you have the biggest pressure in the middle and less at both ends. So Falkenløwe abandoned mechanical production. In Wismar today, the aim is to spread the idea of monument preservation with the help of a manual craft.

Gutschow and Weiler: Herr Kiesow, thank you very much for this interview.

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Essential Architectural Values: A Conversation with the Architect Raj Rewal

Katharina Weiler

Abstract The appropriation of the past in the present is subject to multiple dynamics. At the same time, there are many facets to the study of heritage. Delhi-based architect Raj Rewal typically links his work to architectural forms and philosophies emanating from India's past. He thus recontextualizes ancient ideas of aesthetic experiences, notions of authenticity, and contemporary architecture. The architect ascribes to stone, one of his major building materials, certain values and qualities, e.g., a "meditative" quality. Authenticity is a function of the emotional impact a building has on the beholder. He preserves a certain authenticity in his work by incorporating genuine craft. In his attempts to incorporate the essence of traditional values into his architecture, Rewal is in a frequent dialogue with issues concerning the history of Indian building traditions and essential values of buildings and towns. Here he expresses his ideas about essential aspects of architecture and its conservation across time and space.

Some Notes on Raj Rewal

Indian architect Raj Rewal was born in 1934 in Tanda, Uttar Pradesh, and educated in New Delhi. He completed his training in London and worked at Michel Ecochard's office in Paris before returning to New Delhi. His best-known work centers on housing projects, urban design, and public buildings. Rewal is a recipient of several prestigious awards, including the gold medal awarded by the Indian Institute of Architects, the Robert Mathew Award of the Commonwealth Associations of Architects, and the Chevalier des Arts et des Lettres award of the French Government. Raj Rewal Associates has worked on projects in India, Iran, China, France, and Portugal. The design portfolio of the firm includes many buildings in

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New Delhi, for example the Sheikh Sarai Housing for the Delhi Development Authority, the Asian Games Village, the National Institute of Immunology, the World Bank Regional Mission, the Parliament Library Complex, and the Ismaili Centre, Lisbon, Portugal.

Rewal links his work to architectural forms from India's past. In so doing, he establishes a relationship between certain historical characteristics of the city (for example, passive climate control of buildings, craftsmanship, specific symbolic meanings) and modern technologies and contemporary approaches. In this way, he expresses the "aggregative value of the forms of tradition" (Pavesi and Quintell 2006, 51). In his plans for and construction of the Asian Games Village, for instance, Rewal aimed at providing the inhabitants with a sense of community and recalls building clusters of ancient townscapes evoking "the ancient flavor of a microcosm of the ancient Indian city" (Pavesi and Quintell 2006, 51).

The philosophy of a place or architecture expressing some kind of flavor or ambience finds its counterpart in the Indian concept designated by the Sanskrit word *rasa* (lit. "juice" or "essence"). As a flavorsome essence, *rasa* is the composition of essential qualities underlying all food (Schwartz 2004, 8). In this regard, a flavor is not understood as an additive to a meal but it is rather viewed as a defining quality, an essential part of its creation. In this spirit, religious scholar Lee A. Siegel (b. 1945) applies the term to the performing arts (Siegel 1978, 43). In ancient Sanskrit texts, *rasa* is defined particularly with reference to the performing arts and denotes an essential esthetic principle.¹ The term *rasa* describes a mental state; *rasa* is the primary emotion that is evoked in the person experiencing such a work. *Rasa* expresses an emotion inspired in an audience by a performer. *Rasas* are therefore created by *bhavas*, the emotive stimuli of the actors.

In an interview with the Iranian philosopher Ramin Jahanbegloo, Rewal explains that "architects [...] should have the same potential as other artists to express a variety of sentiments through architecture" (Jahanbegloo and Rewal 2010, 44). In the eyes of Rewal, a building will be devoid of character if the architecture has no "emotional impact," and he suggests classifying "rasa or architectural expression for different building types." Rewal aspires to the creation of architecture that is responsive to both the visual and tactile senses and in accordance with the function a building is designed to perform. Thus he consciously incorporates the idea of *rasa* into his architecture.

¹ The Nāṭyaśāstra, the earliest-known extant Indian treatise on performing arts (dated between the second century BCE and fourth century CE) by the legendary author Bharata, describes eight *rasas*: love in union and separation (Skt. *śṛṅgāra*), humor (Skt. *hāsyā*), pathos/sorrow (Skt. *karuṇā*), anger/wrath (Skt. *raudra*), heroism (Skt. *vīra*), fear/panic (Skt. *bhayānaka*), distaste/recoil/disgust (Skt. *bibhāṣa*), and wonderment/surprise (Skt. *abdhuta*). According to the Nāṭyaśāstra, these *rasas* consist of postures, characteristic qualities of movement, facial expressions, and hand gestures (Skt. *mudras*). The text delineates a number of different emotions and moods (Skt. *bhavas*) used to generate each *rasa*.

As a contemporary architect, Rewal still frequently engages with issues concerning the history of Indian building traditions and essential values of buildings and towns. In the following he communicates his ideas about essential aspects of architecture and its conservation.²

The Dialogue

Weiler: Mr. Rewal, Western attitudes to architectural conservation tend to concentrate on the authenticity of the esthetic and historical values of a monument. Article 9 of the Venice Charter states that the aim of restoration is “to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument” and that this aim “is based on respect for the original material and authentic documents.” Why this need for the authentication of tangible traces of the past?

Rewal: The process of machines in industrialization has changed our civilization. Industrial processes can cater to a much larger number of people than a craft can do. Take for example a mass-produced cup: it is not as beautiful as a traditionally manufactured cup, but it can be reproduced, let us say 40,000 times. And if it breaks, it does not break my heart. We are living in an industrial civilization. There are only few areas in the world where certain craft traditions are still alive because they cater for people’s daily needs in a very authentic manner. For example in a village in India, Nepal, or China, water pots (Fig. 1) are still hand-produced and people do not use plastic buckets. But these traditions and craft objects are dying. I think it is when we realize we are about to lose something that we start getting concerned about it. When we see material objects passing away from our possession, we become deeply concerned about conserving them and give them a new prestige.

Weiler: Are there basic values assigned to India’s architectural heritage—both tangible and intangible—that are more important than the “originality” of the material? Is there such a thing as the concept of an “original integrity” or *rasa* of a temple, mausoleum, or even a residential building in India?

Rewal: I am sure that in European tradition there is something that approximates the concept of *rasa*, maybe “ambience” or an expression of “flavor.” If I am constructing a building in stone, I have many reasons for doing so. First of all, stone is still a reasonably priced material. Secondly, it conveys certain kinds of meaning. Stone is not a Stone-Age material; we can also use it in our times and in many different manners. Stone gives a certain quality and backdrop to my architecture. A meditative quality is very rare in modern architecture. In the Library for

²Katharina Weiler in conversation with Raj Rewal, 4 March 2010, at Raj Rewal and Associates (S-7, Triveni, DDA Commercial Complex), Sheikh Sarai Phase 1, New Delhi.



Fig. 1 Bhaktapur, Nepal. Jars and plates are manufactured daily at “Pottery Square” to serve common and ritual use, every piece being an original. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 29 November 2006

the Parliament Building (Fig. 2) in Delhi I wanted to create this kind of quality; I was concerned with the idea of enlightenment, with certain values which have symbolic connotations.

