THE CHALLENGES OF WORLD HERITAGE RECOVERY

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THE **CHALLENGES** OF **WORLD** **HERITAGE** **RECOVERY**

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NARODOWY INSTYTUT DZIEDZICTWA
NATIONAL HERITAGE BOARD OF POLAND

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Ministry of
Culture
and National
Heritage of
the Republic
of Poland

NARODOWY INSTYTUT
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Preface

Destruction of world heritage, especially in recent years, has become a pressing problem for the international community. Armed conflicts or natural disasters, occurring in different regions of the world, bring havoc and destruction of properties, including those of outstanding significance for mankind.

In response to these challenges, Poland as a State-Party of the World Heritage Convention in cooperation with the World Heritage Centre, organized an international conference entitled *The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery. An International Conference on Reconstruction*, which took place in Warsaw, between 6-8 May 2018. The meeting was organized to implement declarations contained in the decisions of the World Heritage Committee no. 40 COM 7 of 2016 and 41 COM 7 of 2017, adopted during its sessions in Istanbul and Kraków.

This publication – "The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery" – is a collection of papers presented during the Conference. They discuss various aspects of conservation doctrine, such as architectural and urban challenges as well as the role of heritage in destroyed urban spaces, while taking into account the identity and wishes of local communities. Furthermore, in the publication the Reader can find photographs and the text of "Warsaw Recommendation on Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage" which was developed at the Conference. The material presented includes both articles concerning conservation doctrine as well as a number of valuable case-studies, which help to understand the notion of recovery and to disseminate knowledge coming from actual experience of armed conflicts and natural disasters.

In today's world faced with challenges of regional armed conflicts and natural disasters the questions of reconstruction and restoration of monuments have become unprecedentedly urgent. The outcome of the Conference "The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery. An International Conference on Reconstruction", which took place on 6-8 May 2018 in Warsaw, constitutes a milestone in the discussion on the recovery and reconstruction. The material collected can serve as a basis for further development of guiding principles for reconstruction as well as of practical standards which would promote the fundamentals included in the Warsaw Recommendation on Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage.

The publication was made possible thanks to the initiative of Prof. Magdalena Gawin, the General Conservator of Monuments, as well as partners from the World Heritage Centre, Director Mechtild Rössler and Lazare Eloundou-Assomo.

Thanks to the Authors and other individuals involved, we can proudly present a carefully-edited collection of articles with the aim of introducing the complexity of recovery and reconstruction of world heritage properties damaged in armed conflicts or natural disasters to a wider audience.

Warsaw, June 2019   Magdalena Marcinkowska
                                            Katarzyna Zalasińska
                                            Dąbrówka Lipska

Prof. Piotr Gliński – Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland, Minister of Culture and National Heritage

Polish people, like those of many other nations of the world, have a number of tragic cards in their history. The Partitions of Poland, World Wars I and II caused the loss of a vast part of the national heritage. The reconstruction of deliberately destroyed capital was intended as a proof that collective memory cannot be erased.

Today's Warsaw is a powerful symbol of the reborn State. The reconstruction of the Historical Center of Warsaw was an unprecedented undertaking. It was appreciated in 1980 by the World Heritage Committee by an inscription of the Historical Center of Warsaw on the World Heritage List. This year we show special recognition for this collective effort because of the 100th anniversary of regaining the independence of Poland and the 100th anniversary of the creation of monuments conservation services.

Thanks to our experience, we are able to better understand the tragedy of others. Recent decades brought a widespread destruction of cultural heritage as a result of the growing impact of armed conflicts and disasters. The eyes of the whole world have been turned on events in Syria, Iraq, Mali or Haiti. In a sense of solidarity with other nations that have experienced the loss of their own cultural heritage, we would like to share our experience in documenting destruction, reconstruction and conservation.

Following the declarations made during the World Heritage Committee in Kraków, we are honored to present the Warsaw Recommendation on Recovery and Reconstruction which includes principles of universal importance. Polish writer Leopold Tyrmand wrote: "… Warsaw from the rubble and ruins has once again become the former Warsaw, the eternal Warsaw, the same Warsaw – despite new shapes of streets and contours of houses … Varsovians called her to life, breathing into her brick body their own hot breath". We hope that these words, together with the Recommendation, will bring hope and guidance necessary for successful reconstruction and recovery.

Warsaw, 8 May 2018   Prof. Piotr Gliński
Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland
Minister of Culture and National Heritage

Dr Mechtild Rössler – Director of the Division for Heritage & UNESCO World Heritage Centre

Allow me to express our sincere thanks to the Polish authorities for organizing the Conference attended by many eminent specialists in cultural heritage and post-conflict reconstruction and recovery. The location of the Conference, the UNESCO World Heritage site of the Historic Centre of Warsaw destroyed by Nazi troops experienced a reconstruction campaign which resulted in the meticulous restoration of the Old Town. It demonstrated the wealth of Polish expertise in the field of heritage conservation and reconstruction.

In the current troubled times with many wars and conflicts, it is our shared responsibility to do everything in our power to mitigate the risks of the destruction of cultural heritage, prevent its looting and keep alive its traditions and practices, but also to give hope and start with recovery programmes, wherever possible. Although in times of war, the protection of cultural sites, artifacts and practices may seem to be a luxury amid destruction and the loss of human lives, one should not forget that culture represents an anchor of stability. It constitutes the foundation on which countries and people can hope to rebuild their lives. UNESCO's conviction is that culture in the broadest sense, respect for diversity, a pluralist approach and the protection of the cultural rights of all, is essential for building peace, dialogue and sustainable development.

The Conference confirmed that we need a joint vision, with solid theoretical guidance, agreed principles and operational frameworks. The Warsaw Recommendation was much welcomed by the World Heritage Committee at its 42nd session in June/July 2018, which requested to disseminate broadly. This publication will certainly contribute to this end.

Warsaw, 8 May 2018   Dr Mechtild Rössler
Director of the Division for Heritage & UNESCO
World Heritage Centre

Prof. Magdalena Gawin – General Conservator of Monuments, The Ministry of Culture and National Heritage

Warsaw lies in the heart of Europe, at the crossroads of the East and the West, the North and the South. In August of 1944, during one of the longest heat waves on record, the city rose against the German occupier. Tragically, after just a few weeks, the shallow graves of more than 150,000 murdered civilians dotted the courtyards of the tenement houses.

In the wake of the Uprising, Warsaw was turned into a sea of ruins. The cultural heritage of previous generations – priceless sets of porcelain, paintings, furniture, and also palaces, houses, archives, museums and cultural institutions – vanished without a trace. The vestiges of Sigismund's Column, toppled and shattered, became symbolic of the city's nearly total annihilation.

For the post-war Communist authorities, Warsaw's historical monuments and architecture, strongly influenced by the Italian Renaissance, Baroque and Classicism, were an uncomfortable reminder of the capital's rich past and diverse identity. It was a development of vital importance when Stanisław Lorentz, an eminent art historian and museum expert, and the architect Jan Zachwatowicz joined the government-appointed Warsaw Reconstruction Office. Both highly esteemed university professors of the pre-war period were supportive of the idea of reconstructing the city's priceless lost heritage.

The reconstruction of the Old Town's Market Square together with the Royal Castle was truly challenging. The process of recovery was supervised by a team of experts who spared no effort to ensure that every reconstructed building and detail was as close to the original as possible. Blueprints, maps, paintings and photographs were thoroughly analysed and used as a source of inspiration. The Polish School of Historical Monument Conservation, which gained international recognition after the war, was established as a response to the mass devastation of the country's cultural heritage. However, it was not the architects or the conservators who were to play the leading role in Warsaw's reconstruction but the citizens of the city, who, despite the heavy burden of traumatic war experiences, worked tirelessly day after day to clean the city of rubble.

Among them was a 10-year-old Krzyś – Krzysztof Pawłowski – who 36 years later, having become by then a professor of technical sciences and a renowned architect, advocated for the reconstructed Historic Centre of Warsaw to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. For the first time in its history UNESCO waived the criteria

of authenticity and integrity of the historic substance that must normally be satisfied to secure inclusion in its List and granted an exception. The historical monuments of Warsaw were inscribed on the World Heritage List not despite but because they had been reconstructed from the devastation of war. This fact is of unparalleled importance for today's world, faced as it is with regional armed conflicts – first and foremost in Iraq and Syria – which are accompanied by the wholesale destruction of sites of global heritage.

The Warsaw Recommendation – a set of principles and guidelines – is made available to readers in the earnest hope that these priceless monuments of Middle Eastern architecture, entered in the UNESCO World Heritage List decades ago but obliterated in the course of warfare, will be rebuilt in a manner befitting their historical and cultural value. And that, just like the historical monuments of Warsaw, they will proclaim the identity of local communities, embracing both their distant and recent history.

The adoption of the Warsaw Recommendation on recovery and reconstruction of cultural heritage coincides with the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Poland regaining independence and the 100th anniversary of the establishment of conservation services. Yet this development is of great importance not only to Poles, but to every community whose cultural heritage, memory and identity are at stake due to human conflict or natural disaster.

Warsaw, 8 May 2018   Prof. Magdalena Gawin
General Conservator of Monuments,
Under Secretary of State
in the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage

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Dr Webber Ndoro – Director General, ICCROM

I am pleased on behalf of ICCROM to provide an introduction to this important collection of papers and case studies dealing with the topic of recovery and reconstruction of cultural heritage. An unfortunate recent trend has been a more frequent destruction of cultural heritage both from natural causes, and more significantly from manmade causes, in particular those related to conflict.

ICCROM has always included this topic in its architectural and built heritage conservation courses and it has also played a significant role in a number of the activities of our ATHAR programme run from our regional office in Sharjah, UAE. Furthermore, we have hosted workshops on the topic within the past few years. ICCROM's approach to recovery is to consider the communities affected and to determine how the cultural heritage can play a positive role in the strengthening and healing process. We always emphasize that the types of activities that go into the recovery effort, whether conservation, restoration, reconstruction, or simply leaving some elements of the heritage in a state of ruin as a sort of memorial to the destructive event, should be considered from the perspective of the values of that heritage to a wide range of stakeholders and the ability to pass on meaningful heritage values to future generations.

At this moment in time, given the improvements in technology, there are many options available to us in terms of documentation and treatment. But, we must be careful to ensure that the approaches that we adopt are not done for the sake of the technology itself, but rather that the technology should be used at the service of the people, communities, and heritage concerned.

The international conference held in Warsaw between May 6-8, 2018, provided many examples of successful approaches to recovery. Examples ranged from the Historic Centre of Warsaw itself, which saw much destruction during the Second World War and which underwent a significant reconstruction effort afterwards, to the more recent destruction at World Heritage properties such as the Tombs of the Buganda Kings at Kasubi in Uganda and the properties in Iraq which are now in various phases of the recovery effort.

The outcome of the conference, the *Warsaw Recommendation on Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage*, is an important contribution to our understanding of the process of recovery and the role of cultural heritage within it. This recommendation will help States Parties to the World Heritage Convention and affected communities to better examine some of the key principles to be considered when undergoing a recovery effort and to develop the appropriate methodologies to find the best solutions that fit each specific case.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage of the Republic of Poland and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre for organizing this important conference. ICCROM, for our part, were pleased to play an advisory role in the development of the conference and will use the final recommendation as a capacity-building tool in future courses and activities.

Warsaw, 8 May 2018   Dr Webber Ndoro,
                                                                     Director General, ICCROM

Prof. dr hab. Jadwiga W. Łukaszewicz – President of PKN ICOMOS

"It has always been a sacred duty for all peoples to preserve national memorabilia from loss and to give them to posterity."
Monumenta Regnum Poloniae Cracoviensia from 1821

The monument protection community in Poland, including the ICOMOS Polish Scientific Committee, welcomed the initiative, which appeared during the 40th and 41st UNESCO session, to organize an international conference, *The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery – An International Conference on Reconstruction*, in our country.

The choice of Warsaw as the location was not accidental. The capital city's inhabitants and architectural structures experienced an exceptionally tragic fate during World War II, especially after the Warsaw Uprising. The city was in ruins. The most valuable buildings were destroyed, the builders and inhabitants of the town were dead. According to the Nazi doctrine, *the Polish nation was to perish by destroying its works of culture*. After liberation from the Nazi occupation, the inhabitants of Warsaw who survived the warfare, supported by people from all over Poland, despite great poverty, were determined to achieve the overriding goal of rebuilding Warsaw, a symbol of uninterrupted continuation and, at the same time, of rebirth of Poland from the rubble. Enriched by our history, we understand and always relate to those who today experience loss of their tangible and intangible cultural heritage, especially due to armed conflicts, catastrophes or natural disasters.

Our country and people have always shown particular concern for the protection and preservation of the authentic legacy of past generations. And in the face of the destruction after World War II, when most of the material heritage ceased to exist, we tried to compensate for this loss and made a difficult decision to restore the most important monuments and their complexes to bear witness to the cultural heritage of our nation.

It should be stated that the impulse for actions related to the reconstruction of Warsaw was based on emotional values, the irresistible will of the population to rebuild their homes, but also, or above all, the "symbols" of Warsaw. That's how the reconstruction of Warsaw's Old Town and, many years later, the Royal Castle, began. It was carried out in a scientific manner, with the preparation of inventories, scientific documentation, queries and reconstruction projects, as well as searching for and preserving every single original detail of the architectural design of buildings or interiors. The activities of Warsaw's residents and volunteers from all over Poland were supported by outstanding monument protection officers. Without such figures as professors Jan Zachwatowicz, Stanisław Lorentz and many others, the reconstruction would not have been possible. They had at their disposal building plans and archival photographs which survived at the Faculty of Architecture of the Warsaw University of Technology, and which became the basis for the scientific, conservational restoration of the buildings in Warsaw. We were able to meet some of the exceptional figures of those times while admiring the accompanying exhibition prepared in the Kubicki Arcades of the Royal Castle by the National Heritage Board of Poland.

It should also be emphasized that right after the Second World War, the first academic monument protection centres in Europe were organized in Poland, the idea of which was born before the war by the General Monument Inspector, Professor Jerzy Remer. Graduates of three such schools in Warsaw, Kraków and Toruń, constituted an important group of employees involved in the reconstruction of Warsaw and other cities after World War II.

The experience of Polish specialists, architects, urban planners, monument protection officers and art historians has been noticed in the world. During the Second Congress of Engineers and Technicians in Venice, when the Venice Charter was passed, the idea of creating an international organization for the protection of heritage was born, and Poland was chosen as the Constitutional Assembly. On June 21-25, 1965, the founding congress of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) took place in Warsaw and Kraków. The steering committee of this organization was composed of the most prominent researchers, including Professor

Stanisław Lorentz, Andrzej Tomaszewski or Krzysztof Pawłowski. An important role in the protection of cultural heritage is played by Polish specialists working as experts in organizations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS ICROM, ICOM.

Especially now, when many monuments, including those included in the World Heritage List, have been destroyed, such as Aleppo, or are threatened by warfare, looting or natural disasters, expert Polish monument protection officers associated in various organizations, such as ICOMOS Poland, are ready to help in documenting the state of preservation of monuments, developing programmes or performing conservation work. May the conference *The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery – An International Conference on Reconstruction*, this publication, and above all the *Warsaw Recommendation*, be the beginning of international cooperation in the protection of cultural heritage.

You can always rely on us. As the Polish conservation community, we will actively participate in all activities aimed at the protection of world cultural heritage.

Warsaw, 8 May 2018   Prof. Jadwiga W. Łukaszewicz
                                        President of PKN ICOMOS

Dr Mechtild Rössler – expert in cultural and natural heritage and the history of planning.

Since 1991 she works at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris e.g. as a Chief of Europe and North America Section and Deputy Director of World Heritage Centre. In 2015 she became the Director of the Division for Heritage and the Director of the World Heritage Centre.

Lazare Eloundou Assomo – architect conservator and town-planner specialized in earthen architecture and cultural heritage.

Before 2016, he was UNESCO Head of Office and Representative in Mali and main responsible for coordinating UNESCO's actions to rehabilitate Mali's cultural heritage. Former Deputy Director of the Division for Heritage and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Currently on the possition of Director of Culture and Emergencies UNESCO.

The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery: an International Approach to Reconstruction

Dr Mechtild Rössler and **Lazare Eloundou Assomo**

UNESCO was very pleased to co-organize the international conference in Warsaw aiming at reflecting together on reconstruction and recovery of cities. It was a very timely exercise, which was much welcomed by the World Heritage Committee at its 42nd session in 2018 in Manama (Bahrain).

Firstly, it brought together many eminent specialists who have dedicated their careers to the safeguarding of cultural heritage or research on post-conflict reconstruction and recovery as well as urban planning. It was a very much forward-looking approach throughout the meeting, while analysing past experiences from different contexts ranging from World War II to the more recent destructions in the Middle East.

Secondly, the city, where the conference was held, was a prominent example of a UNESCO World Heritage site that had experienced destruction and recovery. The Historic Centre of Warsaw saw more than 85 percent of its buildings destroyed by Nazi troops. After World War II, a five-year reconstruction campaign by its citizens resulted in today's meticulous restoration of the Old Town, with its churches, palaces and market-place. It took almost 40 years to restore the whole city to its pre-war glory, relying on archival documentation and the valuable expertise of local art historians, architects and conservators. The result today is a city reborn, demonstrating the incredible wealth of Polish expertise in the field of heritage conservation and reconstruction.

Thirdly, the participants reflected on the most recent experiences of destruction and post conflict traumas. Over the years, we have seen the consequences of "cultural cleansing" led by violent extremists seeking to destroy, loot and traffic cultural heritage, alongside the persecution of people on religious and cultural grounds. Violent extremists do not seek to destroy buildings only – their objective is to im-

pose a sectarian and exclusive vision of life. Our response has to go beyond the protection and even the physical reconstruction of buildings and cities – it is about protecting who we are and what we believe in through education and knowledge, through scientific research and freedom of expression. We deplore all the violence, death and suffering endured by the people, and we strongly support all on-going efforts to build reconciliation and peace in the countries concerned, especially in the Middle East. Too many cultural heritage sites have been destroyed or are in great danger: archaeological sites are illegally excavated and damaged; movable heritage is being looted, and many of its age-old traditions have come to a halt. Cultural heritage has suffered collateral damage in this conflict. Cultural heritage has been the target of deliberate destruction in Mali, Iraq, Libya and Syria. Experience has shown that such senseless destruction and persecution makes future reconciliation between the conflicting parties much more difficult.

It was the three points above which united us at the meeting and which brought up the approach of our shared responsibility to do everything in our power to mitigate the risks of the destruction of cultural heritage, prevent its looting and keep alive its traditions and practices, but also to give hope and start recovery pro-grammes wherever possible.

Destruction and reconstruction

Although in times of war the protection of cultural heritage sites, cultural objects and practices may seem to be a luxury amid destruction and the loss of human lives, one should not forget that culture represents an anchor of stability. It constitutes the foundation on which countries and people can hope to rebuild their lives. In the recovery phase, cultural heritage often becomes a strong symbol and tool for the rebuilding of communities, actively helping them break the cycle of violence. UNESCO's conviction is that culture in the broadest sense, respect for diversity, a pluralist approach and the protection of the cultural rights of all are essential for building peace, dialogue and sustainable development.

History has demonstrated that symbolic acts, such as the rebuilding of the Old Mostar Bridge, as well as the reconstruction of the Old Town of Warsaw, and the inscription of these two properties on the World Heritage List, constituted acts of reconciliation and help communities come to terms with collective trauma.

During recovery, the rehabilitation of the cultural heritage may help heal the scars of war. Initiatives to safeguard, protect and rebuild Mali's cultural heritage represent just one of the recent examples of the potential of culture to deal with collective traumas. As we have seen, post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction starts quickly, and we must be prepared.

The meeting reaffirmed that we need a joint vision, with solid theoretical guidance, agreed principles and operational frameworks. It is a common refrain voiced by local and national authorities, but also by for the global community and the World Heritage Committee, that we need to be able to take appropriate decisions.

When wars and conflicts come to a halt, rebuilding plans are likely to start very quickly, but institutional frameworks and national capabilities may be inadequate. Paradoxically, reconstruction time can have additional adverse effects on cultural heritage. Cultural heritage conservation, rehabilitation and reconstruction require in-depth research, multidisciplinary cooperation, integrated planning, and involve a wide array of parameters and knowledge systems.

At UNESCO, we are addressing post-conflict reconstruction by building knowledge through damage assessment and documentation, and by identifying the needs and priorities in the framework of broader United Nations operations, with their related expertise.

The Warsaw meeting illustrated some of the work carried out to prepare recovery plans in Mali. Similar work has been conducted in Iraq, Libya and Yemen. In Syria we worked in the framework of a dedicated project implemented by our office in Beirut and funded by the European Union.

The meeting brought up a number of critical and fundamental issues, based on in-depth insights into selected case studies. It was also agreed that before recovery plans are implemented, we need to actively mitigate the risks of miscalculation and error. Indeed, all participants concluded that guidelines are needed to set the fundamental principles of post-conflict reconstruction.

History has also shown us that each case is unique. The presentations discussed at this meeting, on the situation of cities and their rebuilding after conflict or disasters, provided an opportunity to understand to what extent reconstruction is a complex endeavour, and that we need to carefully examine each case to find the best approaches.

Providing guidance

A major discussion concerned the need to address issues globally and report back to the World Heritage Committee on the theoretical framework when addressing post-conflict reconstruction. The international charters in this area, and in particular the ICOMOS charters and recommendations that have guided the implementation of the World Heritage Convention for decades, have served as important points of reference. However, the scale of destruction on one hand, and the generalized intentional destructions on the other, raise questions related to rebuilding national identities, restoring social cohesion, integration education against violent extremism and healing collective traumas.

The experts reviewed diverse issues of reconstruction and recovery in urban contexts, in an open manner, sharing different views and approaches without intellectual limitations. The meeting demonstrated that such post-conflict contexts require open-mindedness and readiness to embrace new approaches.

With regard to cities, UNESCO has already reflected on an integrated approach to urban management through the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 2011.

UNESCO also started the reflection on urban management and conservation in devastated World Heritage city centres like Aleppo with our 2015 UNESCO expert meeting, continued debates with ICOMOS' workshops in 2016 and 2017 and participated in ICCROMs meeting at Louvre Lens on *"Post-conflict reconstruction of historic cities"* in 2017 and its debates at the General Assembly in 2017. But we really need even broader discussions that take into account social, economic, environmental, cultural and other considerations.

With regard to sites and buildings intentionally destroyed, we have to decide on what needs to remain in our collective memory, why, and how. We need to ask ourselves whether reconstruction can be an option to restore lost symbols that represent important references for the history of art and architecture, or for the communities concerned. And when should such a drastic choice be considered? In this regard, the reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge or Timbuktu's mausoleums seemed to be an evident choice. This was not the case of the Bamiyan Buddhas, as discussed at the September 2017 expert meeting in Tokyo.

Moreover, in working on cultural heritage of outstanding universal value at World Heritage sites, and while national decisions are, without any doubt, an issue of sovereignty, there needs to be a transparent international consultation, for example through dedicated scientific committees, to ensure a multidisciplinary and integrated approach that fully considers the diverse and multi-layered values of a site. We would need to ensure that political processes do not undermine scientific ones, and that planning is fully transparent, participatory and equitable. And of course, we must ensure that stakeholders are properly represented.

Conclusions and way forward

The Warsaw Recommendation that resulted from the extensive discussions is a broad-guidance document, which covers different aspects as a non-exhaustive set of principles, including Terminology, Values, Conservation doctrine, Communities, Allowing time for reflection, Resilience, Capacities and Sustainability, Memory and Reconciliation, Documentation, Governance, Planning, Education and Awareness Raising.

The results were also presented to the World Heritage Committee at its 42nd session in Bahrain in 2018, which thanked the Government of Poland for hosting the International Conference on Reconstruction "The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery" (Warsaw, 6-8 May 2018), providing a forum for review of specific case studies and understanding of the role of reconstruction in recovery, especially in post-conflict and post-disaster situations.

The Committee welcomed the Warsaw Recommendation for providing clear principles on reconstruction and recovery, and it instructed the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies to broadly disseminate it among States Parties, World Heritage stakeholders and partner organizations, which was conducted through the webpage, social media and distribution of hardcopies at different fora. At the same time, the Committee encouraged continuing reflection, with the results to be reported at its 43rd session in 2019 on the implementation of the Warsaw Recommendation.

In this regard, UNESCO has developed cooperation with the World Bank and with United Nations agencies to address the challenges of World Heritage recovery and reconstruction. UNESCO and the World Bank have specifically developed a position paper titled "Culture in city reconstruction and recovery", which offers a framework and operational guidance for policymakers and practitioners for the planning

and implementation phases of post-crisis and post-disaster interventions for city reconstruction and recovery. The framework, also known as CURE framework, is a culture-based approach to the process of city reconstruction that integrates people-centered and place-based approach, whereby culture is mainstreamed into all areas of intervention and across all phases of the city reconstruction and recovery process. It includes damage and needs assessment, scoping, planning, financing and implementation.

In conclusion, we strongly believe that further experiences need to be shared from all cultural and geographical contexts to enrich the debate but also to enable refined guidance for the stakeholders on the ground facing difficult decisions to take on reconstruction and recovery.

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Prof. Toshiyuki Kono – professor of International Law.

He served in 2010 as the Chairperson of the 3rd General Assembly of the State Parties of the UNESCO Convention for the Safegurding of Intangible Cultural Heritage and Chairperson of the Legal Committee of the 34th UNESCO General Conference in 2007. Since 2017 he is the President of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage – the ICOMOS Matrix for Case Studies

Toshiyuki Kono

The international community has recently observed that some World Cultural Heritage sites have been the targets of intentional destruction. Single monuments, archaeological sites or cities were devastated in Syria, Iraq, Mali and other disputed areas. These recent cases pose a series of fundamental questions for the conservation of cultural heritage; for instance, is intentional destruction different from destruction caused by natural disasters in terms of negative impacts on the value of the affected heritage resource? If the cause of destruction ("traumatic event") is the same kind, for instance, earthquake, typhoon, flooding, would the impact on a single monument be the same as the impact on an archaeological site? Would the State Party's wish to build the damaged site be sufficient to justify a reconstruction project? If and to what extent should the local community of the affected heritage resource be involved? To answer these questions, traditional debates on the authenticity would be less helpful, since existing doctrinal texts which have governed the authenticity are not designed to cope with post-trauma situations.

The reconstruction of cultural heritage has traditionally been treated with a negative connotation and has been categorically rejected. The term "reconstruction" seems to have been used to present only the result of physical rebuilding of a lost tangible property. The reason why or the process where the lost building became a cultural heritage site seems to be neglected. Perhaps there was no need for such an elaboration, since the reconstruction should be categorically rejected. However, the recently devastated sites suggest that the heritage community might need a subtler approach than the traditional stance of categorically refusing such reconstruction.

Recovery and reconstruction

A heritage site is not only the physical presence of a tangible property, but also represents a process behind it. This process could be traced from the origin of the site toward the recognition of the value of the heritage by various stakeholders in the present day. The dramatic effects of a traumatic event for a heritage site is that, through the physical loss of the site, the process that the site bore would be immediately lost as well. If a subtler approach were to be taken to consider whether a lost property should be rebuilt, this heritage process also should be carefully traced and reflected. In this context, the term "reconstruction" does not illustrate well the whole picture. A recent trend to combine "recovery" with "reconstruction" seems appropriate for three main reasons. First, not only physical re-erection is at stake, but also an exercise to trace the process represented by the site and to examine to what extent it could be brought back again are crucial. In other words, the recovery of a heritage process cannot be clearly presented by the term "reconstruction". Secondly, intangible aspects of a heritage site could be better illustrated with the term "recovery", which include religious activities on the site. Thirdly, "recovery" could better explain the rehabilitation of local communities in the affected area.

The need for case studies

Guidelines to proceed with the recovery of a devastated heritage site would be helpful for the stakeholders of the affected site to decide if and how a recovery process should be conducted. However, as the case of Mostar Bridge is different from the case of the Bamiyan Buddha, recovery and reconstruction are almost always contextual and bound with the facts of a specific site. It would be inappropriate to apply the same general guidelines to all kinds of post-traumatic events. Hence, detailed case-based analysis is needed.

But, in order to prevent bad practices or duplication of work, it would be helpful to learn lessons from the analysis of a group of similar cases. Here there is a need to create a matrix for a horizontal analysis of cases, as a tool to combine with, or to distinguish from, other cases in order to identify lessons or advice applicable beyond a specific case. Such a matrix is, in other words, a tool to transfer the knowledge re-

lated to post-traumatic events and the recovery of cultural heritage resources. This is the reason why ICOMOS produced a Matrix for The Compilation of Case Studies to pursue case studies on a global scale.

ICOMOS Matrix for the compilation of case studies

The ICOMOS Matrix consists of seven components: (1) The Heritage Resources and its Context before the impacting Event(s), (2) The Nature of the Impacting Event(s), (3) Post-Event Appraisals, (4) Responses Actions, Timeframes, Resources and Costs, (5) The Outcomes and Effects, (6) Additional Comments, and (7) Details of the Expert(s) completing the Case Study. From this list, it should be clear that the Matrix does not intend to be prescriptive.

The Matrix offers a detailed framework for expert(s) to report and analyse the recovery of a heritage resource after a traumatic event. The Matrix contains more than 100 questions, but it is not intended that the author should answer all these questions. Instead, the author is invited to reflect the case from multiple perspectives through these questions, eventually in partnership with other experts.

Component 1:
the heritage resources and its context before the impacting event(s)

Component I is divided in two parts. The first part, "Description, Designation and Recognition" is designed to contribute to detailed factual description and valuation of a cultural heritage site.

The Matrix suggests identifying the following factual elements:

- the location and setting of the site;
- tangible and intangible attributes;
- the type, layout, and morphology of the resources and the broader context in which it is located;
- the original aim of the creation of the resources;
- later added functions;
- the manner of the present use;

- the material and building techniques;
- the availability of such material and techniques;
- structural solutions;
- the changes and transformation the resource has undergone.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to answer the questions on these elements without proper documentation prior to a traumatic event, Hence, this list is also a suggestion for the risk-preparedness.

Besides such factual description, the Matrix also suggests clarifying the process and the result of the valuation of the heritage resource. The part on the valuation consists of several sub-parts. First, the Matrix asks whether and how the devastated heritage resource was qualified as a cultural heritage site at local, national and/or international levels through designation or inscription. In this process, the following should be clarified:

- if the designation/ inscription applies only to the heritage resource or the broader context in its location;
- reasons of designation/ inscription;
- the character of the heritage resource and its attributes;
- a hierarchy among the attributes and the role they play in supporting its cultural significance;
- specific conservation or management policies implied in the designation/ inscription;
- the use of such conservation or management policies in the recovery process.

Secondly, the Matrix further asks whether and how the value and its attributes as the basis of designation/ inscription are described or recognized in the scholarly literature. Thirdly, besides such scholarly recognition, it is crucial to confirm that the heritage resource is accepted by local communities. Hence the Matrix requests to describe the significance of the heritage resource for both the resident population and wider national and global audiences.

Fourthly, the Matrix asks if different communities attribute different meanings to the heritage resource, and if there are conflicting polies or uses which stem from different interpretations.

Fifthly, in the same context as the involvement of local communities, the aspects of intangible cultural heritage are highly important. Therefore, the Matrix asks if there are social, cultural or ritual practices related to the heritage resource. These practices could include special ritual practices associated with its original construction or creation or renewal of the heritage resource. Also important is how these practices were or have been transmitted over generations. The Matrix also encourages a description of any other intangible dimensions or cultural practices associated with the heritage resource.

Last but not least, to conclude the first Component, the Matrix raises additional questions pertaining to the wider context. Such questions include:

- the history of the heritage resource (dates and time periods for the original construction and for any changes and modifications);
- physical context (urban, per-urban, rural, existing infrastructure etc.) and the conditions and vulnerabilities of the heritage resource before the traumatic event;
- the social structure of the communities (within, in proximity to or in the area of the heritage resource);
- relevance of the social organizations at the level of the community or household to the reconstruction process (i.e. social hierarchy, language, ethnicity, gender and so on);
- socio-economic conditions of the community and their changes with particular reference to post-trauma phases;
- key agents and stakeholders;
- formal and informal channels of communication and cooperation between them;
- shared cultural understanding of the heritage resource among decision-makers and others involved in the institutional framework.

The Matrix also recommends providing bibliographical documentation to ensure the credibility of the data.

Component 2:
the nature of the impacting event(s)

This Component focuses on an identification and description of the traumatic event. Firstly, the Matrix asks about the nature of the traumatic event whether it was a natural, human-caused, intentional or unintentional event and whether it was a unique occurrence or cyclical/ repeated event.

Secondly, the general impact of the event should be identified, which include:

- impacts on the physical environment (e.g. landscape, buildings artefacts and so on);
- what has survived and got lost;
- the current condition and vulnerabilities of the heritage resource;
- impacts on the society, economy, as well as social, religious or ritual practices and customs;
- how socio-economic effects were experienced (immediately, delayed, continuously over a period or still ongoing).

Thirdly, the Matrix suggests clarifying the impacts on the values of the heritage resource, especially on the significance-defining attributes (both tangible and intangible) of the heritage resource. In this context, it is suggested to identify whether and how local, regional or international perceptions of the significance of the heritage resource change following the traumatic event.

Lastly, the Matrix suggests describing any emergency repairs (such as temporary cover, temporary shoring, scaffoldings) and documentation made immediately after the traumatic event.

Component 3:
post-event appraisals

This Component deals with the situation that developed in the aftermath of the traumatic event. First, the Matrix suggests reporting on the impact assessment, covering the type and extent of impact on the significance-defining (tangible and intangible) elements and the levels of damages and recoverability options, which may contain intangible dimensions of the heritage resource. If there was

a hierarchy of significance-defining, tangible and intangible elements before the traumatic event, it should be reported how it has been modified since the traumatic event.

Post-event documentation is crucial for the recovery and reconstruction. Hence it should be reported who the author(s) were, their positions and the aim of the documentation, the location of and access to the documentation. Moreover, it is important to clarify what documentation formed the basis for the recovery of the heritage resource.

If a program for recovery is launched, it is important to identify:

- the timescales of the program;
- the stage of its implementation;
- the person in charge;
- the drivers of the recovery program;
- the involvement of local communities;
- the costs (financial, human and social);
- the relationship between the overall recovery plans for the location or the region and the plan for recovery and reconstruction of the heritage resource.

Concerns about the sustainability (economic, social or environmental) may have contributed to developing and defining the recovery program and to planning future management or maintenance of the recovered heritage. If any new values have emerged in the post-event appraisal phase and/or during the preparation of the recovery program, it would be an important aspect in this phase.

Component 4:
documenting responses actions, timeframes, resources and costs

This Component deals with documenting actions undertaken and the program implemented. Hence it important to report how the program was implemented, and under what conditions and constraints the program and recovery works were executed. Since the reporting in this Component should reflect the implemented program, the actual timescales and schedules of the recovery work, as well as the discrepancies between the planned and the actual objectives, should be clearly described. If changes occurred between the planned program and implemented actions, the

reasons should be elaborated. If there were attributes or values that could not be recovered, then they should be explained as well. Lastly, the methods, techniques and executors of the program, available resources and capacities, the costs (of materials, skills, labour, future management and so on) should also be covered.

Component 5: documenting the outcomes and effects

This Component concerns the documentation of the outcomes of the recovery process and of effectiveness of the actions undertaken with regard to the planned program and actions. Hence, the documentation should clarify what the achievement of the actions was. If there are different views on the achievement and failure of the recovery process, these views should be reported as well. Such divergent views may appear especially when only some attributes/ features which support the cultural significance of the heritage resource were recovered. On the other hand, new attributes/ features could emerge from the trauma and recovery process. An important question would be whether the significance of the heritage resource continue to be acknowledged and shared after the recovery process. It is also crucial to identify what the downstream positive or negative consequences emerging from the implementation of the recovery program and related projects or phases. There might be a shift in value perception in the post-recovery process. It would contribute to clarifying what the learning outcomes are, and if there is shared understanding of the lessons that have been or could be learnt. If follow-up actions are recommendable, they should be specified as well. As a formal aspect of the post-recovery process, who "owns" the result of the recovery program should be explained.

Last, the following additional points would be helpful to those who look for references:

- what documentation was needed for correctly implementing the recovery program;
- has the recovery process been documented and in what means;
- what new information about the heritage resource was produced during the recovery phase;
- has it been disseminated? If so, how and to whom;
- to what extent can the documentation and new information inform future actions and improve the level of effectiveness.

Conclusion

Each phase of recovery and reconstruction raises a series of complex questions for multiple stakeholders. To find answers to the questions, they need a tool. Our Matrix aims at facilitating such actions. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the Matrix is just a framework. When each question in the Matrix is combined with specific facts or concrete examples, it can provide a rich source of reference material. This would further facilitate the revisiting and revision of existing doctrinal texts and the drafting of future guidance documents. For this purpose, case studies using the Matrix should be further continued and encouraged.

Prof. Sławomir Ratajski – professor of Fine Arts and diplomat

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How to Carry Out Reconstruction in World Heritage Sites? – a Theme of the UNESCO Conference at the Royal Castle in Warsaw

Sławomir Ratajski

For several years now, UNESCO has been actively engaged in activities aimed, on the one hand, at preventing the destruction of cultural heritage, which is often the victim of intentional armed attacks, and, on the other hand, at mobilising the world opinion to help restore the destroyed heritage, including entire urban complexes. The Polish Committee for UNESCO and the Polish Government are also involved in these projects, aware that despite the tragic experience of two world wars in the 20th century, when entire cities, including Warsaw, were destroyed, the world opinion is still shocked by the news of the barbaric destruction of the cultural heritage of Aleppo, Mosul, or, earlier, Timbuktu and Dubrovnik. As in the case of both world wars, these places have been ruined as a result of barbaric armed conflicts and terrorism. The damage is also caused by natural disasters such as the earthquake that ruined the temple complex in the Kathmandu Valley. Social will wants to bring these sites back to life, so that they can become a material witness to culture and, as such, a strong symbol of the identity of the inhabitants, as in the case of Warsaw, which was deliberately destroyed by the Nazis in 1944, and then rebuilt to become a memorial and the foundation of future development. The Old Town in Warsaw as an example of reconstruction was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1980, becoming an illustration of exceptional conservation measures applied on the entire urban historical complex. The success of Warsaw may bring hope for a successful return to splendour of other cities facing the prospect of reconstruction, which were inscribed on the World Heritage List even before they were destroyed, because of

their values, authenticity and integrity. One may wonder whether it is possible to repeat the example of Warsaw nowadays. Would it not be contrary to the principles of the 1972 UNESCO Convention and the Operational Guidelines for that Convention to take up the challenge of reconstruction? Art. 86 of the Guidelines concerning authenticity, refers to the justified reconstruction of archaeological remains, monuments or historic districts only in exceptional circumstances and only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation. Today, we would add that the accounts of the witnesses of the destruction are also a document. It is worth noting that the documents serving the reconstruction of Warsaw contained all these elements, including the accounts of professors Stanisław Lorenz and Jan Zachwatowicz. Due to its uniqueness, the Archive of the Warsaw Reconstruction Bureau of the State Archives of the Capital City of Warsaw was included in the Memory of the World Register in 2011.

Attempts to answer the above questions and the need to reflect on the principles of revitalisation, reconstruction and rehabilitation of cultural heritage, undertaken systematically, in accordance with the spirit of the UNESCO Convention, have become an urgent challenge. Recognising the need for assistance in finding appropriate solutions and the opportunity to share the experience with others, Poland together with the World Heritage Centre undertook to organize an international UNESCO conference entitled "The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery. International Conference on Reconstruction". The initiative to hold the conference was approved at the 40th session of the World Heritage Committee in Istanbul and confirmed at the 41st session of the World Heritage Committee in Kraków.

Warsaw was the venue of this important debate at the UNESCO forum and, what is particularly symbolic in terms of the subject matter, the Royal Castle, which was reconstructed from ruins, thanks to the efforts and professionalism of generations of Polish monument protection officers. Today, they would like to share their knowledge with others who are facing the vision of raising their cities from ruins, cities destroyed by cruelty and hatred based on ignorance and disrespect for cultural otherness.

It is worth noting that the discussions undertaken by the international experts participating in the conference to a large extent referred to the subject of the Forum of Young Professionals of World Heritage, which preceded the 41st session of the World Heritage Committee in 2017. The Forum, entitled "Memory: Lost and Recovered Heritage", was organized by the Polish Committee for UNESCO, together

with the International Cultural Centre in Kraków. The meeting of young profession-
als from 32 countries from different regions of the world became a very successful
forum for discussion on the reconstruction and protection of heritage damaged by
armed conflicts and natural disasters. At the inauguration of the 41st session of the
World Heritage Committee in Kraków, the "Declaration" adopted by the participants
of the Forum was presented, which draws attention to the need for joint actions
around the world to protect cultural heritage and raise awareness of the value of
culture and its diversity, as well as its social symbolic value and urgent opposition to
ignorance through raising the level of education.

Another significant achievement of the conference at the Royal Castle is the
adoption of the Warsaw Recommendation, which includes the interpretation of
the procedure of restoring destroyed cities and built-up areas through the recov-
ery and reconstruction of material heritage, but also taking into account the intan-
gible heritage of the community associated with a given place. It draws attention
to the crucial role of education and raising public awareness of the value and
diversity of cultural heritage.

The document resulting from the Warsaw conference entitled "The Warsaw Rec-
ommendation on Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage" contains rules
of conduct that should be taken into account in the reconstruction of world herit-
age sites, but also introduces a general approach to the perception of the historical
substance, taking into account a number of factors concerning the nature of intan-
gible heritage and social conditions of symbolic and community significance. These
principles are based, inter alia, on respect for internationally and locally recognised
values and authenticity, in particular of material substance, taking into account the
needs of communities that have experienced loss of their heritage, history and iden-
tity; the necessity to strike a balance between the needs of communities, their desire
to quickly return to their homes and former lives, and the need to devote time for
reflection on adequate preparation for the reconstruction process; and the need
to take action in a spirit of reconciliation that will allow the local community to
recover cultural identity and remembrance of places important to its conservation.
The Warsaw Recommendation puts emphasis on collecting and analysing compre-
hensive documentation, which played such an important role in the reconstruction
of Warsaw and was crucial more than 70 years ago when decisions concerning the
reconstruction were being made. Similarly, it is now advisable, while remaining in
compliance with the 1972 Convention, to carry out any possible reconstruction on

the basis of conservative doctrine, which is intended to protect the outstanding universal value. Management of the restoration process should be based on coordination of inter-institutional cooperation involving national and foreign entities and the planning of a long-term multilevel strategy for the restoration of the historic urban landscape, taking into account the approach set out in the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on the Historical Urban Landscape. One of the most important issues is education at all levels to counter ignorance, which underlies the acts of barbarity, and to build public awareness to prevent armed conflicts that result in the destruction of cultural heritage.

The document was accepted and recommended for wide dissemination at the 42nd session of the World Heritage Committee in Bahrain in June 2018.

Royal Castle in Warsaw, Montaż hełmu VII 1974. Photo. S. Sadowski.

INTEGRATIVE APPROACH FOR RECOVERY — THEORY AND METHODOLOGY
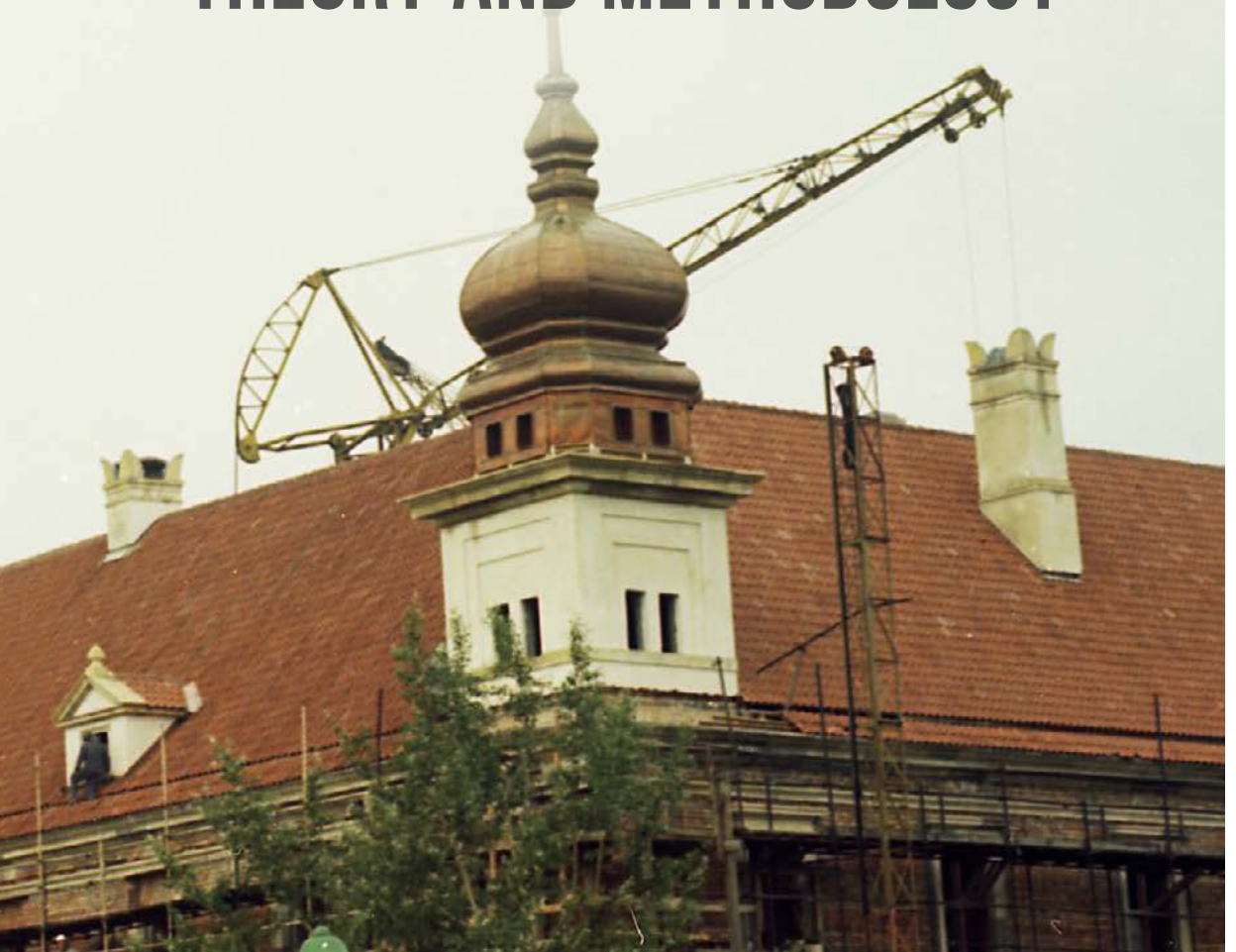
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Shifting Doctrine for Reconstruction at World Heritage Sites

Christina Cameron

Decisions of the World Heritage Committee are influential. When issues of reconstruction are involved, such decisions are usually taken in a highly emotional context of trauma and are not always well articulated within heritage conservation doctrine. This paper examines World Heritage decision-making through the dual perspectives of heritage policy and specific cases. It demonstrates that decisions are inconsistent with the Committee's own policies and rarely refer to the existing corpus of conservation doctrine on the reconstruction of historic places. The paper points to a shift in practice that suggests a need to revise conservation doctrine.

Motivation to reconstruct damaged or destroyed sites usually comes from a desire to recover history and memory – and occasionally a desire to enhance tourism. As a place-based treaty, the World Heritage Convention has a key requirement to conserve the outstanding universal value of properties. In the first instance, then, reconstruction at World Heritage sites needs to be considered through the lens of outstanding universal value and the attributes that support it.

In the early years of the World Heritage convention, reconstruction issues centred on the listing process. More recently, the discourse has expanded to include conservation activities. But whether we are dealing with inscription of World Heritage sites or subsequent conservation measures, the focus must necessarily remain on outstanding universal value. The question to consider, then, is the following: does reconstruction, regardless of whether it occurs before or after inscription, serve to protect, conserve and enhance the attributes of outstanding universal value or does it diminish or even obliterate these attributes and hence the value of World Heritage sites?

ICOMOS guidance on recovery and reconstruction correctly insists on the need to identify the full range of attributes that convey outstanding universal value. At the time of inscription, outstanding universal value and its attributes are identified and approved by the World Heritage Committee. The attributes flow from statements of outstanding universal value and from the justification for the use of specific criteria. A complete identification of attributes – whether tangible or intangible – is an essential step towards effective values-based management of a property. If World Heritage sites are damaged, the identified attributes will serve as a basis for developing options for recovery strategies, including reconstruction [ICOMOS, 2017: 7].

Evolution of conservation doctrine

If one considers the evolution of conservation doctrine over time, the approach to reconstruction has remained remarkably consistent until the latter years of the 20th century. Reconstruction is not new. Its roots can be found in 19th-century Western cultures when the concept of historical monuments was created and consciousness of an historical past was developed. Architects sought to replace missing parts of monuments as a means of restoring them to their previous splendour – or even improving them with new pseudo-historical additions. Viollet-le-Duc's well-known reconstruction of the walls at the Historic Fortified City of Carcassonne WHS, France is a case in point. In the 20th century, this trend was particularly strong in North America where historical replicas served as living history museums, popular with visitors and effective as forms of presentation and interpretation of the past. The most famous example can be found at the immense 1930s project at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia which aimed to create an interpretive park to colonial America. Some 350 buildings were reconstructed in imitation of the 18th century while other buildings from later periods were destroyed in an attempt to achieve an "authentic" historical atmosphere.

Heritage conservation professionals have traditionally been opposed to reconstruction because this approach was deemed to falsify history and create fictional places that never existed in that form. This opposition began in the 19th century and eventually found expression in the 20th century through two key doctrinal texts: the Athens Charter (1931) and the Venice Charter (1964). The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments calls for respect for the historic and artistic

work of the past to prevent a "loss of character and historical values to the structures" [Athens Conference, 1931: preamble, I]. The Venice Charter clearly prohibits reconstruction: "The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins" [IInd International Congress, 1964: art. 9]. ICOMOS endorsed the Venice Charter a year later. Subsequent standards and guidelines have consistently advised caution when considering the reconstruction of historical sites.

World Heritage and reconstruction

In the early years, the World Heritage Committee followed ICOMOS guidance and generally opposed reconstruction, although it made an exception in 1980 for the historic city of Warsaw whose massive rebuilding was seen as a symbol of the patriotic feeling of the Polish people. The degree of discomfort among Committee members about inscribing a reconstructed city is demonstrated by the protracted debate on the subject over three years. After inscription, the Committee declared that "there can be no question of inscribing in the future other cultural properties that have been reconstructed" [UNESCO, 1980b: 19h]. The Committee immediately amended its guidelines on authenticity to include a statement that echoes the Venice Charter: "reconstruction is only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture" [UNESCO, 1980a: 18b]. It is arguable that this benchmark "to no extent on conjecture" is almost impossible to reach. Despite recent decisions by the World Heritage Committee, the current version of its Operational Guidelines still contains this prohibition [UNESCO, 2017: para 86].

Doctrinal shift

By the late 20th century, a number of factors began to challenge a materials-based approach to heritage conservation. The 1999 version of the Burra Charter, which largely follows the cautious approach of the Venice Charter, allows in rare cases for reconstruction "as part of a use or practice that retains the cultural significance

of the place" [Australia ICOMOS, 1999: 20.1]. The World Heritage Committee itself initiated policy discussions in the 1990s that enlarged its discourse by adding important cultural and anthropological dimensions. A significant marker is its 1992 adoption of the cultural landscape category, in particular the category of associative cultural landscapes which focuses on "powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent". A result of the adoption of the cultural landscapes categories was the addition of "living traditions" to the associations to be considered under criterion (vi) [Cameron, Rössler, 2013: 67-8].

In this progression towards intangible attributes, the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity also played an important role. It introduced the idea of information sources that contribute to determining authenticity. As guidance for authenticity judgements, the Nara Document expanded the list of information sources to include several aspects of intangible heritage such as use, function, traditions, techniques, spirit and feeling. By expanding the list of intangible attributes, the Nara Document strengthens the justification for reconstruction of built fabric as a means of recovering intangible values and symbolic meaning [Larsen, 1995: xxiii].

This doctrinal shift is well illustrated by comparing the listing of the Historic Centre of Warsaw WHS in 1980 with the listing of the Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar WHS, Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2005. Both were justified under criterion (vi) on the basis of restoring cultural value – the associative dimension of the property. In the case of Warsaw, the Committee was careful to include criterion (ii) which went beyond associative values to recognize the physical fabric – both original and reconstructed – as a demonstration of conservation doctrines and practice. The authenticity statement emphasizes "extant structures predating the damage of World War II" [Cameron, 2008: 19-24].

By 2005, in the context of shifting doctrine, the Committee eventually agreed to list Mostar under criterion (vi) alone. It was not an easy decision because the nominating State Party argued strongly for recognition of the tangible values of the property and the application of criterion (iv). Although there was extensive and high-quality documentation available, ICOMOS had doubts about the accuracy of the reconstruction work. These doubts were later confirmed by an external evaluation of the project [Goodey, Desimpelaere, 2003: 11-14] and by ICOMOS expert Léon Pressouyre, chair of the scientific committee for the reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge from 2002 to 2004. According to Pressouyre, the project mixed

historical and contemporary materials and methods, creating a hybrid structure that, in his diplomatic language, "dissociated scientific study from implementation" [Pressouyre, 2008]. Because of nagging issues related to the bridge's material authenticity, the World Heritage Committee rejected criterion (iv) and accepted the application of criterion (vi) alone. In support of this decision, ICOMOS argued that the reconstruction of fabric should be seen as supporting the restoration of the intangible dimensions of the property.

But Pressouyre is equally skeptical about the symbolic character of the reconstructed bridge. He referred to the new Mostar bridge as an evolution "from the quest for the identical to the trap of identity". He contended that "the bridge of Mostar is no longer an Ottoman bridge as it was until 1993, but a kind of international and consensual bridge where there is a little bit of everything in the hope that everyone will find themselves reflected there…to speak of the authenticity of the symbol, in my opinion, is very deceptive" [Pressouyre, 2008].

Despite the pitfalls of such reconstructions, this doctrinal shift by the Committee has important implications for conservation standards. While there is an impressive body of work to guide the conservation of tangible attributes, there is much less guidance available for conserving intangible attributes of historical places. All criteria for assessing outstanding universal value can be considered to have an associative dimension to some extent; however, criterion (vi) is special. It is the only one that explicitly recognizes the "outstanding universal significance" of the associative dimension of World Heritage sites. Moreover, it is criterion (vi) that specifically provides a list of six associations: events, living traditions, ideas, beliefs, artistic works and literary works [Cameron, Herrmann, 2018: 4].

The question that remains is the following: how does one reconstruct the full range of attributes, both tangible and intangible? For intangible attributes like those connected to the associations in criterion (vi), what is the object of a reconstruction? If one is to reconstruct the attributes related to living traditions, should the focus be on conserving the landscape in which the living tradition takes place or even on strengthening the communities themselves? If one is to reconstruct attributes related to beliefs, should reconstruction efforts go beyond the physical site to include support for rituals and even religious organizations involved with the property?

Principles

ICOMOS guidance on reconstruction sets out fundamental principles such as the need to understand the site and its full range of values, the obligation to document all phases of the project, the practice of values-based decision-making, the need for transparency, and the obligation to engage affected communities [ICOMOS, 2017: 7-11].

In applying these principles to a specific site, scale matters. The issue of scale distinguishes the reconstruction of a monument from the reconstruction of a city. Monuments are often valued for their architectural characteristics, thereby requiring a focus on the recovery of specific details. In the case of cities, emphasis is not on the recovery of single buildings but on social, cultural and economic processes that comprise the urban fabric. The values are defined in broad terms and at an urban scale. Therefore there is more scope for the insertion of contemporary elements and features to respond to new needs while also respecting the overall authenticity and integrity of the historic urban landscape.

Traumatic loss

A new factor affecting issues of reconstruction in the 21st century is the surge in extremists' attacks on heritage places. In this situation, time is an important consideration. While the World Heritage Committee has been quick to approve reconstruction proposals for places intentionally destroyed through conflict, one could caution that it would be wise to step back and reflect on the policy implications of such actions. Conservation charters emphasize the importance of documenting decision-making processes so that future generations may understand how choices were made, what options were considered, what values survive and what new ones were created.

A period of reflection after a traumatic loss could create space for further consideration by future generations. In the case of the destruction of the fourteen tombs at Timbuktu WHS, Mali in 2012, one could argue that reconstructing all of them at one time risks erasing the memory of their destruction and may deprive people of the space to reflect on the past. The half-destroyed Genbaku Dome at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial WHS, Japan serves precisely this purpose, standing as it does as a reminder of the most destructive force ever created by humankind.

Standards and guidelines

The evolution of doctrine and recent decisions by the World Heritage Committee appear to be opening a path to new approaches to reconstruction. The shift represents a challenge for keepers of conservation doctrine like ICOMOS, because decisions from an authoritative body like the World Heritage Committee give credence to a move away from traditional conservation practice towards greater support for the recovery of history and memory.

Further guidance is needed to support States Parties in the preparation of nominations and in the conservation of World Heritage sites in their countries. ICOMOS has begun the long process of reviewing the substantial body of extant charters, declarations and recommendations to distill the essence of heritage conservation ethics and to apply them to reconstruction. This is not an easy task because this corpus is inconsistent and sometimes contradictory. Beyond the doctrinal framework, what is also missing is practical guidance, a distillation of these principles into clear specific guidance. While the review of conservation charters and other guidance is important to clarify when and under what circumstances reconstruction is acceptable, what is also needed is the development of practical standards and guidelines. The existing resource manual on Managing Cultural World Heritage focuses primarily on the structural processes of management. It does acknowledge the need to manage associative values but the texts are general and would benefit from deeper discussion about the management of the associations listed in criterion (vi) [UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, IUCN, 2013: 2.5, 3.4]. Specific examples of conservation strategies for associative values at World Heritage sites would be helpful.

Standards and guidelines for the reconstruction of historic places could take the form of conservation principles followed by recommended and not recommended actions. Rooted in a thorough understanding of outstanding universal value, such guidance could give specific examples about how to approach the conservation of both tangible and intangible attributes. Given the evolution of the concept of heritage and the broad range of potential attributes, these standards and guidelines would need input not only from heritage experts but from other disciplines such as anthropology, literature, religion, urban planning, economics, indigenous cultures and so forth.

In working through such changes, it is useful to recall that reconstruction is a complex process. Simple rules are not feasible. While technical and digital capacity now exists to carry out reconstruction interventions and even to make replicas of historic places, questions about ethics, doctrine and practical guidance are not yet resolved. Currently, there is increasing pressure to recover history and memory in the face of escalating loss and destruction of heritage sites. Further guidance is needed, including a distillation of previous ICOMOS doctrine, an amendment of paragraph 86 of the Operational Guidelines, revisions to the World Heritage resource manuals and the preparation of practical standards and guidelines.

Such an approach should be additive. Past achievements should not be thrown out. Instead, conservation charters need to make room for new ideas and World Heritage tools need to be updated. Since the rise of conservation doctrine in the 19th century, each generation has added new principles and guidelines. It is an additive approach that will help build robust guidance for the future.

Résumé

Le présent article contient une analyse des décisions du Comité du patrimoine mondial relatives à la reconstruction dans le contexte de la politique de protection du patrimoine et des cas spécifiques. L'analyse a révélé que ces décisions sont incompatibles avec les principes adoptés par la Comité et font rarement référence aux règles de conservation existante pour la reconstruction des sites historiques. L'article traite de l'introduction du concept de paysages culturels et de la redéfinition du concept d'authenticité, ainsi que de décisions spécifiques concernant Varsovie, Mostar et Mali, exemples d'une doctrine qui évolue. Les décisions prises par le Comité du patrimoine mondial se caractérisent depuis un certain temps par une approbation croissante de la reconstruction. Ledit phénomène va de pair avec la tendance mondiale à percevoir les valeurs du patrimoine immatériel comme plus importantes que les valeurs matérielles. L'auteure en conclut que des lignes directrices supplémentaires sont nécessaires pour aider les États parties à élaborer des demandes d'inscription et à protéger les sites du patrimoine mondial situés sur leur territoire. Elle demande l'ICOMOS de continuer à poursuivre l'analyse des codes, recommandations et déclarations existantes afin de formuler des principes directeurs pour les travaux de reconstruction et d'élaborer des normes et des lignes directrices pratiques. Compte tenu de l'évolution du concept de conservation du patrimoine, les activités ci-dessus nécessiteraient d'un soutien non seulement de la part des disciplines traditionnellement liées à la conservation du patrimoine, y compris l'histoire et l'architecture, mais aussi d'autres domaines de savoir, comme l'anthropologie, la littérature, la religion, l'urbanisme, l'économie, les cultures autochtones et autres. L'article se conclut par un appel à la clarification de la doctrine existante de l'ICOMOS, à l'amendement de l'article 86 des « Lignes directrices opérationnelles », à la révision des manuels concernant le patrimoine mondial et à l'élaboration de normes et lignes directrices pratiques.

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Contemporary Reconstruction – Related Considerations in the Theory of Conservation

Bogusław Szmygin

A system-based protection of historic monuments is a discipline that has been in existence for over two centuries now. Considerable advancements have taken place during that time. The idea of protection of monuments is commonly accepted by societies, historic monument protection systems form a part of the activities of contemporary states, and the protection of monuments is based on the theory of conservation. As a result, a set known as "heritage" has been identified in various countries (within its current understanding), and numerous forms of protection have been applied to it.

Simultaneously, however, the contemporary protection of heritage faces an ever-increasing number of challenges. The changing notion of heritage (leading to a considerable increase in the size of the set) and a radical change in the conditions of its protection (consisting mainly in recognizing the stakeholders' right to decide about the manner in which a monument is to be protected) leads to increasing controversy and conflicts. The approach to the principles and forms of protection of historic monuments has changed radically over the past few decades. Heritage and its protection are currently perceived from two competitive viewpoints. Based on the time in which those viewpoints have been formulated, they may be referred to as the traditional and contemporary perspective.

In the traditional approach the historic object was treated as a subject (ontological status, values, users). As a consequence, it was deemed that the value of heritage should be based on the principles applicable to and the forms of its treatment. A historic object was considered to be an objectively existing document from the past, whose value is proportionate to its authenticity and integrity. In the contemporary approach, heritage is perceived subjectively. Heritage is, obviously, a deed/

product from the past. However, it may be put to a contemporary use. It is the contemporary users who have the right to decide about the principles and forms of treating heritage, and, actually, about the way in which it is used.

Among the many features that differentiate between the traditional and contemporary approach to heritage, those listed in table 1 may be identified as being of key importance.

Table 1. Features differentiating between traditional and contemporary approaches to heritage.

	Traditional approach	**Contemporary approach**
Ontological status	a historic object is an element of the past	heritage is a contemporary element
Aim of action	protection of historic values	using the historic object and its value
Decision-makers	monument conservators	users

The table shows that the key difference between the traditional and the contemporary approaches consists in identifying a different central element around which the approach to a given monument and its protection is built. In the traditional approach it is the heritage – a document from the past (an object) that serves as the central element, while in the contemporary approach it is the user of the heritage (subject) that plays the key role. All constituents of the system are adapted to that central element – assessment of values, objectives, principles and forms of treating monuments.

The phase we are observing in the field of monument protection currently is referred to as the paradigm change phase. Which means that two approaches to heritage coexist at the present, with none of them being deemed to be unconditionally binding. In practice, contemporary heritage protection systems attempt to combine those two systems and to reach a compromise solution. It turns out, however, that it is not as simple, and the future may show that it is not possible at all.

The dilemma presented defines also the discussion concerning reconstruction. This is proved by the title of the conference that was held in Warsaw on 6-8 May 2018 – The challenges of World Heritage recovery – an international conference on

reconstruction. The said title contains two key terms: "recovery" and "reconstruction". Those terms have been defined in the conference's programming materials [2.1 Defining the Terms – Taxonomy], in the following terms:

"Recovery can be defined as a set of strategies used to assist communities to rebuild themselves after a disaster occurs".

"The definition of reconstruction includes the action or process of reconstructing or being reconstructed; a thing that has been rebuilt after being damaged or destroyed".

The definitions indicate that "recovery" is oriented on "communities", i.e. broadly understood stakeholders (subject). "Reconstruction", in turn, refers to the "thing", i.e. the historic object (object). Such a differentiation is of absolutely key importance, as it renders the remaining elements of the system created differently. To simplify, one may say that in the process of "recovery", heritage, its values, the conservation theory and conservation experts play a less important and instrumental role. In the process of "reconstruction", in turn, the heritage, its values, the conservation theory and conservations experts play the most prominent role.

It is worth taking this opportunity to state that heritage protection specialists – architects, archaeologists, historians of art, construction engineers – are not overly competent, from the professional point of view, to be in charge of social processes. They are, however, competent to plan and perform reconstructions. Thus, one may summarize that although the conservation theory – dealing with defining heritage, objectives, principles and forms of its protection – provides information about reconstruction, it only offers a limited extent of information/tools enabling the standardization of the recovery process (a social process). Therefore, if the social process-based approach to heritage protection is adopted, there is a serious risk that monument conservators will have to limit the problem of reconstruction to creating a catalogue of case studies only.

Meanwhile, experts in charge of heritage protection are in need of some standardization directions. This is precisely the role that the conservation theory serves. Only this specific approach to the issue may be referred to as responsible. With such an approach and such assumptions adopted, several aspects of reconstruction may be presented from the point of view of the conservation theory.

Reconstruction-related conditions

The complexity of the context within which reconstruction should be analysed is the first issue to be tackled. Reconstruction may be defined, in the simplest terms, in the following manner: reconstruction consists in recreating a historic object that has been destroyed (does not exist). Such a definition limits, however, the manner in which reconstruction is perceived solely on the material existence of the historic object. With such a definition adopted, one may decide that reconstruction – as a technical conservation effort consisting in recreating the material form of a given object – may be assessed regardless of its object and of the circumstances in which the activities are performed. Such an approach seems to excessively limit the reality, however.

In practice, while analysing the conditions applicable to reconstruction of heritage, one has to take into consideration at least four elements (factors impacting the assessment of reconstruction):

- historic monument / subject of reconstruction;
- reconstruction / technical effort related to the damaged historic monument;
- circumstances in which the monument was destroyed;
- circumstances in which the monument is reconstructed.

With those four elements that justify reconstruction and impact of its assessment taken into consideration, one needs to ask whether this system of mutually interdependent (to a considerable degree) constituents may be restricted to one element only. This means, of course, that the three remaining factors would have to be left out altogether.

In the past – throughout the entire 20th century – the conservation theory was providing a positive answer. Overriding value was assigned to one element only: the monument itself. The ontological status of a monument was defined by its uniqueness. A monument was not merely an old building, but most importantly a historic document that needed to be treated similarly to a work of art. In consequence, authenticity of a monument was its primary value. Furthermore, the monument should be authentic in all of its aspects: substance, form, finish, location, function, etc. That is why reconstruction, as an activity that cannot lead, by its very nature, to the creation of a monument that meets all requirements of authenticity, was not accepted. The circumstances of destruction and rebuilding – listed above as elements three

and four – were not formally taken into consideration at all. In practice, however, when the circumstances of destruction were exceptional, for instance the building was destroyed on purpose during war operations, reconstruction was attempted and buildings were rebuilt. The value of monuments reconstructed in this manner was not, obviously, equal to that of an authentic monument.

The contemporary approach to monuments impacts the manner in which re-construction is perceived as well. Subjective treatment of monuments means that the circumstances of their destruction and rebuilding can no longer be left out. This means that in a system comprising four elements that define the value of a given monument, none of them plays an overarching role. This is in compliance with the current approach that has replaced the notion of a monument with a much broader notion of heritage. Therefore, the ontological status of heritage (current concept) differs from the status of a historic monument (traditional concept).

In reality, only a very limited number of historic monuments meet all the condi-tions of authenticity. Therefore, when the subjective approach to heritage surfaces, the justification to retain the privileged value of the historic objects themselves, with the circumstances of their destruction and rebuilding omitted, was no longer that strong. Hence, the need to exclude reconstruction (of damaged heritage) as a meth-od of permitted conservation effort, is being phased out.

Such an approach forces a change in the philosophy of conservators. The univer-sal principle forbidding reconstruction must be replaced by a case-by-case analysis covering all four elements: the monument itself, the circumstances and the meth-od to be adopted. The general conclusion regarding the contemporary approach to heritage boils down to stating that no limitations applicable to any conserva-tion efforts, other than the individual context (object, value, circumstances), exist. This means that the contemporary conservation theory is not capable of coming up with a clear-cut assessment of reconstruction – be it positive or negative.

Historic ruins versus contemporary ruins

The impact that the circumstances in which a given monument was destroyed exert on the method of its protection is illustrated well by the approach towards ruins. Ruins are defined, in conservation of monuments, as historic objects that have been destroyed to a considerable degree. The term "ruins" applies to all historic objects

that are damaged, incomplete, deprived of their function or illegible. From the technical point of view, however, one may assume that a damaged object is a ruin when most (or all) buildings and rooms are deprived of their roofs and ceilings.

There are many different types of historic ruins. Reconstruction is very frequently one of the concepts taken into consideration in their protection. One may even state that most reconstruction programs are concerned with ruins, as in practice, the reconstructed objects were rarely fully destroyed. Therefore, reconstruction is performed, in reality, with regard to many types of ruins. The arguments quoted above – mainly the lack of authenticity – are of course the reasons why the traditional conservation theory excluded the rebuilding/reconstruction of ruins.

The conservation-based approach to ruins – i.e. the ban to rebuild them – was formulated based on the degree of damage/the condition they were preserved in. Meanwhile, it is in the case of ruins that one may clearly notice how important other factors, mainly the circumstances in which a given object was destroyed, are as well. The following factors differentiating different types of ruins and determining the conservation approach may be listed:

- period of destruction;
- cause of destruction;
- documentation of the original form;
- type of building;
- technical condition – extent of damage and incompleteness;
- period in which the object was created.

With the aforementioned criteria taken into consideration, two categories of ruins may be distinguished, namely "historic ruins" and "contemporary ruins". Such a distinction captures the key differences between both categories.

Table 2. Features distinguishing historic and contemporary ruins

Criterion	Contemporary ruins	Historic ruins
Period of destruction	The ruins were a complete object in the memory of living generations.	Destruction occurred prior to the period remembered by living generation.
Cause of destruction	Sudden, short-lasting circumstances of exceptional nature (explosion, fire, disaster, flood).	Natural, long-lasting process of destruction (which could be preceded by sudden circumstances).
Documentation of the original form	Full or considerable documentation.	Missing or fragmentary (unreliable) documentation.
Type of building	Of no significance.	Mainly military and religious objects.
Degree of destruction and incompleteness	Various types of the object's elements preserved (perimeter walls, stairs, ceilings, finish elements, architectural décor).	Only fragments of the structural elements preserved – often only fragments of load-bearing walls.
Period in which the object was created	Of no significance.	At least century-specific (mostly medieval objects).

The criteria presented above clearly indicate that contemporary and historic ruins are completely different categories. One may state that in the case of "contemporary ruins", their destruction is temporary and unnatural. A complete structure is a natural state. Even more so when full and reliable information about its historic form is available.

In the case of "historic ruins", their destruction is permanent and natural. A complete (rebuilt) structure would be an unnatural state. Even more so when information about its historic form is missing. Meanwhile, the conservation theory fails to formally differentiate between the manners in which destroyed ruins are treated based on their characteristics presented above.

The difference between historic and contemporary ruins means also that other principles of conservation should apply to each specific type. In the case of contemporary ruins, their rebuilding may be attempted, while historic ruins should be protected and preserved in the form of the so-called permanent ruins.

Terminology

Terminology is another important issue that is of certain significance for the treatment of destroyed (and reconstructed) historic monuments. In heritage protection, no universal vocabulary of conservation terms exists. The several dozens of most frequently used conservation-related terms do not have their precisely defined meanings, i.e. the so-called semantic fields. They are used intuitively, and the lack of precision is augmented by the fact that different doctrine documents rely on the same notions that are defined in different ways. Meanwhile, the precision of notions used, i.e. the use of a common language, is an obvious requirement based on which a conservation theory that will be standardizing the practices may be formed. It seems that defining several notions that will reflect meaningful differences in treating damaged historic objects is both possible and necessary.

Authenticity and integrity are the features that are of key importance when characterizing historic objects that are considered to be material carriers of various types of values. Therefore, notions describing the technical approach to damaged historic objects should relate to their historic/authentic substance. From this perspective, one may distinguish four types of conditions and activities, as presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Activities related to damaged historic objects.

Name of action	Characteristics	Examples
Anasytlosis	– creating fragments of a historic object from authentic elements – minor contemporary additions resulting from static needs	– ancient objects of large stone elements
Restitution	– recreation of a historic object with the use of numerous dispersed authentic elements (including architectural decor components) – contemporary additions prevail over authentic elements; the historic form of the object is recreated	– the Royal Castle in Warsaw
Rebuilding	– recreation of a historic object that was damaged recently in sudden circumstances of one-off nature – the form of a historic object is truthfully reconstructed based on full and reliable documentation	– Frauenkirche Dresden
Reconstruction	– recreation of a historic object that was destroyed in more distant past – the form of the reconstructed object is hypothetical (no full and reliable documentation is available)	– reconstruction of medieval castles existing in the form of ruins

The terms presented above relate to different scopes of activity that stem also from the different condition which the damaged monuments are in. Importantly, these terms form a complementary system. By relying upon them, we are capable of naming and differentiating between different situations of the damaged objects.

Therefore, consistent use of the terms provided for above is another element that may assist, within the framework of the conservation theory, in ordering the procedures used to handle destroyed historic objects.

Summary and conclusions

When summarizing the selected aspects of reconstruction perceived from the point of view of the contemporary conservation theory, it is worth referring to two issues: assessment of the value of a rebuilt/reconstructed monument and the ability to inscribe the reconstructed objects to the UNESCO World Heritage List.

When evaluating the value of a rebuilt object, one also needs to bear in mind that the traditional conservation theory associated value only with objects that were materially authentic. Hence, no values defining a historic monument were inherent in reconstructed objects. Therefore, reconstruction was not considered to be a conservation-related activity. The contemporary approach to authenticity is, however, much broader. It enables an object that is not authentic materially (rebuilt) to be considered as belonging to our heritage, as it represents other values. This does not mean, obviously, that the differences between individual types of values have been blurred. Authenticity of the material/substance is, in principle, the most important of all values. Therefore, a historic object that has been rebuilt is not an equivalent of the same object prior to its destruction. Rebuilding a historic object is just a commencement of another stage in its history. Such an approach makes it possible to take into consideration other factors, such as, for instance, circumstances in which the object was destroyed, also contributing to the set of values inherent in the object in question.

In specific cases, the circumstances in which the object was destroyed may even dominate within the set of values offered by such an objects (Warsaw, the Hiroshima dome, gas chambers in Auschwitz). Depending on our interpretation, they may serve as an argument backing rebuilding (Mostar), or, to the contrary, deciding about preserving the ruins (gas chambers).

In summary, one may state that destruction of a historic object creates a new situation from the point of view of assessing its value. While assessing that value, four elements need to be taken into consideration: the monument itself, the circumstances of its destruction and rebuilding, and the principles based on which the rebuilding phase will be conducted. The analysis of all values inherent in the four factors referred to above should serve as a basis for deciding whether to rebuild a given historic monument or not. It has to be added, however, that no methodology or procedure have been worked out so far in the conservation theory to quantify such values.

Another issue that needs to be taken into consideration, i.e. assessment of recon-struction in the context of the UNESCO List, involves two factors. The first one boils down to determining whether rebuilt objects may be inscribed to the UNESCO List, while the other requires that a decision be made whether locations already inscribed to the UNESCO List, which have been destroyed, may be rebuilt.

In the former case, one has to analyse whether the rebuilt object meets all the conditions that need to be met for inscription to the UNESCO List. It may be the case that other aspects – circumstances of destruction or rebuilding methods – will serve as a basis for the OUV (outstanding universal values) inherent in the object in ques-tion. Have the values of the object been preserved, despite its reconstruction, and is the reconstruction a constituent of those values? In such a case, reconstruction should be identified as an important element in the history of a given object - as it was the case with the inscription of Warsaw's Old Town to the UNESCO List.

In the other case, analysis needs to be performed as to the scope in which the OUVs have been damaged. Whether the process of rebuilding as such, and, if so, what type of it, is capable of restoring/supplementing the OUV of the damaged ob-ject? It is obvious that specific damaged objects are different, which means that the OUV characteristics thereof are different as well. Therefore, the question is whether objects inscribed in the World Heritage List may be rebuilt, but also whether the damage has impacted its OUV and whether the reconstruction is capable of restor-ing/supplementing these.

Thus, the question whether reconstruction of an object inscribed to the UNESCO List is possible is irrelevant. Reconstruction is at the very edge of a wide range of activities that need to be undertaken while dealing with historic monuments. Dis-cussions concerning reconstruction, held in 2018, with nearly 1100 objects already inscribed to the UNESCO List, has to differ from talks held at the time when the first principles concerning world heritage were formulated. The new reality has to be taken into consideration, as has to be the great diversity of the contemporary herit-age and the different conditions applicable to their protection. This means that the principles and the form of protection have to be verified also in relation to the most valuable objects, i.e. those considered to constitute the world heritage. Instead of applying universal conservation principles, one needs to describe the conditions and procedures that should be applied while conserving and protecting historic monu-ments, also those inscribed to the UNESCO list.

Finally, the following conclusions may be drawn:

- reconstruction may be considered a permissible method of treating a destroyed monument (the characteristics of the object, the circumstances of its destruction and the method of rebuilding will be decisive here),
- analysis of the values inherent in the rebuilt object should be a key factor deciding about its reconstruction (it is necessary to conduct such an analysis),
- the conservation theory provides guidelines defining reconstruction as a technical effort undertaken while treating a destroyed historic monument,
- rebuild objects should not be a priori excluded from the UNESCO List – it is necessary to conduct an analysis of its values and of the circumstances related to its destruction and reconstruction; the same point of view needs to be adopted also to answer questions concerning reconstruction of objects inscribed to the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Résumé

Au cours des dernières décennies, l'approche des principes et des formes de protection des monuments a radicalement changé. Le patrimoine et sa préservation sont abordés selon deux perspectives concurrentielles – appelons-les « traditionnelle » et « contemporaine ».

Dans l'approche traditionnelle, le bien historique était traité comme un objet (statut ontologique, valeurs, utilisateurs). En conséquence, il a été admis que les principes et les formes de traitement du patrimoine devraient être déterminés par ses valeurs. Un objet historique a été considéré comme un document du passé, existant de façon objective, dont la valeur est proportionnelle au degré de son authenticité et de son intégrité. Selon l'approche contemporaine, le patrimoine est perçu comme sujet. Le patrimoine est une ouvre venant du passé, mais qui peut être utilisée aujourd'hui. Les principes et les façons de traiter le patrimoine – la manière dont il est utilisé – sont laissées à l'appréciation des utilisateurs contemporains.

La démarche moderne en matière de monuments impacte également la perception de la reconstruction. L'approche subjective des monuments fait que, en dehors de la valeur même du bien (en tant que document) et de la méthode de reconstruction (en tant qu'action technique), les circonstances de sa destruction et de sa restauration ne peuvent pas être négligées. Par conséquent, aucun de ces quatre facteurs n'est en principe supérieur. Cela permet de considérer une reconstruction comme une action acceptable si elle est justifiée, par exemple, par les circonstances de la destruction du monument ou de sa restauration.

Une telle approche impose une modification de la philosophie de la conservation. Le principe universel qui interdisait la reconstruction doit être remplacé par une analyse individuelle qui inclut les quatre éléments – le monument, les circonstances et la démarche adoptée. La conclusion générale de l'approche contemporaine du patrimoine est qu'il n'y a pas de limites à tout travail de conservation hors du contexte individuel (objet, valeur, circonstances). Cela signifie que la théorie contemporaine de la conservation ne peut pas formuler d'avis décisif au sujet de la reconstruction – qu'il soit positif ou négatif.

La conséquence de cette nouvelle approche de la protection du patrimoine devrait être la distinction entre « ruines contemporaines » et « ruines historiques ». Dans le cas des « ruines contemporaines », l'état de destruction est momentané et anormal. L'état normal est un édifice complet. D'autant plus si les informations complètes et fiables concernant sa forme historique sont disponibles. Dans le cas des « ruines historiques », l'état de destruction est permanent et naturel. L'édifice complet (restauré) serait dans ce cas anormal. D'autant plus si les informations concernant sa forme historique ne sont plus disponibles.

Vu la différence entre les ruines historiques et contemporaines, elles devraient être soumises à des règles de conservation différentes. Dans le cas des ruines contemporaines, une restauration pourrait être entreprise, tandis que les ruines historiques devraient être préservées sous la forme de ruines dites permanentes.

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Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage – a Legal Perspective

Magdalena Marcinkowska

Past events regarding the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage in Syria, Iraq, Mali and Yemen, and even more so the intentional bombing of Bamyan Buddhas in 2001, showed that the scientific debate about the recovery and reconstruction needs to continue in order to bring more systematic solutions. Begun after the Great War and strengthened after the World War II, the discussion about the recovery and reconstruction was an urgent matter at every conservation meeting. What's more, the outcome of the 1931 Athens Charter and the 1964 Venice Charter and the Riga Charter are proof that the doctrinal approach to recovery and reconstruction was evolving. In parallel, the milestone step in the international cultural heritage protection system was established by firstly the 1954 Hague Convention whose aim was to prevent the destruction of cultural heritage in times of armed conflict, and secondly by the 1972 World Heritage Convention and its operational guidelines. Nonetheless, none of the provisions of the international act answers the following question: is the recovery and reconstruction admissible?

Recovery and reconstruction under International law of cultural heritage protection

There is no legal definition of recovery or reconstruction under the international law of cultural heritage protection, but in several UNESCO conventions one may find references to the terms in the text of the acts. Regarding the international law of the

protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict, in the text of the 1954 Hague Convention with its two Protocols, one may distinguish tree stages of each armed conflict:

1. preparation in the event of armed conflict;
2. protection of cultural property during the armed conflict;
3. removing the effects of armed conflict by recovery, reconstruction, and restitution of cultural property.

In response to the third stage, in the Second Protocol to the Hague Convention new Fund for the protection for Cultural Property in the event of armed conflict was enacted. Article 29b of the Second Protocol states that the Fund is established inter alia for the purpose of providing financial or other assistance in relation to emergency, provisional or other measures to be taken in order to protect cultural property during periods of armed conflict or of immediate recovery after the end of hostilities. This new source of the financial aid was found to provide assistance to those states where cultural property requires immediate help in recovery of their cultural property after the cessation of the hostilities.

Similarly, the term recovery and reconstruction are not justified in the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention). Nonetheless, in some of the provisions one may find the prevalence of the term rehabilitation. One of the main obligations of the state party described in Article 5 (4) refers to taking the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of the said heritage. This provision states that the rehabilitation of cultural heritage is one of the basic obligations of the state party, which is to provide all possible measures to protect, conserve and present its cultural heritage. The question revises the issue of what does rehabilitation really mean in terms of the text of the convention? Answer to this inquiry is not obvious.

On the other hand, the 1972 Convention allows the Word Heritage Committee to foster the recovery of cultural heritage. The article 13(1) of the 1972 Convention provides that the state party may ask for the international assistance to secure its protection, conservation, presentation or rehabilitation. This refers not only to the cultural heritage inscribed on the World Heritage List but also to those objects potentially suitable for inclusion in the lists mentioned in the Convention (e.g. the

World Heritage List and the World Heritage List in Danger). Being on the list means it is "intended to encourage corrective action, to raise conservation awareness and funding. Armed conflicts and war, natural disasters, pollution and uncontrolled ur-banisation and unchecked tourism development all pose to cause problems world-wide" [Meskell, 2018: 177-178].

Article 22 indicates what may be understood by the protection, conservation, presentation or rehabilitation by providing a catalogue of forms of assistance that might be granted by the WHC. It includes: studies concerning the artistic, scien-tific and technical problems raised by the protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of the cultural and natural heritage; providing experts, techni-cians and skilled labour to ensure that the approved work is carried out correctly; training of staff and specialists at all levels in the field of identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of the cultural and natural heritage; supply of equipment which the State concerned does not possess or is not in a position to acquire; low-interest or interest-free loans which might be repayable on a long-term basis; the granting, in exceptional cases and for special reasons, of non-repayable subsidies.

In this matter the most relevant example is the inscription of the old city of Dubrovnik in the World Heritage List in Danger in 1991 [Decision CONF 002 XV.F, 1991]. This World Heritage Committee decision helped the state party of Croatia to imple-ment the international assistance mechanisms at priority basis and hasten the process of recovery of the city [Decision CONF 003 XII.3, 1998]. According to par. 183 of the Operational Guidelines: when considering the inscription of a property on the List of World Heritage in Danger, the Committee shall develop, and adopt, as far as possible, in consultation with the State Party concerned, a desired state of conservation for the removal of the property from the List of World Heritage in Danger, and a program for corrective measures. Similar actions were taken in case of Syria regarding the destruc-tion of Aleppo and other Syrian cities [Decision 37 COM 7B.57, 2013].

The most important question in the discussion regarding the recovery and re-construction of world heritage sites is the importance of lost, and later recovered outstanding universal value. According to par. 49 of the Operational Guidelines out-standing universal value "means cultural and/or natural significance which is so ex-ceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole".

The most important provision regarding the reconstruction is located in chapter II E of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, which refers to authenticity and integrity of the site embodying outstanding universal value. According to par. 86 of the Operational Guidelines, there is two prerequisites that need to be fulfilled for the reconstruction to be justifiable. First, it must refer to the 'exceptional circumstances' that have to appear at the archaeological remains, historic buildings or districts. While second condition under which reconstruction is acceptable strictly states that the complete and detailed documentation of the site is required and to no extent any conjecture is admissible, what is worth mentioning is that the exceptional circumstances are not defined and may be interpreted differently. In the matter of recovery and reconstruction, especially of the historic towns or cultural landscapes, integrity plays also an important role. In par. 88 of the Operational Guidelines integrity is defined as a "measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes'. The conditions of integrity of the property are as follows:

a. all elements are necessary to express its outstanding universal value;
b. adequate size is necessary to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance;
c. it suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect.

Different approach refers for properties nominated under criteria (i) to (vi). Paragraph 89 of the Operational Guidelines states that "the physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features should be in good condition, and the impact of deterioration processes controlled. A significant proportion of the elements necessary to convey the totality of the value conveyed by the property should be included. Relationships and dynamic functions present in cultural landscapes, historic towns or other living properties essential to their distinctive character should also be maintained".

The references to the recovery of historic towns were later on repeated in the UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape (2011). As it was recognised in par. 20 "the changes to historic urban areas can also result from sudden disasters and armed conflicts". For that reason, the introduced historic urban landscape approach "may assist in managing and mitigating the effects of destruction".

Considering this discussion regarding the legal perspective of the recovery and reconstruction on the domestic level, it has to be noted that in each country legislation there are different approaches to the matter. Comparative legal analysis would have expressed the differences between the legal solutions regarding that matter; however, this issue goes beyond the scope of the considerations below.

Recovery and reconstruction in conservation doctrine

Each legislative solution has its background discussions in the field of expertise. At this point it is necessary to present the debate regarding the matter of recovery and reconstruction in the field of conservation doctrine.

In conservation theory, the approach to rebuilding has varied. Originating in the XVII century the idea of protecting monuments, as well as successive armed conflicts, including World War I and II, and numerous natural disasters, contributed to the fact that conservators have disagreed for years on the shape of the reconstruction of architectural objects that are testimonies of past eras. In the XIX century, when the basic criterion for recognition something as a monument was its age, different schools for the preservation of monuments were developed, which gave rise to different approaches to their restoration. Representatives of the so-called French school believed that reconstruction should focus on restoring the original form of the monument by removing all transformations or alterations (so-called stylistic 'purism'). In Germany, at the end of the century, the cathedrals of Cologne and Ulm underwent restoration based on XV century documentation; likewise, the medieval character of castles was restored (e.g. in Malbork or Waltburg). Despite the consent allowing restoration to be carried out, there were no shortage of critical voices. The first opponent was John Ruskin, and then Alois Riegl, who believed that any interference with the historic form and substance should be rejected, as well as allowing for future destruction and modification as testimony of progressing epochs. Nevertheless, with such a conservative approach to the protection of monuments, complex situations could not have been avoided. One example is the recreation of the campanili in Venice's St Mark's Square in 1902. It was recognized then that in the face of a catastrophe, it was not so much a reanimation as a reconstruction, and thus a reconstruction of a monument seems to be indispensable [Zachwatowicz, 1981: 5-7].

The devastation of the Great War also provided many examples of reconstruction of monuments that were damaged during combat, such as the cathedral in Ypres in Belgium or the town hall in Arres in France. Although these actions had many opponents, because, in their opinion, historic monuments should be "preserved – and not restructured", the practice and the needs of the public were quite the reverse.

At the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments was held in Athens in 1931, Polish delegate Alfred Lauterbach pointed out: "restoration more or less far advanced will always be absolutely necessary, even when a certain hypocrisy gives it the name of conservation" [Zachwatowicz, 1981: 7]. In effect, an international guided catalogue on restoration, the Athens Charter, was established, becoming the first international soft law document to encourage modern conservation policy [Falser, 2008: 116]. It introduced solutions related to the restoration, preservation, and protection of heritage buildings and their surrounding neighbourhood [Tomaszewski, 2008: 107]. "Stylistic restoration" was criticized and regular and permanent maintenance recommended, thus valuing the styles of all periods. Although it didn't refer much to the notions of reconstruction or recovery, it is necessary to point out that the chapter VI The Technique of Conservation uses the term recovery. It states that "in the case of ruins, scrupulous conservation is necessary, and steps should be taken to reinstate any original fragments that may be recovered (anastylosis), whenever this is possible; the new materials used for this purpose should in all cases be recognisable. When the preservation of ruins brought to light in the course of excavations is found to be impossible, the Conference recommends that they be buried, accurate records being of course taken before filling-in operations are undertaken".