Weiler: Did you take this symbolism from the past?

Rewal: I took it from the past but I gave it a new lease of life. After all, you cannot marry your grandmother. And this was the danger in Europe when they were doing postmodern architecture particularly, taking little bits from some old buildings and putting them together on their new buildings. For me that is a very cheap thing to do. But there are some values that are inherent in traditional architecture (Fig. 3), and they can be given new life. However, it is difficult to express them in words, you have to feel them. I try and incorporate the essence of traditional values in my architecture.

Weiler: Why are the ideas about the conservation, preservation, restoration, or reconstruction of heritage buildings so different from each other, let us say in Europe, India, and Japan?

Rewal: Well, I am not an expert on conservation, but I personally feel that it depends on the traditional type of building. In Japan, the idea of preservation is to repair rotten parts of the wood, and they reconstruct their wooden architecture every 20 years to give it a new life. And I think this a very good thing to do with that

Fig. 2 Library for the Parliament Building, New Delhi, India. The building was designed by Raj Rewal and inaugurated on 7 May 2002. Conceived as a symbol of enlightenment, its focal centre is covered by a glass dome. Light is the characteristic theme of the architecture, symbolically representing the spirit of wisdom, enlightenment and democracy. Red sandstone is used on the balustrade. *Source:* Jain et al. 2002, 11. Photo by Raj Rewal Associates





Fig. 3 Ranakpur, Jain temple. The general plan of the Library for the Parliament Building, New Delhi, was inspired by the construction of the sixteenth century Jain temple in Ranakpur, Rajasthan, where natural light enters the sanctuary through open spaces between the central block and the surrounding mass. *Source:* Jain et al. 2002, 7. Photo by Helene Rewal

material. Otherwise it would vanish. On the other hand, there are stone buildings from a certain epoch, for example at the Acropolis³. These are genuinely authentic buildings in stone. The Acropolis has been destroyed, and I would not like to put a new statue there. The only thing one would like to do is to preserve it, but I feel

³ The Acropolis allows for the attribution of values that differ from its historical value. That value depends on the originality of its stone elements. To the Indian architect Charles Correa (b. 1930), “the essence of the Parthenon in Athens is the movement upward along a sacred pathway. Of course it has marble columns, and it represents many, many layers of architectonic decisions, but the basic mechanism—in human terms—is the upward, open-to-sky pathway.” See Correa 1989, 378



Fig. 4 Samarkand, Uzbekistan. The Tilla Kari Madrasa and mosque (fifteenth-sixteenth century), together with the Ulugh Beg Madrasa (1418–1422) and the Shir Dor Madrasa (1619–1636), is part of the architectural ensemble of Registan Square. The complex was in a ruined condition until the first half of the twentieth century. Domes and portals were partially or completely destroyed; the minarets were at a tilt and had lost much of their ceramic tile coverings. Unknown photographer, ca. 1910. © Aga Khan Award for Architecture/Krukov and Sadikov Zakhidov

uneasy about the idea of replacing the missing statues and building parts. However, the Russians have done so in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, where there are wonderful old ceramic buildings (Fig. 4). Deliberately or not, people designed the new parts (Fig. 5) differently, and even though it may look a bit strange, you can say: It is better to have it this way than dealing with a total ruin. UNESCO's point of view is very clear. Authenticity must be preserved, and if you are going to add something to a heritage building it should look different; it should not look as if it was part of the original. By the way, stone that has weathered for the last 500 or a 1000 years looks different from the stone that you get from a quarry today. They will never look the same.

Weiler: The “new” stone lacks any age value?

Rewal: Exactly.

Weiler: When it comes to conservation, do you agree with the Venice Charter and its chief concern for the authenticity of the material?

Rewal: If you want my opinion, there is no rule. It depends on the building. Take for example the Forbidden City or Mu's Residence, Mu Fu, in Lijiang [see also Zhu Yujie in this volume]. Lijiang was partially destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. But the Chinese have now tried to revive it—a good thing too, because Mu Fu



Fig. 5 Samarkand, Uzbekistan. After structural repairs in 1923 and 1932, the major restoration works were undertaken between 1967 and 1987, commissioned by the Chief Board for the Protection of Monuments Ministry of Culture of the Uzbek SSR, Tashkent, USSR. In the framework of the project, Tilla Kari Madrasa's turquoise-colored dome was reconstructed in the late 1970s, after ancient techniques had been mastered. Local ceramic workshops employing craftsmen from Samarkand manufactured glazed tiles, painted majolica, and varicolored, glazed kashi inlay. Photo by Arun Rewal, 1990. By courtesy of the MIT Libraries, Aga Khan Visual Archive. This material may be protected by copyright law (Title 17 U.S. Code)

is one of the finest wooden architectures I have seen anywhere in the world. It needs to be preserved, and I was greatly moved by the good work they have done. But to answer your question, I think the way of maintaining a building depends on its materiality. If something is already in ruins, like the Acropolis, we cannot add anything to it. But Mu Fu was destroyed only a few decades ago: It can be repaired because you still have the craftsmen, and you still have the same spirit, more or less, to do it.

Weiler: Talking about building material, what questions can be addressed to stone?

Rewal: Stone is one of the basic materials for construction. Because it is a natural material, it has a certain value, like silk or cotton. It is genuine. Artificial materials such as nylon have different values. I use stone with a modern sensibility. The grain of the stone, the play of light and shadow on its surface, the question of how it should be fixed, the way it is assembled on a building site—these are very important issues for me as a contemporary architect. It is not possible for me to use it the way it was used 200 years ago. Mind you, the city of Fatehpur Sikri is very modern. It was ahead of its time when they built it around 400 years ago and they

used the material in a very modern manner. Stone has a certain quality. No matter what you do to stone, it still has certain elegance, a certain value.

Weiler: You have just described a kind of “stone value.” But at the same time you have to have craftsmanship in order to use stone for buildings. Is the craftsmanship of the Indian masons restricted to the repair and maintenance of ancient buildings and the construction of new temple sites? Or do you also employ so-called traditional craftsmen for the construction of your contemporary architecture?

Rewal: In some respects I do. We are lucky in India. We use both handicraft traditions and high technology at the same time. And I am quite happy to use both of them. For an architect, the craft can be an inspiration, and that is what a lot of my work is about. Sometimes I have recruited genuine craftsmen from Agra instead of buying the requisite skills from the building contractor. This way, I preserve a certain authenticity, for example in the building for the World Bank (Fig. 6). I think the crafts need an upgrading in contemporary building.

Fig. 6 World Bank Building, New Delhi. The detail of a balcony presents handicraft sandstone cladding, a characteristic building material for the Delhi, Gujarat, and Rajasthan region. Architect Raj Rewal has integrated elements manufactured through craftsmanship into modern building design in order to preserve a certain authenticity linked to the Indian crafts tradition and to emphasize the play of light and shadow on the stone's surface. *Source:* Jahanbegloo and Rewal 2010, 69. Photo by Ferrante



Weiler: This demonstrates that tradition is not necessarily the opposite of modernity.

Rewal: Right. A lot of people think tradition is backward, reactionary, old-fashioned. But I do not look on tradition this way. I do think that certain traditions can be very reactionary and fanatical. But there are certain holistic values of tradition that are very important. Living with nature, for example, although some people may say this is very old-fashioned. . .

Weiler: . . .romantic. . .

Rewal: . . .Yes, indeed. But I think this is very valuable. Mahatma Gandhi indicated how we could live with nature and the destruction we are causing on our planet. Our rivers are polluted, we cannot move because there are too many cars and too much traffic.

Weiler: Focusing on tradition, is there anything like an authenticity of Indian state-of-the-art craftsmanship, a craftsmanship value?

Rewal: Reproduction of an industrial process is debasing the value of craftsmanship. It used to take a craftsman 3 months to make an art object. Today, he can make 30 objects in 1 day just by using industrial processes. This is bad for craft value. But a present-day craftsman may well use modern interpretations or more creative aspects of tradition. The authenticity of contemporary craftsmanship lies in preserving it the way it was, appreciating it, and maybe creating something new which is inspired by a tradition. Craft techniques, whether it is porcelain or ceramic manufacture or a stone carving system, can be handed down from father to son. But an art object may lose some of its vigor and quality if it is going to be made and reproduced by machines that copy the craft into something else.

Weiler: Mr. Rewal, thank you for this conversation.

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The Conservation of Humayun's Tomb in Delhi: A Debate On-Site

Katharina Weiler

Abstract Humayun's Tomb in Delhi was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1993 and since then has undergone extensive restoration work that aimed at the revitalization of the architectural spirit and original intention of the builder. It provided suspense-packed discussions and required a critical dialogue with architectural preservation in India as an originally colonial discipline. The conservation was based on prevalent international charters but was to be "rooted in the Indian context." The following text presents the monument's historical background and an on-site debate between several experts in the field of conservation who met at the mausoleum in November 2009 to talk about contested notions like architectural "character" and "material authenticity."

Historical Background

Humayun's Tomb (Fig. 1), the mausoleum for the second Mughal Emperor, is located in Nizamuddin East in Delhi and is thought to have been built in the second half of the sixteenth century under the supervision of Sayyid Muhammad and his father Mirak Sayyid Ghiyath, architects of Persian descent. Persian craftsmen were employed to build the site. It is 47 m high. The building stands on a vaulted terrace rising from a square plinth measuring 12,000 square meters and marking the center of a Quranic paradise garden divided into four quadrants. The enclosure can be entered through two lofty double-storied gateways on the western and southern sides.

The construction of Humayun's Tomb (ca. 1569) is thus one of the earliest examples testifying to the introduction of Timurid features in Indian architecture, e.g., a symmetrical ground plan (Pers. *hasht bihisht*) (Fig. 2), a garden setting (Pers.

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Fig. 1 Delhi, Humayun's Tomb (ca. 1569), west side. The mausoleum for the second Mughal emperor stands on a vaulted terrace which rises from a square plinth measuring 12,000 square meters. It marks the center of a Quranic paradise garden divided into four quadrants. The tomb is accessible through a lofty double-storied gateway. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 14 November 2009

chahar-bagh), and a Persian double dome. A *dalan* is located in front of each of the four sides of the centrally planned building. Each *dalan* features two smaller canopies that were originally covered with decorative tiling in a striking turquoise-blue color and patterned with green, lapis blue, yellow, and white tiles. Seen against the marble-covered dome, the colored tiling work on these canopies represented a significant design intention on the part of the builders and a link to Persian architectural traditions. "The *chahar-bagh* was more than a pleasure garden. In the discipline and order of its landscaped geometry, its octagonal or rectangular pools, its selection of favourite plants and trees, it was an attempt to create transcendent perfection – a glimpse of paradise on earth."¹

At the same time, several elements familiar to local building traditions were incorporated into the architecture of the tomb, for example the pavilions (Hind. *chhatris*) and the choice of stone thus resulting in a creative transcultural amalgam. In Persia almost the only variegation of the façade of a building was achieved by the use of colored tiles, whereas in India colored stones worked by local craftsmen were used. Building with red sandstone and white marble, for instance, was a common characteristic of fourteenth century architecture in the Delhi Sultanate (Koch 1991, 44). The combination of these differing stones in Indian architecture was neglected

¹ "Speech by His Highness the Aga Khan at the Ceremony to Inaugurate the Restored Humayun's Tomb Gardens (New Delhi, India), 15 April 2003," see Aga Khan Development Network, Press Centre, 2003.

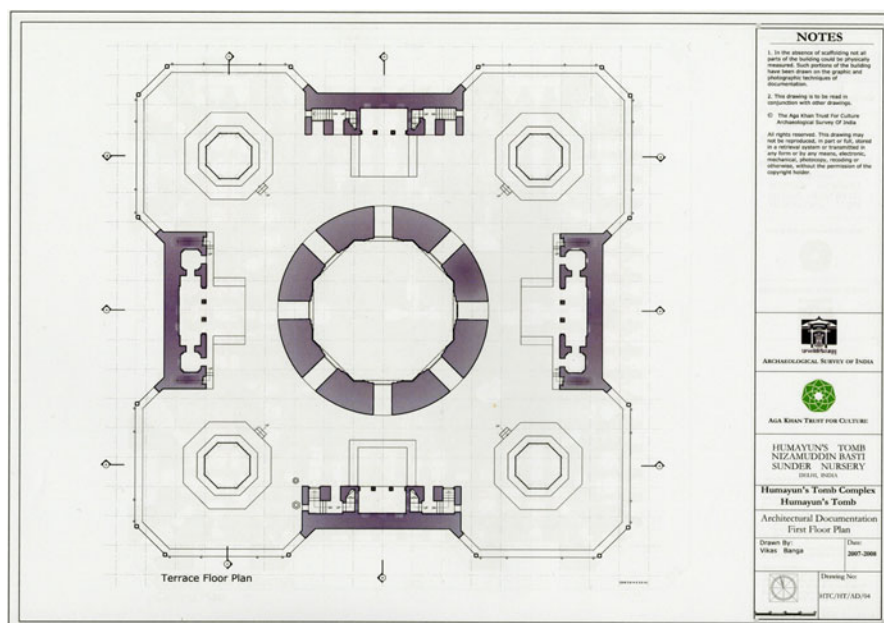


Fig. 2 Ground floor plan. The construction of Humayun's Tomb, a centrally planned building, is one of the earliest examples testifying to the introduction of Timurid features in Indian architecture, such as a symmetrical ground plan (Pers. *hasht bihisht*). Drawing by Vikas Banga in 2008 for the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Delhi. Pictured in the Urban Renewal Initiative's Conservation Proposal, March 2008

during the fifteenth century, then revived under the Mughals and became the standard means of finishing a building. Humayun's mausoleum and the enclosure walls are built of three different kinds of stone: local quartzite for the rubble masonry, red sandstone for the dressing, and marble inlay for the construction of the walls and the two gateways. The sandstone for the main building came from Tantpur near Agra and was combined with marble from Makrana in Rajasthan. The plinth from which the tomb rises is the only feature made of ashlar-formed quartzite blocks, the remainder being entirely red or yellowish sandstone with marble panels or outlines. The original façade pattern follows a strict architectural geometry, e.g., the ternary pattern of the sandstone and the marble inlay is the same throughout the façade. The floor of the terrace was originally paved with sandstone.