The conservative approach to reconstruction had changed after the World War II. Deliberate destruction of cultural heritage that took place during that time had a great impact on the conservation doctrine. This tragic event provoked a totally different and more flexible approach to reconstruction and recovery of monuments in the conservation doctrine. It was realized that to rebuild cities after war time events, and to bring the spirit back to the nation, their identity and their culture, the recovery and reconstruction of cultural heritage is crucial. Jan Zachwatowicz stated that "whole pages written in architectural stone were ripped forcefully from us. We can't accept it. A sense of responsibility towards future generations requires the reconstruction of what has been destroyed, the reconstruction of the

full and conscious tragedy of conservational deceit … The issue of monuments is a fundamental social issue – the issue of the nation's culture. We cannot apply a one-sidedly extreme theory to them; we must take into account the needs of today…" [Zachwatowicz, 1946: 48].

This new approach, which allowed for much more interference in authentic substance on the exceptional basis, was introduced at the Second Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings in Venice, creating The Venice Charter 1964, in which a conservation theory was reviewed and developed in a way that adaptive reuse was introduced as a form of conservation practice. The post-war charter wrote a new chapter in the history of conservation, highlighting in its preamble that "the aim of the monument protection system is to safeguard them for the future generations in the full richness of their authenticity". For that reason, "the conservation of monuments which serves for socially useful purpose, must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building". According to Article 5 "any modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted".

What is significant regarding the recovery and reconstruction of the urban landscape is that the Venice Charter in Article 6 states: "Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and colour must be allowed. Regarding the reconstruction of monuments, it has been clearly pointed out that it should be ruled out "a priori". However, the is one prerequisite that allows for the monument to be existing but dismembered in parts. The material used for integration should always be recognizable and its use should be the least that will ensure the conservation of a monument and the reinstatement of its form (Article 15). This method is called anastylosis, sometimes define as restitution.

As the Venice Charter was not been revised, conservation methodologies for indigenous sites in societies outside Europe have been devised in other ways. One way has been to supplement the limitations of the Venice Charter through the development of national or regional documents. The Burra Charter (1979), The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, was the first to be written for a specific country application after the Venice Charter of 1964. As the Venice Charter was not been revised, conservation methodologies for indigenous sites in societies outside Europe have been devised in other ways. One way has been to supplement the limitations of the Venice Charter through the development of national or regional documents. The Burra Charter (1979), The Australia ICOMOS

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As an international soft law document the Venice Charter covered modern conservation movement which directly introduced adaptive reuse as a way of conserving a heritage building [Mehr, 2019: 930]. It was based on a revision of the 1931 Athens Charter and focused on a discussion about the conservation and restoration of heritage buildings. It distinguished between conservation and restoration by stating that the purpose of conservation is to maintain, while the main aim of restoration is to address the historic and aesthetic value of a monument. The Venice Charter had a major role in the development of international conservation policies such as the Australian Burra Charter (1979, revised in 2013). The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance was the first to be written for a specific country application after the Venice Charter of 1964. It includes provision for the security of the place, its maintenance and its future, and is based on respect for the existing material

(fabric) of the place and most importantly for its meaning to communities. For this purpose, the charter used the term of reconstruction. In article 20 the conditions were described for when reconstruction is allowed. It has been pointed out that it is "appropriate only where a place is incomplete through damage or alteration, and only where there is sufficient evidence to reproduce an earlier state of the fabric'. In some cases, reconstruction may also be appropriate 'as part of a use or practice that retains the cultural significance of the place". Moreover, sites with social or spiritual value may be reconstructed despite the fact that only very little of the crisis remained (e.g. only building foundations or tree stumps following fire, flood or storm). Nonetheless the recovery of the site requires a "sufficient evidence to reproduce an earlier state". Moreover, reconstruction should be "identifiable on close inspection or through additional interpretation". What is important in that case is that the Burra Charter does not use the term cultural heritage or monument at all. "It also does not prescribe the techniques to be used or the manner in which an individual place should be cared for. The decisions and works must be appropriate to the place and circumstances, but the investigations should always involve a number of essential steps".

Over the years the importance of authenticity in cultural heritage protection system has grown. In the context of recovery or reconstruction of its objects the 1994 Nara Document has strengthen the notion of authenticity as the essential qualifying factor concerning values of heritage. Especially, as the document states "the understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role in (…) conservation and restoration planning".

The threats against cultural heritage constantly appearing have caused the need of the international meeting of expert in Riga in 2000. It ended up with The Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction were the notion of reconstruction were defined. In article 5 it was underlined that the "replication of cultural heritage is in general a misrepresentation of evidence of the past, and that each architectural work should reflect the time of its own creation, in the belief that sympathetic new buildings can maintain the environmental context". Again, the prerequsition of "exceptional circumstances" was underlined where the reconstruction of cultural heritage is permitted. Reconstruction of cultural heritage "lost through disaster, whether of natural or human origin, may be acceptable, when the monument concerned has outstanding artistic, symbolic or environmental (whether urban or rural) significance for regional history and cultures". In Riga Charter the catalogue of principles for reconstruction was extended:

- appropriate survey and historical documentation is available (including iconographic, archival or material evidence);
- the reconstruction does not falsify the overall urban or landscape context;
- existing significant historic fabric will not be damaged.

In the Riga Charter, like in the Burra Charter, the most important element of recovery was the social impact – "the need for reconstruction has to be established through full and open consultations among national and local authorities and the community concerned and urge" (par. 4). All stakeholders involved in the process of recovery, such as governments and administrations, were recommended to introduce at the level of national and local policies and practices, and all concerned academic institutions should include it in their training programmes.

Conservation policy making instruments

The discussion on the recovery or reconstruction of the cultural heritage cannot be helped by the documents setting out the direction of conducting the conservative policy. Over the years several policy making documents were established to answer the challenges of recovery and reconstruction of cultural heritage. Among many it is worth mentioning The Charter on urban conservation adopted as the Washington Charter of 1987 (Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas), which was followed by the Vienna Memorandum of 2005 and most recently embodied in the Valetta Principles of 2011. Regarding the preventive actions taken by the international society it is worth mentioning also the 2012 Venice Declaration on Building Resilience at the Local Level towards Protected Cultural Heritage, UNISDR.

In 2017 in response to concerns regarding the destruction of cultural heritage in Syria expressed by the World Heritage Committee in 2015 and then in 2016 (Decision 39 COM 7 and 40 COM 7), ICOMOS published its Guidance on post trauma recovery and reconstruction for world heritage cultural properties, a conservation policy making document focused on cultural heritage concerns, specifically on World Heritage sites. The paper acknowledges the wider social, environmental and economic factors which must have been taken into account. It relates to the importance of developing a post-conflict strategy, including the means of extending support for reconstruction of damaged World Heritage properties. According to the guidance "only proper strat-

egy and master plan with technical assistance, capacity-building, and exchange of best conservation and management practices may ensure the proper recovery of the destructed sites". Several elements were described as The Framework for post trauma recovery and reconstruction strictly and dedicated to sites containing attributes of outstanding universal value. First of all, it was pointed out that the right judgment of the definition of attributes supporting outstanding universal value before and after destruction, both material and immaterial is essential. Thereafter documentation, recording and assessment of the impacts of events on the attributes of outstanding universal value, both tangible and intangible, should be properly proceeded. This will help to develop a Statement of Impacts and Identification of Options for recovery of attributes with an assessment of the heritage impacts of actions under each option, leading to the identification of the preferred option. The Framework also advises to consult the preferred option for recovery with the World Heritage Committee. As its last task the document recommends the establishing of the Development of a Master Plan in consultation with the Advisory Bodies and the World Heritage Centre and the inclusion of amendments to the Management Plan that reflect changes to attributes of outstanding universal value if necessary.

Towards the new international regulation?

The above analysis shows that there is no definition of recovery and reconstruction under any international law instrument. As Micheal Petzet stated: "although reconstruction is not "forbidden" and does not necessarily represent a preservation "sin" – the pros and cons must nonetheless be very carefully weighed' [Petzet 2004: 20]. It needs to be noted that the World Heritage Committee traditionally opposed reconstructions, although it made an exception in 1980 for the historic city of Warsaw. However, recent events of extremists attacks caused the increase of the importance of the intangible aspects of heritage, in light of the Nara Document on Authenticity (ICOMOS 1994) and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003). All these aspects may explain why the Committee changed 'its position from opposition to support of reconstructions' [Cameron 2016, 215].

According to The World Heritage Committee decisions adopted in 2015 and 2016, the Committee has already supported the reconstruction of damaged world heritage sites in view of such circumstances and requested the development of new

guidance to address this timely issue' [Decisions: 39 COM 7 point 7 and 40 COM 7 point 11]. At the 40th Session the World Heritage Committee adopted decision 40 COM 7 which underlined that the recent "guidance within the Operational Guidelines is currently inadequate". For that matter the Committee recommended the in-depth reflection regarding the reconstruction as a complex multi-disciplinary process and that consideration should be given to developing new guidance to reflect the multi-faceted challenges that reconstruction brings, its social and economic context, the short- and long-term needs of properties, and the idea of reconstruction as a process that should be undertaken within the framework of the outstanding universal value of the properties. Year later guidelines were requested and provided to the Committee accordingly (Decision: 41 COM 7).

Roha W. Khalaf argued in 2017 that "the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention may need to shift the spotlight from "exceptional circumstances" to the contemporaneity of heritage" [Khalaf, 2017: 271]. In this matter the author proposed two solutions. First is the revision of the Operational Guidelines regarding the criterion (vi) in the nomination procedure. Taking into account that any reconstruction work should be documented and archived, and that the intangible aspect is crucial in its recovery, a modification might be made to the initial justification for inscription by adding the criterion (vi) after the destruction of the world heritage site followed by its recovery. In case of partial reconstruction, "modifications might be made to its initial delineated boundaries". Another proposal was to explore "three qualifying conditions in concert with a new category of Contemporary Cultural World Heritage, suitable for reconstruction: Continuity, Compatibility and Distinction".

The revision of the par. 86 of the Operational Guidelines, which is currently deemed as 'inadequate' by the Committee, is contended not to be responding with the need of international community to recover cultural heritage after crisis situation. Year later the same case ruled out a priori to conservation treatment ruled in' [Khalaf author pointed out that 'status of reconstruction in World Heritage policy should formally shift from exceptional 2018: 3]. Thereafter Anas Soufan pointed out the necessity to reconsider the applicability of certain terms and notions" in the documents already existing [Soufan, 2018: 31]. His proposal was to constitute a new international charter, aiming to create standards corresponding with the challenges of cultural heritage in the 21 century.

In an attempt to ensure consistency in decision-making process and to face challenges of recovery and reconstruction, a new international document the Warsaw Recommendation on Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage

(the Warsaw Recommendation) was established. This new document constitutes a comprehensive set of principles concerning the process of urban reconstruction and recovery of historic buildings or complexes of buildings destroyed as a result of armed conflicts or natural disasters. It is a result of the international conference *The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery. International Conference on Reconstruction*, which took place at the Royal Castle in Warsaw on May 8, 2018 regarding the offer of the Government of Poland to host such meeting [Decision: 41 COM 7 point 14]. During the conference, representatives of UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM, World Bank and Global Alliance for Urban Crises met for the first time to discuss problems related to the reconstruction of world heritage sites. Over 200 participants representing all regions of the world attended the meeting. The provisions of the Warsaw Recommendation were subsequently approved in the decision of the World Heritage Committee at its 42nd session in Manama, Bahrain [Decision: 42 COM 7 point 26]. The Committee requested to broadly disseminate it among other states parties, World Heritage stakeholders or partner organizations and report back in the implementation of its provisions.

In the conservation doctrine, the recovery and reconstruction has long been considered as a threat to the world heritage, especially to the concept of authenticity and integrity which define outstanding universal value. After recent armed conflicts and natural disasters, the international community is facing challenges regarding the recovery and reconstruction not only of the historic buildings but in most cases the whole cities, in some cases also world heritage sites. However, this emergency and crisis situations showed that the prerequisite of "exceptional circumstances" in para. 86 of the Operational Guidances happened to be insufficient. This status quo and the growing interest in the matter of recovery and reconstructions caused that the existing legal instruments needs to be revised.

The recovery and reconstruction of cultural heritage is a long and complicated process which needs to proceed in many fields of cooperation regarding resilience, proper strategy, urban planning and sustainability. This new challenge has been acknowledged by the conservation doctrine and the policy making instruments. Despite the fact "that reconstruction is inherently political, which is why it will be especially difficult to build new consensus on reconstruction" [Khalaf, 2018: 10].

The Warsaw Recommendation, with its non-exhaustive set of principles, already managed to create a nonbinding instrument at the international level which combines all the fields of cooperation and include many stakeholders in the process

of recovery. At this point this document, which has been accepted by the World Heritage Committee, is a proper response for today's challenges, but only partially. I argue that the international community seeks a proper soft law legislation instrument, which like others of this kind, will be adopted by the general assembly of the international organization – in this case UNESCO. For that reason, recognising the challenges facing the cultural heritage protection and emergencies that threaten its safeguarding, I propose to establish a UNESCO Recommendation on the recovery and reconstruction of cultural heritage in times of emergencies.

Résumé

Dans la doctrine de conservation, le relèvement et la reconstruction ont longtemps été considérés comme une menace pour le patrimoine mondial, surtout lorsqu'ils touchent au concept d'authenticité et d'intégrité d'une valeur universelle exceptionnelle. À la suite des nombreux conflits armés récents (Irak, Syrie, Yémen, Mali, etc.) et de catastrophes naturelles (Népal et Haïti), la communauté internationale se retrouve face à un défi, celui de relever et de reconstruire le patrimoine culturel. Par ailleurs, ces situations d'urgence et de crise ont montré que les conditions préalables de « circonstances exceptionnelles » du paragraphe 86 de l'Orientation se révélaient insuffisantes. Ce statu quo et l'intérêt grandissant pour la question du relèvement et de la reconstruction ont mené à la révision des instruments juridiques existants. La Recommandation de Varsovie et son ensemble de principes non exhaustifs constituent déjà un instrument non contraignant à l'échelle internationale qui couvre tous les domaines de la coopération et qui rassemble de nombreuses parties prenantes du processus de relèvement. À ce stade, ce document, qui a été approuvé par le Comité du patrimoine mondial, constitue une réponse appropriée, mais insuffisante, aux défis actuels. Aujourd'hui, j'affirme que la communauté internationale attend un instrument juridique non contraignant qui, comme d'autres instruments de ce type, sera adopté par l'assemblée générale de l'organisation internationale. Dans le cas présent, l'UNESCO. C'est pourquoi, reconnaissant les défis auxquels se retrouve confrontée la protection du patrimoine culturel et les situations d'urgence qui menacent sa sauvegarde, je postule l'élaboration d'une Recommandation de l'UNESCO sur le relèvement et la reconstruction du patrimoine culturel en situation d'urgence.

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Post-Disaster Recovery of Cultural Heritage: Challenges and Opportunities

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Disasters have also been causing increasing loss of cultural heritage. Some recent examples include damage to historic cathedrals due to the central Mexico earthquake in 2017; damage to historic settlements in central Italy and Bagan Archaeological Site in Myanmar due to earthquakes in 2016; damage to the World Heritage Monument Zones of Kathmandu Valley due to the 2015 earthquakes in Nepal; fires in the World Heritage Town of Lijiang in China in 2013 and 2014; and a fire in the Old Town of Edinburgh in the United Kingdom in 2002. Cultural heritage sites have also suffered enormous damage due to human-induced hazards, including conflicts and vandalism, such as in the cases of Aleppo and Palmyra in Syria, Mosul in Iraq, the Timbuktu shrines in Mali and the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan. In South Korea, arson damaged the Sunraemon Gate in 2008, which is designated as 'cultural property number one'. Extensive damage to cultural heritage has also adversely affected tourism-related revenues as well as associated livelihoods of local communities.

While disasters are a cause of great misery and irreplaceable loss of heritage, they also serve as opportunities for change though the introduction of bold policy and planning measures aimed at reducing the vulnerability of people, properties and cultural heritage to future disasters.

Critical choices need to be made regarding the basic philosophy governing post-disaster interventions undertaken as part of the recovery process. Of course, recovery should aim at reducing vulnerability and risks of future disasters, while also protecting the heritage values to the best possible extent. There is also the fundamental issue of defining cultural heritage: is it only restricted to remains of the past to be admired for their pristine glory, or does it also include the living dimension of

heritage that shows continuity while evolving and adapting to change? By considering cultural heritage in its broad scope, ranging from monuments and archaeological sites to historic settlements and cultural landscapes, as well as intangible aspects such as rituals and practices, the chapter seeks answers to the following critical questions for post-disaster recovery of cultural heritage.

How can we reconcile the need to safeguard lives as well as recover lost heritage values, especially those that contribute to local identity and sense of place? What are the challenges and opportunities, failures and success stories in achieving this? What are the possible approaches for recovery of different types of heritage within its extended scope and what process should be followed for reaching a decision? Also, it is worth pondering if heritage is only a victim of disasters to be protected for posterity or if it can also be a source of resilience through local knowledge and capacity. If so, how can we harness that potential supposedly embedded in heritage? The above questions will be considered through case studies of post-disaster reconstruction in India, Nepal and Japan.

Cultural sensitivity in post-disaster reconstruction: case of marathwada, India

In the early morning hours of September 30, 1993, a magnitude 6.3 earthquake shook the area in the vicinity of Latur, approximately 500 km east of Bombay. The epicentre was approximately 40 km south of Latur close to Killari village. It left nearly 9,000 villagers dead and 16,000 injured. In 52 villages that were most severely affected, some 30,000 houses were destroyed or badly damaged. Following the disaster, the government developed a rather comprehensive rehabilitation programme which was the first of its kind in India. This was conceived and executed with the help of a soft loan from the World Bank. With the World Bank's money, the government of Mahrashtra drew up an ambitious plan called the Maharashtra Earthquake Emergency Rehabilitation Programme (MEERP) [Jigyasu, 2000].

Fig. 1. The house designs and the layout of villages reconstructed after 1993 Marathwada earthquake in India had no link with traditional architecture and planning. As a result, many of these villages were not occupied by the beneficiaries who preferred to reconstruct their traditional shelter.

As part of this programme, 52 villages were relocated with essential services and infrastructure. This required construction of over 27,000 houses. The village plans were prepared by engineers in the local town's planning office. The houses were again divided into three categories, on the basis of land-holding by the head of a particular family[1].

It was found that the spatial plans for the relocated villages were totally incompatible with the villagers' 'way of life'. Traditional settlements were characterised by narrow streets, a hierarchy of public and private open spaces used for religious as well as other activities, housing clusters with distinct typologies characterised by traditional occupation pattern etc. What was designed for them was a complete 'city-like' plan with wide streets forming a grid pattern and row housing. The 'designers' sitting in the town's planning office perceived that 'city-like' planning would ensure 'development' of 'backward' rural areas *(Fig. 1).*

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1   Accordingly, 'A' category houses had a carpet area of 250 sq. ft. These were provided to farmers who were landless or had land up to 1 hectare. 'B' category housing of 400 sq. ft. carpet area was provided to those having land-holding between 1 hectare and 7 hectares and all bigger landlords having more than 7 hectare of landholding got 'C' category houses of 750 sq. ft. The built-up area for these houses was about 10% more than the carpet area to allow for future expansion. In 'C' category villages, the Government was supposed to provide technical assistance towards strengthening and retrofitting, through junior engineers. However, the 'technical assistance was limited to new constructions and a definite amount of money was allocated to the houses in 'C' category villages that were supposed to carry out strengthening and retrofitting on their own.

In the new designs, there were no spaces for several traditional activities, especially those of service sector people like artisans. Moreover, the new villages were up to 10 times larger in area than the old ones. This meant expensive infrastructure, which was again 'provided' by the government. The lack of village committees' financial resources to maintain this huge infrastructure in the future was not thought through. Also, criteria of house allocation on the basis of the size of land-holdings has created new 'economic disparities' and completely destroyed the traditional social system based on 'neighbourhood units' and 'dependencies that ensured mutual sustainability'. In some cases, people vacated their allotted houses and moved back to their family members/neighbours by initiating house-extensions. As a result of house allotment criteria, traditional artisans suffered the most. Since the house allotment criteria was based on total landholding, and traditionally the artisans are believed to act as a support system for the village and are not supposed to cultivate land, they remain landless or marginalised as farmers. As a result, the houses occupied by artisans are smallest, with no space for them to carry out their activities.

The house designs were also very urban, with no link to people's traditional lifestyle. An interesting example of this is the provision of attached toilets in houses. Traditionally, these people are not even used to having toilets (they use the fields). Now we find these toilets being used to store grain. In Gubbal, one of the relocated villages, a private donor constructed a house with earthquake resistant ferrocement domes, a completely alien design and technology for the region. The dome houses being circular structures did not allow for the division and use of space. During the field work conducted in 2011, we heard many complaints about such kind of donor-provided housing that did not really suit the domestic spatial needs of the households. It was also found that many economically well-off owners had raised boundary walls around the core of the donated house to recreate the traditional wada typology. The walls provided an enclosed space that is more personal to the inhabitants of the household. The dehlaj is the space at the entrance of a traditional wada house that acts as a portico[2]. Formal male guests are received in the entrance by the head of the family.

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2   Typical vernacular houses in this region are called wada and are made of dry masonry stone walls organized around an inner central courtyard, surrounded by rooms on each side. This typology has a front yard that is used as a buffer for private and public spaces within a household. These wadas, with elaborate massive stone clad entrances varying in size and shape, are located adjacent to one another along winding roads typical of traditional settlements in Marathwada [Jigyasu, 2014 in Daly].

The appreciable efforts of some agencies/individuals such as HUDCO (Housing and Urban Development Corporation) towards incorporating traditional patterns in the new village plan do need to be mentioned. However, in all these efforts there was little or no involvement of the locals in the process. The attitude was that of 'adoption and provision' rather than 'facilitation'. This made villagers dependent and raised their expectations.

The case brings out the importance of understanding traditional architecture, construction technology and settlement layout and skilfully incorporating it in the reconstruction so as to ensure social and cultural compatibility of the new environment. Equally important is to introduce key cultural anchors such as socio-religious buildings, including temples and mosques, and traditional public spaces and landscape features in the new environment to reinforce continuity between past and present. Rather than providing readymade solutions, the community's ability to adapt and recreate their recognizable socio-cultural elements in their reconstructed physical environment over time needs to be recognized and harnessed.

Utilising cultural heritage for building resilience: Case of the Great East Japan earthquake and tsunami, 2011

A massive earthquake of magnitude of 9.0 struck on Friday, March 11, 2011, off the Pacific coast of the north-eastern part of the Japanese main land (Tohoku Region), causing devastating damages. In addition, this earthquake caused a devastating tsunami, which hit Tohoku and Kanto Region. Because of the earthquake and tsunami, more than 15000 people died and further 3500 were declared missing [NPA, 2011, JMA, 2011]. The disaster caused enormous loss to cultural heritage in the affected region. According to the official figures by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology as on 15th August 2011, a total of 735 nationally designated or registered cultural properties were damaged [ICOMOS Japan, 2011]. This however does not include cultural properties designated by Prefectures and Municipalities and countless undesignated cultural heritage assets that were closely tied to the lifestyle and history of the communities. In fact, damage to the latter category of heritage was far more extensive than to designated cultural assets. These damages have also adversely im-

pacted associated intangible heritage that includes festivals, rituals and crafts. These components of living heritage in which tangible and intangible are closely intertwined are very important for psychological recovery of the communities that suffer from loss of identity and social networks in the aftermath of a disaster. This would entail not only physical interventions but also revival of associated social and cultural activities, crucial for the sustainability of the affected communities.

In the town of Shizugawa, Minami-sanriku-Cho in Miyagi Prefecture, many buildings were totally destroyed and washed away by the tsunami. However, the tsunami waves reached the precinct of Kaminoyama Hachimangu Shrine but just stopped short of inundating the main hall due to its location on the higher ground. In fact, historical accounts mention that the shrine, which was previously located in the midst of Shizugawa town, was gradually located on higher ground after experiencing a tsunami in the past. In fact, research has shown that many temples and shrines survived the disaster as they were located on higher grounds [Okubo and others, 2012]. As a result, many of these acted as refuge shelters for the affected people in the immediate aftermath of the disaster. In Matsushima, the tsunami came halfway up the path to the Zuiganji Temple (NT) but did not reach the Main Hall. The religious training hall of the Zuiganji temple attracted many tsunami victims as the nearby-designated evacuation centres were affected by the tsunami. The tatami mat-floored training hall had a large kitchen with numerous pots that were meant for preparing food for large religious gatherings and had enough food supplies given as donations. Under these conditions, as many as 300 evacuees could be provided enough hot meals from the first day onward. There was an extended power outage after the earthquake, but as it was a temple, religious candles were used for lighting purpose. There have been previous records citing use of this temple as refuge shelter following tsunamis in the Edo Period as well [Okubo 2016]. Similarly, in one of the temples more than one hundred children and teachers from nearby schools could take shelter following the disaster. These instances show the powerful role cultural heritage played during post disaster situation.

In the aftermath of the disaster shrines such as Kaminoyama Hachimangu in Shizugawa town also became social anchors for bringing together communities that became split and displaced. The priest of the shrine played a very important role by initiating various activities for the affected community members, such as Kiriko (traditional designs cut out of paper) and pictorial storytelling for children *(Fig. 2, Fig. 3).*

Fig. 2. In the aftermath of 2011 tsunami caused by the great East Japan earthquake, historic shrines such as Kaminoyama Hachimangu in Shizugawa town became social anchors for bringing together split-up and displaced communities. Ironically the shrine could survive as it was located on a higher ground while the rest of the town was flooded.

Fig. 3. The local priest of Kaminoyama Hachimangu shrine organized many activities to bring together communities displaced after the tsunami.

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Fig. 4. In the reconstructed town of Shizugawa, the landfilling to raise the height of the village to protect the town from future Tsunami has disturbed the traditional relationship with the river that was manifested through various festivals and social activities of the community.

Reconstruction process was initiated by the government after the initial response phase was over. The 10-year plan (2011-2021) entailed restoration of infrastructure and services in the first three years, followed by rebuilding and development. Since towns like Shizugawa were swept away due to their proximity to the sea, the basic reconstruction approach was to relocate residents to a higher ground so as to protect them from future tsunamis. As a result, the town was split into three independent residential areas located on higher ground, while the lower terrain was reserved for commercial facilities. To protect the area from tsunamis, massive sea walls are being constructed and the topography significantly altered through landfill. While this approach can be justified from the point of view of safety, there are significant concerns regarding the negative impacts such interventions can have on the heritage of the area, which is very closely linked to local geography and natural resources (Fig. 4).

In fact, the close interaction between culture and nature have ensured long-term social, economic and environmental sustainability in the region. Many rituals are connected to the visual, physical and/or spiritual relation to key landscape features such as ocean, river channels, islands, local flora and fauna. Besides disruption of

the socio-spatial structure by the splitting of town, it will also result in damage to community networks maintained through festivals and rituals. The long-term ecological impact of the sea wall is also questionable. Besides, the primary livelihood of the region is agricultural and fishing, which will also be impacted due to disruption in the local ecology.

Reconciling safety and heritage values through resistance or resilience? Case of Kathmandu Valley, Nepal

The earthquakes that struck Nepal on April 25th and May 12th of 2015, also called Gorkha earthquakes, had devastating impact on Nepal causing massive damage to the buildings, infrastructure and loss of lives. About 9000 people were killed, many thousands more were injured, and more than 600,000 structures in Kathmandu and other nearby towns were either damaged or destroyed [Rafferty J, 2017 in Britannica].

Unfortunately, many Newari settlements suffered the brunt of the disaster, with extensive damage to traditional housing, temples and public buildings such as schools and rest houses. These also included most of the World Heritage Sites located in Kathmandu Valley *(Fig. 5)*.

The post-earthquake response was chaotic and extremely complex due to lack of preparedness, political and institutional complexities, and the challenges of sourcing materials, labour, transport, fuel etc. In spite of all these challenges, there have been some success stories. For instance, thanks to the efforts of Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust (KVPT) and local community of Patan town, historic building elements were salvaged, sorted and repaired in the gardens of the historic palace (KVPT 2016). In other instances, Nepal Army and Police played significant role in the salvaging of heritage, such as the rescue of the throne of the first king of Nepal from Hanumandhoka Palace Museum in Kathmandu.

The challenge confronted in recovery of cultural heritage is exemplified through the case of Kasthamandap, literally meaning "Wooden Pavillion"; a Sattal (half shelter, half temple); the namesake of Kathmandu. Over the centuries, it was used as a royal hall, a rest house and a market place, and it was one the largest Newari buildings.

Fig. 5. The Hanuman Dhoka palace museum located in the World Heritage Monument Zone of Kathmandu valley World Heritage Site in Nepal was extensively damaged due to earthquakes in 2015. It was a challenge to rehabilitate both the historic buildings and the museum collections.

Unfortunately, this historic building located in the World Heritage Monument Zone of Kathmandu Durbar Square collapsed in 2015 earthquake, killing several people who were participating in blood donation camp being held inside this structure *(Fig. 6)*.

Since it collapsed in the 2015 earthquake, there has been a growing demand to rebuild Kasthamandap, an important source of identity for Kathmandu residents. However, there has been divided opinion on the approach to be followed for reconstruction. While some argue for traditional approach, restoring the original structure in material as it stood before the earthquake and resuming the religious practices, others, citing safety concerns, advocate rebuilding using modern materials such as concrete and steel and argue that Newari architecture is "unscientific". This debate became even more vociferous after 2015 earthquake since damaged to historic monuments and traditional buildings was more pronounced than in modern structures.

However, heritage experts like Prof. Sudarshan Raj Tiwari cite lack of maintenance and modifications as the reason for their poor behaviour. "A lot of engineering has been forced into buildings saying that you need to build them to withstand earthquakes," say Tiwari [2018]. "We have been living here for thousands of years, so our

Fig. 6. Kashthmandap; one of the important heritage structures located in one of the World Heritage Monument Zones of Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site in Nepal collapsed due to 2015 earthquakes causing death of many more people. The engineers and heritage professionals argued long over the right approach for its reconstruction as the former emphasised safety while the latter insisted on protection of heritage values.

technology must have accommodated them. Just because you don't do any research on it, it does not mean the buildings don't withstand earthquakes. According to him the traditional system needs to be evaluated on its own merits, as Newari architecture is resilient, instead of being resistant to natural hazards such as earthquakes. For instance, joints are not rigid – necessary for seismic resistance in engineering but flexible, built to absorb earthquake shocks. Similarly, because of the perishable nature of wood, buildings were designed as modular systems, so that workers could isolate and replace damaged components without dismantling the structure, in a process of "cyclical renewal" that was carried out every few decades. On the other hand, even a good quality concrete has a limited life span – often less than 100 years – and replacing deteriorated concrete is tougher than replacing damaged wood.

Kai Weise also thinks that predominant view against traditional buildings can only be changed if the government reviewed its building codes, which recognise only rigid structures, and set out to study how traditional systems functioned. Until then, he said, the fact that traditional structures have withstood earthquakes for hundreds of years would be dismissed, and their technologies maligned.

Contrary to the purist approach in favour of traditional technology, the 'hybrid' approach advocated by KVPT considers developing a range of strengthening techniques for historic building based on the significance of each building, construction techniques and its vulnerability analysis. Retaining and saving the historical layers and pieces of structures and/or maintaining the historical configurations is explicitly prioritised contrary to many local or community approaches, which would generally not think twice about re-carving a lost icon or dismantling a dilapidated historic structure to replace it with a new building in reinforced concrete frame construction.

On the other end of the spectrum is complete rebuilding of heritage building for which structural design is more straightforward, mainly because new structural characteristics can theoretically be specified/quantified.

The biggest challenge for all these cases will be in the trade-offs between new and old methods: To what extent should structurally inadequate historical building details be retained? Which details are so inherently weak that alternatives must be sought? Which characteristics are so key to the building' history or aesthetics that new ways to maintain them must be sought? What determines the choice between a safer modern – say steel structure inserted (whether visible or not) within an exterior of historical details – versus a less safe rebuilding of the historical building with less intrusive reinforcement measures? And of course, the basic question one may ask is: Do modern materials actually make traditional buildings safer? A straightforward approach would be to assess the performance of buildings that were strengthened with modern materials before the 2015 earthquake.

This discussion also finds a place in a broader international debate about what it means to safeguard the authenticity of a restored building, make room for the restoration of "living" structures, emphasising the continuity of a building's function, its associated rituals and its craftsmanship, over conservation. However, there are no readymade answers and each heritage building needs to be considered on case-by-case basis.

The debate on appropriate technology for post-disaster recovery of cultural heritage is also linked to the following process. By April 2016, the Kathmandu Municipal Corporation (KMC) had decided that heritage buildings such as Kasthamandap would be built through the tender process, in which construction firms place bids and the lowest bidder is given the contract. However, this system is totally incompatible for cultural heritage as reduction in costs is preferred over technical consideration of vulnerability reduction and retention of heritage values.

As a result of such tendering process, the contracted firms flout conservation practices and insert concrete and rebar in buildings out of convenience rather than necessity. The decision-making process for reconstruction of a heritage building would also entail thorough investigation and analysis of the underlying reasons of their vulnerability that caused the damage in the first place. For example, archaeological investigations of the foundations of collapsed Kasthamandap undertaken by Durham University revealed that the foundation dated from two different periods, hundreds of years before the earliest recorded mention of the sattal. The inner wall was found to be from the seventh century, and the outer wall—indicating an expansion of the original site—from the ninth century. Most probably subsequent alternation in the original foundation contributed towards the vulnerability of the structure to earthquake that led to its collapse.

This important step of investigation and analysis is often missed as it is detrimental to predominant political motivation of speed and visibility in reconstruction. Last but not the least, the available options need to be weighed against the costs for reconstruction and subsequent maintenance.

Regardless of the official agency or agencies overseeing the reconstruction, the entire process needs close engagement of engineers as well as craftsmen, whose skills need to be upgraded to manage the whole process. For living heritage, the community consultation process also needs to be initiated as they are probably the most important stakeholders of heritage.

Lessons learnt:

Reconstruction as improvement: building back better for heritage

The term reconstruction in disaster studies is defined as restoration and improvement, where possible, of facilities, livelihoods and living conditions of disaster affected communities, including efforts to reduce disaster risk factors [Jha et. Al. 2010: 365]. If our objective is merely returning to former state, then we end up recreating those very vulnerabilities that created conditions for previous disaster in the first place. The idea of resilience is behind intervention from this perspective in post- disaster contexts [Jha et al., 2010].

Disasters cause misery but they also provide opportunity to get rid of pre-disaster vulnerabilities. For example, in the case of London after the Great Fire of 1666, Sir Christopher Wren initially proposed to sweep away the medieval street plan and substitute an ordered Classical layout more reminiscent of absolutist France. However, the compromise eventually implemented retained the medieval layout, but stocked it with completely new buildings [Glendinning, 2013: 38].

The city-like layout and house designs in Marathwada were alien to local socio-cultural patterns and therefore failed to find favour with the residents, who preferred to either move to their traditional houses or adapt them by recreating traditional built environment and spaces through additions and alterations to the reconstructed villages. The importance of culturally-sensitive reconstruction after disasters has been underlined by many scholars, including Oliver-Smit [1991, 1992], Barakat [2003], and Dynes [1992]. The lack of cultural continuity due to inadequate post-disaster housing assistance may lead to further increase in vulnerability. Unfortunately, many reconstruction agencies and local communities still consider "modernity" and "urbanization" as a panacea for development. The adoption of new building technologies within the framework of post-disaster reconstruction projects is often promoted without considering their context-specific cultural and ecological viability [Boen and Jigyasu, 2005 quoted in Tenconi, 2013, Barenstein eds.].

The key issue evident in the case studies from India and Nepal is the loss or degeneration of traditional building systems over the last few decades, which made the buildings vulnerable to disasters in the first place, and in some cases increased the existing vulnerability during post-disaster reconstruction. The underlying reasons for this loss or degeneration need to be explored. Moreover, there are overriding perceptions favouring the use of new materials like cement while overlooking the traditional ones like stone and mud, which are perceived as unsafe and outdated. Also, with the introduction of new materials, the original strength of the traditional materials might not be used effectively for withstanding lateral forces of earthquakes. As in the case of Nepal, combination of traditional and modern materials and technology for strengthening of heritage buildings needs careful analysis for their performance in the event of future earthquakes. Materials such as brick and concrete, which were introduced later in some regions, were combined randomly with traditional materials of stone and wood even in post-earthquake reconstructions, thereby affecting the structural integrity and adversely affecting their seismic performance. Last but not the least, discarding traditional knowledge may result in

loss of livelihoods of traditional craftsmen. With changes in the materials and technology in India, the traditional craftsmen found themselves incapable of using their skills; for example, local masons, who were skilled to shape and lay stones, were not trained to handle brick and concrete constructions. While they found themselves incapable of using new materials, the knowledge of traditional stone masonry had degenerated to a considerable extent compared to the previous generation, primarily because of lack of demand over last few decades (again linked to general misperceptions about traditional constructions), which forced them to move to other occupations and therefore successive generations of masons lost the skill.

To what extent have pre disaster physical, social and economic vulnerabilities been reduced in the ongoing rebuilding process? Are the affected communities better prepared for the next disaster? Clearly the answer lies not only in creating new solutions but also in finding out potential roles for traditional knowledge and capacity through careful analysis of vernacular architecture, morphology and management systems and adapting them to the new constraints, needs and opportunities.

This would also necessitate research and innovation in traditional building practices keeping in mind the pragmatic realities on ground such as peoples' aspirations and affordability, and marrying them with the responsibility for improving the quality of life, safety standards as well as restoring local identity. This should lead to meaningful application of feasible solutions on the ground through capacity-building at various levels, including decision makers, professionals as well as local contractors, masons and carpenters. The growing mistrust of traditional materials and construction techniques is another barrier to be crossed through extensive awareness among the local community. This can be achieved through effective communication made by simple experiments on the behaviour of structures to make them understand the difference between good and bad construction practices, rather than choosing between traditional or modern materials and techniques. Rather than taking extreme positions, there is need to take 'in between solutions' that take into consideration multiple factors that would together contribute towards improving the overall built environment.

Moreover, technology, whether it is traditional, modern or alternative, will only be successful if it caters to multiple criteria. Of course, hazard safety is one of the primary concerns in disaster prone areas, but equally (if not more) important are considerations of economic viability, cultural compatibility and climatic suitability that govern the particular context. An appropriate solution would therefore involve

necessary trade-offs between these factors to achieve viable alternatives, although this may necessitate optimization and not maximization of earthquake safety. [Jigyasu, 2010 in Lizarralde, Johnson and Davidson]

Moreover, technology should not be seen as a rigid design package to be handed on a plate to the affected communities. A technology is essentially a process for which appropriate design and delivery mechanisms need to be created and institutionalized to ensure its long-term sustainability. This means that technology introduced as a 'product' must be linked to this process right from the time of its conception. This is indeed a painfully slow process, and it requires mechanisms that support the local capacity to innovate and not merely duplicate what is provided to the beneficiaries. [Jigyasu, 2010 in Lizarralde, Johnson and Davidson]

However, in spite of adopting appropriate technology, physical vulnerabilities would never get reduced if underlying social and economic vulnerabilities are not addressed as in many situations poor constructions are a result of lack of affordability and access to resources and power for certain sections of the community. Such stark realities should be borne in mind while developing reconstruction policies, which should give due consideration to social, economic and demographic characteristics of the affected households which enable or inhibit their ability to undertake sound reconstruction. Therefore, rather than providing a standard formula or recipes on the design, construction and rebuilding process, different options should be given. After all, reconstruction should aim at achieving not just physical resilience but social and cultural resilience as well.

Shedding the myth of authenticity in post disaster reconstruction of heritage

In heritage conservation charters, the term reconstruction means to return to the original or previous status of a heritage place or building on the basis of reliable documentation, to avoid mistaken interpretations of history. Reconstruction means returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material [Burra Charter 2013: 2]. However, as time passes, new materials age and difference that was once obvious in a reconstructed building tends to become blurred. In addition, natural hazards such as earthquakes and floods produce destruction and trigger reconstruction as a cyclical process. Heritage buildings located in disaster prone areas have consequently been affected and in-

tervened in many times after disasters. The extent of the interventions in the form of rebuilding, repair or replacement of parts, among others, will eventually affect our perception. To explore this evolution, we need to distinguish three categories of materials, which we designate here as historic (meaning original i.e. what was used when the buildings were first built); later (referring to materials that have been used for a while, perhaps even since the early 20th century after every repair or reconstruction cycle); and modern (which has not been used consistently). In this context, does a building continue being the same even when it has changed over the years? Or, in other words, can something be authentically rebuilt? This is similar to the case of Ship of Theseus, where planks were replaced progressively over time until the point when it was asked whether it should still be considered the same ship.

Moreover, there is fundamental issue of whether heritage can ever be reconstructed in the real sense because it might not be possible to restore social values from day one and historical and artistic values are bound to get changed/adversely affected.

Nature of interventions will therefore be influenced by the main conservation philosophy, which would vary according to the nature of heritage and its socio-cultural context. Whether these interventions help in reading different stages of a building or the new is made to look old or in those cultural contexts, rebuilding/reconstruction is part of the very nature of heritage. For example, Ise shrines are, by tradition, rebuilt every 20 years to maintain the building's status as forever new and old at the same time, and as a way to pass on the traditional building techniques to new generations, or in cases where presence of craftsmen possessing traditional skills ensures a process of post-disaster rebuilding using new traditional materials such as wood or reusing the parts from the old building completely at the discretion of craftsmen, who sometimes also use these opportunity to demonstrate their creativity by introducing subtle or pronounced changes in design. However, in such cases, level of craftsmanship is always questionable. A related challenge is to decide which historical layers to retrieve while undertaking recovery. Should a site retain all the historical layers that existed prior to disaster or to go back to a particular layer of history. What if a new historical layer is exposed after a disaster? What considerations should govern such decisions?

Considering the complex interaction between the heritage significance/values based on the nature of cultural heritage and the very cyclical nature of disasters, especially those caused by natural hazards, authenticity in its wider scope as defined

in the Nara document (2006) can only be one of the many considerations for the recovery of heritage sites, with the others being integrity, sustainability as well as role in improving the quality of lives associated with heritage.

Need to recognize cultural heritage as a source of resilience

Although cultural heritage is increasingly vulnerable to disasters, it should not be seen merely as their passive victim. In the face of disasters, traditional communities in historic areas often develop a vocabulary of resilient features in their environment that intentionally or unintentionally contribute towards prevention and mitigation, emergency response and recovery.

As already explained through the three case studies, cultural heritage is a repository of traditional knowledge in disaster mitigation that has been accrued over generations through successive trials and errors. Also, traditional management systems have tremendous potential in securing collective action for post-disaster response and recovery as well exemplified through the case of Japan where temples provided refuge to the tsunami victims by virtue of their location and traditional management systems. The rich expression of heritage is also a powerful means to help victims recover from the psychological impact of the disaster. In such situations, people search desperately for identity and self-esteem. Traditional, social, and religious networks that provide mutual support and access to collective assets often represented by urban heritage are an extremely effective coping mechanism for community members [UNISDR, 2013] *(Fig. 7).* This aspect has also been well illustrated in the case of Japan.

The cultural dimension in general and heritage in particular also play an important role in sustainable recovery and rehabilitation of communities following a disaster. There are many examples to show that successful reconstruction projects have taken into consideration local building traditions and a way of life through deeper engagement with communities. While we appreciate the positive role of heritage, we should not discount the fact that many cultural beliefs and practices result in fatalistic approach of interpreting disasters as 'Gods will' and undertaking no proactive measures to reduce disaster risks. Many heritage structures are also vulnerable due to inherent defects in their design and construction or additions/alternations done over time.

Fig. 7. Recovery of cultural heritage will also enable strengthening resilience of communities through sustainable livelihoods.

The recently adopted Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction recognizes culture as a key dimension of disaster risk reduction and the need to protect and draw on heritage as an asset for resilience through a number of important references [UNISDR, 2015]. It also advocates "Build Back Better" approach for recovery, which requires careful interpretation for heritage in terms of improving vulnerability while impacting heritage values as little as possible. The challenge is to implement the framework, which requires considerable building of capacities at international, national, and local levels and the setting up of the necessary institutional mechanisms, complemented by data collection and monitoring [Dean and Boccardi, 2015]. It is high time to put these well-articulated policies into tangible actions

Rohit Jigyasu

Résumé

Les catastrophes ont contribué à une perte croissante de sites du patrimoine culturel. Néanmoins, elles offrent également une opportunité d'introduire des changements à travers des politiques audacieuses et des mesures de planification visant à réduire la vulnérabilité du patrimoine culturel aux catastrophes futures, tout en préservant sa valeur autant que possible. Le défi, cependant, est de prendre une décision équilibrée sur la manière de récupérer les sites du patrimoine culturel. En même temps, il convient de considérer le patrimoine non seulement comme victime d'une catastrophe, mais aussi comme une source de résilience grâce aux connaissances et aux compétences locales. Cette problématique sera abordée dans le chapitre qui présente des études de cas de rénovation après les catastrophes en Inde, au Népal et au Japon. Le premier cas celui de la région de Marathwada en Inde souligne l'importance des aspects culturels dans la conception et l'aménagement des localités soutenues par les organismes donateurs. Dans ce cas précis, l'entrepreneur soutenu par les donateurs à reconstruire les maisons remises par le gouvernement qui n'avaient rien à voir avec le mode de vie et l'architecture traditionnels. Par conséquent, les habitants ont soit transformé ces nouvelles structures pour les adapter à leur mode de vie, soit les ont abandonnées pour reconstruire eux-mêmes leurs demeures. Ce cas met en exergue à quel point n'est-il important de comprendre l'architecture traditionnelle, les techniques de construction et de l'aménagement des installation humaines afin de pouvoir les l'intégrer de manière habile dans le processus de reconstruction pour assurer la cohérence sociale et culturelle du nouvel environnement. Dans le second cas, au Japon, le patrimoine culturel représenté par les temples et les sanctuaires a survécu aux effets du tremblement de terre et du tsunami grâce aux connaissances traditionnelles préservées et a servi d'ancrage social reliant les communautés à travers des rituels et des pratiques culturelles. Il a également permis aux communautés d'exprimer leurs opinions concernant leurs besoins et priorités. Ce cas aborde également la problématique de fonder la reconstruction uniquement sur les questions d'infrastructure et de sécurité, ce qui a un impact négatif sur l'intégrité sociale et les pratiques culturelles vivantes des communautés, ainsi que leur lien avec le paysage par la construction des murs anti-tsunami. Le troisième cas de restauration du patrimoine culturel après le tremblement de terre au Népal examine plusieurs exemples des défis particuliers liés aux décisions prises lors de la restauration et la modernisation du patrimoine culturel endommagé par les tremblements de terre qui cherchent à concilier la sécurité et préservation du patrimoine culturel. Ce cas montre que des consultations auprès de divers professionnels et experts du patrimoine aident à élaborer des compromis qui permettent d'utiliser des matériaux et des technologies nouveaux et anciens. Cette discussion s'inscrit également dans le contexte du « patrimoine vivant », où la continuité de la tradition et de l'usage l'emporte sur la préservation du tissu tactile. Le chapitre se termine par une description des principales conclusions tirées de ces trois études de cas. Il convient de mettre davantage l'accent sur la recherche et l'innovation dans le domaine des pratiques de construction traditionnelle, en tenant compte des conditions pragmatiques sur le terrain, telles que les aspirations des communautés et l'accessibilité économique, ainsi qu'en réduisant la vulnérabilité des sites aux risques nombreux. Une telle approche nécessite également un réexamen de la philosophie de la conservation du patrimoine afin de pouvoir effectuer la restauration de façon adaptée à la nature du site précis et à son contexte socioculturel. Enfin, les cas examinés dans le présent chapitre soulignent également la nécessité de considérer les sites du patrimoine culturel non seulement comme fragiles et vulnérables, mais aussi comme une source inestimable de résilience communautaire contribuant à leur restauration durable et à leur résilience.

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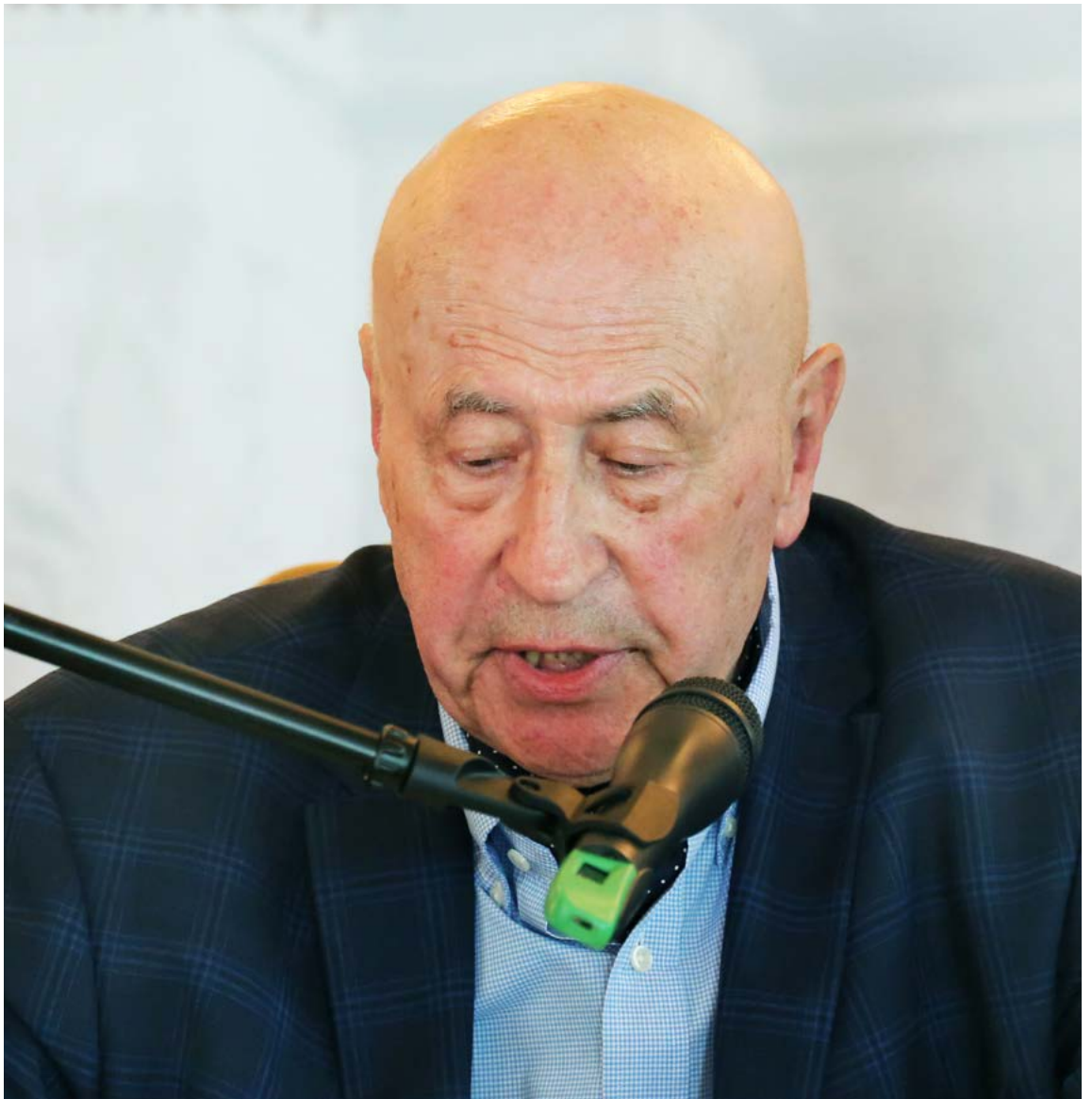
Prof. Krzysztof Kazimierz Pawłowski – professor of architectural heritage

He served as Vice President of the ICOMOS International (1978-1981), President ICOMOS Poland (1993-2003). In 1977 he was Vice Chairperson of the World Heritage Committee and the reporter on 2nd Session of the World Heritage Committee in Washington (1978). He is a member of among others Scientific Committee Architecture and Urbanism Polish Academy of Science.

The Reconstruction of the Historic Centre of Warsaw: Between Symbolism and Authenticity

Krzysztof Kazimierz Pawłowski

Exactly forty years ago, on 2 May 1978, on behalf of Poland, I presented the following four candidacies in the category of cultural goods for the UNESCO World Heritage List:

- The historic centre of Kraków;
- The Wieliczka Salt Mine;
- The historic centre of Warsaw reconstructed after World War II;
- The former concentration and extermination camp Auschwitz-Birkenau.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Convention for the Protection of the World Heritage, Michel Parent, former Committee President and President of ICOMOS, said, "As the first candidacies for the World Heritage List, we proposed postcards, whereas Pawłowski presented problems".

It was a conscious choice on my part, because ever since I began to participate in the Committee's work during its first session in 1977, I was convinced that the complexity of the issue of selecting candidates was not fully understood.

The reconstruction of the historic centre of Warsaw was one of the difficult issues and I intend to focus your attention on this subject, which is at the heart of our debate.

One of the eminent French sociologists said, during the debate on my account, that in the case of Warsaw, the symbolism of reconstruction corresponded to the symbolism of its destruction. The notion of symbolism appeared in the title of my speech alongside authenticity, because the controversies concerning the inscription of Warsaw on the UNESCO World Heritage List concentrated around this issue.

It should be noted that the concept of authenticity is barely mentioned in the preamble to the "Venice Charter" and is not included in the text of the Convention but appears in the comments which are intended to guide the implementation of the Convention. This was done after a very turbulent discussion during the first session of the Committee in 1977.

One should be aware that the very criterion of authenticity has become a fundamental criterion in the evaluation of candidates for the World Heritage List.

During the second session of the World Heritage Committee I was asked the following question: if Warsaw had not been destroyed, would we have proposed its inclusion on the List? My answer was NO, because it was not the initial values of the Old Town complex, but the exceptional value of its reconstruction that was of fundamental importance.

In fact, in contrast to Kraków – the first Polish capital where the centre of the former city with its huge market square has retained its dominant role in the current structure of the urban organism – the role of the old town complex in Warsaw was different. While retaining its medieval character, it underwent serious changes after the transfer of the capital of the Polish state from Kraków to Warsaw at the end of the 16th century.

The active centre moved to the border of the Old Town complex, and then, along with the spatial development of the city, even further away. This situation led to the gradual degradation of the former centre, which became a largely peripheral and impoverished neighbourhood.

It is noteworthy that already before the First World War a movement for the revalorization of this complex was formed.

This was expressed, among other things, in the liquidation of the marketplace on the market and the creation of the beginnings of the historical museum of the city.

Then, in the interwar period, conservation work on several houses and a partial reconstruction of the medieval defensive walls was undertaken, but what is most important, documentation work began which included the inventory of the buildings, which was extremely important in the reconstruction period.

The of September 1, 1939 brought a tragic threat to Warsaw. The city, sentenced to death by Hitler, was destroyed in several stages.

The first stage were the bombardments, which first of all affected the symbol of the Polish statehood, the Royal Castle. These first destructive actions were well prepared by German art historians, who already before the war had studied the historical values of particular objects, paying special attention to the most important ones for Polish culture.
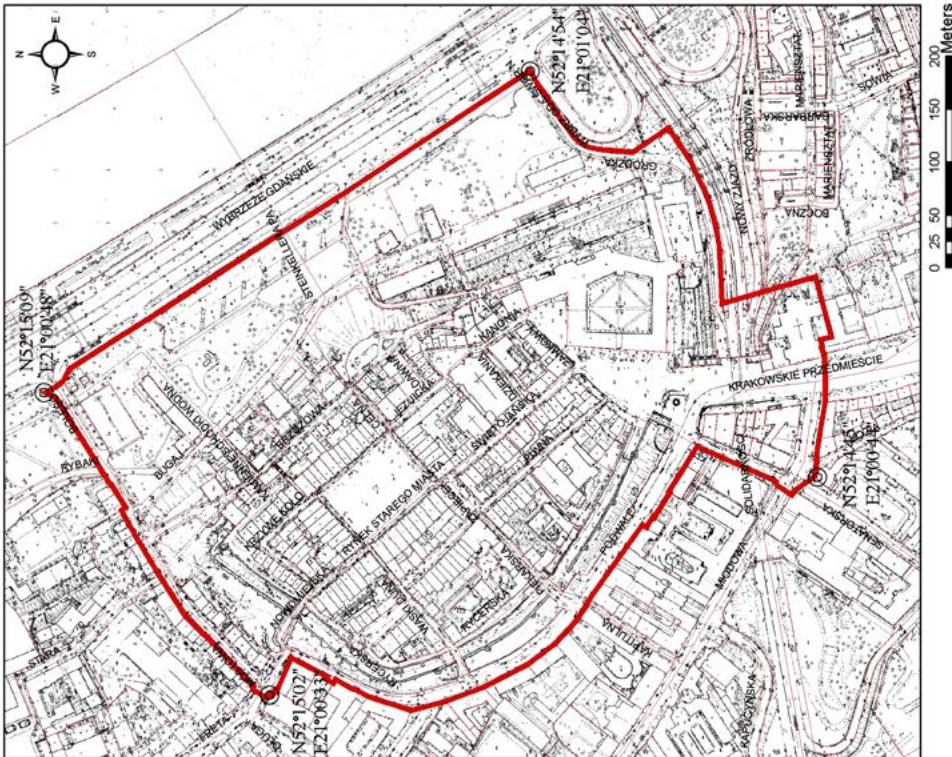
Historic centre of Warsaw. Boundary of the World heritage Property marked in red.

But that was not the end; detailed plans for the city's infrastructure have been found recently, pointing to the most sensitive elements to be targeted in the initial air raids.

The plan of Warsaw, where the destruction caused by the bombardments in September 1939 is marked (in yellow), was presented by a team of German specialists, who were brought in to draw up plans for the destruction of the Polish capital.

The plan presenting the first damage was the basis for the project to completely destroy the city and to build a new German city, called "Die neue Deutsche Stadt – Warschau", in its place.

The project provided for a reduction in the number of inhabitants from 1,300,000 to 130,000 for the German population and the creation of a labour camp on the other side of the Vistula. The plan did not take into account the urban structure of the city, preserving only the Old Town, because it was considered a space of Germanic provenance.

Two years later, another project envisaged the construction of a large dome building on the site of the Royal Castle to house the NSDAP party and a new residential district in its neighbourhood.

In one of my reports I said that the analysis of this criminal plan, which condemned the city to death, would be an affront to the dignity of a researcher of the evolution of spatial development forms.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to assess the direct consequences of actions clearly defined in the programme of destruction of the Polish capital.

Among the ten sectors to be demolished, there was a district considered to be Jewish, corresponding in its location to the Ghetto established in 1940.

The dramatic fate of the Ghetto, whose climax was the heroic uprising in April 1943, is widely known.

After the extermination of the population, an order was given to destroy the entire district. In this way, the next stage of the "Die neue Deutsche Stadt Warschau" was completed.

The third stage of destruction was connected with the Warsaw Uprising, which broke out on August 1, 1944, and lasted 63 days.

The Old Town became one of the main points of resistance, despite the allegations of its Germanic origins.

The population of Warsaw was murdered (the loss of civilian population is estimated at 200,000 people) or expelled and deported as forced labourers to the Reich.

Warsaw seemed to be dead and the fourth stage of destroying the city began.

Himmler gave the order for the total liquidation of the buildings, which was carried out by special units (vernichtungskommando). They demolished the buildings with the use of dynamite and burned down house after house.

The reconstruction of the Old Town was preceded by a discussion during which the proposal to leave the whole complex in ruins to constitute a memento for the future was rejected.

Many authors emphasize that the Polish nation saw a representation of its fate in the drama of the capital city. Therefore, it was fairly easy to reach a national consensus on its reconstruction.

A few photographs show the state of development around the market square. The degree of destruction varied; for example, the eastern frontage was so ruined that it provoked a proposal not to rebuild it, thus providing a view of the Vistula River. Fortunately, this "landscape proposal", as contrary to the historical layout, was rejected due to pressure from monument protection officers.

The reconstruction of the Old Town was possible thanks to the existence of rich documentation prepared by the Department of Polish Architecture of the Faculty of Warsaw University of Technology before the war and even during the war.

I think it is particularly important that the reconstruction of the Old Town was preceded by the construction of the so-called W-Z Route (East-West Route), which, thanks to the tunnel element, relieved the historic complex of transit traffic.

It is also a great example of cooperation between monument protection officers and urban planners. These mutual relations became one of the features of our activities concerning historic cities. I even consider them to be one of the most important determinants in the "Polish school for the protection of monuments".

With regard to the reconstruction programme for the Old Town, it was primarily designed as a residential area with all the necessary services.

Without going into the technical details of the reconstruction process, we should first of all contradict the opinion that we created a 1:1 model on the ruins of the Old Town. It is worth noting, however, that all the surviving elements of historic value were used.

The conservation works did not assume the reconstruction of all the elements that existed immediately before the destruction. Selection was made and valuable historical elements were exposed, while those fragments which were introduced in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century and deformed the historical layout were eliminated.

Thanks to the close cooperation of architects, art historians and archaeologists, it was possible to identify all the valuable elements from different epochs.

One has to be aware that even in such a completely destroyed complex, the oldest fragments of the buildings, including the cellars, and sometimes the ground floors and relics of the walls, could be preserved, especially in parts of the ground floor, protected by heaps of rubble.

These procedures were possible thanks to the availability of metric documentation materials made before the destruction and precise research of the preserved structures in situ, which allowed for the discovery of Gothic or Renaissance relics

completely absorbed by the transformations from the 19th and early 20th centuries. The best illustration of the effectiveness of these methods was the exposure of parts of the former defensive walls.

The first stage of the reconstruction of the Old Town included the oldest part of the city, then it extended to the area of the adjacent New Town. However, it did not concern the Royal Castle, which played a significant role in the composition of the spatial arrangement, but above all it had a symbolic meaning for the Polish statehood. It was here, among others, that the Constitution of 3 May 1972 was announced. This is where the official royal seat was located, and in the interwar period – the seat of the President of the Republic of Poland.

Due to the above political considerations, the Soviet Union refused to accept the reconstruction of the Castle and to restore its symbolic significance for the independent state. The change of position took place in 1971 as a result of the change of the party's leadership forced by revolutionary social actions. The reconstruction of the Castle became possible thanks to the heroism of monument protection officers, art historians and architects who saved the most characteristic fragments of the decoration of almost all the rooms from complete destruction, which allowed for a faithful restoration of the building, so symbolic for the sovereignty of the country.

The photographs below show the condition of this place before the work began and the assembly of the clock tower. This took place in July 1974 and was a significant event in the life of the capital.

One of the central photographs shows the figure of Professor Stanisław Lorentz, the main animator of the idea of rebuilding the Castle.

It is clear that the presentation of the candidacy of the rebuilt Old Town in Warsaw for the World Heritage List was a challenge for the commonly accepted conservatory doctrine, which denied the possibility of accepting reconstruction.

We heard many critical opinions, but we also heard André Malraux, who, while presenting his draft of the law on protected sectors to the French National Assembly (Assemblée Nationale), said, "Let us not allow the old streets of Avignon to be destroyed at a time when Poland, stone by stone, is rebuilding the oldest square in Warsaw".

I was also encouraged by the fact that UNESCO chose Warsaw as the venue for a world conference of national experts to draft a declaration on the protection of urban historic complexes and their role in contemporary life. It was referred to as

Historic Centre of Warsaw, 2016, photo by P. Kobek. archive of the National Heritage Board of Poland.

the Warsaw-Nairobi Recommendation, because after a multi-day conference, which I had the honour to chair, it was finally formally adopted by the General Assembly of UNESCO in Nairobi.

In accordance with the directives of the World Heritage Committee at that time, we prepared general documentation. I would like to quote a few sentences of the justification.

The reconstruction of the Old Town in Warsaw is a joint work of Polish architects, urban planners and monument protection officers, and it represents a symbol of the revival of Polish culture, which was threatened by the Nazis. The example of Warsaw's reconstruction made many European countries sensitive to the importance of cultural heritage, especially urban heritage. It has had an impact on numerous projects abroad.

The exchange of my correspondence with UNESCO lasted two years. Our dossier entrusted to ICOMOS was evaluated by a panel of experts composed of André Chastel, Henry Millon and Jean Taralon.

Historic Centre of Warsaw, 2016, photo by P. Kobek. archive of the National Heritage Board of Poland.

They stated that "The national sentiment of Poles made the reconstruction of Warsaw a sublime and wonderful symbol. The inscription requires some additional information regarding mass participation (participation de masse), material retrieval, documentation-based activities".

In response, I stated that even in the most devastated complexes, such as the Old Town in Warsaw, part of the underground of sometimes Gothic origin was preserved. In-depth research was carried out in order to select the elements that should be preserved and their value emphasized.

We presented the methods of the restoration of walls with fragmentary historical elements and, what is particularly important, the results of archaeological excavations. This allowed us to discover unknown elements in the Castle Square – including the former Gothic city – and in this way we were able to provide previously unknown arguments concerning the authenticity of the complex.

Following these explanations, ICOMOS provided its positive opinion with the following justification:

- The nominated property satisfies the general conditions of the World Heritage List, as its exceptional value is universally recognized.
- Essentially, it corresponds to criterion no 6, being associated with events of considerable historical significance. Following the insurrection of the inhabitants of Warsaw in August 1944, the Polish capital was annihilated in a reprisal by the Nazi occupation troops. From these ruins, between 1945 and 1966, the will of the nation brought back to life a city of which 85% was destroyed.
- The reconstruction of the historic centre so that it is identical with the original, symbolizes the will to ensure the survival of one of the prime settings of Polish culture and illustrates, in an exemplary fashion, the efficacy of the restoration techniques of the second half of the 20th century. The reconstruction of the religious edifices such as the cathedral of St. John, the churches of Our Lady, St. James, the Holy Trinity and the palace was accompanied by the integral restitution of the urban whole, with the totality of its parcelling and its reconstructions. The example of the market square of the old city is justifiably famous.
- To support the request for the proposed inclusion, criterion no 2 may be cited as well, to the extent that the reconstruction of the historic centre of Warsaw has exercised a considerable influence, in the majority of European countries,

of the evolution of doctrines of urbanization and the preservation of old city quarters. Given these facts, the criterion of Authenticity may not be applied in its strict sense. The historic centre of Warsaw, tragically destroyed in 1944, is an exceptional example of the global reconstruction of a sequence of history running from the 13th to the 20th centuries. Its authenticity is associated with this unique realization of the years 1945 to 1966.

Based on this opinion of ICOMOS, the Office (Bureau) of the World Heritage Committee stated that it recommends the inscription of the Old Town in Warsaw as a symbol of a successful, unique reconstruction, which is associated with events of very serious historical significance. At the same time, it recommends that no other reconstructed cultural property be included in the List.

In this way, the Committee Bureau tried to introduce such a restrictive formula as it had applied a year earlier to the former Auschwitz-Birkenau camps.

Contrary to the Bureau, the Committee rejected this provision, which a priori eliminated other examples of reconstruction, and on September 2, 1980, accepted the inscription of Warsaw's Old Town complex on the World Heritage List without any additional restrictions.

While thanking the Committee for this decision, which accepted the candidacy of the rebuilt city presented by us, I stressed that this fact was extremely important not only for Poland but had a universal character. It was all the more justified because the Committee added a paragraph in its new guidelines emphasizing that "reconstruction is acceptable only if it is based on a complete detailed documentation of the original and cannot in any case be of an economic nature".

After forty years, this opinion has become the main theme of our conference. Today, however, it is necessary to make a few comments.

First of all, the Committee's decision did not concern the site included in the World List, because the Old Town in Warsaw did not lose its exceptional values, but achieved them thanks to the quality and symbolic meaning of its reconstruction.

In general, it seems that reconstruction can be justified immediately after the causes of destruction have disappeared. This was the situation of the Old Town in Warsaw, where the activities started almost immediately after the end of the war. The restoration of the Royal Castle was initiated after 1970, when the political situation changed and the pressure of the Soviet Union, hostile towards this symbol of Polish independence, was relieved.

It should also be noted that the reconstruction cannot be regarded as a full equivalent of the original; because if it is so easy to compensate for its loss through copying, there may be a threat of trivializing its authentic value.

In 1995, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of UNESCO and the 30th anniversary of ICOMOS, the Polish National Committee for ICOMOS organized an international conference devoted to the obligations towards heritage.

We proposed the editing of the "Charter of rights and obligations towards heritage". In the last paragraph we proposed the following formula:

> *The deliberate destruction of cultural heritage due to ideological, political or ethnic reasons will be regarded as an attack on human rights and, in extreme cases, as a crime against humanity.*

At the same time, we considered creating an organization based on the model of Amnesty International.

The 70th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 is a good opportunity to return to this idea.

I am very pleased that my home town, tragically affected by hostile warfare, has been chosen as the venue to discuss, at a global level, the legitimacy of the restoration of cultural heritage and that we can meet in the Royal Castle, the restitution of which even for us – direct witnesses and participants – once seemed unlikely.

This is a good compensation for all those who were able to contribute to the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the monuments protection services in our country.

Krzysztof Kazimierz Pawłowski

Résumé

Il y a exactement 40 ans, le 2 mai 1978, j'ai présenté au nom de la République de Pologne quatre candidatures pour la Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, dans la catégorie des biens culturels. C'étaient : le centre historique de Cracovie, la mine de sel à Wieliczka, le centre historique de Varsovie reconstruit après la Seconde Guerre mondiale et l'ancien camp de concentration et d'extermination Auschwitz-Birkenau.

À l'occasion du 20ème anniversaire de la Convention du patrimoine mondial, Michel Parent, ancien Président du Comité et Président de l'ICOMOS, a constaté : « Nos candidatures pour la Liste du patrimoine étaient des cartes postales, tandis que M. Pawłowski a proposé des problèmes ».

Lors du débat sur mon dossier, l'un des grands sociologues français a remarqué que, dans le cas de Varsovie, le symbolisme de la reconstruction correspondait au symbolisme de sa destruction. Voilà pourquoi la notion de symbolisme est apparue dans le titre de mon discours à côté de l'authenticité : les controverses concernant l'inscription de Varsovie sur la Liste du patrimoine se sont concentrées justement autour de cette question.

Lors de la deuxième séance du Comité on m'a posé une question : si Varsovie n'avait pas été détruite, aurions-nous proposé cette candidature ? Ma réponse était : NON, car ce n'étaient pas les valeurs originales du complexe de la Vieille Ville, mais la valeur exceptionnelle de sa reconstruction qui revêtent une importance fondamentale.

Le 1er septembre 1939 apporte une menace tragique à Varsovie. Condamnée à mort par Hitler, elle sera détruite par étapes.

Son anéantissement commencera par des bombardements qui toucheront en premier lieu – évidemment – le Château royal, symbole de l'identité nationale polonaise.

Le plan de Varsovie, sur lequel ont été marquées (en jaune) les destructions causées par les bombardements de septembre 1939, a été présenté par une équipe de spécialistes allemands amenés spécialement pour élaborer des plans de la destruction de la capitale polonaise.

Ledit plan servait à travailler le projet d'une démolition totale de Varsovie pour construire une nouvelle ville allemande « Die neue Deutsche Stadt – Warschau ».

Il impliquait de réduire le nombre d'habitants de 1.300.000 à 130.000, de nationalité allemande, et de construire une zone polonaise – un camp de travail – de l'autre côté de la rivière.

Un autre projet était celui de construire, sur le site du Château royal, un énorme édifice, surmonté d'un dôme, qui abriterait la NSDAP.

Parmi les dix zones à démolir il y eu le quartier juif – sa superficie correspond à celle du ghetto, créé en 1940. Après l'extermination de la population, tout le district devait être détruit. Ainsi, la deuxième étape de la mise en oeuvre de « Die neue Deutsche Stadt Warschau » s'est concrétisée.

La troisième a été liée avec l'Insurrection de Varsovie, déclenchée le 1er août 1944 et qui a duré 63 jours.

La population de Varsovie a été assassinée (les pertes de la population civile sont estimées à 200.000 personnes) ou expulsée et déportée dans le Reich pour les travaux forcés.

Himmler a donné l'ordre d'anéantir totalement des bâtiments, effectué par des unités spéciales (vernichtungskommando) qui ont brûlé et détruit à la dynamite maison après maison.

Plusieurs photos montrent l'état des bâtiments autour de la Place du Marché. Le degré de destruction était inégal – par exemple, la façade est était tellement ruinée que certains proposaient de ne plus la reconstruire.

La reconstruction de la Vieille Ville a été possible grâce à la riche documentation effectuée par l'École polytechnique de Varsovie avant et même pendant la guerre.

Un fait est, selon moi, particulièrement important – la reconstruction a été précédée par la construction de la route W-Z (est-ouest) qui, grâce à son tunnel, a libéré le complexe historique des flux du trafic de transit.

Les travaux de conservation n'ont pas supposé la reconstruction de tous les éléments qui existaient immédiatement avant la destruction. Des analyses détaillées ont été menées pour sélectionner des éléments historiques de valeur et éliminer ceux qui ont été introduits au XIXe* siècle et au début du XXème siècle et ont altéré l'ordre historique.*

La première étape de la reconstruction de la Vieille Ville couvrait la partie la plus ancienne de la ville, sauf le Château royal.

C'est le contexte politique qui y a joué un rôle décisif – l'Union soviétique n'a pas accepté l'idée de reconstruire le Château et de lui redonner ainsi sa signification symbolique pour un État autonome.

Bien évidemment, la candidature de la Vieille Ville reconstruite à la liste du patrimoine mondial constituait un défi pour la doctrine générale de la restauration qui refusait d'accepter la reconstruction.

Ma correspondance avec UNESCO a duré deux ans. Notre dossier déposé auprès d'ICOMOS a été évalué par un groupe d'experts.

Ayant reçu mon argumentation, l'ICOMOS a formulé un avis favorable avec la justification suivante :

„La reconstruction du centre historique symbolise la volonté d'assurer la survie d'un des hauts lieux de la culture polonaise et illustre de façon exemplaire l'efficacité des techniques de restaurations dans la seconde moitié du XXème siècle. (...) La Place du Marché de la vieille Ville est justement célèbre. (...) La reconstruction du centre historique de Varsovie a exercé une influence considérable sur l'évolution des doctrines d'urbanisme et de conservation des quartiers anciens dans la plupart des pays d'Europe. (...) Le centre historique de Varsovie, tragiquement détruit en 1944, offre un témoignage exceptionnel de reconstruction globale d'une chaîne historique, du XIII au XXème siècle. L'authenticité s'attache à cette réalisation unique des années 1945 à 1966".

D'une manière générale, il semble que la reconstruction puisse être justifiée immédiatement après la disparition des causes de destruction. Telle était la situation de la vieille Ville de Varsovie, où l'action de reconstruire a démarré presque immédiatement après la fin de la guerre.

Il convient également de noter que la reconstruction ne peut pas être considérée comme un équivalent complet de l'oeuvre original, car s'il est si facile de compenser la perte de celui-ci en effectuant sa copie, il existe une menace de banaliser sa valeur authentique.

En 1995, à l'occasion du 50ème anniversaire de l'UNESCO et du 30ème anniversaire de l'ICOMOS, le Comité national polonais de l'ICOMOS a proposé de rédiger la « Charte des droits et responsabilités envers le patrimoine ». Dans son dernier paragraphe, nous avons proposé la déclaration suivante :

Toute destruction délibérée d'un patrimoine culturel pour des motifs idéologiques, politiques ou ethniques sera considérée comme une atteinte aux droits de l'homme et, dans des cas extrêmes, comme un crime contre l'humanité.

Nous avons également envisagé de créer une organisation pareille à Amnesty International.

Le soixante-dixième anniversaire de l'adoption de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme en 1948 semble être une bonne occasion de revenir sur cette idée.

Dąbrówka Lipska – expert in the protection and conservation of cultural heritage

She has worked with the World Heritage Convention since 2009. Since 2011 she works in National Heritage Board of Poland, where is mainly responsible for assessment of state of conservation built heritage.

Before the Old Town in Warsaw Was Rebuilt

Dąbrówka Lipska

Only someone who was in Warsaw at that time is able to believe that this is what the city looked like. Even the photographs fail to reflect the full extent of damage. Only those who compared these remains with the streets from before the war were able to realize the scale of damage[1].

The World War II destruction in Warsaw affected all areas of the city's functioning and its inhabitants[2]. The estimation of damage began immediately after the liberation of the town. However, despite the passage of time, it is still difficult to determine the results of various calculations unequivocally, which raises many doubts[3]. In 1946-1947, the destruction of the buildings in Warsaw was estimated at 70% (including: 70% of school buildings, 80% of hospital and cultural buildings, 90% of historic buildings, churches and industry), which at the time of the calculation was estimated at approx. 300 billion PLN. Of which 60% (10,000 properties = 47 million m^3 of built-up space) were damages on the left-bank part of Warsaw. Additionally, it should be remembered that only 16% of the buildings out of the remaining 40% had been only slightly damaged.

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1   The words of Rudolf Lachert, quoted after: [Chomontowska, 2016: 11].

2   According to data from 1947, before the war there were 25,500 properties in Warsaw with a total cubic capacity of approx. 103 million m^3, ¾ of which were residential buildings (74 mln m^3), the rest included: 900 schools (primary, secondary and vocational). 40 universities, institutes and scientific associations; 900 churches and monuments, 200 museums, archives and libraries, 240 hospital and clinic buildings (8000 beds); 200 health and social care centres, orphanages, shelters, etc.; 2800 industrial plants - metal, chemical, clothing, printing; 200 service establishments - slaughterhouses and markets, hotels and financial institutions [Nowiński, 1947: 2].

3   In 2004, on the initiative of the Mayor of the Capital City of Warsaw, a report was prepared to estimate all material losses incurred by the city and its residents – all properties within the city area, with particular emphasis on: historic and historical buildings, urban infrastructure, movable municipal and private property, including means of transport, equipment for private dwellings. It did not include: the equipment of state and municipal offices, hospitals and doctor's offices of scientific institutes, libraries, archives and museums, sports facilities, green areas and cemeteries. The total costs were calculated at PLN 21.9 billion according to the exchange rate of August 1939, which would amount to USD 54.6 billion in 2004. [Straty, 2005: 10-18], the electronic version differs from the book publication: https://www.um.warszawa.pl/sites/default/files/Raport_o_stratach_wojennych_Warszawy. pdf, (accessed: 01.05.2019).

The destruction of historic buildings was calculated at 6 million m^3. Half of the trees in the streets, parks and cemeteries, as well as most of the monuments, were destroyed[4]. The total losses estimated by the War Losses Department of the Warsaw Municipal Board at the end of 1948 amounted to PLN 15.813 billion[5]. Estimates of losses in the field of culture and art, probably calculated in the 1940s, exceeded 2 billion, of which PLN 1.707 billion related to historical architecture [Straty, 2005: 365.].

The above figures clearly indicate the accumulation of damage in the city centre, which included the oldest districts of Warsaw, located on the left bank of the Vistula River *(Fig. 1)*. The area referred to above was larger than the area of the Old Town, which was rebuilt in the 1950s. Perhaps that is why it became a symbol of the heroic commitment of the Polish nation to the recovery of the whole country – as the end of the first most demanding and complex stage in the process of reconstruction of urban structures.

The pre-war administrative division of the city did not correspond to the divisions adopted during the reconstruction, which influenced the present shape of the city. Nevertheless, it does not correspond to the contemporary administrative divisions of Warsaw. In 1945, for computational purposes, the Warsaw Reconstruction Office (BOS) divided the city area into: Śródmieście[6], Południe, Północ, Zachód, Praga, and Saska Kępa [Straty, 2005: 379]. The districts, which in 1945 could be regarded as historic in whole or in part (bringing together elements of historic value: the streets layout, the way how the buildings were built there, gardens and parks, and buildings of high artistic value [Sigalin, 1986: 68]), according to the agreements made at that time, totalled 11 km^2 [Majewski, 2018: 143][7] *(Fig. 2).*

The number of monuments in the register of monuments in 1939 was 783[8]; after examining the state of preservation of the objects, 160 objects were removed from the register [Dąbrowski, 1964: 297]. The register of monuments in July 1945 amounted to

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4   Additionally, the estimated destruction of the communication infrastructure at that time was between 75% and 100%. All transport centres, including rail and air transport, were destroyed. In general, 40% of the water supply and sewage systems were affected. Destruction of the gas and electricity networks was also significant, and its degree depended on a specific category. The roadways and sidewalks lost 50% of their value. [Nowiński, 1947: 2], [Cyfry, 1947: 4-5]

5   This estimate included, among other things, personnel losses among the residents of Warsaw, as well as the costs of removing rubble. However, state assets in representative buildings, administrative buildings and state enterprises such as post offices, losses of universities, museums, libraries and university and military hospitals were not taken into account. The losses were also estimated by the War Compensation Bureau (operating until January 1947) established by the Council of Ministers and estimating losses at the national level, according to which material losses in Warsaw amounted to PLN 21 398 million, constituting 34.5% of the total losses of the country. [Straty, 2005: 357-362]

6   Marked out by the following streets: 29 listopada, Podchorążych, Stefana Batorego, Żwirki i Wigury, Towarowa and PKP railway line and the Vistula River. [Straty, 2005: 379]

7   J. Sigalin claims it was about 7 km^2. [Sigalin, 1986: 68]

8   The list of the Monument Protection Office for the capital city of Warsaw including historic buildings: destroyed as a result of warfare, intended for reconstruction and not intended for reconstruction and secured in 1945-49, [Odbudowa 2, 1977: 237-240]
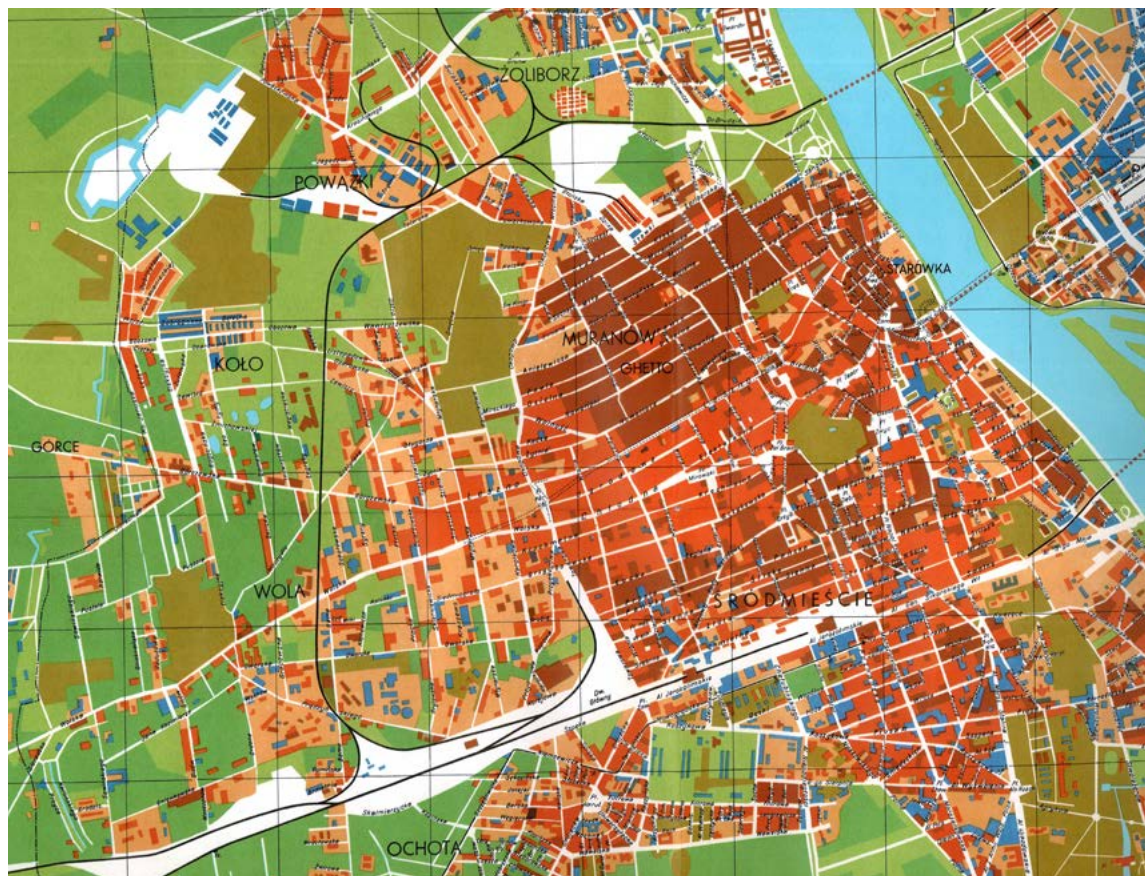
Fig. 1. Map with Color Distortion of Types of Destruction: **brownish green** - parks and old growth of trees destroyed during the War, **brown** - buildings desroyed by blowing up (mines and bombs), **orange** - buildings destroyed by burning (systematic setting of fire), **blue** - buildings undamaged. A fragment of the map reproduced in the publication: *Warszawa: mapa miasta w skali 1:20 000 wraz z inwentaryzacją zniszczeń popełnionych przez Niemców w latach 1939-1945*, 1949. (electoral version of the publication: https://polona. pl/item/warszawa-mapa-miasta-w-skali-1-20-000-wraz-z-inwentaryzacja-zniszczen-popelnionych,ODc-5NzM2Mg/#info:metadata accessed: 01.05.2019).

624 monuments[9]. However, in the statistics estimating war losses, the total number of historic buildings and churches was estimated at 900, 30% of which were completely destroyed (blown up), 59% were suitable for reconstruction and protection, and 11% required only minor work [Sigalin, 1986: 68-69]. In 1945, the Historic Architecture Department of BOS took care of 130 objects, 130 commemorative plaques and 68 public execution sites. A total of 480 protection plaques were placed with the following inscription: Historic building constituting a document of National Culture. Any damage to the condition of the building is strictly prohibited [Majewski, 2018: 161].

9   [Odbudowa 2, 1977: 339]. P. Majewski clamis that in July 1945 there were 528 monuments in the register. [Majewski, 2018: 166]

Therefore, the territorial scope adopted in the article was determined primarily on the basis of two criteria: the range of historical districts, which were characterized by the former urban layout, and the accumulation of monuments (in the then and contemporary understanding of the word) and at the same time the highest degree of destruction. The aim of this text is to present the general principles of functioning of the Warsaw recovery in its first period (preceding the reconstruction of the Old Town) and different approaches to reconstruction of particular, often secondarily separated parts of the city.

Finances and the organizational structure

Warsaw was liberated in January 1945. Despite the fact that other parts of the country were still in combat zones, the completely destroyed capital began to slowly return to life. Of the 1.3 million inhabitants in 1939 (4% of the country's population) [Nowiński, 1947: 2], including the largest Jewish community in Europe, only a few hundred people remained in the left-bank part of the city. In May 1945 it was already 378 thousand, and at the end of 1946 it was 540 thousand [Piotrowski, 1946: 8]. It was estimated that in 1946, approx. 7 thousand inhabitants arrived in the city per month [Budujemy, 1946: 4]. This gave rise to a lot of urgent tasks related to de-mining that needed to be done, first of all of the communication routes and the destroyed houses. The restoration of water supply and sewage systems, and with the arrival of spring, the transfer of temporary graves from the Warsaw Uprising, located in the courtyards of tenement houses or squares, was necessary to meet the basic sanitary needs of the returning residents. In the initial period, food was also rationalized by means of different categories of food ration coupons depending on the person's ability to work and type of work performed [Sigalin, 1986: 72]. The City Council was responsible for the organization of life in Warsaw.

From the very beginning, housing shortages were a major problem. During the war about 70% of all the apartments within the city's 1939 administrative boundaries were destroyed [Straty, 2005: 362]. The Nationwide Economic Plan (commonly referred to as the three-year plan) was adopted in September 1946 and reflected the most important directions of reconstruction in the years 1947-49. The greatest attention, equivalent to the largest funds, was focused on housing construction – mainly through renovation and protection of previously identified buildings – this constituted over 57% of the total budget, followed by education, health, cultural and

Fig. 2. Location of monuments in the area of Warsaw just after the war, reproduced for: P. Biegański, *Organizacja i prace Wydziału Architektoniczno-Zabytkowego w Biurze Odbudowy Stolicy*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury" vol. 9, no. 1-2, 1947, p. 9.

official construction and businesses; the protection of historic buildings was placed on the 10th position. It corresponded to only 1.5% of the budget, with particular emphasis on the reconstruction of monuments suitable for offices and other institutions, as well as the protection of (bringing to a shell construction) 200 historic buildings (800 000 m³ for residential purposes). 2.4% of the total budget was earmarked for demolition and cleaning works [Pogonowski, 1946: 3]. Despite the later, very unambiguous, socialist-realist political changes, the first plan of the country's

reconstruction was based on the involvement of three sectors in the development of the country and its economy: the public sector, the cooperative sector, and the private sector [Odbudowa Warszawy, 1948: 5].