A Conservation Project

The site was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1993. Since then it has undergone extensive restoration work that is explained in greater detail by Ratish Nanda in his contribution to this volume. The committee inscribed the site on the

World Heritage List under criteria (ii) “to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design,” and (iv) “to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.”

From 1997 until 2003 the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) funded and implemented the restoration of the gardens surrounding Humayun’s mausoleum, the first privately funded restoration of a World Heritage Site in India. “The objective of the project was to restore the gardens, pathways, fountains and water channels surrounding Humayun’s Tomb according to the original plans of the builders.”²

Ratish Nanda delivers first-hand knowledge of the recent restoration aims and practical details. Funding included a sum of \$650,000 from the Aga Khan Trust for Culture of His Highness the Aga Khan, with financial help from the Oberoi Hotels Group.

Public and official endorsement of the collaborative project work in the rehabilitation of Humayun’s Tomb Gardens finally prompted the Government of India and the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) (of which AKTC is a part) to consider further partnership. Accordingly, the AKTC drew up a recommendation for an “area development project” (Fig. 3) in the vicinity of Humayun’s Tomb focusing on the building complex³ itself, as well as on the Hazrat Nizamuddin Basti, and the Sundar Nursery site which “together with their unique cultural assets and heritage, would unify these three zones into an urban conservation district [...]” (Archaeological Survey of India and Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2008, 15).

From 2007 to 2012 Humayun’s Tomb was subsequently restored by the Urban Renewal Initiative, a public-private partnership initiative composed of the ASI, the Central Public Works Department, the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, and the AKTC, Delhi. The conservation principles were modeled on prevalent international charters, especially the Venice Charter (1964) and the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter (1979, revised in 1999), the provisos being that they should be “rooted in the Indian context” (Archaeological Survey of India and Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2008, 29) and employ traditional craftsmanship. The Burra Charter reads as follows: “Traditional techniques and materials are preferred for the *conservation* of significant *fabric* [italics in the original]. In some circumstances modern techniques and materials which offer substantial conservation benefits may be appropriate” (Australia ICOMOS International Council of Monuments and Sites 2000, Paragraph 4.2). In accordance with the charter, the conservation works at

² “Urban Renewal in Delhi India: The Humayun’s Tomb-Sunder Nursery-Hazrat Nizamuddin Basti Urban Renewal Project,” see Aga Khan Trust for Culture: Historic Cities Programme.

³ Besides the mausoleum and its gardens, the complex includes several significant monuments, such as Isa Khan’s tomb enclosure, Afsarwala tomb and mosque, Arab Serai, Bu Halima’s Tomb, Nila Gumbad on the eastern side, and several monumental gateways.



Fig. 3 The “area development project” in the vicinity of Humayun’s Tomb, as recommended by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, focused on the building complex itself (*middle right*), as well as on the Hazrat Nizamuddin Basti (*left*) and the Sundar Nursery site (*above*). Its aim was to unify these three zones into an urban conservation district. Pictured in the Urban Renewal Initiative’s Conservation Proposal, March 2008

Humayun’s Tomb included training components providing both patronage and training in craft skills, while modern conservation techniques were simultaneously introduced. In their Conservation Proposal for “Humayun’s Tomb World Heritage

Site,” the ASI and the AKTC also commit to the *Conservation Manual* of 1923 by the former director general of the ASI, John Marshall. Marshall’s guideline “remains valid in the present context and the guiding principles it outlines are still followed by the ASI” (Archaeological Survey of India and Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2008, 30). This statement is, however, modified since as per the Conservation Proposal “in the eighty years since the manual was written, changes such as Independence (conservation seen in the Indian cultural context), advances in science (preservation techniques), the realization of the enhanced value of ‘ancient monuments’ (community assets rather than burden/responsibility), economic development and private participation in conservation (costs) and the rapid development of the Information Technology (recording, dissemination) have meant that sections in the manual have to be read in the spirit of the manual but in the light of modern developments” (Archaeological Survey of India and Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2008, 30).

In his speech on the occasion of the Inauguration Ceremony for the Restoration of Humayun’s Tomb on 18 September 2013 in Delhi, His Highness the Aga Khan recalled the immense restoration efforts undertaken since 2007: master craftsmen spent some 200,000 work-days; some one million kilos of cement concrete were removed from the roof using hand tools; some 200,000 square feet of lime plaster was applied, i.e., in areas where it had been lost or replaced with cement plaster; over 40,000 square feet of concrete were removed from the lower plinth of the Mausoleum and major, 2-ton paving blocks, were manually replaced, and decorative patterns were recreated by young residents of the Hazrat Nizamuddin Basti who were trained by master ceramic tile makers from Uzbekistan.

The Architectural Character and Material Authenticity of Humayun’s Tomb in Delhi: An On-Site Debate, 14 November 2009

In November 2009, the research project “Aspects of Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Conservation” at Heidelberg University’s Cluster of Excellence “Asia and Europe in a Global Context” occasioned an on-site meeting of several conservation experts at Humayun’s Tomb: Ratish Nanda and Sangeeta Singh, both conservation architects from the Aga Khan Trust for Culture in Delhi, Janhwi Sharma, the first architect engaged by the Archaeological Survey of India responsible for World Heritage Sites, A. G. Krishna Menon, an architect representing the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) in Delhi, Rajpal Singh, the project manager, Balbir Singh, the archaeological engineer, Atar Singh, the principal stone craftsman on the site, Wim Denslagen, architectural historian and professor of conservation history and theory at Utrecht University, and architect and architectural historian Niels Gutschow from Heidelberg University. At this meeting, they

discussed conservation practice on the site, with special reference to issues associated with its architectural character and material authenticity.

Nanda: Besides the architects, this conservation project also involves a number of engineers who are on site plus the conservation architects themselves. Atar Singh, for example, is from Dholpur in Rajasthan. He is one of our principal stone craftsmen, and his opinion matters. All the stone that we use comes from the Dholpur area: Dholpur stone is a beige-colored stone and Agra stone is red water sandstone. We also use Delhi quartzite.

Rajpal Singh: Working with the Delhi quartzite is not easy. You have to have chisels specially made for this stone. We could not find a chisel that could work on it. We bought steel used for the construction of trains and shock absorbers, and from that material we made these chisels.

Menon: The reason they are working the quartzite and sandstone by hand, instead of using machines, for example saws or rills, is that if stone is cut by a machine you do not get a tender texture, which is why water absorption partially increases. If you do it by hand, it doesn't. It remains virtually as it is. These are small things that they learn by experience.

Nanda: I think a very important thing is, if you use a machine, the patina never comes back. Some of the stones that were worked manually about 6 years ago, when we were doing the garden restoration, today look as if they were 500 years old, because the patina is coming back so quickly. The stone ages in a certain way if it is dressed by hand. When you use the machine, you take every stone. But a craftsman who works with his hands can actually tell which stones are not worth using and reject them.

Menon: This is the quality that we want to encourage and propagate. The conservation architects here are happily replacing old stones or missing pieces with new stones, for example the decorative, sandstone dwarf corner-pillars of the terrace and ground-floor level (Fig. 4). The new material is just as valuable as the old. You would not know whether it is new or old. In a few years, it will also have a patina. This is a World Heritage Site, and the Venice Charter would not permit this practice. And this is the kind of complexity I would like you to understand. It is quite possible to do it. You have the craftsmen, and you have the material, and you have the knowledge to replace the stone wherever required.

Gutschow: John Marshall says: "Although there are many ancient buildings whose state of disrepair suggests at first sight a renewal, it should never be forgotten that their *historical value is gone when their authenticity is destroyed*, and that our first duty is not to renew them but to preserve them. When, therefore, repairs are carried out, no effort should be spared to save as many parts of the original as possible, since it is to the authenticity of the old parts that practically all the interest attaching to the new will owe itself." (Marshall 1923, Paragraph 24). What is the significance of this passage with respect to your conservation practice, the renewal and replacement of the material?

Nanda: Well, that is one paragraph in isolation. You should read John Marshall and compare it to all the prevalent conservation philosophies, both in India and abroad. A lot of debate is going on about why we are doing this. But in fact, once



Fig. 4 Humayun's Tomb, stone workshop. The decorative sandstone dwarf corner pillars for the terrace and ground-floor level are dressed by craftsman according to the original form, using the same building traditions that were used in the original construction. Diverse quarries in Rajasthan were surveyed to find out where appropriate stone was available for the replacements. In a few years, the new material will have a patina and resemble the authentic material. In order to document the replacements visibly, small marks were put on each stone. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 14 November 2009

you see our documentation, you realize that almost every stone in the whole building has been analyzed to find out whether it can be repaired or needs to be renewed. Each one of the stones is different, which is why they are all numbered. It is not a standard stone, you know, it is not a case of "one size fits all." Every stone has been looked at to see whether it can be repaired, and when we realized that some pieces of stones cannot be repaired, we worked on them with the highest degree of craftsmanship available to us. And we ensured that the same building material was used, in accordance with the building traditions operative in the original construction. To justify the fact that new stones are different from old stones, I would say we are conforming with the highest standards of documentation by putting a small visible small mark on each stone so that an expert will know what to look for. But the data is also available in a digital format and on drawings. We have done a laser scan, so every stone has been included, and we have got a whole list of stones that we want to replace. I hope to put in on the internet, make it available, so that any expert on site 30 years down the line will know that this stone was inserted in 2010, 2011, or whatever.

Gutschow: What if a detail is missing? I mean, if you are not replacing a degraded stone but something that is missing, and I'm sure that this is the case.

Nanda: At Humayun's Tomb, a World Heritage Site, we leave absolutely zero scope for speculation. We have not yet come across any instance where we needed to speculate, because it is a symmetrical building. But we have been debating about the original tile work on the canopies of the tomb, 80–90 % of which is missing. What is the right solution for that? We have held a workshop here with participants from seven countries, 40 participants altogether, with UNESCO and so on, and made a whole list of guidelines that we will follow ourselves. Due to the extant tile work, archival material, and archival pictures, we were able to work out the original pattern of the tile work. We are using this project very much as an opportunity to seriously debate these issues, which often do not get discussed in this part of the world. Before we started the project, before any works were done on the site, we wrote our "Conservation Philosophy" (Archaeological Survey of India and Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2008, 28ff.). It was agreed and approved by the Archaeological Survey of India, by our own internal experts and professionals, and by the larger professional community.

Gutschow: Your intention is to recreate the "spirit" of the building?

Nanda: Of course we hope to recreate the original spirit and get back to the original architectural character of the building.

Menon: They also went to a great amount of trouble to identify where to quarry the stone. They inspected a lot of places to find out where appropriate stone is available. You know, you can say "red sandstone is red sandstone." But then that red sandstone would not be the one they originally used here.

Balbir Singh: The original stones are brought to this place and their color matches the old one. We have to study so many things: color, texture, with spots or without spots. If we used stone without spots, it would never fit in with the old structure. This is the main thing to check.

Sangeeta Singh: Whatever we do, we identify the stone that is to be replaced very carefully and in advance. We have done a stone-by-stone documentation, and the conclusion we have come to is that we should only replace and consolidate the stone only where it is required.

Nanda: About 10 years ago, a lot of these stones were replaced (Fig. 5). But you know in the file it just comes as "sandstone work." It does not tell you where it has been replaced, what has been replaced. But when you look at the stone and see that the machine has cut it, see the way it has been worked, you know that it is new. And this is sad. So what has happened is that almost every stone was looked at and the problems were marked out by us. And then, out of all the stone, we realized that for example these four stones needed to be replaced and photographed each one of them. This has been basically a platform for discussion. A lot of the deterioration is due to inappropriate conservation work in the past (Fig. 6). The moment you put cement in these joints you start the deterioration process. Otherwise a lot of that stone would have lasted, but cement just does not allow water to get out, and you know the stone will start cracking, splitting in different ways. The other reason for this deterioration has been vandalism, because when you can take out a piece of marble you just take it out.

Sangeeta Singh: You can see that the stones marked with an "R" will be replaced.



Fig. 5 Humayun's Tomb, south side, ground floor level. Two sandstone dwarf corner pillars, the right-hand one supposedly reputed to be original material fashioned by sixteenth-century craftsmanship, the left-hand one being a recent replacement of mediocre quality rather than a true copy initiated by the ASI. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 14 November 2009

Fig. 6 Humayun's Tomb, west side, ground floor level. Inappropriate conservation work that used cement to fill the joints is one reason for the deterioration of the sandstone. The cement does not allow the water to get out, and the stone starts cracking. Stones marked with an "R" will be replaced. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 14 November 2009



Nanda: And we put these marks there for a year and give everyone time to ask: "Why are you replacing this one?" We have had visits from officials who said: "No, I do not think this one stone needs to be replaced." Fine.

Gutschow: And what does "PR" mean?

Sangeeta Singh: Partial replacement, because the present state of repair is not in accordance with the architectural geometry of the building. Originally you will not find anything like this.

Nanda: Aspects of the façade pattern, for example at the terrace level, are very important in terms of authenticity. It is the ternary, horizontal pattern of the stone work and the marble that is inlaid into the sandstone (Fig. 7). This geometric pattern is the same throughout the façade. It is not accidental.

Gutschow: It is to keep the architecture of the building instead of advocating the smallest possible replacement of material. The aim is to restore the character of the architecture.

Sangeeta Singh: Right.



Fig. 7 Humayun's Tomb, terrace level, west side. The repetitive ternary, horizontal pattern of the sandstone work and its marble inlay is a significant feature of the original architectural geometry of the façade pattern and testifies to the design intentions of the builder. Building with red sandstone and white marble was a common characteristic of fourteenth century architecture in the Delhi Sultanate. The combination of these differing stones in Indian architecture was neglected during the fifteenth century, but under the Mughals it was revived and became the standard means of finishing a building. Photo by Niels Gutschow, 14 November 2009

Denslagen: Are there any people who are opposing the work you're doing here?

Nanda: When there is debate, there are always two sides to it. At Humayun's Tomb we have not yet replaced a single stone on the façade. But in the last 10 years the ASI has replaced these stones on the façade about three times. And we will take a lot of these stones out and replace them because ours have a much higher standard of craftsmanship. We are actually replacing stones that were put there 4 or 5 years ago.