"The situation required the mobilization of all moral and material forces of the entire nation with the aim of rebuilding the capital"[10]. Through the Civic Committees for the Reconstruction of Warsaw, organized at various levels of state administration structures and various types of institutions (on 1 December 1946 there were about 3,000 of them) [Świadczenia, 1946: 8], the following were organized: street collections, sports competitions, balls e.g. the academic ball for the reconstruction of higher education, raffles, etc. However, the Social Fund for the Reconstruction of the Capital (S.F.O.S.), which had been in operation since 1946 [Od 5, 1946: 9], [Fundusz, 1946: 6], was based on compulsory contributions and additional working hours for the benefit of the capital. The results of these collections were meticulously recorded almost every week from 1946 in the pages of Tygodnik Ilustrowany Stolica, the purchase of which was also considered a contribution to the reconstruction. Some regional committees undertook to fully finance or at least significantly support specific work, e.g. the Provincial Committee in Katowice helped to rebuild the Poniatowski Bridge and Kierbedzia Bridge, while the Provincial Committee for Reconstruction in Kraków supported work in Krakowskie Przedmieście [Matuszewski, 1946:6]. The "month of Warsaw reconstruction" was also established, during which, in addition to financial contributions, all residents of Warsaw devoted an extra working day (8 hours) for the city's benefit[11]. September was declared such a month to commemorate the outbreak of World War II.

Various types of material support – also facilitating reconstruction works – was provided to Warsaw residents from abroad, including through UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration)[12]. It is known that material and financial support was received from Sweden, Denmark, France, Switzerland [Matuszewski, 1946: 6], [Odbudowa 1, 1977: 381-436] and as well as USSR and the former Yugosla-

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10 On March 12, 1945, a decree was issued on the common obligation of personal services for the recovery of Warsaw. "At the time, a general obligation of the population to perform works and services directly or indirectly needed to restore the capital of its former glory was introduced throughout the country [...]". [Odbudowa 1, 1977: 94]

11 For example, in 1949, four hours of work were to be devoted to work for the benefit of one's own district - removing rubble, filling in holes, creating recreational areas – playgrounds, school playgrounds, squares, etc., while another four hours were to be devoted to removing rubble from Muranów. [Miliony, 1949: 2]

12 In 1945-1947, 2 million tons of various goods were delivered to Poland, including tractors, construction and agricultural machinery, steam locomotives, railway wagons, trucks, repair workshops and assembly plants, as well as clothing, textiles, medical equipment, medicines, liquid materials, grain, animals, groceries and several million 5 kg food parcels from military stocks. [Misja: 2017] *quoted after:* https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Relief_and_Rehabilitation_Administration#cite_note-4 (accessed: 06.05.2019)

via. Contributions for the reconstruction of the capital made by Polish communities abroad, e.g. in Turkey, were also recorded. In the initial period of reconstruction, foreign support also came in the form of voluntary youth camps lasting several weeks, in which volunteers from former Yugoslavia[13] and Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Italy and France took part. They worked mainly on the removal of rubble from Marszałkowska Street [Młodzież, 1947: 3], [Kasprzak, 1947: 5], and then from Muranów.

The administrative structure serving the reconstruction of the country in the initial period concerned mainly Warsaw and underwent rapid transformations resulting from economic and political changes in Poland, including the introduction of gradual centralization and, with time, the complete nationalization of various institutions. Unfortunately, the interdependencies and competences of individual organizational units responsible for the various reconstruction tasks[14] are not easy to identify now. It should be remembered that some institutions were established within the administrative structures of the city, while others within national structures.

The general organizational principles for the reconstruction of the capital were adopted by a decree of the Council of Ministers approved by the National Council on 24 May 1945 [Journal of Laws, 1945b]. This document finally ended the deliberations on moving the capital to another less devastated city. On the basis of the above document, the following institutions were established: The Supreme Council for the Reconstruction of the Capital City of Warsaw, the Warsaw Reconstruction Committee and the Warsaw Reconstruction Office (BOS). This short decree, which established only the above-mentioned institutions, was replaced by the Act on the Reconstruction of Warsaw of 3 July 1947 [Journal of Laws, 1947], along with relevant executive orders.

The Supreme Council for the Reconstruction of the Capital City was chaired by the President of the National Council. The official task of the Council was "to mobilize the spiritual and material resources of the entire nation for the reconstruction of the capital". It was a political-propaganda body which officially stated that its tasks were related to the issue of propaganda for the reconstruction of the capital in the country and abroad, the study and approval plans for the reconstruction and construction of urban districts, to popularize them in the society, and to organize social

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13   The effort and commitment of young people from the Yugoslav Communist Youth League was commemorated by naming one of the streets in the city centre in their honour: Młodzieży Jugosłowiańskiej Street (now Foksal), which was renamed in 1950 due to General Tito's disobedience to Stalin. [Chomontowska, 2016: 200]

14   Due to the nature of this article, attention was focused mainly on institutions dealing with the reconstruction of urban and architectural structures of the city.

funds for the reconstruction outside the state funds. The Supreme Council appointed the Propaganda Committee, which was transformed into an Executive Committee, composed of representatives of government, political and social organizations, engineers, architects and experts. It combined propaganda work with organizational, financial and construction work. Additionally, there was the Civic League for the Reconstruction of Warsaw, which helped to gain the support of social organizations in other countries [Matuszewski, 1946: 6]. The Warsaw Reconstruction Committee should also be considered as a political institution which was to coordinate and supervise the reconstruction [Sigalin, 1986: 74]. However, it is difficult to clearly identify its actions.

Another decree, also dated May 24, 1945, established the Ministry of Reconstruction [Journal of Laws, 1945a], officially operating between June 1945 and May 1949. The beginning of the Ministry, already in September 1944, was the Department of Reconstruction in the Ministry of National Economy and Finance of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN), later transformed into the Planning and Reconstruction Office at the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, which later became the Ministry of Reconstruction [Majewski, 2018: 106]. Its tasks (and partly those of the Central Spatial Planning Office) were taken over by the Ministry of Construction (May 1949 – January 1951) [Journal of Laws, 1949], and then by the Ministry of Construction of Cities and Residential Estates (January 1951 – July 1956) [Journal of Laws ,1950a].

The way in which the Ministry of Reconstruction and its field offices operated with regard to planning and implementation of subordinate tasks changed over the years, facilitated by the stabilization of the country's economy and the gradual centralization of administrative structures. It seems to have become broader both in terms of the scope of work and in terms of logistical interlinkages. It also resulted from the change in the nature of the performed work: from intervention work (aimed at securing and restoring the destroyed buildings) to the implementation of completely new medium- and long-term investments. From 1948, a general implementation plan for Warsaw and the Warsaw Municipal Complex, covering and coordinating all construction investments in this area, was developed and implemented. This was to be achieved by, among other things, setting up a commission by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers to coordinate the activities of investors and contractors. The Reconstruction Commissioner, who was also the head of the Warsaw Reconstruction Office and the Vice-President of Warsaw, was responsible for the implementation of this task [Odbudowa Warszawy, 1948: 5].

The Warsaw Reconstruction Office (BOS), which was responsible for conceptual work related to reconstruction and its execution, was subordinate to the Ministry of Reconstruction. Originally, BOS was established by the President of Warsaw already on 14 February 1945, its direct predecessor was the Office for the Organization of the Capital City Reconstruction, which also remained within the administrative structures of the city, established in January 1945 – in the first week after the liberation of the city. Due to the double subordination, possible disputes over competences between the municipal and state authorities could arise, however, the appointment of the city vice-president as the head of BOS facilitated the implementation of the assumed goals.

Originally, the Warsaw Recontruction Office consisted of four basic departments: Urban Planning, Architecture and Engineering, Historic Architecture and Economic Planning (until 1946), supplemented by the Department of Supervision and Commissioning, the Department of Inventory and Statistics and the Department of Propaganda. Additional BOS structures: Administrative and Economic, Financial and Accounting, Human Resources and General Secretariat [Sigalin, 1986: 74-75].

Individual Departments consisted of units, some of which were further divided into even smaller units. The Department of Urban Planning, which existed only until 1947 and dealt with general and detailed plans for the development of Warsaw, including the significantly damaged central districts, consisted of the Research and Science Unit with the following studios: demographic, economic, social, physiographic, legislative and urban building sites; The Design Unit that consisted of the following studios: general, regional, detailed, greenery and district planning. In addition, the Department of Urban Planning consisted of an Urban Inspectorate [Straty, 2005: 648].

The Department of Architecture and Engineering, which developed construction programmes for all areas of life and drew up projects of varying degrees of detail, consisted of: The Standardization Programmes Unit with the following studios: housing, schools, western supply district, cultural buildings; The Bridge Unit, the Architecture, Repair and Cost Estimate Unit, the Installation Unit with scientific, research and technical studios; The Engineering Unit with a Construction Laboratory (with the following sections: research and science, construction, road, measurement, soil research, drawing office). Additionally, there was the Working Drawings Unit and the Individual Studio for special projects [Straty, 2005: 648].

The Historical Architecture Department, which was responsible for all issues related to historic buildings and complexes in the city, consisted of the following studios: Studies and Projects (with the following studios: research and development,

studies of historic-urbanism and monument protection and architectural studies, historic urban planning and adaptation and reconstruction with an inventory section) and Implementation and Supervision of monuments (a protection studio, Monument Protection Inspection and a budget studio). Additionally, there were independent thematic studios, separated also on the basis of territorial divisions: the Old Town Studio and Studio dedicated to monuments from the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski (the last Polish king)[15]. They were distinguished because of the high degree of destruction and the complexity of the topics. Within the department there was also an Opinions Committee supervising projects in the field of monument protection and construction [Biegański, 1947: 6-13].

The BOS structures regularly hosted meetings of the Office Management Team, which included the management staff. In addition, thematic colloquia were held, devoted to urban planning or general institutional internal commissions, concerning historic architecture [Biegański, 1947: 13].

The excess of duties assigned to BOS led to the separation of design tasks from implementation tasks which were taken over by the Warsaw Directorate for Reconstruction (1946). The competences of the Economic Planning Department were quickly extended and in April 1947 the department was transformed into the Economic Planning Directorate. In October 1947 the Historic Architecture Department was separated and transformed into the Monument Protection Office of the Capital City of Warsaw, subordinate to the Ministry of Culture.

Issues related to the spatial development of Poland were entrusted to the Central Office for Spatial Planning (1945-1949), together with regional branches, subordinate to the Ministry of Reconstruction. Its task was to draw up a national plan, as well as regional and local plans. The Central Office operated primarily on the basis of the decree of 2 April 1946 on the planned spatial development of the country [Journal of Laws, 1946]. In the case of Warsaw, with its surrounding towns and cities (the so-called Warsaw City Complex), BOS carried out works related to the recognition of the city's state of preservation together with urban planning guidelines, while works on the local spatial development plan for subsequent parts of Warsaw were carried out by BOS in cooperation with the City Council. The scope of works for individual parts of the city, made available to the public since 1947, included: detailed determination of the boundaries of the selected area, their purpose, character of develop-

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15   Studio dedicated to monuments from the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski was in charge of Łazienki Królewskie, Potockich Palace at Krakowskie Przedmieście, Astronomikum at Aleje Ujazdowskie and the Royal Castle.

ment, division into plots and the layout and character of streets [Zarząd. 1947: 6]. Despite the fact that work on individual areas had been carried out since 1945, the planning materials remained at the stage of more or less advanced projects. The first fragments of the spatial development plan for the city centre were officially adopted as late as the 1980s [Warszawa, 1993: 91-94].

General conceptual issues related to urban planning and architecture were referred to the Committee on Architecture and Urban Development in 1950 [Journal of Laws, 1950b]. It was to prepare draft legislation, instructions, standards and norms in the field of architecture, construction and spatial planning. It also provided opinions on the work programmes of research institutes and universities in the above-mentioned fields and initiated educational and promotional activities (competitions, exhibitions, publications, etc.).

The activities of these offices were also based on the achievements of research institutions, such as: the Institute of Urban Planning and Architecture, the Building Research Institute based on pre-war traditions or the Housing Development Institute.

One of the legal acts which, despite the controversies, contributed the most to the improvement of the process of reconstruction of Warsaw was the Decree on the ownership and use of land in the area of the capital city of Warsaw, the so-called Bierut Decree of 26 October 1945. When analysing the provisions of this document, which from the perspective of time turned out to be socially unjust, it should be remembered that Warsaw was a city which suffered not only material damage, but also the moral losses associated with the murder and forced resettlement of hundreds of thousands of its inhabitants, which irrevocably affected its urban structure. Until the beginning of the 20th century, Warsaw was a fortress, and as such its spatial development was very limited, which is why the percentage of built-up plots was very high. Despite new investments connected with, inter alia, cooperative housing developments, in the interwar period the vast majority of flats within the city were in houses owned by private individuals and various types of companies – in 1931 this accounted for as much as 96% of all flats within the administrative boundaries of the city [Różański, 1968: 333]. Presumably, this is why the pre-war Western European urban theories on the separation of land and real estate ownership were applied [Popiołek, 2016, 39-40]. "In order to enable the rational reconstruction of the capital and its further expansion [...] in particular, a fast disposal of land and proper use of land" [Journal of Laws, 1945c], all land within the city boundaries from 1939 became the property of the state. According to the original assumptions, property owners

could apply for perpetual usufruct of land (the properties remained their property) and obtain compensation; however, these declarations exceeded the state's possibilities [Popiołek, 2016, 39-40]. In this way, both land and the properties, which originally were not to be municipalized, became the property of the city.

In the first period of reconstruction, private individuals were strongly encouraged to undertake initiatives to rebuild the destroyed – mainly residential – buildings e.g. by public discussions on the subject of hypothetical tax exemptions, low-interest loans or various types of agreements relating to subsequent use [Trzciński, 1946: 2], [Jak to było, 1948: 9]. In the end, individual investors were supported for a time by low-interest state loans for renovation. In this way, pre-war principles of construction were also promoted, which favoured the improvement of people's living conditions by moving away from the commonly criticised cramped and stifling buildings of 19th-century tenement houses [Grzelecki, 1947: 3]. Steps were also taken to force owners to renovate under threat of loss of property. If the renovation was not carried out, the houses were to be handed over to institutions or private persons declared ready to renovate [50 tys., 1947: 5].

In the first years after the war, most of the construction work (62% in 1947) was carried out by private companies [Na rynku, 1947: 5]. Initially, public investments were carried out on the basis of free market principles, including tenders. However, between the late '40s and early '50s there was a significant change in the organization of the state's functioning, connected with the adoption of the doctrine of socialist realism and the introduction of the Stalinist model of power. This caused fundamental changes in the organization of social, economic and artistic life in Poland. All private companies, including architectural and construction firms, were nationalized or liquidated [Czapelski, 2013: 164]. They were replaced by large state-owned companies, which combined many different areas within their structures.

The role of investor in the planned reconstruction and expansion of the country was entrusted to the Workers' Housing Estates Board (ZOR), established in 1948, whose task was "to perform all activities related to the construction of social housing estates and workers' flats, and, in particular, carrying out workers' development projects financed by the resources earmarked for those purposes in the State investment plan" [Journal of Laws, 1948]. It was a state institution established by a government decree, subordinated to the Ministry of Reconstruction and managed by the Directorate for Workers' Housing Estates. Its main task was to build modern urban housing estates throughout the country, but also to repair damaged hous-

es and continue the already started housing investments [Journal of Laws, 1948]. The housing construction programme implemented by ZOR also included the creation of social and service facilities e.g. schools, kindergartens, nurseries, shops, craft services, health care clinics, but also recreational areas, and with time also industrial and economic areas [Warszawskie, 1968: 6]. The Directorate of the Workers' Housing Estates (which in a changed form exists still today) was operating in Warsaw from 1950, with four subordinate directorates of City Development[16].

At the beginning there was rubble

In 1946 it was estimated that there was 10 million m^3 of rubble in the streets of Warsaw. This number increased to 25 million m^3 after the necessary demolition of unstable ruins [Skarby, 1946: 2]. The removal of rubble was one of the most important tasks carried out by various institutions and groups. In 1946 the State Company for Demolition and Debris Management was established, employing at that time about 200 people. Social initiatives such as Volunteer Reconstruction Battalions were created, consisting mainly of teenage boys from across the country who lived together and spent their time clearing rubble and going to school [Osińska, 1946: 2, 7]. Social Street Cleaning Campaigns were organized, which involved various professional groups: youth, workers, clerks, soldiers, various organizations, etc. At the beginning rubble was removed from the most important communication routes – over 40% of the pre-war roads were destroyed, along with the infrastructure related to electricity, water and gas. At the same time, bunkers were dismantled, streets were levelled, and greenery was planted [Co dała, 1946: 4-5]. From 1945, burnt-out tenement houses posing a public threat were gradually removed, and selected streets were widened, mainly those of great importance to transport, e.g. Świętokrzyska and Marszałkowska Streets.

The provision of building materials that were considered strategic goods, in particular those required for more technologically advanced structures such as steel, was also a major challenge [Czapelski, 2017: 216], [Niczewski, 1947: 3]. Their shortage and importance affected the manner and principles of distribution, e.g. by the aforementioned Institute of Workers' Housing Estates which was a nation-

16   In the years 1948-68, the municipal investment services planned and implemented the construction of 147 thousand flats for over half a million Warsaw residents, 186 schools of various types, 104 kindergartens and orphanages, over 1760 commercial and catering establishments, 792 premises for services and crafts, 79 outpatient clinics and medical units. [Warszawskie, 1968: 6]

wide investor-monopolist. Therefore, efforts were made to maximize the recovery of building materials from rubble, especially bricks, rails, etc. On the basis of available materials, the search for new technologies that could be used for reconstruction began. Already during the war there were discussions on the extraction of building materials from rubble. Mills installed on the streets shredded debris into aggregate. Depending on its size, it replaced sand (it was assumed that it would be better in the construction process than sand obtained from the Vistula River), it was used for backfilling pits and hardening roads and, what is particularly important, to produce a new formed building material replacing burnt brick, the so-called crushed-brick concrete(a combination of cement with aggregate obtained from rubble and shaped into various forms of hollow bricks) [Przeróbka, 1947: 3], [Przeróbki, 1947: 3]. The importance attached to building materials is evidenced, among other things, by the establishment in the 1950s of a separate state department responsible for this task, the Ministry of Construction Materials Industry (November 1952 - April 1957) [Journal of Laws, 1952].

The bricks from the demolition used in Warsaw, did not come exclusively from the rubbles of the capital. They were brought in from other regions of Poland. The most significant "gift" came from Wrocław, which was recognized as the largest source of bricks by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, probably because it was the largest city annexed by Poland as a consequence of World War II and it was clearly associated with the German occupier. Thus, in 1949, the Wrocław authorities were obliged to transfer 400 million bricks to Warsaw [Tyszkiewicz, 2013: 191]. In order to meet the imposed obligations, not only ruins were demolished, but also undamaged buildings [Tyszkiewicz, 2013: 195].

The shortage of traditional building materials was an additional element motivating the search for new solutions and their promotion, such as iron, riveted or welded frame structures filled with bricks, for example. Thanks to this, lightweight structures were created limiting brick use and thus constituting a 50% more effective method of construction, both in terms of material consumption and costs. The use of concrete frames was also encouraged, praising their strength, lightness and economy in comparison to brick construction. The promoted technologies favoured standardisation, which had a positive impact on savings. On this basis, in 1946 it was decided that four-storey buildings with rooms based on a square plan, using two layouts, were the most effective in construction. Standardisation of staircases and doors, and eventually also kitchen furniture, was also encouraged [Turnowski, 1946: 2].

Fig. 3. Removal of rubble from the Muranów housing estate. Photo by J. Bułhak, 1949 r. Archive of the National Heritage Board of Poland.

With time, post-war needs and requirements were combined with the requirements of the new ideology, which was visible in the whole system of the so-called fast-track construction, which demonstrated efficient work organization in large teams of construction unions [Czapelski, 2017: 215-216]. This was supported by initiatives of work leaders, bricklayers' trios and other activities beneficial for building the image of a new state based on the working class.

Reconstruction began during the war

The urban tissue of Warsaw, and especially its historical parts, together with the inevitably increasing degree of destruction, were systematically documented through photographs, drawings, notes, as well as the maximum protection of the original substance, such as the detail of the decoration of the Royal Castle. During the war, conspiratorial classes were also conducted for architecture students of the Warsaw University of Technology, who secretly continued the initiative of the Department of Polish Architecture at the same University, to make inventories of the historic architecture of the capital [Majewski, 2018: 78].

Already during the war, different groups of specialists, independently of each other and on their own initiative, undertook conceptual work on how to rebuild the capital city. A group of modernist architects and urban planners, involved in the "Preasens group" before the war, participating in the Congrés Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) and promoting cooperative building initiatives, initially in a conspiratorial studio in Warsaw and then from 1944 in Kraków, developed concepts and plans for reconstruction, continuing the architectural ideas they professed before the war. Illegal planning work, despite the rigorously executed ban imposed by the occupants, was secretly carried out in the city administration of occupied Warsaw [Majewski, 2018: 68-70]. Such activities were undertaken and motivated by various reasons; projects for the reconstruction of Warsaw were, for example, the subject of competitions organized by architects imprisoned in the Woldenberg camp, who a few years later built Warsaw [Chomontowska, 2016: 60]. The reconstruction of Warsaw was also the subject of a semester work entitled Rebuilding of the Old Town in Warsaw at the Polish School of Architecture in Liverpool, in autumn 1944. At the same time, the Temporary Committee of the World Organization for the Reconstruction of Warsaw was established in New York on the initiative of a Polish sculptor [Barański, 2013: 153-154].

Various concepts regarding the reconstruction of Warsaw differed significantly, both in general and detailed assumptions. The views of modernists, who wanted to give the city a new pro-social and modern character, argued with those of the supporters of the traditional form of the former historical Warsaw, who wanted to preserve as much of its former substance as possible, thus preserving the spirit of the pre-war city. There was a general consensus concerning one thing: that the city should be brought back to life.

As regards the general principles of planning the layout of the newly emerging Warsaw, the assumptions of the spatial development plan worked out in the interwar period were used, the first concepts of which were developed in 1916. This concerned the location of key industrial investments and the main principles of road infrastructure development [Różański, 1968: 321-346], including the most important East-West and North-South transport routes, which became the key investments of the post-war period. The designs from the 1930s also included an increased number of green areas – parks, squares, gardens – which was also taken into account in later projects.

In the interwar period, various types of plans were prepared for the needs of spatial development, taking into account ownership issues, density of development, etc. These materials, similarly to the aforementioned archival materials collected at the Warsaw University of Technology, as well as studies and documentation from the Central Office for Inventory of Art Monuments in Poland, became priceless material, used to assess the state of the city's consevation. They were the starting point for the project work which began in the winter just after the liberation, by sending out workers who carried out inventories of the assigned plots by placing coloured markings on the plan in a scale of 1:1000 [Majewski, 2018: 161]. For the purpose of these works, the Historical Architecture Department prepared a system of evaluation of monuments in three categories:

1. Buildings important for the history of Polish architecture;
2. Buildings of local importance, but with individual features;
3. Buildings deprived of individual features, but important in order to determine the former appearance of the street.

It was also necessary to define future recommendations with regard to the building under assessment:

1. Preservation of the current state (monument protection),
2. The need to organize the surroundings (the so-called revalorization),
3. Reconstruction (partial or complete reconstruction),
4. New additions, or a new decoration added to the old structure,
5. Transfer or brickwork,
6. Partial or complete demolition [Majewski, 2018: 160].

On this basis, decisions were made concerning the appearance of individual parts of the destroyed city. The results of this evaluation also influenced the form given to particular parts of the city centre. Some parts were preserved in historical forms or rebuilt with reference to such forms, others were new development, only stylistically referring to historical buildings, and still others were examples of the then contemporary architecture, which embodied political ideas. Despite this diversity, it seems that the needs of the city and its inhabitants were of paramount importance.

Krakowskie Przedmieście – Nowy Świat

It was decided that Krakowskie Przedmieście, which is the main section of the Royal Route in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Castle and the Old Town, would be left as a kind of historical reserve. This decision resulted from at least two reasons: the representative character of this part of the city and the good state of preservation of the street buildings, in particular their eastern frontage (which served as a kind of natural protection from the Vistula River). The quick progress in construction work provided additional arguments to encourage participation in the whole process of reconstruction.

Krakowskie Przedmieście is connected with Nowy Świat, the next section of the Royal Route and part of one of the most important access roads to the city, which gained in significance over the centuries, becoming one of the most important streets in Warsaw. As such it was intended for complete reconstruction[17]. The construction works at Nowy Świat were one of the first developments, beginning already in May 1945. The introduced changes were based on debates from the interwar period, but also from the wartime period [Popiołek, 2013: 42]. They concerned harmonizing the architectural appearance of the street [Nowy Świat, 1947: 3] and improving communication by designating additional parallel streets. This was due to general social dissatisfaction with the appearance of

Fig. 4a – 4b. Nowy Świat 44-50 before and after reconstruction (4a. 1945, photo by L. Sempoliński, 4b 2019, photo by P. Kobek). Archive of the National Heritage Board of Poland.

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17   The chief designer Zygmunt Stępiński justified this with centuries-old history, its importance for the development of the city's street network and harmonious architectural design. [Stępiński, 1947:59]

tenement houses, diversified in terms of height and style, as well as with the density of built-up plots [Popiołek, 2013: 42], which had a direct negative impact on sanitary conditions. Eventually, the buildings at Nowy Świat which were not completely destroyed were given a form resembling architecture of the late 18th century – the town's heyday during the reign of the last Polish king. Harmonized and ordered in terms of dimensions and proportions, the buildings did not exceed three storeys and featured façades in classicistic forms [Stępiński, 1947: 59-73]. Shop windows were standardized and reduced in size, and the lighting was adjusted to the character of the street. The general urban layout of the street was preserved, with the addition of several new, important transport connections. At the same time, the reconstruction of outbuildings was limited, and the newly built houses received a second, previously unexposed façade *(Fig. 4a – 4b)*. In this way, the previously non-existent, but positive vision of the street from the time before the partitions of Poland was created, while at the same time the principles of people-friendly modernist architecture were observed.

Most of the work was carried out by private investors. Therefore, in order for the street to achieve the desired appearance, despite the detailed reconstruction parameters, the designs of the reconstructed houses were submitted to the Warsaw Recontruction Office for approval. The visual order of the newly created street was also taken into account to avoid pre-war chaos. Uniform iron advertising signs were introduced, and every new advertisement had to be approved by the monument protection office [Popiołek, 2013: 42].

Nowy Świat Wschód and Nowy Świat Zachód

The concept of creating two new streets on the eastern and western side of Nowy Świat was developed in the interwar period (it was mentioned in the press in 1935) and was directly connected with the idea of revitalizing this area of the city. After the war, its main assumptions remained unchanged. Two parallel streets, eventually designed mainly for pedestrian traffic, were created by acquiring building space and demolishing most of the outbuildings (on the eastern side only two outbuildings were preserved), adjacent to the houses at Nowy Świat [Nowy, 1948: 7], [Styczeń, 1954: 7-8]. The resulting housing estates, Nowy Świat Wschód (between Ordynacka, Kopernika, Foksal, Nowy Świat and K. I. Gałczyńskiego Streets) and Nowy Świat Zachód (between Świętokrzyska and Warecka Streets, including Kubusia Puchatka

Street) were to form the backbone of Nowy Świat, housing, among other things, a cinema and cafes [Rogalska, 2012b: 67]. The housing and service buildings could not exceed the height of the developments located at the main street and were to be adjusted in form. An important element of the whole composition was the greenery designed along the communication routes and on the squares, referring to the former historical purpose of this space – gardens. The housing estates were designed with spatial decorative elements such as benches, lanterns, fences, sculptures and decorative drawings on sidewalks.

Nowy Świat Wschód consisted of six four-storey blocks of flats, forming a small housing estate *(Fig. 5)*. The project was created in 1949 and was carried out within the framework of a six-year plan until 1956 [Rogalska, 2012b: 70]. The housing estate was built of materials recovered from demolition, and the main decorative element was a prefabricated brick veneer cladding, made on the construction site from ground demolition brick, supplemented with bands and rustications made of fine plaster, prefabricated detail [Stępiński, 1947: 69]. At the same time, the Nowy Świat Zachód housing estate was built. However, it was given a different character, resulting, among other things, from its location between a representative fragment of the Royal Route, with a carefully planned layout, and the buildings of the Ministry of Finance and the National Bank of Poland designed at that time. The newly designed housing estate was given an indirect form, visually and spatially bonding the area. It is a symmetrically planned complex of eight four-storey buildings, matching the scale and size of the buildings at Nowy Świat [Rogalska, 2012a: 183-185]. The houses were connected by triple arcades, located on both sides of the newly designated Kubusia Puchatka street (from which the alternative name of the estate originates)[18], thus creating a friendly spatial arrangement reminiscent of the architecture of small jurydyka towns[19]. The dominant feature of the estate is a transversely positioned house with a clock tower, which was to provide an architectural counterbalance to the building of the Ministry of Finance, closing the viewing axis. The building, designed for a library and a nursery, clearly resembled a modern town hall, which was

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18   An underground car park was designed under the street, but was never completed.

19   These were royal, noble or church-owned settlements, independent of the municipal authorities, located next to the town. *Jurydyki* existed already in the Middle Ages, but their formation intensified from the 16th century onwards. These places were not subject to municipal regulations, they had structures competitive to the city – fairs were organized and craftsmen, not associated in any guilds, conducted their business. In the first half of the 18th century Warsaw was surrounded by 28 *jurydyki* towns. https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurydyka (accessed: 10.05.2019).
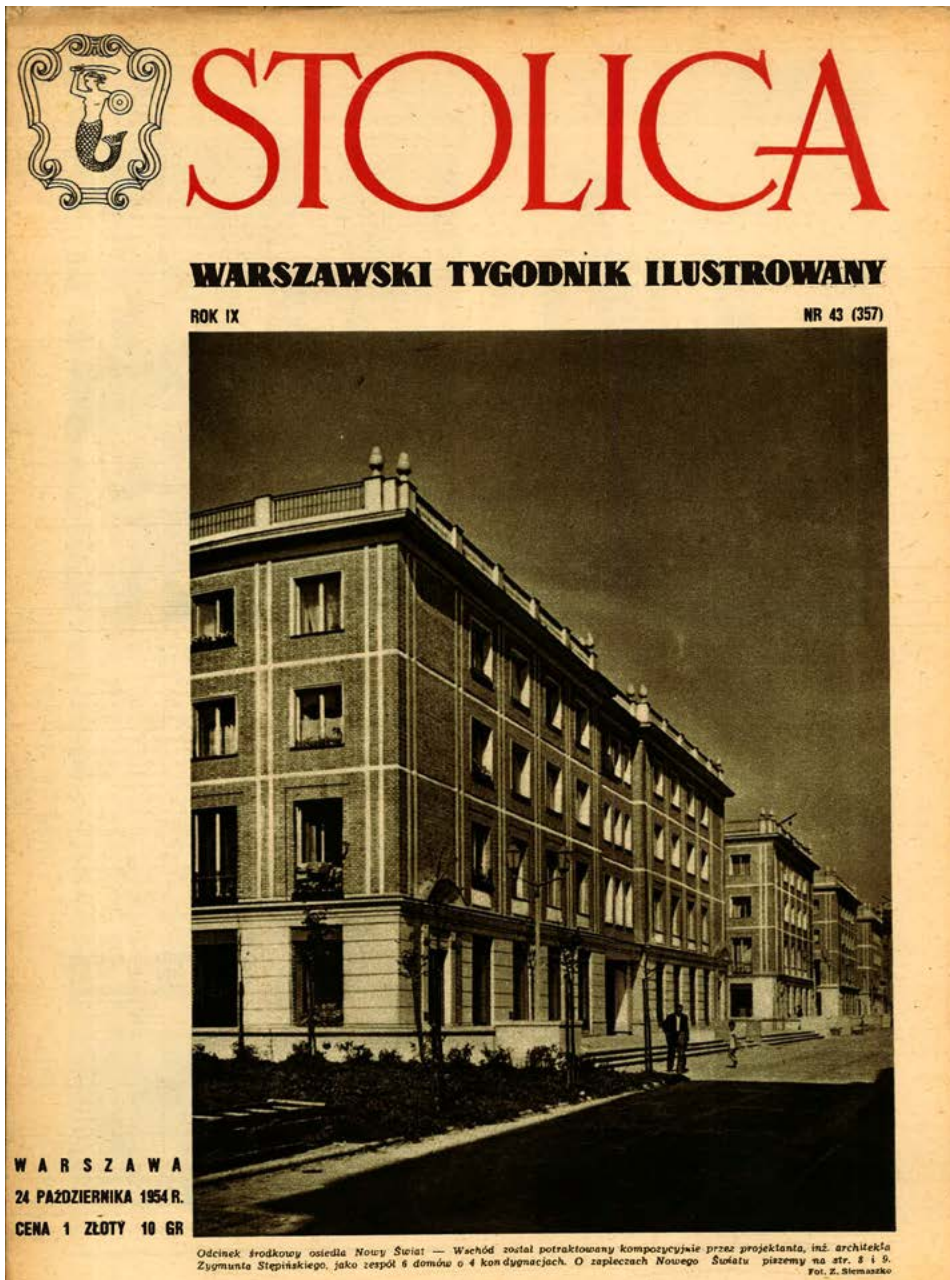
Fig. 5. Cover of Stolica. Warsaw weekly illustrated from 1954 with a photo of the newly built housing estate Nowy Świat-Wschód.

another reference to the urban space of a small town. It should be mentioned that the form of this previously non-existent town hall, combined with its planned function, aroused criticism among contemporary designers [Rogalska, 2012a: 187].

These were mainly housing estates, where only part of the rooms on the ground floors performed service functions. The size of the apartments varied from 1 to 4 rooms [Rogalska,2012a: 184-185].

Mariensztat

Originally, Mariensztat was one of the 18th century jurydyki towns mentioned above. Its reconstruction was based on the idea of a small, architecturally coherent housing estate referring to the character of a small town.

Its development is connected with one of the most important transport investments of the reconstruction period – the creation of the so-called W-Z route (East-West), connecting both parts of the city. The construction of the route aroused a lot of emotions and disputes about the preservation of historic buildings while meeting the requirements of the modern city [Stępień, 2013: 54-55], [Stępiński, 1946: 2-3]. Finally, it was decided that one of the sections of the route should be located in the immediate vicinity of the Castle Square and Mariensztat. This project involved the construction of a tunnel, which, due to time constraints, was constructed using the opencast method, which meant a complete dismantling of several tenement houses, which, in a slightly altered state (due to the investment conditions), were reconstructed and adapted to modern functions. At the same time, on the same section of the route, thanks to a small change in the course, the 19th century Pancer Viaduct was preserved. The viaduct was not damaged during the war but did not meet the requirements of the new communication artery [Stępień, 2013: 53-54]. The construction of the route serves as a good illustration of the reality of that time. On the same section of the route: one monument, the viaduct, was preserved, several others, tenement houses, were reconstructed, while still others, e.g. Tepper's Palace, located on the western entrance to the tunnel, were demolished.

The construction of Mariensztat was part of the W-Z route investment. It lasted from February 1948 to July 1949. The main designer of the estate was Zygmunt Stępiński. The architect was inspired by the size and style of five tenement houses built on Mariensztat at the end of the 18th century and in the 1830s and 1840s [Stępień, 2013: 59-60].

The atmosphere of the place played a leading role in the entire concept. It was created e.g. by the arcades surrounding the square and, as in the case of the above mentioned housing estates Nowy Świat Wschód and Zachód, by a holistically designed space paying attention to greenery and detail, e.g. a clock with a chime, a fountain and thoughtful decorations of mosaics and sculptures referring to the trade traditions of Mariensztat. In this way, another small housing estate was created (with a total of 53 houses, 23 of which are located on Bednarska Street which leads to the Royal Route), referring to the history of the city, but also a completely new investment, in opposition to the pre-war architecture of Mariensztat, which failed to meet the basic needs of its residents. The small-town character of this estate was also created by a thoughtful selection of services located on the ground floors of usually three-storey buildings: shops, craft services, a café, but also a kindergarten and a nursery [Stępień, 2013: 63].

Muranów

The character and significance of Muranów, which was created in a similar period of time, is completely different. What used to be one of the most vibrant districts of Warsaw, after the war was known as the Desert or the Dead Mountains *(fig. 3 and 6a)*. In October 1940, the 307-hectares area of the so-called northern district was considered a "Jewish residential district". Eventually, the largest ghetto in Europe was completely destroyed. No more than 50 buildings were left in the originally densely built-up area [Chomontowska, 2016: 46].

Despite the extraordinary effort of removing rubble from Warsaw, it was impossible to remove the 4-metre layer of debris that covered the entire area of the former ghetto. Therefore, the works were limited to the removal of rubble from the most important streets, thus increasing the size of large heaps of debris located between the streets. The idea of creating a new district on the existing debris and building it from its own rubble was dictated by many factors. However, economic and technical factors prevailed, resulting from the lack of technical means and logistic possibilities of removing rubble from this area, and at the same time from the need to build new flats and satisfy the needs of an increasingly growing city.

Due to technical reasons, Muranów is said to be a "living" monument of war trauma, but also a completely blurred page in the history of Warsaw urban planning. Non-plastered, raw grey and pink elevations of walls made of rubble concrete, symbolizing the

Fig. 6a – 6b. Muranów, Nowolipki Street (5a. 1949, photo by J. Bułhak; 5b 1961, photo by J. Bułhak). Archive of National Heritage Board of Poland.

"blood of the destroyed city" were to be the main expression of a housing estate built on rubble [Świątek, 2012: 63]. Ultimately, however, the buildings were covered with plaster.

From the very beginning, the development plans assumed the creation of a new space, different from the densely built-up 19th century urban structure of the district, which already before the war was a cultural and economic enclave. In the late 1940s, a new urban layout was designed, which left several street names, sometimes not corresponding to their pre-war predecessors. Designed in the spirit of modernism by Bohdan Lachert, the estate consisted of several-storey blocks, the height of which depended on the type of building – a gallery building, a single building or a multi-staircase building, complemented by commercial and service pavilions, offices and schools, etc. surrounded by designed greenery. Simple proportional buildings were devoid of complex decoration, only with geometric decoration placed here and there in brick colour [Świątek, 2012: 60-61]. The first apartments were completed as early as 1950, but the construction continued for several years. In the 1960s, new blocks were added, which complemented Lachert's original design.

Marszałkowska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa – MDM

The final designation of Marszałkowska Street took place in the 3rd quarter of the 18th century, and around the middle of the 19th century, this area took over the function of a commercial and residential centre of the city, which was directly related to the development of the railway. One of the main streets of Warsaw, in the post-war concept it was significantly extended and had its course slightly adjusted. This was possible due to the demolition of all the left blocks of the main section, between Plac Zbawiciela and Królewska Street [Marszałkowska, 1946: 2], which is estimated to have constituted a loss of 50%-75% of the previous development [Zieliński, 2009: 18]. These actions were taken for at least two reasons. Marszałkowska was to be one of the main communication routes connecting the southern and northern districts of the city. At the same time, it was to be a part of a complex serving for public gatherings in the spirit of the newly introduced socialist realist system. This is visible in the monumentality of the buildings with repetitive, symmetrical divisions, uniform height and, above all, a coherent system of realistic decoration, especially readable in the vicinity of the Constitution Square. The general concept of the estate was created by taking into account two historic communication axes, Marszałkowska street, which was given character of a pathetic, official street and Stanisławowska axis (an eighteenth-century urban concept connecting the town with a royal suburban residence, based on urban layouts in the shape of a star), which was to be an intimate and recreational street [Mordyński, 2011: 115].

Marszałkowska Housung Estate (MDM) is an example of well thought-out and complex architecture with a particularly strong political expression [Mordyński, 2013: 80-97]. This is the first housing estate of this scale designed in post-war Warsaw, created to present new and highly promoted ideological values. In this way, in the newly designed MDM architecture, forms were sought to become a recognizable sign of the architecture of socialist realism. A group of pre-war architects under the direction of Józef Sigalin, in search of new solutions, referred to various historic forms like: 18th century French urban layouts or residential Italian architecture - a fragment of one of the streets was called Uffizi [Mordyński, 2011: 110-123]. From the very beginning, MDM was designed as a housing estate for the working class. The estate, built around one of the most prestigious streets in pre-war Warsaw, was to consist of 6,000 flats for 45,000 residents. The first stage of housing estate which was completed in 1950-52, was to be distinguished by a higher standard of

Fig. 7. Marszałkowska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa (MDM), around Zbawiciel Square, 1975. Photo by Z. Siemasz-ko. Archive of National Heritage Board of Poland.

fittings – central heating, lifts, laundries and dryers, while the apartments were to have gas stoves and bathroom stoves [MDM, 2011: 11]. A number of nurseries, kinder-gartens, schools, health centres, a police station, an indoor swimming pool, a sports field, several cinemas and theatres were planned for the estate. Metro stations were also planned. The ground floors of the majority of blocks of flats located in the com-munication routes were intended for commercial or service functions. The project of the housing estate, which was built in stages, was not completed in its entirety; in fact, some of the public utility buildings and several blocks of flats were never constructed [MDM, 2011: 13].

Conclusion

The reconstruction of the Old Town in Warsaw as a residential district was preceded by many different projects, reflecting social involvement, difficult working conditions and ideological conflicts. As can be seen from the above examples, the decision on reconstruction is never simple and unambiguous. Its legitimacy, understood as social acceptance of the place and its proper design, is verifiable only with the passage of time. Despite this, certain decisions still stir emotions and are often the subject of heated discussions, although more than 50 years have passed since the first developments under the Warsaw reconstruction project were implemented. From this perspective, the reconstruction of the Old Town complex in Warsaw, which was well thought through and preceded by in-depth studies, can be regarded as a summary of the most intensive period of reconstruction and a crowning of the accumulated experience.

Looking at contemporary buildings in the centre of Warsaw, based on developments constructed as part of the post-war reconstruction of the city, one can still see the old, though general, urban layout. Despite the division into smaller units, which facilitate the implementation of works, but do not correspond to administrative, urban or historical divisions, individual developments, despite stylistic differences, are in harmony with each other thanks to similar heights or subtle stylistic references to the historical forms visible e.g. in the details. It is extremely encouraging that despite the passage of time, certain spatial relations or projects of public space are still legible and fulfil their function. Therefore, it is worth remembering the words of Alfred Lauterbach: "the desire to restore the values that we do not want to give up, if our technical capabilities and knowledge allow them to be reborn, is stronger than any theories. But you can not apply the general rule anywhere. Each monument is a specific case, an issue requiring reflection and elaboration" [Majewski, 2009: 23].

Dąbrówka Lipska

Résumé

L'objectif du présent article est d'exposer les différentes approches au sujet la reconstruction réalisées à Varsovie avant les travaux de reconstruction de la Vieille Ville de Varsovie en tant que quartier résidentiel. Cinq initiatives y sont présentées, entreprises dans les quartiers historiques de Varsovie, qui se voyaient déjà attribuer (en tout ou en partie) des valeurs historiques. Les exemples cités (les rues Krakowskie Przedmieście et Nowy Świat, les zones résidentielles Nowy Świat Wschód, Nowy Świat Zachód et Marszałkowska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa, les quartiers Mariensztat et Muranów) reflètent l'engagement social, les conditions de travail difficiles et les conflits idéologiques concernant essentiellement la sauvegarde de l'architecture historique. La décision de reconstruire n'est jamais simple ou sans équivoque, le bien-fondé de celle-ci en tant que l'acceptation sociale du site et sa bonne conception n'étant vérifiable qu'après un certain temps. Néanmoins, malgré le fait que plus de 50 ans se soient écoulés depuis les premières réalisations de la reconstruction de Varsovie, certaines décisions font toujours débat et suscitent de vives émotions. De ce point de vue, la reconstruction de l'ensemble urbain de la Vieille Ville de Varsovie, réfléchie et précédée d'études approfondies, peut certainement être considérée comme un résumé de la période la plus intense de la reconstruction de la ville et un couronnement de l'expérience acquise.

En considérant l'ensemble urbain actuel du centre de Varsovie, basé sur les bâtiments construits principalement dans le cadre de la reconstruction de la ville après la Seconde Guerre, on peut toujours percevoir l'ancienne configuration urbaine générale de la ville. Malgré la division de la zone en unités plus petites qui facilitent l'exécution des travaux et ne correspondent pas aux divisions administratives, urbaines ou historiques, les réalisations individuelles, malgré leurs différences de style, sont harmonieuses grâce à des hauteurs ou des références stylistiques similaires, visibles par exemple dans les détails architecturaux. Il est extrêmement encourageant de constater que, malgré tant d'années passées, certaines relations spatiales ou conceptions d'espace public sont toujours lisibles et assument leur fonction. Par conséquent, il faut parfois se souvenir des paroles d'Alfred Lauterbach : plus fort que les théories, c'est le désir de redonner vie à des valeurs auxquelles nous ne devons pas renoncer là où nos capacités techniques et nos connaissances nous permettent de les faire revivre. Mais il ne faut pas appliquer ce principe en général. Chaque monument est un cas individuel, une problématique qui doit être réfléchie et élaborée.
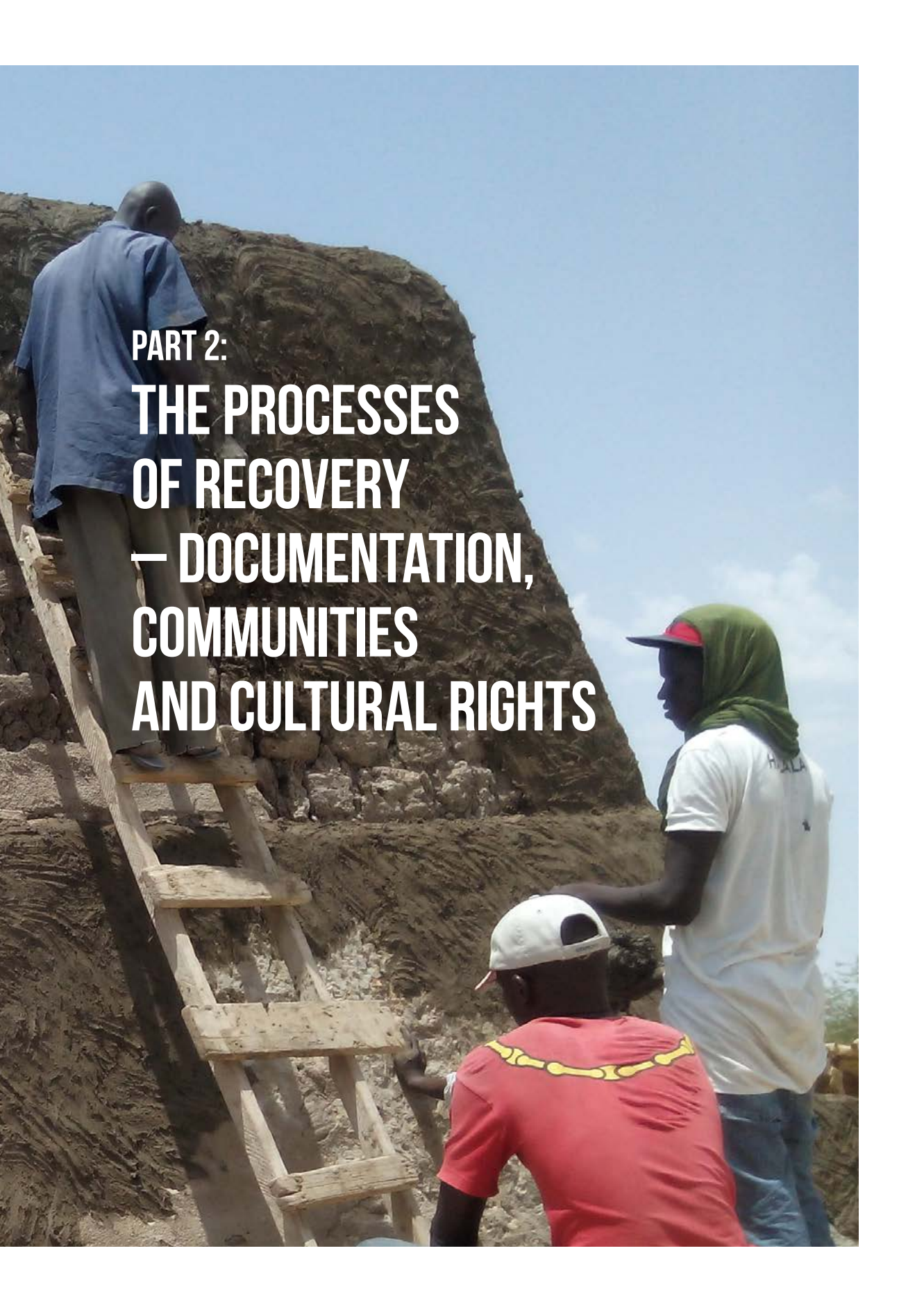
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Abdoulaye Cissé, Travaux de reconstruction du mausolée ALPHA MOYA, © UNESCO/Abdoulaye Cissé

PART 2:
THE PROCESSES OF RECOVERY — DOCUMENTATION, COMMUNITIES AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

Prof. Robert Kunkel – conservation architect

Professor at the Faculty of Architecture at Warsaw University of Technology. Member of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and Architecture and Town Planning Committee of Polish Academy of Sciences. Author of numerous publications and scientific works on theory and history of architecture.

Documentation as a Formal Basis of a Reconstruction of Warsaw's Old Town after its World War II Destruction

Robert Kunkel

The historical centre of Warsaw and its oldest part, which date back to the 13th century, is picturesquely situated on the high bank of the river Vistula. Located next to the castle of Masovian Princes and Polish kings, it is rather small compared to Kraków or Gdańsk, but considered safe and wealthy. It comprises churches and merchants' houses surrounded by city walls, all of which are made of brick and built in late Gothic style later refashioned according with the Baroque.

While prosperous in 17th century, in the 19th it became rather poor and a bit dirty. It was only right before World War II that it became popular in the artistic circles due to its ancient, romantic atmosphere of former merchants' houses and granaries.

A great church, towering over the Old Town complex, was originally built in the 14th century in brick Gothic style, as the Collegiate, then the Cathedral, and served as a coronation and burial site for numerous Dukes of Masovia, kings, bishops, clergy and prominent persons. The church was rebuilt several times, most notably in the 19th century, when the cathedral interior and façade were rebuilt in Gothic Revival style after the design by architect Adam Idźkowski. This form of the building was preserved until World War II.

Intending to scientifically describe the history of architecture across Poland, the Department of Polish Architecture, established in 1921 at the Warsaw University of Technology, and the Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past initiated an intensive inventory of architectural landmarks, collecting structural measurements, plans of towns and building complexes, photographic documentation, and models
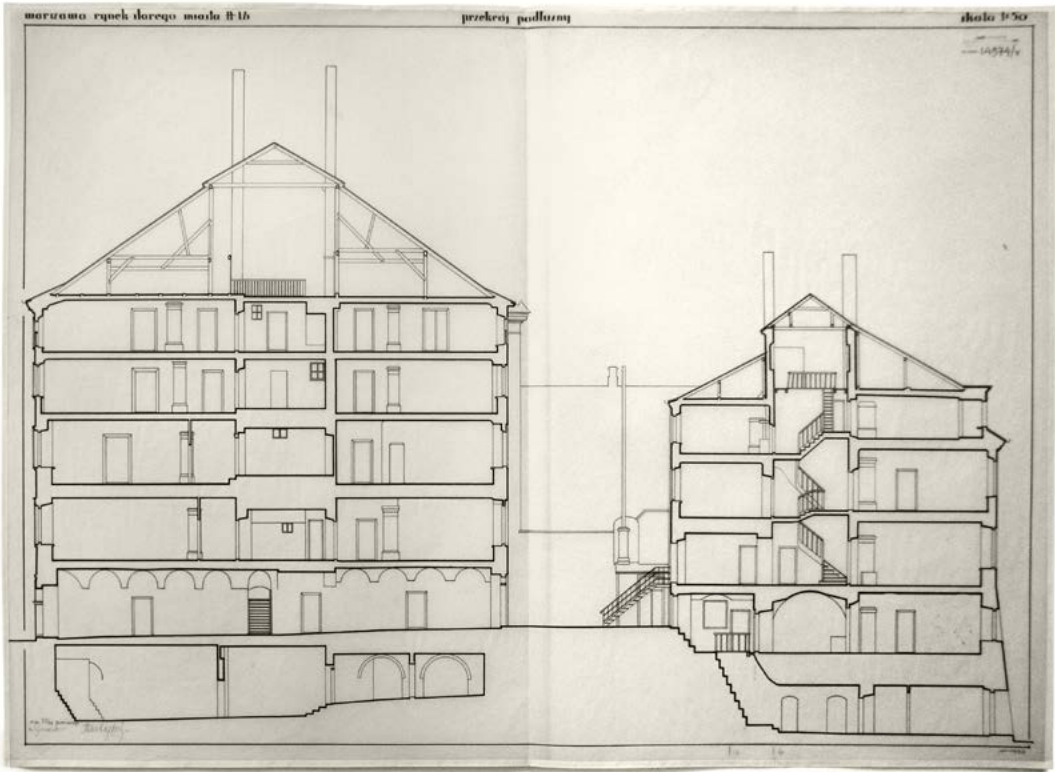
of buildings. The Department was from the very onset led by Professor Oskar Sos-nowski, head of the Chair of Polish Architecture in the Faculty of Architecture and active member of the Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past.

The inventorying was carried out mainly by students of the Department of Architecture, as part of their practical training, under the supervision of professors and instructors. The students after the second semester were obligated to measure the simple examples of old vernacular buildings and later, during their sixth and seventh semesters, to focus on monumental architecture. The buildings selected for this purpose represented great historical and artistic value, especially those, which in accordance with information obtained from conservation offices were to be restored or redesigned.
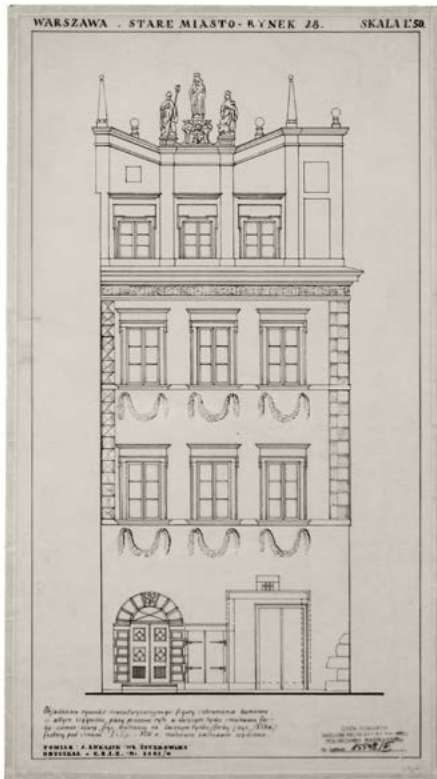
Inventory initiatives involved the use of a traditional measurement instrumentarium together with modern optical equipment and photogrammetry, with the photographs being processed with a photogrammeter built according to a design by the Department in the Polish Optical Works in Warsaw. These methods clearly preceded standard measurements recommended at the time as suitable for historical monuments.

Archival researchers and measurement crews paid special attention to the monuments of Warsaw not only owing to their proximity but also, as Professor Oskar Sosnowski, the founder and head of the Department, wrote "to pay a debt of gratitude to the capital for financial assistance rendered to the University Department". Moreover, as the Department staff recalled, at the beginning of the 1930s Professor Sosnowski, experiencing unclear premonitions of an impending war cataclysm, limited all inventories of monumental architecture outside Warsaw and placed special emphasis on documenting the historical districts of the Polish capital. In close coop-

eration with the Central Office for Inventories of Historical Monuments, which was founded in 1929, nearly all Warsaw palaces along the Royal Route, churches and public utility buildings of the Old and New Town were measured house after house, while old plans and drawings from the State and Town archives were copied for the Department of Polish Architecture collections.

At the time of German air raids over Warsaw in September 1939, Professor Sosnowski resided in the Department of Architecture in order to protect the collections and died there, fatally wounded by a bomb shrapnel. The University was closed, but during the German occupation the staff and co-workers of the Department, employed in the Technical Department of the Municipal Board, continued, albeit to a limited extent and under the cover of preparing building documentation, to work on inventories of historical monuments.

In 1944, during the Warsaw Uprising against the German occupation (August–October 1944), the whole Old Town was a major battlefield.

After the collapse of the Uprising, in November 1944, the buildings that were still standing were blown up by the German Destruction Detachment, which led to a loss of nearly 80% of the city's structures. This devastation of a Polish national monuments was a part of the planned destruction of the capital of Poland. In the wake of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, when the Germans started a planned campaign of setting fire to buildings, the document collections of the Department were secretly transferred by its professors and co-workers at the risk of loss of life and hidden outside Warsaw.

After liberation of Poland and the recreation of the Warsaw Technical University, the drawings were returned to the restored building of the Faculty of Architecture and have been kept there to this day. This period revealed their importance for the projects carried out by the Office for the Reconstruction of the Capital.

Unexpected tremors during the bombardments, caused by bombardment and fires revealed underneath the plaster and the masonry assorted relics of the oldest Gothic walls of the old buildings. Prior to commencing the reconstruction and in the course of clearing the rubble, the researchers from the Department of Polish Architecture and the Commission for the study of Old Warsaw took careful inventories of the relics, while the authors of the projects and the builders made every effort possible to conserve them and display them with all due care.

The reconstruction of historical monuments of architecture in their historical style after conservation theory and rigorous doctrine concluded in the Card of Venice was considered unacceptable. But theory is one thing and practice another.

After the World War II, Jan Zachwatowicz, professor of Warsaw Faculty of Architecture, the then General Conservator of Monuments, and one of signatories of the Card of Venice, argued successfully that intentionally destroyed buildings of special value for nation history and self-consciousness must be restored for the future generations. Based on the hundreds of drawings, plans, sections and details the Warsaw Old Town complex could be faithfully reconstructed using survived fragments of brick walls and ancient ornamentations that were painstakingly recovered from the rubble. The rebuilt Old Town in Warsaw, along with the Royal Castle, was listed in 1980 by UNESCO as a monument of cultural significance and outstanding universal value.

As professor Zachwatowicz wrote in 1952, the collections of the measurement inventories of architecture assumed special significance for work undertaken on an unprecedented scale and focused on the post-World War II conservation and reconstruction of historical monuments. Collections of measurement photographs of historical buildings, saved from wartime conflagration, proved invaluable for the reconstruction of entire Old Town complex.

Together with old houses and palaces, the cathedral was rebuilt after the war. The exterior reconstruction is based on the 14th century church's presumed appearance (according to an old iconography and new designs of professor Zachwatowicz, not on its pre-war appearance).

The Archive of the Warsaw Reconstruction Office, housing documentation of both the post-war damage and the reconstruction projects in the Warsaw State Archive collections, was inscribed in the UNESCO "Memory of the World" Register in 2011. Surprisingly, the original pre-war documentation drawings, now eighty or ninety years old, housed in the Faculty of Architecture offices were not included in that inscription.

Also, scientific monographs and syntheses dealing with the history of art and architecture would have been impossible without a complete measurement inventory of monuments of architecture, while the passage of time and war devastation caused the annihilation of many of them. That became the reason for a dramatic situation in which in numerous instances old measurement drawings offered the sole opportunity for art historians to become acquainted with a monument.

To this day, every year during summer exercises, students of the Warsaw Faculty of Architecture continue to analyse historic buildings under the guidance of instructors, carrying out the expansion of their drawing inventory. The collection currently covers over 30,000 drawings.

Some of my colleagues and students fascinated by the possibilities of modern technology often doubt whether it is worth to perform the measurements manually instead of using an automatic laser scanner, which is faster and much more accurate. However, the record in the form of a cloud of points, even if transformed onto conventional vector drawings, documents only the external form of the object, and although it is an excellent record, it skips over the object's structure, substance and technology of its execution, hence its usefulness in eventual building reconstruction when using the traditional building process is problematic. Documentation of historic buildings erected with traditional techniques should therefore meet the same standards and drawing conventions appropriate to the original building methods.

In my opinion it is advisable to use conventional principles of orthogonal projections when preparing documentary drawings of historical architectural objects: plans, sections and elevations as well as graphic designation of building materials, construction nodes and surface elaboration relevant to a given construction technology and usually included in relevant, commonly used standards. In contrast to the works of painting or sculpture, where the author is also a work contractor, so

the object is one-time and unique, the architectural complex is a collection of living, changeable structures, where the main value is the function, tradition and art of building, and which even after serious damage has the right to be reborn if the original project or similar documentation is available.

My final question concerning the reconstruction of the monuments is this: is the architecture of the destroyed original repeatable, if we use the same technique and materials after proper documentation? And if so, will the result be only a poor copy or rather reincarnation of the object? To compare it with the symphonic concert let's consider the opinion of Ancient Greek philosophers who stated that Architecture and Music are sisters, for both are daughters of proportion. So when we consider the difference between the philharmonic performances of the symphony, where the composer's score is the design performed by other conductor and other musicians, we treat its formal content every time as an repetition not as a literal copy of an original, that is, not unlike a recording on a compact disc played by speakers.

Robert Kunkel

Résumé

L'auteur se réfère à la reconstruction de la Vieille Ville de Varsovie, délibérément détruite par les Allemands en 1944. Les bâtiments ont été reconstruits, avec l'utilisation des vestiges conservés, sur la base d'un inventaire architectural détaillé réalisé surtout dans les années 1930 par le Département d'architecture polonaise de la Faculté d'architecture de l'École polytechnique de Varsovie. Les dessins réalisés par des étudiants de l'architecture sous la direction de professeurs et d'instructeurs ont été sauvés de la destruction et cachés. Après la guerre ils ont été utilisés lors de la conception de reconstruction.

La reconstruction des monuments architecturaux dans leur forme originale selon la théorie orthodoxe de conservation et la doctrine rigoureuse de la Charte de Venise a été jugée inacceptable. Cependant, la théorie ne rejoint pas toujours là pratique.

Se référant aux opinions des professeurs Jan Zachwatowicz et Andrzej Tomaszewski, l'auteur veut montrer qu'un bâtiment ou un complexe historique délibérément détruit peut être reconstruit sur la base d'un projet conservé où d'un inventaire technique équivalent. Contrairement à un tableau qui est unique ou à une sculpture où le concepteur est aussi un interprète, une œuvre d'architecture, tout comme une symphonie écrite dans la partition, peut être refaite par une autre équipe utilisant des matériaux et technologies de construction similaires. Cela concerne en particulier la situation quand les valeurs essentielles d'un monument donné sont son emplacement, sa fonction ou sa signification historique et symbolique exceptionnelle, comme dans le cas des temples japonais en bois. Un tel objet n'est pas un « monument nouveau », mais d'une certaine manière une nouvelle incarnation de l'original.

L'auteur souligne que l'inventaire effectué avant la destruction d'un objet architectural, qui doit servir de base à une analyse scientifique ou à une reconstruction ultérieure, doit tenir compte non seulement de sa forme spatiale, mais aussi de sa structure, de sa construction et de sa mode de réalisation. Le scanner laser automatique, qui est sans doute plus rapide, moins cher et beaucoup plus précis, permet de créer une copie numérique de la forme matérielle du bâtiment, qui, dans le cas décrit ci-dessus, n'est utile que pour réaliser une sorte de maquette.

Prof. Amra Hadžimuhamedović – professor of conservation of architectural heritage

She is the former Commissioner to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001-2016), working on integration of cultural heritage into post war recovery process. She is academic teacher at the International University of Sarajevo and works as indepentent expert on conservation projects and cultural heritage management plans.

Participative Reconstruction as a Healing Process in Bosnia[1]

Amra Hadžimuhamedović

The war in Bosnia came to an end with the international conflict resolution agreement known as Dayton Peace Accord.[2] Its eleven annexes contain stipulations concerning both military and civil issues. The very heart of the arrangements – annexes 6, 7, and 8 – deals with the mutually interconnected issues of human rights, the return of refugees and displaced persons, and cultural heritage.

Annex 8 of the Dayton Accord, officially titled "Agreement on the Commission to Preserve National Monuments" has become a significant stamp of uniqueness of the peace settlement due to the fact that cultural heritage was recognized – for the first time in modern international conflict resolution policy – as one of eleven paramount agents for the establishment of sustainable peace. The Annex 8 is a very short and general document. Some terminology and phrasing employed in it, such as "national", "monument", or "commission to preserve", could be defined as outdated and not harmonized with the 1990s-doctrine relating to cultural heritage. However, it gave an important framework to develop institutional and legal capacities for the integration of cultural heritage into gradual post-war re-establishment of mutual trust and confidence among civilians.

Amra Hadžimuhamedović

"Violent efforts to remake the world in another image": drifting of cultural heritage destruction

The destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia was not simply a collateral outcome of the 1990s war. It was large-scale, systematic, and co-orchestrated with the other forms of human suffering – expulsions, torture, rape, detention of civilians, and mass killings. "The purpose of this destruction is to eradicate cultural, social and religious traces that identify the ethnic and religious groups" (Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council resolution 780 (1992), 1994). The destruction of cultural heritage was a method of ethnic cleansing.[3] Furthermore, the phrases such as "cultural and economic cleansing", "the major cultural catastrophe" (Council of Europe, Committee on Culture and Education, 1993), "architectural cleansing", "cultural genocide" (Adams, 1993, pp. 380-390) – as well as similar, increasingly idiomatic expressions used by other authors discussing the Bosnian heritage destruction – continually built upon the UN definition of "ethnic cleansing" and insisted on the consonance of crimes against people and cultural heritage.

Adams defines destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia as the "violent efforts to remake the world in another image" (Adams, 1993). "Cultural genocide" is performed through the destruction of one's place of belonging in the world, what the German language knows as Heimat;[4] a nest of memory and an anchorage of culture. The destruction of home and homeland was also performed through rape and the destruction of domestic architecture (Adams, 1993). The persistence of cultural memory through the symbolic and physical forms of the house, the house-related

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3   Ethnic cleansing is not established as a crime by any international law. There is not a conventional definition of ethnic cleansing. However, the term is used in documents of UN since 1992 (UN General Assembly, 1992). Later documents of UN reporting on acts of violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, stated that ethnic cleansing 'constitute crimes against humanity and can be assimilated to specific war crimes. Furthermore, such acts could also fall within the meaning of the Genocide Convention.' Document S/1994/674 defines ethnic cleansing as: '... a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas.' (Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council resolution 780 (1992), 1994)

4   Heimat is a German term, with neither the Latin-based languages nor the eastern languages such as Chinese offering any exact synonyms. 'Zavičaj' is a very close translation in Bosnian. On 'zavičaj' see: Halilovich, 2013. Ratter and Gee suggest that 'homescape' or 'homeland' are the nearest English approximations, although it is difficult to translate it due to multiple semantic layers of the term. The word Heimat in this text is used to replace the complex explanation of phenomenon of positive emotional attachment of one to the place that is center of one's world - spatial and social experiences, or the point zero in the life geographies, which influences identity, mentality and perception of the world of each human being.

Fig. 1, Fig. 2. Two out of hundreds of historic houses destroyed in Stolac in 1993
(Photo: Amra Hadžimuhamedović).

Fig. 3. Ferhadija Mosque (16 C) in Banja Luka, destroyed on May 6, 1993 (Photo: Aleksandar Ravlić, documentation of Commission to Preserve National Monuments).

Fig. 4. Site of the Ferhadija Mosque in Banja Luka in 2002, all fragments removed and thrown into lake and dumping site (Documentation of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments).

Fig. 5, Fig. 6. Fragments of some of the 16 mosques destroyed in Banja Luka, including Ferhadija Mosque discovered at the local dumping site (Documentation of Commission to Preserve National Monuments).

rituals and the woman's role therein, is a noticeable characteristic of Bosnian land-scapes. The systematic violations of both women and houses were one of the major manifestations of nationalist programmes and their associated virulent masculinity.

Fig. 7. Debris with fragments of frescos of Eastern Orthodox Church St. Nicholas (1534) in village Trijebanj (Documentation of Commission to Preserve National Monuments).

There are a number of reports on the cultural heritage destruction statistics.[5] If detached from the holistic descriptions of warscapes and human destinies, the figures in these records give an elusive and deficient portrayal. Numbers make abstract the destruction that was planned, selective, imbued with pseudo-ritual character and performed up close. After the destruction, in many cases, the blasted or burnt remains were removed from the sites of destroyed buildings, and then thrown into the "cultural heritage mass graves", which were usually hard to access. In several cases, these remains of cultural heritage made up the upper stratum of a mass grave, thrown over the human bodies (Hadžimuhamedović, 2015).

This image, more than any other, stands as a reminder of the nature of destruction during the 1990s: to speak of cultural heritage destruction in the Bosnian case is to speak of genocide. The targets of destruction were firstly the sites of highest symbolic and cultural significance – monuments, religious buildings, museums, gal-

5   See, for example: Državna komisija za prikupljanje činjenica o ratnim zločinima u Republici Bosni i Hercegovini (1992), Mileusnić (1994), Zavod za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Rebublike Bosne i Hercegovine (1995), Živković (1997), Hadžimuhamedović (1998), Riedlmayer (2002), (Walasek, et al. (2015), etc.

Fig. 8 and Fig. 9. Fragments of Aladža Mosque (1549) in Foča found during the excavation of a mass grave (Documentation of Commission to Preserve National Monuments).

Fig. 10. Remains of Old Bridge in Mostar (1566) after its destruction on 9 November 1993 (Photo: Sulejman Demirović).

leries, libraries, archives, schools, graveyards and mausoleums, and so on. However, the targets also included entire urban ensembles, townscapes and vernacular

architecture, particularly traditional houses. This targeting speaks of sophisticated knowledge in the chartings of the war. It begs the question: would the knowledge of post-war heritage restoration be as sophisticated and systematic?

Rehabilitation of the shared cultural values – restoration of the civic trust

Post-war rehabilitation of cultural heritage in Bosnia was charged with the mission to mitigate the consequences of ethnic cleansing and tremendous physical losses in Bosnian historic landscapes. However, the post-war trauma healing and reconciling capacity of the heritage restoration process has spontaneously taken the role of one of the most influential factors to the peace settlement and its sustainability in Bosnia.

It took five years to start profiled and efficient implementation of annexes 6, 7, and 8 of Dayton Accords after the armed conflict had ceased. The first post-war years were still filled with tension, fear, distrust, and confusion. Warlords, including the prominent master-minds of the war-crimes, were still ruling, albeit usually from the backstage of public policy. The process of return of refugees and displaced persons was at a standstill. People did not feel safe to go back even when they were offered international or foreign aid to restore their homes. They expected security and justice, which they were not provided at that time (and to which some areas are still not fully entitled). Furthermore, places of their return were so systematically destroyed that they could not recognize them as their Heimat.

The hardliner nationalists, who were the justifiers of the war's outcomes, did everything to prevent the return process. Beside the threats to the security of returnees, they also began with the plans to reconfigure the sites of the most important destroyed monuments by impressing new exclusivist meanings onto them. The power of symbols, such as triumphal crosses, gigantic church belfries or minarets, concrete crosses and new churches at the sites of destroyed mosques, as well as the massive construction of new, towering religious buildings in eclectic styles (which were statements of "pure national", or "pure religious" revivalism) converted war-destroyed Bosnian historic landscapes into battlefields where symbols of triumphalism and exclusivism were "shooting at each other".

Fig. 11. Start of collecting fragments of the Old Bridge in Mostar from the river Neretva in 1997 (Photo: Sluejman Demirović).

Such was the environment in which the Commission to Preserve National Monuments started its operations to integrate cultural heritage into the peace implementation process. UNESCO supported its work from the end of 1995 to 2001, when two UNESCO experts, Azedine Beschaouch and Léon Pressouyre, served as its members. During that period UNESCO's office in Sarajevo performed duties of the technical secretariat of the Commission.

During the first five years after the war the members of the Commission kept covert their discussions and documents. The alleged risk that a list of national monuments could be used as an informative archive for further destructions by the nationalists was an excuse for this lowest possible level of publicity. The result of the five-years of work was a list of 777 heritage sites designated as national monuments. The List might be considered as a reflection of the political negotiations among Bosnian members of the Commission. While all other institutions established under Dayton Accord were presenting confirmations of progress, the Commission to preserve National Monuments was kept at a low profile, isolated, and as the least important segment of the peace implementation structure until 2001.

The turnover was marked by a number of events, and it was accomplished due to clear demand of those who were returning to their homes and claiming rights to rehabilitate their (Heimats). Firstly, Director General of UNESCO, President of World Bank and the Mayor of Mostar signed the Document on global partnership for the reconstruction of Old Bridge in Mostar, which started the preparatory process for its restoration in 1998.

This global determination to restore the site that was charged with the highest symbolic value of a metaphoric bridge (only after it had been destroyed), encouraged the war-torn communities to look for the restoration of the less visible ruins of heritage – their own "metaphoric bridges" – that would bring them back to their safe homes. The public felt involved and recognised that their emotions were respected. On the other hand, the expert and academic dissonances concerning authenticity issues – among them, what prevails tangible or intangible significance of destroyed sites, should emotions be interdicted in the post-war heritage policy definition – were brought to a conclusion with the global consent on the reconstruction of the Old Bridge.

Secondly, the human rights approachability and the return process were both symbolised and made substantially possible only after the restoration of the most visible signs of home were restored. In 2001, the return process to several problematic areas, where grave war-crimes had been committed, started to be aligned with the returnees' requests for the restoration of locally iconic heritage sites. While the returnees to Banja Luka (where 16 mosques were destroyed during the war) were celebrating the beginning of restoration of the 16th century Ferhadija mosque, nationalists stoned them and burned the buses on which they arrived, killing one elderly man. The pattern was repeated in several other places. It was clear that heritage issues had to be addressed in a systematic and appropriate way and that Annex 8 of the Dayton Accord had to be implemented. Responsibilities for the establishment and the work of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments were transferred to the highest level of Bosnian authority.

The strategy of implementation was based on the following principles:

1. Commission to Preserve National Monuments had to be an independent public institution, with regular budget and physical offices, reporting directly to the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2. Members of the Commission, designated by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had to be politically independent, distinctive scholars and experts in the heritage fields – three Bosnians from three different ethnic groups, and two foreigners.

3. The Technical Secretariat of the Commission had to be composed of experts in all relevant fields.

4. Criteria for the designation of national monuments, the Act on implementation of decisions of the Commission, as well as the set of regulations stipulating prioritization process and the project implementation strategy, had to be enforced.

5. All decisions of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments had to be based on detailed documentation that included precise records of the heritage condition and the analytical approach to conservation, interpretation and management. Furthermore, the Commission was endowed with the highest possible authority to enforce and monitor the implementation of its decisions.

6. Anyone could start the procedure to designate a property as a national monument. The massive response of Bosnian citizens to this opportunity reflected their perception of cultural heritage and their understanding of its importance for a comprehensive peace implementation process. The discussions had to be open to all interested persons, and decisions had to be publicised. The governments of the two Bosnian entities and the Brčko District were responsible to provide technical, financial, legal, and administrative conditions to implement the decisions.

When this new heritage-focused, post-war recovery process started in 2001, the Commission defined the strategy of inclusive, open and participatory approach to the promotion, protection, and the process of rehabilitation of cultural heritage. To achieve the goals of integration of cultural heritage into post-war recovery, the Commission took as imperative that the work of experts should be submitted to public opinion and public demands, guided by idea that "[w]ithout public support [...] heritage atrophies" (Lowenthal, 1999).

Beside the documentation, assessment and designation of national monuments, numerous other fields of action were identified. Raising awareness of the shared values of heritage, heritage as a development resource, and the responsibilities towards its safeguarding through field work, public relations strategy, exhibitions, the

Fig. 12, Fig. 13. Work with the community in historic town Počitelj (1998) and Monastery in Žitomislići (2001) (Photo: A. Hadžimuhamedović).

Fig. 14, Fig. 15. Engaging the community (Photo 14 A. Hadžimuhamedović, Photo 15 Documentation of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments).

work with children and youth was one of the Commission's top priority fields of action. Raising awareness and raising funds for heritage and implementing projects through participatory methods have been mutually supportive fields of action.

Fig. 16, Fig. 17. Reconstruction process at the site and remains of the 16th C Eastern Orthodox Monastery in Žitomislići.

On Some Dilemmas and Disputes

Site and remains

One of the first challenges the Commission to Preserve National Monuments wrestled with were the following questions: Do destroyed monuments still exist? Is it possible to assess the non-existing property? The dispute was solved through researching of the reception of heritage by local communities. In a war-torn environment, when the historic landscapes and their landmarks are destroyed, communities live in a virtual reality that provides the known framework for the familiar order of things. The people still refer to the missing monuments as if they existed in their integral expression. That is why the Commission to Preserve National Monuments had introduced a new category of heritage – "site and remains". This category is different from the archaeological site as it refers only to the sites of monuments destroyed during the 1992-1996 war. Sixty-six "sites and remains" have been designated between 2001 and April 2018. For all loci designated as "site and remains", the possibility of reconstruction was likewise stipulated (if sufficient documentation was available, to avoid conjectures).

Fig. 18. Reconstructed houses in the historic centre of Jajce (Photo Commission to Preserve national Mounemns).

Fig. 19. Počitelj after reconstruction (Photo Commission to Preserve national Mounemns).

Fig. 20. Catholic Church of St. Ivo in Podmilačje after reconstruction.

Reconstructed buildings

As the process of post-war reconstruction still goes on and will continue for some time, the number of reconstructed monuments on the protected "site and remains" list is gradually changing. The discussion of this challenge has mainly focused on the issue of authenticity and its categories in the post-war milieu, including the aspects of contextual, and associative authenticity. In all these cases, the test of authenticity is done to measure the level of intangible values, but at the same time consideration is given to form and design, location and setting, material and methods (not the substance), as well as use and function. Beside the Old bridge in Mostar, the decision to keep the status of national monuments has been made for a number of monuments and gathering places, and the first among them were the Čaršijska Mosque in Stolac, the Eastern Orthodox Monastery in Žitomislići, and the Catholic Church of Sveti Ivo in Podmilačje. Lots of newly reconstructed buildings, however, did not pass the test, and a number of national monuments have been de-listed due to the loss of authenticity through reconstruction. Having in mind that authenticity is an ever-evolving and changing concept, the reconstructed buildings respond to the people-centred approach in post-war restoration. Rituals and traditions, associations and, above all, new authenticity of narrative attributes, which testify to both the destruction and the reconstruction, have been the key reasons to consider the reconstructed buildings not mere as replicas but as authentic monuments.

Contested sites

One of the main risks in 2001 was that the war of symbols will be transformed into a battle for the invisible, and sometimes invented, layers of heritage at the sites of destroyed monuments. To whom does a heritage site belong? This question, like the Damocles' sword, loomed over each of the cultural heritage sites. The claims to the right of conducting archaeological excavations at the sites of destroyed mosques were voiced in several cases – in Bijeljina, in Stolac, in Trebinje, Banja Luka, and in Foča. These claims were usually not motivated by the interest for the archaeological layers of the places where the destruction occurred; rather, they were fuelled by the continuation of those same nationalist programmes. Their goal was to prevent the reconstruction of destroyed sites and the return of uprooted people. This particular challenge was addressed with the clear statement that the last known shape of the

Amra Hadžimuhamedović

Fig. 21. Returnees to Stolac regaining their Heimat in the framework of reconstructed centre of town (Photo A. Hadžimuhamedović).

building is the only one that can be reconstructed. However, if found, archaeological remains would be presented by the owner of the site. The responsibility of each person for each monument and the shared values of heritage have been emphasised in these cases. The issue of contested sites has not been raised since the first cases have been solved. It seems that there is consent concerning shared values and responsibilities.

The power of heritage in post-war recovery

Cultural heritage has become a key formative factor of the peace implementation process in Bosnia since 2001. The strategy of bringing back the frameworks of the mental maps through the reconstruction of buildings and complexes with strong symbolic and associative value had centred people around shared values and shared

memories. Post-war recovery always takes place in the context of strong needs for belonging to a collective and the keeping of the thread of continuity – as both are under threat. Heritage crystalizes the communal values and links while providing the much-needed corner-stones of continuity. In the end, let me recapitulate with a fragment of Freud's correspondence with Albert Einstein, on the question "Why war?". The Bosnian case, like others, confirms that "whatever makes for cultural development is working also against war" (Freud, 1932).

Résumé

La thèse selon laquelle la reconstruction participative du patrimoine culturel détruit lors d'un traumatisme social a un pouvoir de guérison communautaire fait l'objet du document relatif aux évènements qui ont eu lieu en Bosnie après la guerre de 1992-1996. La destruction du patrimoine culturel avait alors servi de méthode de nettoyage ethnique, accompagnée d'autres formes de souffrance humaine : expulsions, torture, viol, détention de civils et massacres. La réhabilitation des sites du patrimoine dévastés par la guerre s'inscrit dans le processus de règlement de paix, comme décrit dans l'annexe 8 de l'Accord international de règlement des conflits, connu sous le nom d'Accord de paix de Dayton, signé en novembre 1995. Le processus de réhabilitation du patrimoine a fait de la reconstruction une méthode clé, qui est parfois la seule méthode possible pour restaurer les maisons connues et détruites des victimes de la guerre qui cherchaient à avoir accès aux droits de l'homme. Le processus de retour n'a pu s'effectuer en grande partie qu'après la restauration des traces de maison les plus visibles.

Malgré de nombreux différends, principalement académiques, sur des questions telles que l'authenticité contextuelle et relative des sites reconstruits, de nombreux cas en Bosnie confirment que le pouvoir de guérison des traumatismes de l'après-guerre et de réconciliation du processus de restauration du patrimoine est spontanément devenu l'un des facteurs les plus importants du règlement de paix et de sa viabilité.

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El Boukhari Ben Essayouti – expert in cultural heirtage

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Destroyed Heritage of Timbuktu Post-Crisis Conclusions, Reconstruction, and Post-Crisis Challenges

El-Boukhari Ben Essayouti

The cultural heritage of Timbuktu, inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1988 as *The Cultural Property Of Timbuktu*, covers three medieval mosques and 16 mausoleums devoted to Muslim saints, all erected in the period from the 14th through the 19th century.

It is a *Property* inscribed as the World Heritage. It also embraces the architectural landscape of the medina, containing some structures of the property, and over 400,000 ancient manuscripts, as estimated by the NGO, SAVAMA - D.C.I.

Thanks to preserving the intellectual and spiritual heritage of the medieval civilization, upon inscription, the property had fallen within criteria (ii), (iv) and (v).

Unfortunately, it was soon made to face numerous difficulties, such as:

- Poverty, insufficient management and protection;
- Very dry climate and erosion having a detrimental impact on the structures built of non-durable materials;
- Lack of understanding of the idea of cultural heritage and listed cultural heritage by the local community;
- Rapid demographic growth causing a gradual degradation of protected areas as a result of extensive housing development and uncontrolled extension of household sewage systems;
- Illegal development and non-compliance with the town-planning regulations by the local and national authorities.

On top of the unfavourable factors listed above, the state of Mali was plagued by violent extremism, especially in its northern regions, as a result of inner crisis. This area was settled by armed Islamists between April 2012 and January 2013. They declared war on all religions that were not compatible with Wahhabism.

They cursed the Sufi Islam of Timbuktu with its worship of saints and swore to uproot it. Between May and November 2013, the Timbuktu mausoleums were plundered, the El Farouk monument pulled down and several thousand manuscripts burned or carried away because of Anti-Wahhabite content or because they presented some commercial value. Traditional mosque restoration methods were banned, and large sections of the Djinguereber and Sankoré temples were vandalized.

The suffering population was saved by the action of international communities and French armed forces that cleared the north part of the country of the jihadists. Retreat of the invaders and the restoration of the Malian administration in Timbuktu made the reconstruction of destroyed cultural heritage possible.

To reconstruct the thousand-year-old heritage under the supervision of UNESCO proved to be a challenging project in the face of the following:

- Rebuilding mausoleums located in burial grounds containing numerous family tombs, including those of the descendants of Timbuktu's important figures. There was a real threat that the work would be regarded as a desecration;
- Faithful reconstruction of demolished structures without any technical documentation available but, still, in line with the World Cultural Heritage standards;
- Ensuring safety of buildings and areas in endangered locations, exposed to terrorist attacks;
- Turning the reconstruction project into a job-generating and sustainable undertaking with a view to restoring tourist attendance that had previously helped sustain these places.

In addition, UNESCO, in consultation with the Malian authorities in charge of cultural heritage, developed a recovery plan that prioritized the following objectives:

- To perform an inventory-taking and preliminary research;
- To develop a strategy for and trigger institutional renewal;
- To hold consultation, training and awareness-raising initiatives;
- Project implementation.

Besides formal and administrative issues, it was an interesting experience to watch how the destruction of the Timbuktu mausoleums by jihadists, followed by their reconstruction by the international community, influenced the attitudes and utterly transformed the perception of cultural heritage by the local communities.

In addition, it is of paramount importance to reflect on the future of the rebuilt heritage, which is constantly exposed to danger and where tourist attendance is negligible.

A bas-relief discovered in the mosque (left) *(Photo: Culture Mission).* A colonnade of earth, earth of Bourem and limestone alhor (right) (Photo: Timbuktu Cultural Mission).

Presentation of the Timburktu property

The property of Timbuktu (Mali) includes three large mosques (Djinguereber, Sankoré and Sidi Yahya) as well as 16 mausoleums. All these structures are inscribed on the World Heritage List.

Mosques

The mosques of Djinguereber (1325), Sidi Yahya (1430) and Sankoré (1440) are located within a medina of a 700-meter radius. Their architectural similarities are striking:

- Structures made of locally sourced earth and stone (alhor) used in the masonry work as reinforcement material;
- No windows, large inner courtyards;

- Irregularly spaced out lighting despite skylights on terraces;
- Austere interiors; in the Djinguereber mosque, an Italian decorator exposed a relief embossing.

The mosques are managed and preserved by management committees established by the local communities closely cooperating with the Cultural Mission.

Mausoleums

Mausoleums are usually built in graveyards, inside some households, mosques or in the street corners.

16 mausoleums have been inscribed on the World Heritage List, of which 11 have been officially identified. Other mausoleums have been buried under the sand due to poor preservation or various disasters.

Each mausoleum is looked after by a family. The most famous and definitely most frequented and worshipped mausoleum is Sidi Yahya. It is enfolded by the vault under the minaret of a mosque of the same name. As regards classification, it is integrated with the mosque.

The most spectacular (Alpha Moya, top), and most visited mausoleum (Sidi Yehya, bottom) (Photo: Timbuktu Cultural Mission).

Facade of a house of limestone alhor (left), inner terrace of a typical house of Timbuktu (right). (Photo: Timbuktu Cultural Mission).

Combined property

The mosques and the mausoleum are accompanied by:

- A medina of the area of 19 ha with a beautiful architectural skyline featuring the houses of the first European explorers, the El Farouk monument, town squares, etc.;
- 32 libraries with Arabic manuscripts;
- Intangible heritage, such as numerous rites and practices, including song, dance, etc.

All this heritage was born out of combined influences of Black Africa and North Africa, which is well reflected in city's history from its establishment in 1080 and in the French colonization in 1893. In addition, it testifies to the coexistence of several civilizations and well-managed human settlements along the routes of trans-Saharan trade and in the large empires of West Africa.

Damages inflicted by islamists

In January 2012, armed Islamists and Tuareg invaders entered north Mali and took over Timbuktu. Claiming that some elements of the Timbuktu heritage are contradictory with the Wahhabi tenet, they brought destruction to the entire architectural landscape of the city.

Along with the mausoleum, the El Farouk monument was pulled down, the secret door of the Sidi Yahya mosque was smashed; moreover, traditional conservation practices were banned, as they were allegedly creating an opportunity for men and women to meet.

In addition, more than 4,000 manuscripts were burned as preaching a heretical and anti-Salafi doctrine.

That barbaric and extremist activity caused a deep psychological and spiritual trauma among the local community.

June 2012, armed Islamists destroy the mausoleums (Photo by Yéhia Tandina).

Reconstruction

The strategy

The reconstruction project faced numerous challenges:

- To carefully rebuild structures originating mostly in the Middle Ages with no technical documentation available;
- To combine the traditional know-how with external assistance in an effective manner;
- To ensure that the reconstruction, undertaken in a country still plunged into turmoil and a political crisis, serves social cohesion and economic growth.

Information and awareness-raising meeting with the main contractors (Photo Timbuktu Cultural Mission).

To address all these challenges, the following initiatives were set up:

- Additional research and preliminary analysis;
- Public consultation and awareness-raising campaigns;
- Training of administration and technical actors.

This heritage is dear to the heart of the local communities that had been developing and nurturing it for almost a thousand years. It therefore naturally followed that they should be an important stakeholder in the reconstruction process.

Information campaigns and awareness-raising projects

First meetings with the local communities focused on explaining the project and its implementation as well as addressing the notion of cultural heritage, in particular properties inscribed on the World Heritage List.

Training and improvement of qualification of managing persons

During the training sessions, local craftsmen fully accepted proposed solutions and made their own contribution.

The training covered:

- Discussion of the problem of preserving the architectural heritage of regions affected by armed conflict;
- Discussion of remuneration which should not depart from the level seen in the labour market of Timbuktu;
- Explanation of the necessity of making excavations, architectural studies, and discussion of work techniques;
- Sharing effects of projects covering similar properties;
- Presenting various building techniques with earth as the main material.

Courses and information and awareness-raising meetings significantly enhanced cooperation between local master masons and architects.

Outcomes

Change of mindset

For the people of Timbuktu, the year 2012 was disastrous in many respects because, apart from the atrocities of Islamic totalitarianism, they witnessed the destruction of a huge part of their 1000-year-old heritage.

Although electricity was available only on an on-and-off basis, and foreign TV and radio channels were banned, the residents witnessed the international community rising to come to their rescue. Many people of Timbuktu came to understand that the heritage is not only theirs, but it is of a universal character, and that it belongs not only to the domain of worship but also to the world of culture.