Sharma: In many ways I am trying to understand what has happened in the past 100 or 150 years, because technically ASI was founded in 1861. There are two or three issues that come into my mind as I look at this site and as I have looked at many other sites throughout the country. What is important for ASI? What kind of conservation approach does it follow?—In fact, you are also talking of architecture in terms of archeology. I think there was this entire impetus on looking at any monument as an archeological ruin. Both the intention and the sense of preservation change. The way I have looked at reports, the way I have looked at the conservation works at many monuments, I have found out the following: Suppose there is an original piece, and suppose a particular portion is missing, or, over a period of time, a certain portion has deteriorated to an extent that it has lost its structural vitality, I would perhaps exchange this entire piece in order to maintain the architectural



Fig. 8 Humayun's Tomb, terrace level, south side. Repairs undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India form a patchwork that illustrates the ASI's archeological perspective and conservation approach. The intention is to keep the authentic material and to gradually take any deteriorated element out while neglecting the architectural integrity and the original design intentions of the builder. The issue of the archeological versus the architectural approach was

integrity because I keep in mind the specification, the color, and the quarry where it came from. But from the archeological perspective what they would do is: They would keep the piece of stone as it is, because it is original. The intention would be to take any deteriorated element out and put this much back but keep the rest as it is. They would thus add a little triangle here and there. And that is the reason that over a period of time you will have a patchwork (Fig. 8) with little pieces added here and there. This practice may compromise the architectural integrity but it satisfies archeological intentions. It reflects the sensitivity towards keeping the original material for as long as possible. And that way, you realize that over time, the original details may go missing. Yet you would still keep it that way because at least it is an original piece of stone. This is the debate, the architectural perspective versus the archeological approach. And how do we decide?

Nanda: I think one thing has become clear in this whole process that we have gone through, marking these stones. You do not want to keep stone that is flaking in your hand. And this is the debate we have had with our own craftsmen. The craftsmen come and say: "This stone is not going to last for more than 10 years." And then you say: "Okay, if it is not going to last for more than 10 years, if it is really going to keep on cracking up like this, then is it worth it?" One of the major principles in the project we are conducting is to use the best craftsmanship and to replace elements.

Gutschow: Here we again see the conflict between the archeological view and the idea of architectural integrity. And maybe in this project the major philosophical issue revolves around the question of what is architectural integrity actually is. Am I right?

Nanda: Well, there is a bias in this direction because it is a building. But at the same time we are respecting all the principles that have been laid down by the ASI over the years. But very little written documentation has come out during the last 30 or 40 years. This is why we are doing what we're doing. In a way we are rationalizing. We are trying to understand and say: "Okay, this is a sacred place." This is why we have numbered these stones and kept them here for a year. We put them in drawings and said: "These are the stones we are replacing. If anybody has any problem with this stone being replaced, tell us now, and we will not replace it." Our biggest controversy was about removing the concrete and lifting the stones on the plinth, restoring the plinth according to the original Mughal intentions and as we find it in the south gate and in the west gate. Despite written archival evidence in the Archaeological Survey of India's own records, people did not believe that the plinth was paved with large blocks of quartzite stone (Fig. 9) and not with concrete. A project like this is not routine. If it were, we would probably not do what we are doing, because in a variety of ways what we are doing is making sure that there is no major need for intervention for at least another 50 years! The plinth was covered in

Fig. 8 (continued) negotiated by the ASI and the Aga Khan Trust, which attempts to restore the façade pattern to its original state of repair by replacing the fragmented parts with new stones. Photo by Katharina Weiler, 5 March 2010



Fig. 9 Humayun's Tomb, plinth. A photo from 1956 documents that the plinth was covered with large quartzite ashlars before the ASI covered it with cement in the late 1950s. Pictured in the Urban Renewal Initiative's Conservation Proposal, March 2008

concrete in the 1950s and our question was how it was done originally. We have very clear evidence (pictures and documentation by Maulvi Zafar Hasan⁴ and the

⁴ Maulvi Zafar Hasan, the then assistant superintending archeologist of the Archaeological Survey of India, published a *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in the Province of Delhi*, 4 volumes (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1916–1922).

ASI in the 1920s) that the lower plinth was paved with large blocks of quartzite stone. The only rational explanation I can give for the covering with concrete is because this building is over two acres in size. This is an important fact because rain water is coming in, and the water is falling on the ground. I think basically that some of the original stone blocks had subsided by about 20 cm. So rather than lift all that, somebody in the 1950s decided to just cover it all with concrete.

Denslagen: But it must have been in a worse condition in the nineteenth century. Certainly in the eighteenth century. Is there any knowledge about the restoration history of this place?

Nanda: We did the garden restoration for Humayun's Tomb and got archival material of the garden. We were very fortunate to find archival files of the Archaeological Survey of India that date back to 1860 on this site. And the earliest photograph of this site, dating from 1849, was found in the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal. This photograph actually shows the garden before the major restorations that took place in the 1860s, authorized by the British. All the water tanks were filled up. We have a continuity of photographs from 1849 to the present day.

Denslagen: Can you see the condition of this platform on the photograph of 1849?

Nanda: We see the platform on the photographs of 1956, when it was stone. The debate on the canopies I was talking about earlier reveals another major conservation philosophy and questions about authenticity. In connection with the issue of whether to put new tiles on the eight canopies that would look exactly like the originals, we had to do some documentation and get Iranian craftsmen. Then we got people from seven tile-producing countries in India. We got a lot of samples and we tested them in India and Oxford. It is a debate that has been going on for over a year, and it will go on for another year, until we can produce tiles that match the original. Once we have done that, we also want to create a local market for those tiles and have some of the local people, make them for the architectural market or for the tourist market, as part of a socioeconomic project.

Menon: What is your opinion on the retiling?

Nanda: Basically we are talking about the two canopies (Fig. 10) in front of the dome in the west. They were originally covered with tilework and were important architectural features because as you walked into the complex you were able to see this little bit of blue color at Humayun's Tomb. A lot of the extant tilework has been damaged in the last 10 years because at some point lightning conductors were installed on every canopy. All that remains are a very few tiles with glazing, a few tiles where the glazing is gone but the tile is there, and a large portion of the canopy covered with cement (Fig. 11). After over a year of debate, we decided we were able to work on the basis of the existing, exact color of the tilework. Tiles of five different colors have been used: green, lapis blue, turquoise blue, yellow, and white. Fortunately we have samples of all of them and know what the original composition was. We know the original patterns. We decided that, wherever a tile exists, even if it is only the base, we will not touch it, even if the glazing is gone. It is only where the tiles have been replaced with cement that we want to restore the