The international community involved in the safeguarding of the property manifest its universal character to the local people (Photo: UNESCO Office, Bamako).

The reconstruction carried out by UNESCO supported by architects from Mali and France, the logistics and security of which were ensured by MINUSMA and the French forces, made the local people aware of the global dimension of the Cultural Property of Timbuktu.

Today, those managing the mosque and the library are more willing to open temple gates and offer access to manuscripts to those who are not necessarily Muslims. In addition, the society of masons pay more attention to the conservation work in the medina and use of local earth as the priority building material in the area.

Traditional masons, architects and archaeologists working together during excavations (Photo: Timbuktu Cultural Mission).

Documentation and gathering information

One of the key challenges was to rebuild the centuries-old architectural heritage and do it carefully and faithfully. Only scarce information in manuscripts and oral tradition was left that can be considered reliable. It was necessary to interview senior residents and verify gathered information as well as consulting architecture and excavation experts.

If held in the past, such excavations would have been considered a desecration and would have antagonized the local population. However, some preliminary talks with the residents and the information provided made it much easier to carry on with the work with a genuine commitment of the locals.

Archaeological excavations and exchange of information with local craftsmen led to:

- A better understanding of the nature of building materials and the original structure of the buildings;
- A discovery that for many decades the reconstruction effort made by the local population had not followed any conservation scheme; earth layers had been laid one on top of the other, and the walls had been raised to save the structures from sinking into the sand;
- A discovery that there are older structures and numerous tombs underneath most of the mosques and mausoleums;
- A conviction that Bourem earth has not only an aesthetic value: thanks to its tightness and compactness, it had been long used as a building material;
- An exposure of stone manuscripts, clay vases and many other items whose careful study may help understand the local history better.

All these conclusions, resulting from careful observation and research conducted in cooperation with archaeologists and masons, led to the drawing up of a conservation manual that now allows the local people to preserve the property in a more effective manner.

Renewal of endangered traditional cultural practices

Collection of data related to traditional rites and practices has opened the possibility of renewing those that are at risk of falling into oblivion.

These include but are not limited to:

- Intangible practices related to traditional masonry, e.g. seven types of cereals buried in foundations or animal sacrifices before starting construction;
- Music played during annual plastering works;
- The use of natural performance chemicals in the process of earth decomposition: shea butter, powdered baobab, rice straw;
- The re-use of Bourem earth as a plaster for interior walls and the technique of manual plastering ("sanfasanfa") on facades.

Renovation of the facade of the ESSAYOUTI library using Bourem earth and limestone alhor rekindled interest in local building materials (Photo: Timbuktu Cultural Mission).

In addition, the annual plastering of the Sankoré and Djinguereber mosques is today performed by architects under an agreement with UNESCO. They also perform analyses in liaison with the local masons and estimate the costs of necessary repairs.

The four years following the first renovation works were seen as a durability test under different weather conditions (including winter). It was found that owing to the pursued techniques, the structures were stronger and more resistant to adverse weather conditions.

Economic and social effects

Four years of restoration work have had a measurable impact on Timbuktu's people and economy. The work has covered about 20 mausoleums, 30 libraries with manuscript collections, three mosques, and several dozen houses in and around the medina. Also, some initiatives have been launched aimed to support traditional local crafts, especially embroidery, which is difficult to master and threatened with extinction.

The renovation project has also significantly improved the standard of living of the local community: door makers, merchants supplying raw materials and modern tools, stonemasons, blacksmiths, or earth, clay and stone carriers.

The project was launched in 2013 and has continued ever since. Many full-time jobs have been created for 88 masons associated in the local organization and for over 200 other workers. Also, ancillary jobs have been created in transport and catering, but mainly in different crafts.

A significant part of the local community works in artistic craft, with embroider coming to the fore with its unique and expressive motifs alluding to the artistic and cultural wealth of Timbuktu. Such creation is an integral part of the Timbuktu heritage. However, generation-to-generation learning is challenging as no training scheme has been developed. To help this situation, UNESCO has proposed a project aimed to renew the traditional art of embroidery making, which could facilitate the preservation of this endangered element of cultural heritage while strengthening the socio-economic tissue of the city.

In summary:

- Half of the population of Timbuktu are craftsmen. They generate most of their income from the tourism industry, which, however, has been declining since 2009 because of threats that affect the entire country.
- During the crisis, many residents were displaced to the south of the country or went abroad in search of a better life. The craft sector generally collapsed, which led to a general impoverishment of the population; this, in turn, sparked new phenomena, such as armed robberies, xenophobia, begging, child labour, and mass absenteeism from school.
- The reconstruction project has partially balanced the unemployment crisis, thanks to the engagement of communities traditionally interested in maintaining the cultural heritage.
- By galvanizing all people and institutions responsible for mausoleums, manuscript collections and mosque management committees towards joint effort, this project has brought together all the socio-ethnic groups who have united around the overarching values. These values, previously associated mainly with religious worship, have now been taken to the cultural level in the opinion of the local community which used to fall victim to Salafi fundamentalism

and received assistance from France and the international community. This testimony of international solidarity counterbalances the propaganda of jihad in a perfect way.

- New jobs, the strengthening of traditional knowledge and practices, and worldwide coverage of the reconstruction process have contributed to the return of some of the displaced persons and refugees.

- Timbuktu is also looking forward to the revival of tourism, which keeps the entire city alive. However, cultural tourism will flourish only when the cultural offering has been reconstructed and when social situation, peace, and security remain stable.

Conclusions:

- The heritage of Timbuktu, previously affected by the lack of proper conservation, fell victim to fanaticism and barbarity;

- That massive destruction attracted the attention of national and international decision-makers and created a desire to launch a large-scale reconstruction project;

- What followed was a series of information and awareness-raising campaigns intended for the local community and addressing the issues of global cultural heritage, tolerance, and interfaith dialogue;

- Different stakeholders involved in the reconstruction were trained, among them, masons' organizations or individuals responsible for the management of historic monuments or libraries;

- In addition, the initiative of restoration of cultural heritage has helped:
  - cast out the demons of violent extremism from the hearts and minds of the local people;
  - create an ambiance of peace and social stability;
  - create jobs and stimulate economic growth to prevent the unemployed and non-working groups from joining jihadists;
  - create records of and enrich the existing cultural heritage;
  - proceed with the reconstruction effort in accordance with the standards of the World Heritage Centre.

Résumé

La culture est l'un des enjeux majeurs du conflit armé qui secoue le Mali et qui, aujourd'hui, a plongé tout le sahel et même l'Afrique de l'ouest dans un cycle d'instabilité quasi chronique.

L'analphabétisme et l'ignorance qui se sont greffés à la mal gouvernance et à la misère ont ouvert la porte aux maximalistes musulmans venus de l'Arabie Saoudite et de divers pays du golfe.

Ils ont ainsi déclaré la guerre à l'ordre social existant, aux repères traditionnels et aux gouvernants locaux qui, de leur point de vue, vont à l'encontre du dogme wahhabite dont ils font la propagande.

Tombouctou a une culture et des valeurs nourries de plusieurs apports : arabo-berbère, soninké, malinké, songhay, peulh, touareg, juif...

C'est en s'appuyant sur cet apport de plusieurs civilisations qui, explique entre autres critères, que l'UNESCO a classé en 1988, 16 mausolées et 3 mosquées de la ville sur la liste du patrimoine mondial.

Le bien culturel Tombouctou (Mali) se décline en trois grandes mosquées (Djingareyber, Sankoré, Sidi Yahia) et seize mausolées tous inscrits sur la liste du patrimoine mondial.

A ce riche patrimoine physique est associé un patrimoine culturel immatériel tout aussi important aux yeux de la population. La Médina, vieille ville de Tombouctou, est aussi un espace d'expression de pratiques sociales et d'évènements festifs dignes d'intérêt

Tombouctou a été occupé d'Avril 2012 à janvier 2013 par les islamistes armés qui s'en sont pris au patrimoine culturel.

Ainsi :
– Quatorze mausolées, le monument Elfarouk et la porte sacrée de Sidi Yéhia ont été rasés au bulldozer
– Les trois mosquées classées sur la liste du patrimoine mondiale ont souffert du manque d'entretien
– La médina classée sur le patrimoine national a vu son tissu détérioré pour les mêmes raisons

Ces actions ont consisté en :
– Une évaluation des dommages causés par l'occupation
– Information et sensibilisation des communautés
– Échanges avec les autorités politiques et administratives locales

Aussi, il a été décidé :
– de reconstruire les sites selon leur forme originale
– dans l'exécution de donner la priorité aux compétences locales notamment à la corporation des maçons
– de documenter tout le processus de reconstruction par des fouilles, des études de faisabilité

Après cinq ans, la reconstruction a eu des impacts :
– Économiques : création d'emplois
– Socio – culturels et éducatifs : sensibilisation des populations sur la notion de patrimoine culturel et de patrimoine mondial
– Politiques: sensibilisation aussi contre l'islamisme radical et évolution positive des mentalités pour la conservation du patrimoine culturel
– Esthétiques : embellissement du paysage architectural
– Juridiques et judiciaires : les auteurs des destructions des biens culturels ont été mis aux arrêts par la justice internationale, jugés et châtiés.

Cependant les attentats aveugles, les enlèvements et assassinats ciblés font que la sécurité y est précaire et les biens culturels en grand danger.

Lassana Cissé – expert in heritage and local development

Former National Director of Cultural Heritage of Mali and manager of Bandiagara, World Heritage Site for 18 years. Since January 2017 he works as independent expert, associated in UNESCO's network of African experts for the 1972, 2003 and 2005 Conventions.

Restoration of Cultural Heritage After the Conflict in Timbuktu: Challenges Related to the Reconstruction of the Ancient Urban Fabric in Mali

Lassana Cissé

Timbuktu is a city imbued with history and myth. According to historical accounts, Timbuktu was established in the 12th century. Originally it was only a small junction along a route which developed near one of the wells. Due to its geographical location between the Sahara Desert and the Niger River, this small stop for travellers developed quite quickly.

The city of Timbuktu, like other cities of Western Sudan, was annexed in the 13th century by the powerful Malian Empire, after which it experienced a cultural boom. Kankou Moussa, one of Mali's greatest emperors, had the first mosque, called Djingareyber, built there in 1325. In the 15th century the city was annexed by the Songhai Empire and became one of the most important centres of Islamic culture. In 1591 Timbuktu was occupied by Moroccans who invaded the region.

The cultural heritage of Timbuktu, consisting of the three main mosques of Djingareyber, Sankoré and Sidi Yahia and 16 mausoleums, was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1988. The city was granted the status of a municipal commune in 1958; Timbuktu and Gao are the two largest agglomerations in northern Mali. In 2009, the population of Timbuktu was estimated at 54,453 inhabitants [4th Population and Housing Census]. The population of Timbuktu consists mainly of ethnolinguistic groups of Songhai, Tuareg and Arabic.

The history of the planned destruction of the heritage of the thousand-year-old city in Sahel in 2012

From April 2012 to January 2013, the cultural heritage of the city of Timbuktu was deliberately attacked and severely damaged. Fourteen of the sixteen mausoleums included in the UNESCO World Heritage List were destroyed. The doors of the Sidi Yahia mosque and the Independence Monument with the image of El Farouk were also damaged. Local communities have been prevented from practising important social and ritual practices, in particular the celebration of certain religious holidays and celebrations.

Timbuktu's documentary legacy was the aim of these targeted attacks. When the city was liberated in 2013, it was estimated that 4203 ancient manuscripts from the Ahmed Baba Institute of Higher Studies and Research on Islam (IHERI-AB) had been burned or stolen by armed groups. During the crisis, the manuscripts were taken to Bamako as part of a discreet mission to save the Institute's archives. Around 10,000 from 40,000 manuscripts (a quarter) belonging to the IHERI-AB Institute were thus transferred to Bamako; more than 300,000 manuscripts from private individuals and their private libraries were also transferred to Bamako.

In terms of movable heritage, the three main museums of Timbuktu, Arsène Klobb, Al Mansour Korey and the City Museum, were affected. The findings are as follows:

- during the crisis, the doors and windows of these museums were dismantled;
- the exhibitions were destroyed, in particular objects depicting human figures, such as figurines or figures of natural size, as they were considered idolatrous by armed terrorist groups;
- the infrastructure accompanying the exhibitions was destroyed;
- some cultural objects were seized;
- there has been an increase in smuggling and illegal trade in works of art.

The impact of the crisis on cultural heritage and the urban fabric

The occupation of Timbuktu between April 2012 and January 2013 triggered a serious security crisis which has contributed to the deterioration of the socio-economic situation of the population: mass displacement, social divisions, traumatic experiences, frustration and humiliation, reduced living standards, reduced purchasing power, deterioration of the construction heritage, etc.

According to a study carried out by the Regional Directorate of Craft, approx. 60% of craftsmen of both sexes were displaced to the south and to neighbouring countries (Mauritania, Niger, Burkina Faso) at the beginning of the crisis. In 2015, 40% of them returned to Timbuktu and continue to practice their profession despite the poor financial situation of the region and the cessation of tourist traffic.

Cooperation within the programme for the reconstruction and restoration of the cultural heritage of Timbuktu

The occupation of the northern regions and subsequent attacks on cultural heritage sites, particularly those in Timbuktu and Gao included in the World Heritage List, have led to a unique mobilisation of the international community under the auspices of the UNESCO. The armed conflict, which began in January 2012 and led to the occupation of cities such as Kidal, Gao and Timbuktu, was an unprecedented opportunity for Islamic armed groups to decisively attack the cultural heritage and make it their fundamental motivation for warfare.

After the first attacks on mausoleums and museums, some of which were severely damaged, the interim government quickly turned to UNESCO to help save Mali's world cultural heritage.

At the request of the Malian government, UNESCO and its partners took concrete actions:

- On June 28, 2012, at the 38th session of the World Heritage Committee in St. Petersburg, Timbuktu and the Tomb of Askia of Gao were included on the World Heritage in Danger List;
- During the same session, the Malian Minister for Crafts, Culture and Tourism initiated a heartfelt appeal for help;
- This appeal inspired ambassadors accredited to UNESCO to initiate and organise the "St. Petersburg Appeal";
- A special fund for the cultural goods of Timbuktu and the Tomb of Askia, which are seriously threatened, was set up;
- A special bank account for Mali's cultural goods was opened;
- Mali acceded to the Second Protocol of 1999 of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Goods in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954), ratified on 15 November 2012;
- The international community and the International Criminal Court (ICC) were mobilised.

Timbuktu Mausoleums recovery programme

The reconstruction of the mausoleums is the most emblematic achievement of the first phase of the project. The reconstruction, which constituted an architectural and human resources challenge, was carried out in a relatively short period of time, reflecting the desire to send a clear signal of the reconstruction of the Timbuktu city community. It was based on three basic axes and philosophical assumptions:

Tracing history and understanding the structure of the mausoleums

The reconstruction of the Timbuktu mausoleums destroyed in 2012 is the result of meticulous research and documentation work started in 2013 in order to trace the original morphology of these buildings, a thorough understanding of traditional building techniques, and an analysis of the quality and supply chain of building materials. Documentation work was carried out using various archival sources in order

to collect the existing iconographic materials (maps, sketches, old photographs). The first assessment mission in June 2013 estimated the extent of the damage: 14 of the 16 mausoleums were destroyed. Then, in August 2013, the necessary architectural research was carried out by one of the Malian architectural studios. In order to complete [the data collected in this way], in November 2013 the National Directorate of Cultural Heritage carried out archaeological excavations (surveys and stratigraphic sections). These actions enabled the researchers to better understand the successive stages of construction, consolidation or reconstruction of mausoleums, some of which date back to the 12th century, and the precise determination of the depth of the original foundations (sometimes more than five metres below current ground level), the shape of the walls and the original form of the buildings. Historical research has also been carried out to deepen the knowledge of the history of the saints and to better understand the cultural significance of these buildings.

Preparation of technical documentation for the reconstruction

On the basis of the sources obtained and after agreeing on the principles of reconstruction in cooperation with local communities, an illustrated technical manual was prepared and distributed to bricklayers. This manual describes in detail the various stages of site preparation (cleaning, marking, identification of quarries, construction of fermentation pools for building materials) and the construction itself (foundations and cellars, masonry on the façade, roofing, carpentry, plastering, etc.), as well as the characteristics of the building materials (clay or sandy soil, Bourem soil, alhora stone, wood, etc.) and additives used (gum Arabic, Shea butter, rice straw, etc.).

Mobilising communities in the City of Timbuktu and transferring knowledge about traditional construction methods

Already during the first evaluation mission at the end of May 2013, bricklayers, families owning the buildings and religious authorities expressed their willingness to get involved in the project. The bricklayers expressed a particular willingness to pass on their traditional knowledge to younger generations, who have not been very interested in such topics so far. As a result, the construction site was also organised from

an educational point of view and under the oversight of the masters of bricklayers from guilds. This approach made it possible to appreciate the knowledge of the masonry guild and to create conditions for intergenerational transmission.

The construction works were carried out in accordance with traditional practices: ritual celebrations took place, organised at different stages of building the construction (sacrifices, ritual readings, etc.). The work began on 14 March 2014 with an official inaugural ceremony with the participation of all national and international partners and two government ministers. After the pilot phase, the second phase of the project began on 23 February 2015. A mechanism for monitoring the work of national and international surveillance missions was put in place in order to assess the first part of the construction and to adapt the methodology to the needs of the project.

The "Revitalisation of the socio-economic fabric of the city of Timbuktu" project

From May 2012 to January 2013, the city of Timbuktu was occupied by rebel groups and armed terrorists, which resulted in a massive displacement of people to the southern regions of the country and neighbouring countries. The premises of the town hall and state administration were plundered, and their functioning ceased. The social and economic fabric was completely reduced, and the poverty of the population increased.

The international meeting of Mali's cultural heritage experts took place at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris on February 18, 2013 and resulted in the adoption of an action plan for which the Director-General requested financial support from all UNESCO Member States and the international community. Following this action, a UNESCO evaluation mission was organised in Timbuktu, which made it possible to specify the content of the action plan and define priority actions for the reconstruction and protection of the city.

The action plan envisaged, among other things, a contribution to the revitalisation of the social and economic fabric of the city and the promotion of activities generating income. At the request of the mayor of the municipality of Timbuktu, the International Association of the Mayors of Francophonie (AIMF) provided financial support for a project to stimulate the local economy through a programme to revitalise houses built using ancient techniques and to support traditional crafts. The aim of the project is to support the revitalisation of the socio-economic fabric

of Timbuktu by strengthening the institutional and operational capacity of the City Hall, revitalisation of the architectural heritage and reorganisation of the art and crafts sector.

The results achieved

Sixteen mausoleums rebuilt and restored to heritage in the exemplary dynamics of the partnership

The craft guild of traditional bricklayers of Timbuktu rose to the occasion and successfully rebuilt the mausoleums, which was part of the city's reconstruction effort and also at the heart of the international strategy for the restoration of cultural heritage. Technical studies and supervision of the work of national and international experts, coordinated by the National Directorate for Cultural Heritage and the UNESCO Office in Bamako, have made a significant contribution to the success of the mausoleum reconstruction project. Fourteen mausoleums destroyed in 2012 were rebuilt to the required standards.

The quality of the work carried out was unanimously appreciated by all those who were involved in the project or who have knowledge of constructions made of local materials.

Interestingly, during these reconstructions, bricklayers and experts saw the limits of verbal communication. Knowledge and working methods are never communicated in an unchanged form, and oral traditions are, for various reasons, subject to interpretation, distortion and censorship imposed by the person who communicates them.

One of the main objectives of expert participation in the reconstruction work was to ensure regular and continuous documentation of the work. The aim is, in turn, to preserve all information related to the mausoleum reconstruction process before, during and after the work. Documentation work on the mausoleum began with the first reconnaissance and identification missions of the area.

The documents collected allowed the experts to create a database on the basis of which several mausoleums could be reconstructed in their original forms. At the conclusion of the project, the prepared and collected documentation concerning the mausoleums is quite extensive, varied and well preserved.

Group work carried out by multidisciplinary teams during field studies, as well as work carried out at construction sites, including by bricklayers, made it possible to answer many questions and discover some important information. During their technical studies and work, experts and bricklayers worked in perfect harmony, in a spirit of exchange and mutual support. Knowledge sharing and discussions were constructive and mutually enriching. For bricklayers and architects alike, the reconstruction of Timbuktu has become a pretext for symbolic giving and receiving.

The construction site was an opportunity to discover new knowledge in the field of architecture and construction with the use of local materials. An atmosphere of respect and mutual trust developed within the team.

Workshops and meetings organised prior to the beginning of work, various exchanges and official and information visits by specialists made a significant contribution to facilitating the progress of the work.

A small obstacle identified by specialists during the reconstruction work was the frequent postponement of some ritual ceremonies due to financial and material resources.

Despite some minor constraints, the reconstruction of the mausoleums was successful and was crowned by a symbolic transfer of the keys, preceded by a ceremony of "re-sacralisation" carried out in an atmosphere of understanding, unity and social cohesion, which was the right answer for those who had perpetrated the deliberate destruction of Timbuktu's cultural heritage.

Thirty-two old houses renovated within the former urban fabric and two restored museums

The occupation of the city by armed groups led to the cessation of socio-economic activities and mass displacement of the population to the southern regions and neighbouring countries, thereby increasing poverty. This situation has contributed to the degradation of houses in the district of Médina due to the lack of annual maintenance on which their current condition depends.

The project to revitalise socio-economic activities (2014-2016), financed by the AIMF (International Association of the Mayors of Francophonie), enabled the revitalisation of thirty-two historical houses and two local museums. The programme has enabled many families living in makeshift conditions to regain decent housing

standards and dignity. Improving the living conditions of many children from assisted families is an important factor contributing to social development, especially in the context of providing them this way with access to education.

Through the renovation of houses belonging to people particularly affected by the conflict, the project has contributed to the restoration and preservation of the architectural heritage of the ancient urban fabric, which has been classified as a national cultural heritage since 1992. This also enabled the knowledge and techniques to be passed on to young bricklayers by their older colleagues. The programme for the reconstruction of degraded houses in the Médina district was an unprecedented opportunity for social and urban reintegration for those residents who managed to return and re-establish themselves in decent housing in order to find shelter from bad weather and other environmental threats (sudden rains resulting in floods, storms and sand winds, etc.).

An unusual aspect of this part of the project was the inclusion of a cultural heritage dimension in the reconstruction of houses. Local building cultures and the use of local materials, as well as the choice of traditional bricklayers, form the basis of the endogenous system of conservation and enhancement of Timbuktu's architectural heritage.

The city of Timbuktu was selected as the winner of the International Mexico City Culture 21 Award in 2016 for the project "Cultural Heritage and the Revitalisation of Social and Economic Activities in Timbuktu". "The CGLU International Award – City of Mexico – Culture 21" aims to recognise cities and personalities that have made a significant contribution to urban culture, a key dimension of sustainable urban development.

Conclusions

Timbuktu, like other cities around the world that have suffered from armed conflict, has symbolically suffered from the destruction of its rich cultural heritage. Loss of culture in general and cultural heritage in particular constitute a serious outcome of wars and conflicts of ideological, ethnic and religious origin, and are key elements to be taken into account in the reconstruction of the affected cities in the context of their sustainable post-conflict development. The current context of climate change and security crises provides sufficient evidence of the need to take into account the cultural dimension in sustainable urban management and to improve the perception of the role of culture throughout the sustainability process.

Lassana Cisse

Résumé

La ville de Tombouctou située dans la partie septentrionale du Mali, entre le Sahara et le fleuve Niger, a beaucoup souffert des impacts du conflit armé et de la crise sécuritaire et institutionnelle survenues à partir de janvier 2012.

Reconnue pour la richesse et la densité de son patrimoine culturel et historique, la cité millénaire a subi d'importants dégâts qui ont été commis sur le patrimoine culturel en général et singulièrement sur les patrimoines bâti et documentaire (manuscrits anciens). Les édifices monumentaux ont été les plus touchés: mosquées en terre, maisons d'habitation du tissu ancien (Médina), infrastructures culturelles dont les bibliothèques des manuscrits anciens, les musées et les nombreux mausolées qu'on dénombre dans la cité.

Inscrit sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO en 1988, Tombouctou a fait l'objet d'attaques ciblées et répétées: quatorze des seize mausolées inscrits sur cette Liste ont été entièrement détruits ; la porte de la mosquée de Sidi Yéhiya (une des trois mosquées figurant sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial) a été arrachée et quasiment détruite par les groupes armés terroristes se réclamant d'un Islam fondamentaliste rigoureux.

Suite à cette destruction intentionnelle du patrimoine culturel de Tombouctou et d'autres biens culturels du Nord du Mali, le gouvernement du Mali a sollicité le concours de l'UNESCO pour aider à reconstituer et sauvegarder son patrimoine culturel touché dans des villes comme Gao et Tombouctou.

Grâce à une forte mobilisation de la communauté internationale sous l'égide de l'UNESCO des actions majeures ont été réalisées. Elles ont impulsé un processus de reconstitution du patrimoine culturel endommagé et de relèvement progressif de la ville de Tombouctou.

Nonobstant certains résultats significatifs atteints, la ville de Tombouctou reste toujours confrontée au défi d'un développement urbain harmonieux par le biais d'une réhabilitation efficiente et durable de son patrimoine séculaire.

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Heritage Reconstruction in the Spiritual Realm

Jonathan Nsubuga

ex africa semper aliquid novi!
(Out of Africa always something new)

This paper serves to present the challenges of rebuilding the main structure of the Kasubi Tombs, known as Muzibu Azaala Mpanga, including the central issue of how to deal with and work amongst the community members and understanding an interpreting the cultural rights of all stakeholders involved.

> *"But the Kingdom of Uganda is a fairy tale"*
> Winston Churchill, 1907

The site of the Kasubi Tombs is located in the capital city of Uganda, Kampala. This is on the equator, north of the shores of Lake Victoria (Nalubaale), the second largest freshwater lake in the world. This is also where the source of River Nile is. The Nile flows downstream to the cradle of modern civilization in ancient Egypt, which gave rise to other civilizations (*e.g.* Greeks, Romans.) This puts into context the "Spirituality" of place according to the history of various kingdoms in this region, Buganda being one of them.

In understanding heritage and cultural norms, one has to understand the changes that arose towards the end of the 19th century. The Treaty of Berlin, which "carved' Africa, was a precursor to the challenges faced in modern times, such as to describe or define heritage, including ownership of heritage (or resources). In other cases, heritage and cultural norms were unknowingly frozen/halted or disfigured (natural evolution).

The Kasubi Tombs is a living site and a major spiritual and political epicentre for the Baganda people. The Kasubi Tombs main structure, The Muzibu Azaala Mpanga, is Uganda's contribution to humanity. The Kasubi Tombs site is the last palace built

by Kabaka (King) Mutesa 1; it served as the capital of the Kingdom. In the Baganda culture, when the King died, he was buried within his main palace structure. Kabaka Mutesa 1 was the first Kabaka to have his whole body buried. Because the Baganda believed that the spirit lived in the lower jawbone, the traditional practice was to remove it, perform rituals, and have it displayed inside the palace. The rest of the body was buried separately.

On the evening of March 16, 2010, a fire destroyed the main structure, the Muzibu Azaala Mpanga. This tragedy revealed to the world the importance of this symbolic site for the first time, despite its inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2001. This was the heartbeat of the Baganda people. © Dick Kasolo.

Spiritual Renewal

The spiritual importance of Muzibu Azaala Mpanga was further celebrated by the Tombs being a living site. This was the first royal tomb which has more than one Kabaka buried in the same place. (It has four Kabakas buried in it namely: Kabaka Mutesa I, Kabaka Mwanga II, Kabaka Chwa II, Kabaka Mutesa II).

The disaster carried with it renewed physical and structural wounds.

The Buganda Kingdom, through the state of Uganda, UNESCO, and the Japanese government, committed to reconstruct the destroyed structure.

The process of reconstruction generated an interest in the significance of its tangible and intangible values. There has been a revived interest amongst the public/stakeholders in terms of preservation of skills and sustainability, but the most important component has been the sacred intangible norms: knowledge and values.

Muzibu Azaala Mpanga is basically a 'vessel' that houses and transmits the spiritual essence (Omwooyo) from the past, present and future. This naturally brings in the notion of spiritual ownership of the past Kabakas. This has created the need to consult with the past through spiritual mediums of the Kabakas (Abakongozi).

These consultations, contributed to the recovery process, guided by mediums through a complicated process of spiritual time travel sessions known as "Masengere". (This is a grand meeting chaired by a medium whose consciousness is seized by a past Kabaka or Priest).

In dealing with communities and the sacredness of place, importance has been placed on authenticity. This means identifying the correct people/ clans to undertake specific works and rituals. This process has guaranteed that the reconstruction is not pointless or commercially driven.

The recovery process commenced with the rebuilding of the "Twins" houses (each Kabaka has a twin; the twin is the Kabaka's umbilical cord that is dressed over a period). The twin acts as a double which will remain on earth after the Kabaka disappears or dies. The construction of these houses was a requirement of the main stakeholders at the Kasubi Tombs. Once completed, these houses defined the invisible divi-

a) The 1891 model, the structure built by Kabaka Mutesa 1.

b) The 1897 model (I would say that this was a restoration after the death of Kabaka Mutesa I).

c) The 1905 model saw a reduction in its diameter compared to the original 1891 model. It was slightly shorter as per photographical records. This remodelling was undertaken when it was decided to intern Kabaka Mwanga's body at Kasubi. This was a first in having two Kabaka's interned at the same place.

d) The 1938 model was a complete redesign of Muzibu Azaala Mpanga. Kabaka Daudi Chwa undertook a complete re-fit of the building. It was further reduced in height and width. New materials were introduced for long-time sustainability and general usage of what had now become a national mausoleum. Concrete columns and a steel roof structure enabled the removal of most timber columns from the interior space and provided a better roof support.

sion of the Kasubi Tombs living site. The dichotomy of the Bawenda children and Basimbri parents/grandparents' alternate lines. This also represented the living and the dead axis of Walumbe Priest who represents taking away of the spirits and the Priest Mukasa who represents giving birth to the spirits.

On the documentation of Muzibu Azaala Mpanga palatial structure that was burnt, research had to be carried out to further document the history of the previous structures. There were the following models as per photographic records.

This can further be seen in the layouts of Royal shrine/palace layouts. New archaeological discoveries were made. We discovered that there were two foundations below the existing slab. (Ref. To drawings Royal shrine/ Palace layout.)

We also underwent further 'Masengere' meetings to get advice on materials previously used and if we need to replace them, which other materials we would use, if they were not available.

The construction sequence for the works was studied from previous maintenance exercises. There had to be an initial technical ownership mainly based on documentation. I thought that this paved the way to have a scientific methodology to plan for the reconstruction of Muzibu Azaala Mpanga. This approach was doomed as I was forced to attend the masengere meeting sessions to get advice and instructions from the "owners" of the building, i.e. the past Kabakas.(via the mediums and other cultural / spiritual elders).
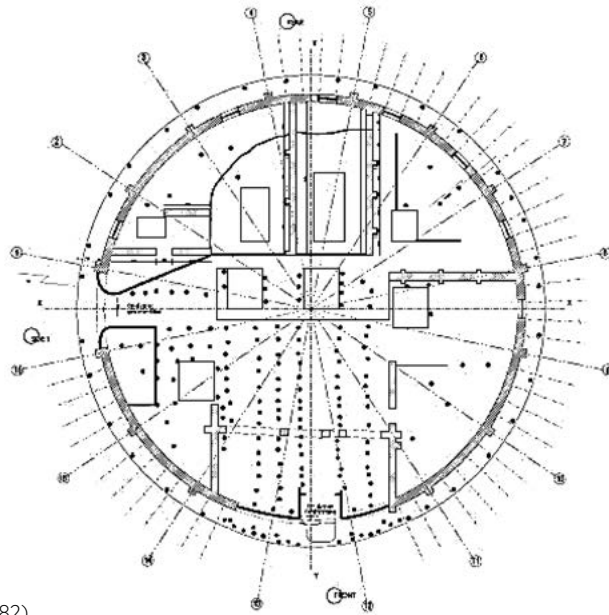
Muteesa I's palace (1882).
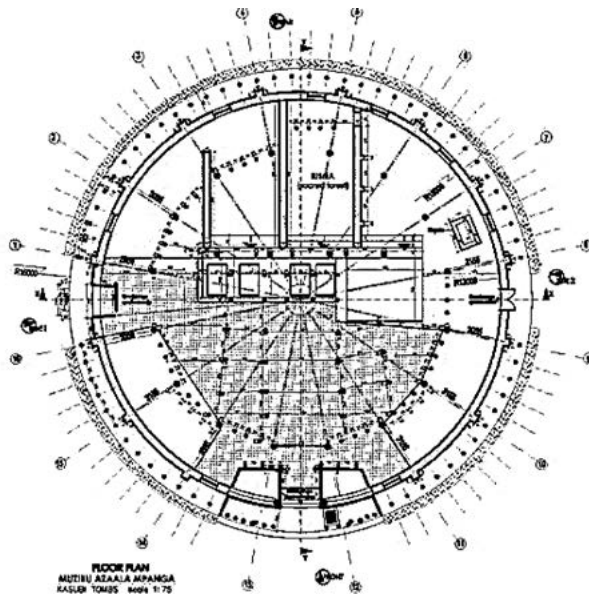
Muteesa I's palace/ shrine renovated in 1938.

Foundation in the roof

In the cultural traditions of Buganda, the foundation of a typical house is a central point of the roof. Construction starts with the central pole in the middle of the building. This is termed as (Okulasa Akasolya) to 'pierce the roof'. This central pole is called the Ddamula or, loosely translated, the male. (Note that the Ddamula is the instrument of power given by the living Kabaka to the subject chosen to be the Katikiro/Prime minister.

The most important criteria of inscription was criteria number vi. This helped guide the whole process involving the communities/stakeholders and adhering to the presentation of the OUV. In some incidents one may have to consider freezing certain OUV of the inscription or even review other OUV. This also made the linking of other historical events to the reconstruction through the clan heads, the Batakas/the (Jajja's) grandparents of the clans of the Buganda Kingdom.

The Ddamula is from the makhabia tree/musambya tree. This tree is chosen because termites cannot eat it up and because it does not rot. This selection of this tree was in Kyaggwe county in the village of Kasubi, were Kabaka Mutesa 1 was raised. The co-existence of the tangible and intangible elements and process integration was best displayed at this stage. The chosen tree had to undergo rituals and be dug up from the ground by hand. After this, it was transported manually by warriors to Kasubi Tombs 45 km away. It is taboo for this tree to touch the ground, and a hefty fine is meted out if it does.

Outstanding Universal Values

The criteria for inscription was based on parts i, ii, iv and vi. The key drivers for protecting the critical OUVs are iii and vi. These have guided the communities, stakeholders and the builders in conjunction with spiritual medium intervention. Other observations have been the proposal to also freeze specific OUVs during the reconstruction and perhaps also trigger off new OUVs whilst dealing with reconstruction. This could also address issues concerned with the materials needed for construction and considering sustainability of the environment. Most materials are vegetal, and due to environmental destruction, it is proving to be a challenge to acquire most of these materials nearby.

Disaster Risk Management

The biggest risk at the Kasubi Royal Tombs site is fire. During reconstruction, it has been vital for the community and other stakeholders to undergo training in dealing with any fire-related challenges, as external support from the fire brigade is awaited. The Japanese government has contributed immensely in this regard, and procurement of equipment has been finalised as the local communities are further sensitized and trained.

There are over 52 clans in the Buganda Kingdom. Each clan is led by a Mutaka (Plural Bataka)/grandfathers/forefathers. Each clan has a role it plays within the daily activities of the Kingdom and the Kabaka. Communal capacity building is the main goal in the reconstruction process. We have the title of chief thatcher (Wabula Akayole) who is of advanced age. He belongs to the Ngeye/Columbus monkey clan. He has had to train younger members of his clan and others in the Kingdom in the skills of thatching. There are also other clans who have been involved in the initial and current re-construction process: 1) Ngo-Leopard; 2) Nkima – Velvet Monkey; 3) Njovu – Elephant; 4) Nte – Cow; 5) Nyonyi nyange – Egret.

The Tangible and Intangible Co-exist

This component formed part of the inscription, inscription (iii). The three core ceiling rings that encircle the Ddamula pole are prepared in a sacred house called Kajjaga. Incidentally this is the same house where the "Twins" are dressed. The group that carries out these tasks are the bagirinya of the Ngo/Leopard clan. They are the royal decorators. The three core ceiling rings, known as the ebizizi, have specific names. The smallest one is called Nkata, the middle one Katumyo, and the third one Bugwe, which translated means boundary. The right members of the Ngo/Leopard clan had to be identified to carry out the right rituals before preparing these rings. This proved to be a challenge and only a masengere session revealed the true members of the clan deemed fit to undertake this work.

The most important community of the Kasubi Tombs are the "wives"/Abakyala. They inherit these roles and are seconded by the Bataka, the clan heads. They dress the "Twins"; specific wives to the individual Kabakas spend the nights guarding each Kabaka's graves, and this activity is rotational and known as Kisanja /term. These

wives/ Bakyala represent a physical aspect in terms of dealing with spiritual elements. No man is allowed to spend a night at the tombs, meaning they must leave by dusk. The wives have acted as the true custodians of the tombs even through the civil wars that Uganda has faced since 1966.

Résumé

Le présent article montre la façon dont les communautés, confrontées à la reconstruction, voire à la préservation de leur patrimoine, doivent faire face ou s'appuyer sur le contexte spirituel pour faire preuve d'authenticité tout au long du processus d'affirmation de leurs droits culturels.

Le thème des tombes royales de Kasubi et en particulier de Muzibu Azaala Mpanga, palais désolé, sert à démontrer les conditions de vie sur le site qui ont orienté, informé et influencé les décisions spirituelles et politiques concernant le peuple Baganda. C'est le premier palais de l'histoire du Royaume du Buganda où plus d'un Kabaka sont enterrés. C'est un aspect essentiel qui fait des tombes Kasubi un facteur d'identification physique et tangible des normes et traditions du peuple Baganda.

Le document a brièvement abordé les rituels entrepris pour préserver la spiritualité et l'authenticité du lieu. De nombreux défis ont été soulignés. Le texte montre aussi que les critères d'inscription de l'UNESCO prennent en compte les différentes composantes de la récupération du patrimoine.

Dr Wojciech Kozłowski – historan

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Recovering the Old Town in Warsaw

Wojciech Kozłowski

Poland regained its independence in November 1918, re-emerging on the map of Europe after the European order had been turned upside-down through the long and bloody conflict that came to be called the Great War. Before the war, the Polish lands and society had been controlled by neighbouring imperial powers: Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Their collapse as a result of military failure along with rapid social and economic transformations created favourable conditions for the Poles to launch their state-building project. Its success relied both on the energy and determination of the Polish nation as well as on the cunning manoeuvring of Polish diplomacy in the turbulent waters of the war-shattered international system.

Constructing a state from scratch in the face of hostile neighbours who resented the very idea of Poland's existence, considering it an anomaly to the sanctioned political order of the past hundred years, was a gargantuan challenge. The country was patched together from lands devastated by military operations. More seriously, they represented three different administrative, fiscal, social and economic systems. Their levels of cultural and industrial development varied strongly. The hope for peace and stability was therefore essential for organizing the state, building its international position and defining its identity, all of which involved integrating a multi-ethnic, multi-national, and multi-cultural society.

The city of Warsaw became the capital of the new state, continuing its historical legacy from the 16th- to the 18th-century, when it was the official royal residence and the site of regular parliamentary sessions. Throughout the partition period Imperial Russia had controlled the city, which functioned then as the capital of the kingdom of Poland – a political entity that due to its resistance and uprisings was gradually

transformed into a harshly-controlled Russian province. Warsaw, however, was an obvious choice as the seat of the central government of the new Poland: its central location, degree of development, and size, as well as its historical contribution to the restoration of the independent Polish state were decisive.

This brief consideration of the city's past is absolutely essential in discussing the recovery of the Old Town in Warsaw. In terms of the technicalities of Warsaw's urban development and problems, these did not differ greatly from the challenges observable in other large Polish cities of the time. What matters most is the central role assigned to Warsaw by the state-building project, viewing it as a thriving representation of the sovereign and democratic Poland and as an essential instrument in moulding national coherence and state identity [Drozdowski, Zahorski, 2004: 307-308]. In other words, in the interwar period Warsaw was transformed into the emblem of modern Polish statehood, and as such carried additional cultural, social and symbolic meanings which emphasized the unity of the Polish nation and its connection with the heritage of the Commonwealth that had once, under the Jagiellonian dynasty, been the largest political entity in Europe.

It was in this political and social setting that Warsaw entered into a period of rapid growth, expanding from ca. 760,000 in 1918 to over a million inhabitants in 1926, and to 1,289,000 people in 1939, at the brink of the Second World War [Mórawski, 1988: 286-287]. The city was the largest in the country, and the 70% rise in population over two decades – outstripping all urbanization programs and policies – resulted in the city's dense character and intensifying issues with overcrowding. Ethnically, religiously, and culturally distinct, the Jewish population numbered ca. 380,000 people, representing a 30% share of Warsaw's population and making the city home to the second largest Jewish diaspora in the world, second only to New York.

Warsaw attracted tremendous industrial and commercial investment. A most-welcomed boom in residential construction was hindered only by relatively weak financial revenues in the struggling Polish economy. Poor infrastructure outside the city centre prevented new projects from adequately responding to the needs of growing population; however, industrial sites, plants, and factories were popping up in many areas, gradually transforming the city into a thriving commercial and industrial centre. The underdeveloped and badly connected suburbs offered rather basic housing opportunities for masses of workers that sought cheap accommodation. In 1938,

Stefan Starzyński, the mayor of Warsaw, estimated that only by maintaining the fairly impressive pace of urban investment for the next 33 years would the city catch up with the necessities of its expanding population [Mórawski, 1988: 293].

For the entire country Warsaw served as an alluring intellectual and cultural centre. Despite chronic financial scarcity, various universities and research centres operated while numerous cultural institutions and media offered multiple occasions for exploring diverse literary, artistic and theatrical tastes. Warsaw's architecture and cultural life won the city the proud name of "Paris of the East".

The German onslaught in September 1939 and the brutal occupation that continued until January 1945 would change the face of Warsaw forever. Warsaw's importance as the cultural, political, and symbolic centre of the Polish nation was not lost on the occupiers. As Governor-General Hans Frank would state, addressing the conference of the General Government authorities in 1943:

> There is a place in this country which is the source of all misfortunes, and it is Warsaw. If we did not have Warsaw in the General Government, our difficulties would decrease by four fifths. Warsaw is and will be the focal point of all turmoil, which sends waves of unrest to the entire country. Unfortunately, it is also a place of general interest: Warsaw has become the largest transit city in the whole of history, and final destination for virtually anyone; all businesses, factories etc. seek shelter in this city also because of its convenient geographical location. This entails the possibility of bringing Polish workforce to Warsaw; however, this issue is also connected with the infamous smuggling, which can only be eliminated if a strict and legally binding ban on crossing the [city] borders is introduced. Unless the situation changes, we can do nothing but keep repeating to ourselves: Warsaw is and will continue to be our greatest burden in the General Government [Okupacja, 1970: 327-328].

Throughout the war and the occupation, from its initial bombardment to its devastation in the wake of the 1944 Uprising, Warsaw would receive the Nazi's special attention. The degree of material destruction was so intense that after the fall of Hitler's empire it was a perfectly sound question to wonder what to do next with the "city of ruins".

While approaching Warsaw in the first week of September 1939, the Germans had no illusions about Warsaw's role in upholding the morale of the Polish nation. Their persevering advance towards the capital was a clear attempt to win the psy-

chological battle with the enemy and thus shorten the Wehrmacht's engagement in the Polish theatre and secure the Reich's western border. They were right in their thinking; however, it was no easy battle – Warsaw effectively resisted until September 28, suffering its first of many serious civilian losses during the war with around 16,000 deaths [Wieczorkiewicz, 2005: 101]. From artillery shelling and air attacks, approximately 10% of the city's buildings were destroyed.

This process of material destruction continued on in phases right up until the Soviet troops entered the downtown of Warsaw in January 1945. Bombs would fall on Warsaw in June 1941 after the German invasion on the Soviet Union. Following the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942 and the defeat of the Ghetto Uprising in April 1943, this large and once densely-populated section of the city was systematically obliterated. Through August and September 1944, the Warsaw Uprising provoked further demolition, which the Germans industriously continued to the very last moment of their presence in the city.