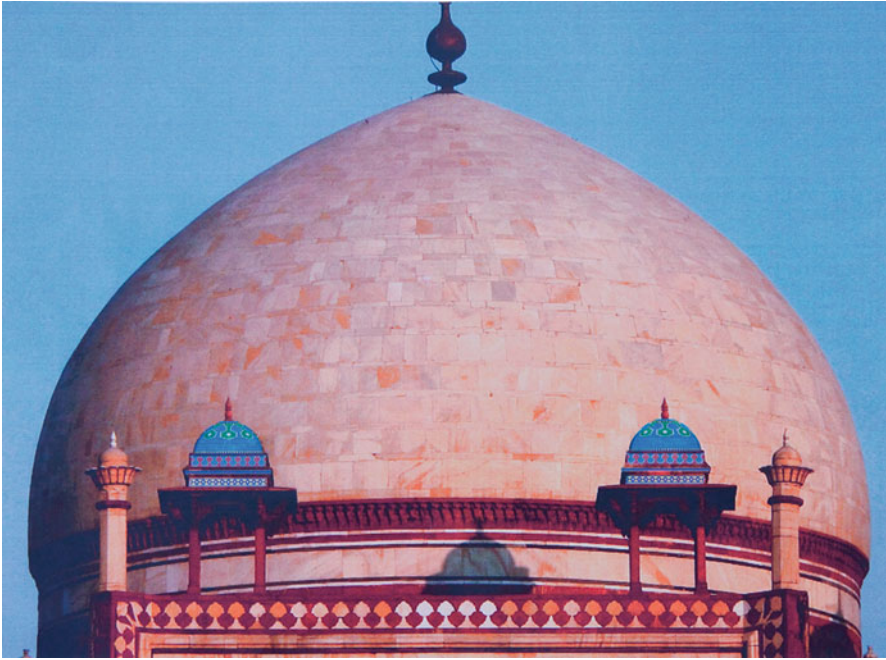


Fig. 10 Photomontage of the blue tilework of the western elevation gives an impression of the original architectural “flavor” (2008). Indicating heaven, the turquoise blue tiles were originally an important design intention. The tilework is indicative of the roots of the Mughals, who came from present-day Iran and incorporated their tiling traditions in their buildings in India. The restoration of the tilework was a hotly debated issue between the ASI, which champions the prevalent esthetics, and the AKTC, which prefers the appearance of a building to be in line with the design intentions of the original builder. The two parties came to a compromise, deciding that wherever a tile exists without glazing it will be conserved. Only where the tiles have been replaced with cement will they be restored according to the original pattern in order to indicate the original spirit of the architectural element. Illustration of the Project Report, March 2008

original pattern of the tilework. The documentation we did is detailed. So basically the idea now is that we can produce tiles that match up with the chemical and physical properties of the original tilework. We just want to protect the inner layer, the structure, and give an indication of the original spirit of the architectural element. This involves an art conservationist and numerous discussions with the Archaeological Survey of India and within the wider community.

Denslagen: You get a patchwork then.

Nanda: We get a patchwork, but the new tiles become a protective covering for the dome.

Gutschow: So the restoration involves about 70 % replacement?

Nanda: Yes, because 70 % has already been lost and is at present covered with cement or lime plaster. These canopies you can see even before you come in, when you enter the Humayun's Tomb complex. Originally, it must have been a very

have approached the preservation works that have happened over there. The intention over there was to preserve the building and to preserve the original fabric as much as possible. One of the intentions of the tilework was also waterproofing or water control. A few decades ago, they obviously wanted to cover the domes with something where the tile did not exist. And I think the popular way was to use cement. Since the intention was to retain the architectural flavor of this monument, cement or whatever was added in a way that did not cause any disturbance to the original in terms of its structural necessity or its esthetics, if I may put it like that. Seen thus, cement is quite a harmless material. Its grey color matches with the base color of the lime concrete. But replacing the tiling is an experiment. We'll have to see how it turns out, whether we're happy with it.

Nanda: What we are also paying attention to is the intentions of our predecessors. In a lot of ways, we are struggling with two different issues. One is the prevalent esthetics, the archeological flavor. The other is that this little microscopic base of a tile is important because it is 450 or 500 years old. We can keep it if we want to, and we would definitely prefer the building to look like what the intentional builder intended. So it is not only archeological esthetics, it is a compromise, like all conservation work. All conservation work is a compromise between one thing and the other. And when the tilework, the material itself, was gradually lost, the problem over here is the same problem Europe faced when authenticity was talked about there. There were no craftsmen left. Tile craftsmanship has gone for good. We have sandstone craftsmen, but we do not have tile craftsmen. This is why we are trying to reinvent the system. And with respect to lime plaster I am sad to say that it's the same story. We have lost the craftsmanship. We were not aware that we had lost it until we spent the last year looking for plasterers who could do the job. The result is that we are saying: "Let's get the craftsmen from Iran, where they still exist and let's start the whole cycle again."

Menon: One important point comes to the fore here, namely that it is not one single person who is saying: "Do this or do that!" Instead, you all have to thrash the problem out, arrive at a broad consensus and then draw some conclusion.

Gutschow: It is not a decision taken at the boss's desk, it is a process.

Nanda: Yes, we have managed to establish a process. There is a very high level of documentation, there is a lot of debate, and now there is also an Archaeological Survey of India Committee on the project. Every decision is reviewed once a month and we very much appreciate people taking the time to come here.

Denslagen: I think that the discussion about authenticity is not only a discussion involving professionals, just because these artworks from the past are world monuments. It is society at large that is involved questions like these, not only the professionals. So if the archeologists have all the power to make people do what they like, there is a slight warp in democracy, an inequality in democratic attitude.

Menon: All we ask is: "Whose monument is it?"

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Conclusion

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Conservation, a discipline and attitude towards architectural heritage, is a child of the European enlightenment that has traveled from metropolis to colony (i.e., from England to British India), and was adopted by countries such as Japan, China, and Nepal in the context of their emergence as modern states in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. As was recalled by different contributions to this volume, the promulgation of conservation laws, the establishment of archeological or conservation departments, and the training and authority of conservation professionals in these places marked the break in the stewardship of heritage that Europe had experienced in the nineteenth century.

At the same time, the conceptualization of the notion of authenticity has become a key principle in heritage conservation. Notions of authenticity prescribed as an international norm by the Venice Charter in 1964, were revised 30 years later by the Nara Document on Authenticity. The critics rather promoted the perspective that in different cultural and social contexts, the recognition of heritage has different connotations. Notions of identity, originality, integrity, form and design, use and function, substance, traditions, techniques, and workmanship, as well as the spirit and feeling of place, are associated with a variety of values. Consequently, the notion of truth may be judged on different levels. In other words, within the last couple of decades the incipient debate about the definition of authenticity has been in the process of transcending established borders. In search of some shared principles, issues of authenticity and integrity have been discussed in a number of regional conferences all over the globe.

The cases presented in this volume offer an inquiry into the contested purposes of the concept of authenticity and revealed and analyzed the field of tension that is

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the outcome of different situational shifts in meaning. Indeed, the cases in this volume showed both differences and similarities between North European (German) and South- (Indian and Nepalese) and East Asian (Chinese and Japanese) ideas and strategies. But most of all, the considerations by the contributors, mainly architects, conservationists, and architectural historians, did not aim to bring about polar oppositions such as West and East, Europe and Asia, local and global, because such frameworks are premised upon binaries that do not address issues of transcultural circulation or the mobility of concepts and the processes of their reconfiguration in new settings. There is reason to doubt that “any criterion of authenticity” can be “valid for all times and cultures” (Lowenthal 2008).

The case studies have exemplarily brought out the plurality of approaches towards a concept of authenticity that has proved to be both elastic and contested—and has been translated into prolific and divergent models of conservation theories, policies, and practices. Actual practices are thoroughly documented and contextualized. From various perspectives, we considered it worth examining how various aspects may contribute to improving the understanding of the concept of authenticity rather than creating more disparities and conflicting notions. In this respect, the results of the cross-cultural investigations show that with regard to cultural heritage, both different cultural values and diverse ways of dealing with authenticity can be specified, i.e., through conceptions of appropriation, transformation, or even refusal—key analytical categories of transcultural studies—in regard to the concept and its universal definitions. The case studies discussed by authors from different cultural backgrounds focus on specific conservation philosophies and strategies, reflect rival interpretations of such values as well as of time and space, and rehearsed different strategies for ordering and reordering the memorial aspects of cultural heritage. Significant key themes or, more precisely, concepts and issues that are in constant flux and contribute to the reconfiguration of authenticity in heritage preservation and inform the notion of cultural heritage turned out to be national identity, (post)colonialism, indigeneity, reenactment, tradition, ritual, or the tourism industry, and in many cases such aspects become entangled.

Principle arguments of the individual essays in the present volume may be strung together as follows: Notions of national identity are considered to shift from generation to generation even within one and the same cultural context or local community. With respect to authenticity, communities may be concerned to preserve the remains of the past with a view to emblemizing variable identities. Multiple dynamics may determine the issue depending on political and historical circumstances, for example colony, or decolonization, or loss through war or natural catastrophe. In accordance with such occurrences, basic attitudes, for example to material value, esthetic value, age value, novelty value, or craft traditions, are emotionally charged issues; they are negotiated and are subject to constant change in the context of monument preservation. In this book, particularly the interviews with Gottfried Kiesow and Raj Rewal and the group discussion with various professionals in the field of conservation and craftsmanship at Humayun’s Tomb in Delhi delivered new and original insights into actual conservation practices; based on the professionals’ long experiences in the field, they presented

personal opinions and thus testify to what has been the range of thought about the interpretation of conservation policies in some parts of the increasingly globalizing world. The statements exemplified that both in European and Asian contexts the appropriation of the past is subject to multiple dynamics.

The contributions reflecting cases from India show that India is a special case due to British colonialism and the country's long connections with the British Commonwealth. Architectural preservation in India is an originally colonial discipline. Once a British colony, much of colonial administration and practice in India was shaped by, and dependent on, "native" informers and staff. Ever since the nineteenth century, concepts such as tradition, originality, and authenticity have emerged as contested notions in a dynamic field of tension in the Indian context; they traveled, have been adapted and negotiated by colonial (British and Indian) agents, and finally recast by postcolonial Indian actors as well as through an international community of conservators. In the present volume different instructive case studies, Humayun's Tomb in Delhi being the most prominent, investigate the clash of different values in the post-colonial Indian conservation scene. This clash has produced hybridized notions of authenticity and hybrid practices of conservation while special challenges are posed to the different local and transnational, governmental, and non-governmental parties in charge of many conservation projects. These Indian examples point out intersections between seeming antipoles such as "global" institutions and "local" communities but also boundaries cutting across them.

In India and China, the term "authenticity" has been introduced, recognized, but also reinterpreted in documents on cultural heritage conservation and management in the second half of the twentieth century, whereas the Japanese preservation laws refused such development. In this regard, the quest for authenticity has taken on a dynamic and diversified form through local economic, social, and cultural development (even in Japanese conservation law). Some cases document that in localities like Kathmandu, Delhi, or Xi'an translations of the authentic or at least specific understandings of the notion juxtaposed global and local concepts in dynamic negotiation with aspects of homogenization and heterogenization: Conservators attempt to define their own authenticity criteria through learning from both their own history of maintenance and renewal and from international principles. Consequently, site-specific decisions prioritized different aspects of authenticity such as aesthetic features, materiality, craft traditions, spirit of the place, and even economic needs by emblemizing the site's multiple identities and invention of a national cultural patrimony.

With respect to tradition, for instance, there is a growing revival of interest in indigeneity and indigenous cultural practices. A significant response to the transnational discourse on architectural conservation principles and guidelines for heritage preservation was the appropriation of authenticity in the tradition of workmanship in the Indian conservation scene; the issue, discussed at a preparatory workshop to the Nara Conference in Bergen (1994), Norway, became a major concern in The Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India (2004) adopted by the non-governmental Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH). In India the notion was "translated" to

suit the local context. The Chinese response to the discourse on heritage conservation in China was formulated, for instance, in the Declaration of Qufu (2005), a draft that accounts for a hybridized conservation practice. Several cases in the present volume illustrate that from Germany (i.e., Wismar) to Japan (Ise), there is a perception of the remarkable cultural continuity of craftsmanship as a “living heritage” that may be as valuable as the physical structures of the past. Evidently, Indian, Nepalese, Chinese and Japanese master builders originating from traditional schools reinterpret and adapt the classical canons and idiom to the demands of their prevailing times.

As many of the case studies show, contemporary conservators everywhere deal with the concept of authenticity in heritage preservation by relating it to new concepts of validity which take into account non-physical essence and spirit, such as craft traditions and inspirational re-creation based on “rituals.” Especially the cases from South- and East Asia spell out that the continuous passing on of craftsmanship and spiritual connections add variety to the aspects of authenticity. In the present volume, the case studies highlight that the importance of place is a key component for the constitution of the authentic. It is especially in countries like India, Nepal, China, and Japan that craftsmen and conservators consider the practice of replication or reproduction of an original building a creative activity characterizing the aesthetics of the respective cultural contexts. A replica, be it in India or Japan, is fashioned by drawing upon excellent craftsmanship, but also by recapturing the “spirit” of the object or the form of the temple in true service to ancestral heritage.

Aspects such as reconstructing, “re-enacting,” and performing cultural heritage (material and immaterial) contribute to the diversity of authenticity applications in the context of the tourism industry. The case studies from China point out the ascription of authenticity value and the polycentric and multifaceted meanings accorded to the term in the cultures and traditions of Chinese building. A global phenomenon but exemplified here in detail with the help of case studies from Chinese culture, folk, and heritage theme parks, replicas of landscapes and buildings undergo an authentication process.

Last, but not least, the texts provided a collection of terminologies in German, English, Sanskrit, Hindi, Nepali and Nepali, classical Chinese and standard Mandarin, and Japanese in order to contextualize notions or parameters of authenticity. The result is a corpus that centers around concepts of authenticity, originality, truthfulness, *Wesenheit*, *rasa*, *yuanzhenxing* 原真性, *zhenshixing* 真實性, *yuanzhuang* 原狀, or *wanzhengxing* 完整性 and, in an innovative manner, connects them to ideas about preservation, restoration, reconstitution, reconstruction, replication, conservation, maintenance, (cyclical) renewal, *jīrṇoddhāra*, *pratisamskāra*, *karoti navakam*, *kaitai shūri*, *xiujiu rujiu* 修舊如舊, or *xiufu* 修復.¹

¹ Cf. Fitch 1990, 39–47 who, with a special focus on the North American context, presents “conceptual parameters of historic preservation.” See also Stubbs 2009, 21–24, 125–126, and 375–390.

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