Yet to properly understand the German policy towards the subjugated city, which was correctly viewed by them as the national centre of Polish resistance and the heart of the Polish spirit so troubling for the Nazi authorities, it is the German idea of what to do with Warsaw that deserves our attention. This is best epitomized in Hitler's quotation, displayed in the Haus der deutschen Kultur (the former Zachęta Gallery) in Warsaw: "No nation lives longer than the documents of its culture". During the occupation, Jan Zachwatowicz, the renowned Polish architect who would later author the concept of recovering the Old Town in Warsaw, headed the architectural and historical heritage section in the Polish resistance. On June 12, 1946 he testified as a witness before the Main Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland:

> The Germans were trying to destroy monuments of Polish cultural heritage. They began with the Castle, which was deprived of its interior furnishings in a planned manner, dismantled by means of sawing off the ceilings, and prepared to be blown up at the beginning of 1940. All of this took place with the knowledge and under the auspices of the Warsaw district governor, Fischer. The Germans wanted to demolish Warsaw and create a new German city there. The plan of the new city to replace Warsaw, as far as I know, was developed by the German architect Gross, a Warsaw district official, as early

as December 1939. I got this information from the Polish municipal administration and I was able to see the plan and a model thereof at the county administration office on Daniłowiczowska Street.[1]

Organized around the medieval Old Town (which was perceived as a part of the German heritage), Warsaw was to function as a communication hub for the eastern provinces of the Nazi empire. The idea of converting this city of over a million souls, this Polish symbol of independence, into a new model German settlement of 200,000 people, was thus more than just an impressive urban project. It was a symbolic act of truncating the Polish nation and depriving it of its political and cultural aspirations – a dramatic and permanent conclusion of the successful invasion.

On May 23, 1946, Władysław Czerny, then the vice-mayor of Gdańsk and a former clerk in the Warsaw urban planning offices under the German administration, explained:

I know that right after the capture of Warsaw, a group of German architects created an office of new urban planning for Warsaw in the municipality. It seems that this group operated on the basis of instructions brought from the Reich. […]
A new rough plan of the city was developed during the winter of 1939/40. This plan was prepared by the German offices and was kept secret from the Polish staff of the Planning Department. The head of construction for the district, Nürnberger, who was a particularly zealous supporter of National Socialism, took a vital part in developing this plan. The time in which the plan was prepared indicates that the Germans totally disregarded the conditions they had found upon arrival, and treated Warsaw as if it were an empty field on which one had to construct a new city. […] According to these plans, a totally new city was to be constructed, absolutely unlike Warsaw, much smaller, concentrated above all on the left bank of the Vistula […]. Completion of this project would require all the distinctive, historical buildings of Warsaw to be torn down. At the end of this wide strip on the northern side, in the vicinity of the [Royal] Castle, approximately in the

1 https://zapisyterroru.pl/dlibra/show-content?id=435&navq=aHR0cDovL3phcGlzeXRlcnJvcnUucGwvZGxpYnJhL3Jlc3VsdHM_cT16YWNod2F0b3dpY3omYWN0aW9uPVNpbXBsZVNlYXJjaEFjdGlvbiZtZ2lyaWRzPSZ0eBlPS02JnN0YXJ0c3RyPV9hbGwmcmVzdWx0X2lkPT5hbmQgwmcD0w&navref=Y2Y7YzMgY2E7YnkgYjg7YXcgMW5hOzFtcyBidztiayayAxbjk7MW1y&format_id=2 (accessed: 04.04.2019).

location of the Church of St. Anne, a great skyscraper was planned, which was to dominate the city skyline. The Castle was not on the plan. The project was titled: Plan of the German City of Warsaw (Plan der deutsche Stadt Warschau).[2]

The Warsaw Uprising, the final and most monumental act of Polish resistance against the German occupation, revealed how determined the city was not to surrender to the oppressive yoke of foreign occupation. As such, it proved in a sense the Germans' point that in order to successfully harness the nation, Warsaw must be pacified. Polish fighters, climbing barricades and opening fire on German forces, were taking revenge for years of unprecedented and murderous oppression. Once triumphant, the Germans forcibly expelled what remained of the city's population and yet followed a similar logic of retaliation. Inspired by Hitler's will to punish the "rebellious city" in an exemplary fashion, its fate was sealed. Ludwik Roehr would later recall a conversation with Ludwig Fisher's deputy, Geller, after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising late in 1944, in which the latter informed him about the planned total destruction of Warsaw.[3] The scale of the demolition operation, lasting a few months, was overwhelming – 100% of roadways and railway bridges, 95% of theatres and cinemas, 90% of industry, 90% of historical monuments, and over 70% of houses were destroyed.[4]

Warsaw was liberated from the Germans on January 17, 1945. There are estimates that in early February no more than 12,000 people inhabited this sea of ruins. However, as the weeks passed the city witnessed a constant flow of migrants, particularly to its less damaged parts on the Vistula's east bank. In the course of February, 174,000 people arrived there; by early March there were 241,000, and in early November 451,000 [Mórawski, 1988: 368-369].

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2   https://zapisyterroru.pl/dlibra/show-content?id=392&navq=aHR0cDovL3phcGlzeXRlcnJvcnUucGwvZGxpYnJhL3Jl-c3VsdHM_cT16YWNod2F0b3dpY3omYWN0aW9uPVNpbXBsZVNlYXJjaEFjdGlvbiZtZGlyZWN0aW9uPSZpPS02JnN-0YXJ0PV9hbGwmcD0w&navref=Y2Y7YzMgY2E7YnkgYjg7YXcgMW5hOzFtcyBididztiayAxbjk7MW1y&format_id=2 (accessed: 04.04.2019).

3   See: https://zapisyterroru.pl/dlibra/publication/439/edition/427/content?navq=aHR0cDovL3phcGlzeXRlcnJvcnUucGwvZGxpYnJhL3Jlc3VsdHM_cT16YWNod2F0b3dpY3omYWN0aW9uPVNpbXBsZVNlYXJjaEFjdGlvbiZtZGlyZWN0aW9uPSZpPS02JnN0YXJ0PV9hbGwmcD0w&navref=Yzc7YnYgdWc7dTEgY2Y7YzM   (accessed: 04.04.2019).

4   For more details see: [Drozdowski, Zahorski, 2004: 370]; Also: [Warszawa, 1980: 619]. For more details of a revealing deposition by Brunon Małachowski, an expert in the Warsaw Reconstruction Office, made on January 2, 1947 during the trial against Ludwig Fischer, the former Nazi governor of the Warsaw district: https://zapisyterroru.pl/dlibra/show-content?id=3325&navq=aHR0cDovL3phcGlzeXRlcnJvcnUucGwvZGxpYnJhL3Jlc3VsdHM_cT1vZGJ1ZG-93YSt3YXJzemF3eSZhY3Rpb249U2ltcGxlU2VhcmNoQWN0aW9uJm1kaXJlcHM9JnR5cGU9LTYmc3RhcnRzdHI9X-2FsbCZwPTA&navref=Mmt3OzJrZCA0MHk7NDA2ZDFtbjsxbTUgM282OzNuZiB5ajt5NCAya3Y7MmtjjIGZjO2V5lG15O-2IqlDc2OzZ1IDJ0OzJolDJ1ZzsydHggMTM1OzEybyAya3U7MmtiIDFuYTsxbXMgeTl7eG4gMzYyOzM1ZA&format_id=2. (accessed: 08.04.2019).

The Polish provisional government, answering to the Soviets, moved to Warsaw on Stalin's order. Thousands of hardy souls were flocking to the ruined city, suffering as it was from harsh weather and the lack of everything, and were willing to organize their lives among the rubble, the scattered dead bodies, the piles of wrecked furniture, while under the constant threat of being torn to pieces by unexploded ordnances that virtually littered the city. When the weather grew milder, a great effort to clear the ruins commenced. However, walking around this "lunar landscape" one could not escape the simple thought that restoring Warsaw was much more than just building it anew. Therefore, in early 1945 questions about what to do with the city and how to do it acquired a unique meaning.

A number of options were in play. The overwhelming scale of destruction that virtually stunned early visitors (my grandmother, being one of them, wept over the devastation while traversing heaps of debris that used to be the city's central arteries), would inspire some to argue that the city should be left as it was, as an anti-war and anti-Nazi memento for future generations. Nearby Łódź, which had suffered much less damage, would take over as the capital city of the new communist Poland. This approach was, however, dropped almost immediately.

There were two fundamental reasons why Warsaw had to be rebuilt. In the wake of the Soviet triumph over the Third Reich in the East, Polish society would rejoice at the end of the Germans' deadly oppression and at the same time face the reality of a new social and political order, introduced with the arrival of the Red Army. The new government sought ways to build up its position and to connect with the nation, and it found a perfect opportunity in officially backing the restoration of Warsaw and announcing it as the capital of Poland. It was a cunning propaganda move: the sheer determination of tens of thousands of inhabitants and the entire nation's eager support had already transformed Warsaw into an unbelievable social phenomenon. There was no doubt that Polish society was resolved to restore the capital at nearly any cost. Turning this to the new communist government's account thus became the most fundamental reason for having the city rebuilt. As the communist government looked for a way to make a nation-wide appeal, the case of Warsaw came on a golden platter.

Once it was determined, still in early 1945, that the city was going to rise like a phoenix from the ashes, the more difficult issue came to the fore – what would the new Warsaw look like. And again, the atypical situation of Warsaw brought forth very contradictory proposals. According to one of these, the city should be built from scratch. This would permit overcoming many of Warsaw's pre-war problems, as urban planning

could then focus on utilizing the former city's space for modernist architectural planning. Warsaw would then become a huge training ground to put in practice the state-of-the-art logic of how to design a town and its landscape for contemporary human purposes.

The other idea, however, was to reconstruct the city in its former shape. The scope of such planned recovery was, of course, open to debate. There were controversies about which sections of Warsaw should be returned to their original state. Jan Zachwatowicz acted as the chief protagonist of this approach. He argued for the reconstruction of the historical centre: chiefly the Old Town and the so-called Royal Avenue comprising the pre-industrial residential areas of the city. Despite the existing and strongly embedded international doctrines and regulations about the preservation and conservation of historical monuments – which opposed any concept of rebuilding destroyed historical sites – the case of Warsaw was advocated as being unique and justifiable. The city was destroyed to such an extent that employing strictly conservational procedures would effectively wipe out Warsaw's legacy and would mean a total disruption of its centuries-long history and memory. The city's identity was at stake. A new Warsaw constructed with no traces of the city's pre-war urban structures, buildings, and monuments would be disconnected from everything that the Polish nation had ever held dear. Furthermore, abandoning the past urban fibre of the city – a city that throughout the German occupation had proved beyond any doubt its relentless and fierce resistance, and which had been cruelly punished for this – would paradoxically offer a post-mortem triumph to the Nazis. Their condemnation of Warsaw to total destruction would seem final and irreversible. It was, therefore, crucial to recover the historical sites in order to secure a connection with the past and to restore elements of the city's identity, for the sake of the war-traumatized nation and the capital city's inhabitants.

The symbolic importance of Warsaw in all of its unique historical character, essential for any Polish national configuration, communist or otherwise, thus outweighed all other considerations and challenges in planning its future after the total destruction of the war. It would take years of determined effort, the coordination of tremendous resources and much sheer willpower, but the city would eventually regain enough of its authentic and monumental identity to bridge the many periods and vicissitudes of its turbulent modern history. In 1980 the Historic Centre of Warsaw in its restored form was inscribed on the World Heritage List. A note in the "Outstanding Universal Value" section states: "The reconstruction of the Old Town in its historic urban and architectural form was the manifestation of the care and

attention taken to assure the survival of one of the most important testimonials of Polish culture". The reconstruction of Warsaw thus points to the importance for world heritage not just of architecture and artefacts, but also of a people's history, their national identity, traditions, and a sense of vital continuity with the past.

Résumé

La récupération de la Vieille Ville de Varsovie, ou plutôt ce qui en restait après la destruction délibérée par les Allemands, à la suite de la 2eme Guerre Mondiale

ne peut bien s'expliquer qu'avec une considération plus large de l'histoire de la Pologne pendant les premières décennies du 20ème siècle..

Reconstruire les monuments et immeubles historiques de la ville créait des interrogations quant aux approches conventionnelles d'alors pour la gestion et la protection des monuments, mettant l'index sur d'autres facteurs fondamentaux en jeu.

Ce court essai met la reconstruction dans un contexte social et symbolique,

avec une querelle sur le fait que la reconstruction de Varsovie et la restauration de son identité historique était une affaire de sauvetage de quelque chose de nettement plus important, la florissante représentation d'une Pologne souveraine et démocratique et un instrument essentiel pour modeler une cohérence nationale et une identité d'état.

Etant donné que ce n'est qu'en 1918 que la Pologne a réémergée en tant qu'état indépendant, puis construite en partant de rien, juste pour être détruite, en 1939,

par les régimes totalitaires allemand et soviétique. Varsovie est devenue un cas unique dans les débats entre de nombreux groupes différents, y compris des architectes, des urbanistes, des intellectuels et Monsieur et Madame Tout-le-monde aussi.

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THE CHALLENGES OF URBAN HERITAGE RECOVERY

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Culture in City Reconstruction and Recovery – Synopsis of a Position Paper by the World Bank and UNESCO[1]

Sameh N. Wahba

A context of unprecedented urbanization and a rapid growth in crises...

Urbanization, conflict and climate change are some of the main forces shaping the world in which we live today. For starters, the world is urbanizing at an unprecedented speed and scale. Today nearly 55% of the global population lives in cities, and by 2050, the share of urban population is expected to increase to nearly 70% [United Nations, 2018]. Such rapid urbanization is accompanied by an increase in the frequency and intensity of natural hazards, which are further exacerbated by climate change. Disasters disproportionately impact urban areas where there is a concentration of people and assets. More than 200 million people on average each year are affected by natural hazards such as storms, floods, and earthquakes. By 2030, climate-induced disasters are expected to cost cities across the globe more than US$300 billion in annual damages and losses [World Bank, 2016].

At the same time, armed conflicts are becoming increasingly complex and protracted, and are causing widespread destruction in cities. Armed conflicts have always had a devastating effect on culture including the intentional destruction of people's cultural identities and heritage, which are intended to erase cultural diversity and pluralism and sever people's ties to their communities. As a result of such conflicts, some 69 million people across the world are affected by displacement

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1   The Position Paper is the result of a joint reflection between the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Bank, by a team comprised of: Sameh Wahba, Francesco Bandarin, Ahmed Eiweida, Lazare Eloundou Assomo, Dorine Dubois, Cristina Iamandi, Christianna Johnnides Brotsis, Rana Amirtahmasebi, Yuna Chun, Barbara Minguez Garcia, Sara García de Ugarte, and Inel Massali. The current synopsis is extracted from the Position Paper. Citation: *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Bank (2018). Culture in City Reconstruction and Recovery. Paris: UNESCO. © UNESCO and World Bank. https://openknowledge. worldbank.org/handle/10986/30733* License: *CC BY-SA 3.0 IGO*

today. Of these, 20 million are refugees, of which 60 per cent live in cities [UNHCR, 2018]. The number of displaced persons is expected to grow significantly as disasters and conflicts increase in frequency.

In the face of increasing disasters, conflicts and rapid, uncontrolled urbanization, local governments find themselves facing daunting challenges in preparing the needed policies and plans and delivering services. This leads to the proliferation of slums and unplanned expansion of cities with little regard for sustainability. Lack of urban strategies coupled with economic crises have also exacerbated urban decay as manifested through substandard housing, dilapidated public facilities and inadequate infrastructure, and exacerbated social exclusion and urban poverty. Rapid urbanization together with growing responsibilities expected of cities in terms of service delivery and taking increased action on climate change and the refugee crisis make the need to strengthen the role and capacities of local governments all the more pressing.

Addressing crises and tackling urban distress requires responses that consider the specific needs, priorities, and identities of communities including women and youth, and provide opportunities for social inclusion and economic development. For this reason, culture, through cultural heritage and creativity, is essential as both an asset and a tool for city reconstruction and recovery. If culture is not placed at the core of urban reconstruction and recovery strategies, the physical and social fabrics can be further disrupted.

...adds to the urgency of an enhanced approach to embed culture in city reconstruction and recovery

The convergence of the two trends of urbanization and crises demands an enhanced approach to city reconstruction and recovery in the aftermath of crises such as conflict and disasters, one that puts culture at its heart. Based on a conviction that culture is critical to achieve sustainable urban development and to ensure effective post-crisis reconstruction and recovery processes, the World Bank and UNESCO prepared a Position Paper that proposes an enhanced culture-based framework for city reconstruction and recovery (called the CURE Framework), and which integrates both people-centred and place-based approaches. The Position Paper draws on a large number of background papers and case studies that helped inform the

framework development.[2] For the World Bank – the largest multilateral development finance institution with investments and technical assistance in cultural heritage and urban development – and for UNESCO – the only UN agency with a mandate on culture, the development of this framework was critical to guide both agencies' interventions in such an expanding and critical area of intervention and to provide guidance to policymakers and practitioners involved in post-crisis city reconstruction and recovery.

There are multiple frameworks governing post-crises reconstruction and recovery...

There are multiple frameworks in place governing post-conflict and post-disaster city reconstruction and recovery, and which encompass the different physical/spatial, social and economic dimensions. These include: the 1994 Yokohama Strategy and Plan of Action for a Safer World; the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015; and the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) 2015-2030, the current prevailing framework today governing disaster risk management and building the resilience of nations and communities. In addition, the World Bank, the European Commission and the United Nations (UN) signed in 2008 a joint declaration on post-crisis assessments and recovery planning, pledging to collaborate on a common approach to post-disaster and post-conflict management, which produced key tools such as the Post-Disaster Needs Assessments (PDNA) and the recovery and peacebuilding assessments (RPBA). Within the overall post-disaster needs assessment methodologies, a specific focus on culture has been developed through the PDNA Culture, which draws on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the New Urban Agenda, and the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL).

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2   Background papers and case studies were developed by: Changmo Ahn (case study on Seoul), Howayda Al-Harithy (case study on Beirut), Rana Amirtahmasebi (paper on the phases of post-crisis reconstruction), Lazare Eloundou Assomo (case study on Timbuktu), Tom Avermaete (paper on post-World War II urban reconstruction strategies in Europe), Ursula Bianca Baigorria Köppel (case study on Medellin), Wesley Cheek (paper on key international policy frameworks on urban reconstruction and recovery), Amra Hadžimuhamedović (case study on Sarajevo), Yuko Okazawa (case study on Tokyo), Mizuko Ugo (case study on Tokyo), Santiago Uribe Rocha (case study on Medellin), Robert Wrobel (paper on socio-economic recovery and inclusion), Soo Yeon Lim (case study on Seoul), and Jez Foster (case study on Kathmandu).

... Yet, a disconnect between reconstruction and recovery processes and between place-based and people-based strategies has at times been observed due to insufficient consideration of the role of culture in the process.

In post-conflict and post-disaster settings, a lack of integration between reconstruction and recovery has at times been noted, which results in developing distinct people-centred and place-based strategies. People-centred strategies foster individual choice and give beneficiaries the opportunity to find the best suited solutions for their needs, but at times are criticized for their negative impacts on community structures and the erosion of social capital. Place-based strategies invest in place with the objective of keeping community structures, social capital and people's livelihoods, but are at times criticized for perpetuating places with a concentration of poverty and not giving people the opportunity to start fresh in new places/communities that are more aligned with their aspirations. Reconstruction and recovery interventions therefore need to integrate place-based and people-centred strategies, based on an identification of the critical conditions for such integration.

As reconstruction entails rebuilding infrastructure, housing, and tangible cultural heritage and restoration of services in communities affected by crises, the rebuilding process inherently requires a medium to long-term timeframe to ensure planned responses to community needs and aspirations and to quality design and construction. As a result, resource constraints, political and societal pressures to accelerate rebuilding might limit meaningful community participation and may hinder quality reconstruction. It is important to quickly identify heritage values and attributes to be preserved before demolition. A reconstruction process, or any place-based strategy for that matter, that fails to place people at its centre is an important missed opportunity to ensure that outcomes (infrastructure, assets, services, etc.) are embedded in strong community ownership, reflect societal priorities, and are used, operated, and managed in a sustainable manner. Reconstruction and recovery are also an opportunity to reconcile different identities and needs. Demolition of structures may create new open spaces that can reinvent urban areas and promote exhibitions, festivals, and other cultural activities.

As recovery entails the restoration of livelihoods and the social and economic structures of society affected by a disaster or conflict, it requires an in-depth understanding of society's culture, values, norms, traditions, and priorities, all of which are critical to societal identities and a sense of place. Pressures to urgently attend to

large-scale recovery needs and to address dire poverty, vulnerability, displacement, and devastation of livelihoods can often skew the choices of interventions in ways that may undervalue culture.

Culture in City Reconstruction and Recovery: Towards an Enhanced Framework

Addressing such gaps and limitations requires an enhanced framework using culture as a driver and enabler of post-crisis city reconstruction and recovery to inform critical actions related to state-building, institution-building, and societal reconciliation.

The CURE Framework (developed in the Position Paper and illustrated below) integrates culture as a core element for city reconstruction and recovery with the aim of achieving a sustainable urban future. It adapts UNESCO's 3P Approach to sustainable urban development (People, Places and Policies) to the specific challenges of city reconstruction and recovery in the aftermath of disasters, armed conflicts, and severe urban distress with the following premises in mind:

CULTURE IN CITY RECONSTRUCTION AND RECOVERY FRAMEWORK
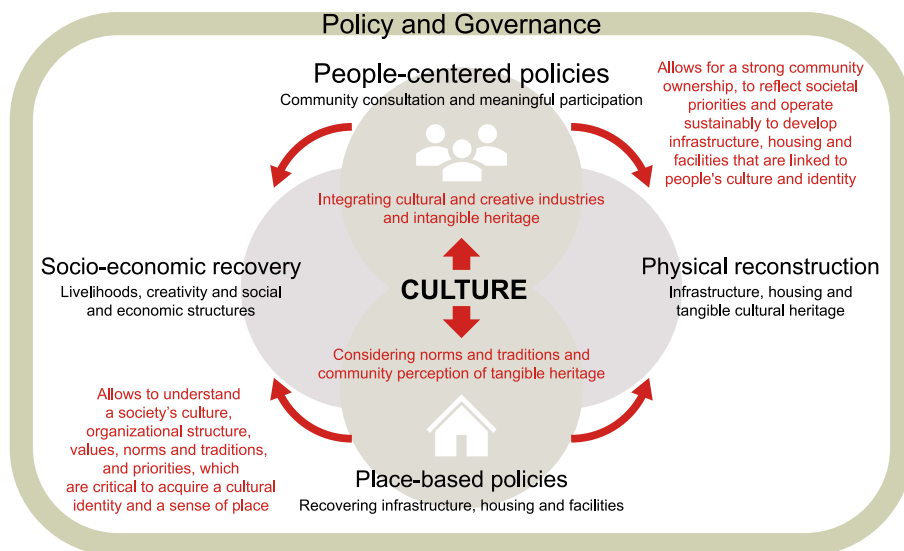
- **Placing a people-centred approach at the heart of place-based strategies:** To rebuild infrastructure, housing, services and cultural heritage assets post-crisis, people and their elected officials need to be at the centre of the process. Reconstruction and recovery processes need to reflect the fact that places may have acquired new values and meanings due to trauma, displacement and socio-economic change. Citizen engagement and community participation needs to underpin the reconstruction process including site selection, the decisions to restore form and function of destroyed assets, the prioritization between investments in light of budget constraints, implementation, and operation and maintenance of assets. This will ensure that the community really owns the assets and will ensure their sustainable use. Placing cultural and creative industries and intangible cultural heritage (especially traditional building methods and materials) at the heart of reconstruction of infrastructure, housing, and facilities will also ensure linkages to people's culture and identities. This should be achieved without being at the expense of improving design, resilience needs and communities' evolving priorities.
- **Putting a place-based approach at the heart of people-centred strategies:** In post-crisis restoration of livelihoods and a society's socio-economic structures, it is critical to ensure that a sense of place is central to the process to reflect a society's identities, values, norms, traditions, and recovery priorities. This requires prioritizing the strengthening of societal organizational structures and traditions (e.g. collective ownership of assets and natural resources), traditional crafts, and the cultural and creative industries and prioritizing intangible cultural heritage, which are critical to rebuild people's identities, particularly in the aftermath of violence and conflicts that have divided the society.
- **Positioning culture as the foundation to integrate place-based and people-centred strategies:** Adopting an integrated approach with culture as the foundation of the reconstruction and recovery process is key to integrating place-based and people-centred strategies. This ensures that community needs, priorities, aspirations and traditions are central to the reconstruction and recovery processes and enhance community ownership and alignment of the infrastructure, assets and cultural heritage with community values and traditions. A central role for culture is critical to inform governance and policy and institutional and regulatory frameworks of the reconstruction and recovery process.

Governing principles behind the CURE Framework for post-crises city reconstruction and recovery.

Seven key principles were identified as critical to effectively implement the CURE Framework in a post-crisis setting. These are:

1. ***Acknowledging the city as a "cultural construct" where built structures and open spaces closely relate to social fabrics:*** To successfully reconstruct and recover following a disaster or a conflict, the key stakeholders should acknowledge the city as a cultural construct consisting of interwoven physical and social fabrics, in line with the UNESCO 2011 HUL Recommendation. To overcome the trauma of destruction and reconcile communities, reconstruction authorities must engage with the collective memory of the city, connect reconstruction with daily lives of residents, appreciate cultural representations, and regenerate the urban landscape accordingly. This fundamentally shifts culture to the forefront rather setting it aside until such time that a city can "afford" to invest in it.

2. ***Starting the reconciliation process with the (re)construction of cultural landmarks and places of significance to local communities:*** Important cultural landmarks (public or religious structures, historic urban areas) that embody the identities of local communities should be prioritized in the reconstruction process to jumpstart the social recovery process. Prioritizing cultural assets and landmarks that were intentionally targeted during conflict or lost in disasters strengthens community resilience and tackles vulnerability and instability that could affect cities.

3. ***Fostering cultural expressions to deal with post-crisis trauma and reconcile affected communities:*** Intangible heritage and cultural and creative industries can help shape more effective and inclusive reconstruction and recovery processes and ensure community buy-in if integrated into all phases of the process. Intangible cultural heritage has an essential role in effectively maintaining cultural diversity and fostering intercultural dialogue in post-crisis situations. In post-conflict societies, artists and cultural institutions play

an important role in ensuring freedom of expression and fostering inclusive dialogue, which provides a platform to start healing the scars of the past and restore a sense of normality.

4. ***Prioritizing culture early in the needs assessment and planning process and implementation of emergency interventions that reflect community priorities:*** The needs assessment documents physical damages to public private assets and economic losses to people, firms and the economy due to disasters, conflicts and urban distress. To ensure that culture becomes an integral part of urban design and planning, needs assessments must assess the impact on community organizations, structures and social capital, prioritize the appreciation of tangible and intangible heritage and the promotion of creativity, and analyse the socio-economic value and meaning of heritage to the city. Preparing urban reconstruction plans through transparent processes including public debates can make such plans become tools for reconciliation and reintegration of different segments of the population. In parallel, implementation of emergency interventions that respond to communities' priorities (e.g. restoring clean water supply or clearing access roads) is equally important.

5. ***Engaging communities and local governments in every step of the recovery process:*** Participatory approaches are essential to ensure full involvement of beneficiaries and complete ownership of all stakeholders, which are critical to effectively plan and implement reconstruction and recovery strategies. Success of the participatory approach hinges on sensible consideration of the cultures of communities and individuals. Community involvement in cash-for-work programs such as debris removal would support livelihoods and serve as a catalyst for economic recovery. Securing historic artefacts can become an important opportunity for cooperation and reconciliation among citizens. Local government involvement in the process is key to institutionalize their relations with citizens.

6. ***Using finance models that balance immediate/short-term needs with the medium-/long-term development timeframe in reconstruction plans:*** Finance models would include a range of financial and in-kind contributions of all relevant stakeholders including government, the private sector, civil socie-

ty and the communities. This requires balancing short and long-term time-frames and mediating between immediate needs such as emergency housing and services with the long-term process of rebuilding a city and its cultural identity.

7. ***Ensuring effective management of the reconstruction process by striking a balance between people's basic needs and the recovery of a city's historic character:*** It is critical to balance people's need to immediately rebuild destroyed homes with a more painstaking process of guiding reconstruction of cultural heritage. It is critical to avoid a moratorium on construction that can cause friction with communities or a chaotic laissez-faire approach that could irreparably damage the urban fabric's cultural heritage and integrity. Rapid deployment of guidelines for reconstruction to protect cultural heritage and recover cultural assets would ensure a coordinated reconstruction process.

Implementing the CURE Framework

The operationalization of the CURE Framework involves four phases adapted from the Disaster Recovery Framework:

1. ***Damage and Needs Assessment and Scoping.*** This includes an assessment of damages and impacts to tangible and intangible cultural heritage, cultural and creative industries, housing, land, services and infrastructure, and resulting economic losses to the affected population from the interruption of economic activities, services and use of assets. A scoping process is then conducted including asset and stakeholder mapping and the development of a vision for city reconstruction and recovery.

2. ***Policy and Strategy.*** This involves designing the policies, strategies and planning processes that translate the damage and needs assessments and vision into plans and planning regulations, through participatory approaches with engagement of stakeholders and communities.

3. ***Financing.*** This includes the identification of modalities to finance the reconstruction and recovery process including public and private financing, management of land resources and the development of financing tools and incentives.

4. ***Implementation.*** This includes the setting up of effective institutional and governance structures for implementation, as well as risk management, communication and engagement strategies.

The CURE Framework is not intended to be linear or sequential, but rather a flexible and iterative process that should be adapted to the socio-economic specificities of each city. Its scope extends beyond the historic area (which requires specific intervention tools) to encompass the entire city. Its implementation balances the need to provide rapid responses to emergency situations with allowing the time needed for consultative processes to ensure that people's priorities are identified and incorporated. These are key considerations given that post-crisis recovery and reconstruction is a long-term undertaking that often span decades.

Conclusion

In recent years, many cities around the world have faced acute stresses and shocks while experiencing considerable trauma and humanitarian problems. As they emerge from crises, these cities find themselves faced with the need to reconcile communities, to promote economic development, and to manage complex social, spatial, and economic transformations. In many instances, such crises have affected historical areas of great importance that were at the core of local identities and represented significant assets for local economic life. Experience shows that restoring social cohesion and reconciliation in conflict areas and rebuilding community resilience after a shock are significant challenges. Furthermore, achieving the right balance between public needs, private interests, and the need to safeguard the tangible and intangible cultural heritage and the cultural and creative industries in reconstruction projects has proven to be a complex task.

Culture is a major source of resilience when integrated into planning, financing and implementation of post-crisis reconstruction and recovery. Cultural and creative industries contribute to economic growth and social inclusion. As a key resource for city recovery, reconciliation, and social cohesion, cultural heritage provides cit-

ies with a distinctive character, enhances their competitiveness and contributes to economic recovery. Culture is therefore critical for post-crisis reconstruction and recovery processes.

Drawing from existing reconstruction and recovery experience the World Bank and UNESCO Position Paper proposes the CURE Framework that places culture as a foundation for post-crisis city reconstruction and recovery by bridging people-centred and place-based development approaches into a comprehensive framework. The CURE Framework adopts a culture-based approach to ensure that community needs, values and priorities are central to recovery and reconstruction processes, safeguard intangible heritage, foster social inclusion, promote creativity and innovation, and contribute to dialogue and peace-building. The CURE Framework is intended to guide national and local authorities and institutions engaged in planning, financing and implementation of city reconstruction and recovery programs in post-crisis settings.

The three main messages which emerged from the CURE Framework and the World Bank-UNESCO Position Paper are: (1) Culture plays a key role in post-crises reconstruction and recovery processes; (2) Culture should be acknowledged as the foundation that integrates people-centred and place-based policies; and (3) To produce an effective city reconstruction and recovery program requires mainstreaming culture across the damage and needs assessment, scoping, planning, financing, and implementation stages.

As they emerge from conflict which has destroyed the cultural and historic landmarks, infrastructure and public and private assets, historic cities such as Mosul, Sana'a and Aleppo will need to rebuild the physical and social fabrics and jumpstart the recovery of communities and people who have suffered serious trauma. The CURE Framework is intended to ensure that such reconstruction and recovery processes are attentive to placing culture at the centre of the process and weave people, places and identities into an integrated process that is aimed at making these cities inclusive, safe, resilient, prosperous and sustainable.

Sameh N. Wahba

Résumé

Les villes sortant des crises, qu'elles résultent d'une catastrophe naturelle, d'un conflit armé ou d'une détresse urbaine persistante, doivent faire face à la nécessité de réconcilier les communautés, de promouvoir le développement économique et de gérer des transformations sociales, spatiales et économiques complexes. Dans de nombreux cas, de telles crises ont touché des zones historiques essentielles pour l'identité locale et décisives pour la vie économique. Rétablir la cohésion sociale et la réconciliation dans les zones de conflit et améliorent la résilience des communautés après un traumatisme sont des défis importants. Trouver l'équilibre entre les besoins publics, les intérêts privés et la nécessité de préserver le patrimoine culturel matériel et immatériel et les industries culturelles et créatives dans les projets de reconstruction s'est révélé être une tâche complexe.

La culture est la principale source de résilience lorsqu'elle est prise en compte dans la planification, le financement et la mise en œuvre de la reconstruction et du relèvement post-crise. Les industries culturelles et créatives contribuent à la croissance économique et favorisent l'inclusion sociale. Le patrimoine culturel, étant une ressource indispensable pour le relèvement d'une ville, la cohésion sociale et la réconciliation. apporte aux villes leur caractère particulier, renforce leur compétitivité et contribue à leur redressement économique. La culture joue donc un rôle essentiel pour les processus de reconstruction et de relèvement post-crise.

Sur la base de l'expérience acquise en matière de reconstruction et de rénovation, un document rédigé par la Banque mondiale et l'UNESCO propose le Cadre CURE selon lequel la culture est le fondement de la reconstruction et du relèvement des villes après une crise, en combinant une approche du développement axé sur l'humain avec celle qui se concentre sur le territoire. Le Cadre CURE adopte une approche fondée sur la culture pour placer les besoins, les valeurs et les priorités des communautés au cœur des processus de reconstruction et de relèvement ainsi que pour sauvegarder le patrimoine culturel immatériel, de favoriser l'inclusion sociale, de promouvoir la créativité et l'innovation et de stimuler le dialogue et la consolidation de la paix. Le Cadre CURE vise à guider les autorités nationales et locales ainsi que organisations impliquées dans la planification, le financement et la mise en œuvre des programmes de reconstruction et de relèvement de la ville dans les situations post-crise.

Les trois messages clés du Cadre CURE et du document présentant la position de la Banque mondiale et de l'UNESCO sont les suivants : (1) La culture joue un rôle essentiel dans les processus de reconstruction et de relèvement après une crise. (2) La culture doit être reconnue comme le fondement qui permet d'intégrer à la fois des politiques centrées sur l'humain et des politiques s'articulant autour du territoire ; et (3) Pour être efficaces, les programmes de reconstruction et de relèvement des villes doivent intégrer la culture dans toutes leurs phases: évaluation des dommages et des besoins, définition du champ d'application, financement et mise en œuvre.

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Integrating Culture, Recovery and Sustainable Reconstruction: Challenges for Aleppo

Giulia Annalinda Neglia

Framework and overall conditions

The Battle of Aleppo, which resulted in a humanitarian crisis with the displacement of large sections of the local population together with the city's living traditions, and through the heavy damage to an Historic Urban Landscape [UNESCO/UNITAR-UN-OSAT, 2018] that carries in its stone the memories of five thousand years of uninterrupted architectural and cultural history, endangered the most significant aspects of the local cultural memory. During the crisis, the relationship between Outstanding Universal Value of the site and its community has been interrupted and the cultural landscape of the Ancient City has been damaged in terms of integrity, authenticity, and identity, and now it needs the recovery of its social, building and economic fabric [Al-Hassan, 2015]. Since a cultural landscape is the contribution of the local community to the human culture, this is damage to all of humanity.

Today, at the end of the protracted crisis, the scenario is still characterized by a complex situation due to the lack of on-site documentation, which is essential to guide the Syrian stakeholders in their restoration and reconstruction choices. To this we have to add the lack of basic services and infrastructure in the Ancient City; the lack of an overall record of property data, which reduces the possibility of reconstruction; the lack of guidelines and toolkits for reconstruction, which increases the possibility of illegal reconstruction; the brain drain of professionals and experts and the displacement of skills and qualified workers, which slows down the process of reconstruction and require skills and know-how to be re-established. Last but not least, the structural instability of monuments, and of houses in particular, which prevents the right to return of the local population.

Planning Process for recovery and reconstruction

Generally speaking, rebuilding a damaged historic environment means advancing a pluralist approach that allows considerations of cultural continuity, tradition and collective memory. For a World Heritage Site, reconstruction must be carefully considered with a specific focus on its impact on the attributes of Outstanding Universal Value. It must be conceived as a process aimed at preserving explicit or implicit attributes, in relation to the built and social environment, as well as to the use and functions of buildings to avoid gentrification, or gradual deterioration as a response to the replacement of damaged buildings with new and inappropriate typologies. During the reconstruction process of the Ancient City of Aleppo, our duty is therefore to preserve the overall features of authenticity, by basing design on the local architectural traditions, while taking into account participatory processes as well as cultural, ecologic or economic changes driven by the war. The future recovery shall be envisioned, therefore, as a complex multidisciplinary process, which must be carried out through developing methodological and site-specific guidelines to face the challenges that the reconstruction of such a layered urban and social landscape entails.

Actions for post-trauma recovery and reconstruction of damaged areas should underline the sense of place, seeking continuity and consistency with the remaining historic urban fabric, in the light of the directives given by the approved charters and documents. They should be focused in particular on the need to build back better and on the terms of authenticity, connecting tangible and intangible heritage through cultural spaces, reconciliation, understanding cultural expressions and places of cultural significance, involvement of inhabitants and active engagement of communities, creating safer greener and more sustainable cities as well as a sustainable economy related to cultural industries, but also on the terms *consciousness, consistency* and *continuity*.

In the Ancient City of Aleppo, the cultural gap created by the social and economic impact of the civil war at the urban level leads to the need to critically foreshadow cultural perspectives for an urban recovery aimed at the promotion of architectural heritage. Today, within the gaps of this complex scenario, unsuitable changes to the building fabric, which could reduce or delete the cultural significance of its built environment, and a future reconstruction where economic interest will prevail over the preservation of the cultural significance are indeed predictable. Perspectives for future urban recovery must therefore be aimed at linking humanitarian issues

with heritage issues, cultural concerns with architectural concerns, and must be grounded on the need to resettle the displaced inhabitants, carrying out an overall strategy for economic, infrastructural, and morphological recovery. The success of this process will depend on the capacity of the local and international society to rebuild the specificity of the Ancient City, by identifying visions, rules and methods appropriate to the local culture. This will be a long and complex process, in which we have to focus in particular on issues related to changes in population, skills, cultural practices, and where the Ancient City of Aleppo will need to recreate its social and economic context. Therefore, before any action, short-and long-term scenarios need to be properly planned to facilitate the recovery of the city and the return of its inhabitants.

Implementation Process

Recognizing that the Historic Urban Landscape of the Ancient City of Aleppo is a result of a layering of cultural and natural values, including the natural and built environment, open spaces and gardens or natural settings, visual relationships or cultural practices [UNESCO, 2011], we need to address the reconstruction within an overall sustainable development framework. It's not just a problem of stones and of monuments or landmarks reconstruction. In the recovery process we have to take into account all the different urban layers, by regenerating and rebuilding them with different aims and approaches. Against this framework is therefore particularly important to collect all the available data on buildings, neighbourhoods and open spaces prior to 2012 (including historic buildings, architectural values, cultural spaces, courtyard houses, and archaeological layers), and map out destroyed areas in a centralized inventory.

1. *Monuments and Landmarks.* The layer of landmarks and monumental areas of exceptional cultural value of the Ancient City of Aleppo is one of the areas most heavily affected by the battle. It includes the most iconic buildings of the World Heritage Site that have been damaged, such as such as the Suq al-Medina and the Great Mosque, the Waqf of Ipshir Pasha *(Fig. 1)*, or the Khusruwiyya Mosque. Luckily, the most of these buildings and sites were already well or partially documented before the conflict, and now they need
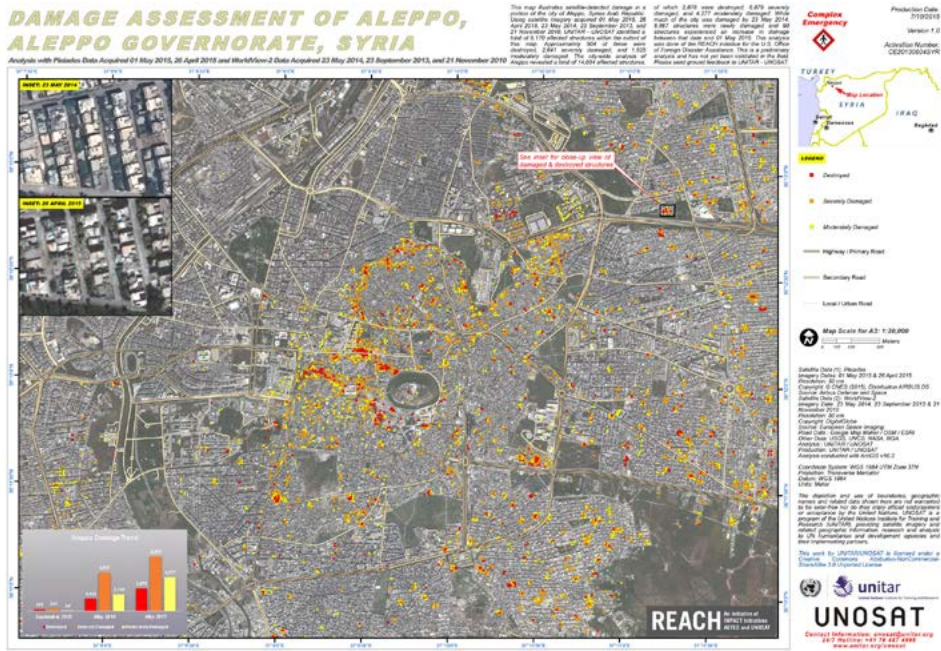
Fig. 1. UNOSAT Aleppo Damage Points 20150426. © UNITAR UNOSAT.

to be restored or reconstructed. Therefore, scholars and practitioners are collecting data on their structure before the crisis, are assessing their damage, and working on technical solution for their restoration or reconstruction [Masoud, Al-Habib Nmeir, Weber, 2018]. The case of damaged documented monuments can be supported indeed by a comprehensive register of the building heritage that international and national bodies are already carrying on [Middle East Cooperation Unit, 2016], which could eventually lead to reconstruction, restoration or adaptive reuse of some buildings, retaining the standards of historic value, while adapting these in response to new economic and social realities (Fig. 2).

2. *Archaeology.* It includes archaeological remains that have been or will be revealed after excavations for new substructures and the urban renewal following damage in the Suq al-Mdineh, in the area at the entrance of the Citadel, or in the districts of al-Farafira and al-Jdaydeh. Given the unique characteristics of the urban morphology of the Ancient City of Aleppo, and its five thousand

Fig. 2. Aleppo Archive in Exile. Plan of the Old City of Aleppo © BTU Cottbus.

years of uninterrupted urban history, we need to have a specific focus on the archaeological layer within the reconstruction plans by producing maps and hypothesis on its layout. Accordingly, a consistent plan of "preventive archaeology", together with the enhancement and protection of archaeological areas in the revised masterplan, could represent an opportunity to integrate

Fig. 3. Studies on the archaeological layouts of the Roman Aleppo © Giulia Annalinda Neglia.

archaeology with architecture into the recovered urban landscape, showing new phases of its peculiar urban history *(Fig. 3)*.

3. *Open spaces.* Open spaces such as public areas but also semi-private cul-de-sacs and private courtyard gardens are places of cultural significance [ICOMOS, 1979-2013] for the Ancient City of Aleppo. Their characteristics and values, which are related to the local history, environment and collective memory, need to be retained: not just to keep Aleppo green through the network of gardens and courtyard gardens. They need to be retained to also preserve intangible aspects related to the use of the open spaces at a neighbourhood level, their physical structure and the urban morphology, as well as intangible social values related to the living behaviour of the local community. All these characteristics and values are related to the local history, environment and collective memory, and should represent the starting points for the regeneration process of the residential neighbourhoods of the Ancient City *(Fig. 4)*.

Fig. 4. Courtyard – garden of a house in Bayyada. Aleppo © Giulia Annalinda Neglia.

4. *Courtyard Houses.* Clusters of courtyard houses and small residential urban areas that, following partial or complete destruction, need to be reconstructed and resettled. This is the most widespread layer of the Ancient City and, at the same time, fragile and difficult to monitor. Moreover, since courtyard houses and gardens were the basis for the inscription of Aleppo among other World Heritage Sites, it seems very urgent to set methodologies for their real recovery and regeneration, by addressing theoretical problems related to architectural and urban landscape design in historic context, by updating building typology and techniques and craftsmanship skills. This is crucial in a complex scenario marked by changes in population, poverty, contested ownership, lack of education and skills in traditional construction techniques, changes in habits and living behaviours, with the consequent need for typological and technological upgrading of buildings and urban morphology regeneration *(Fig. 5).*
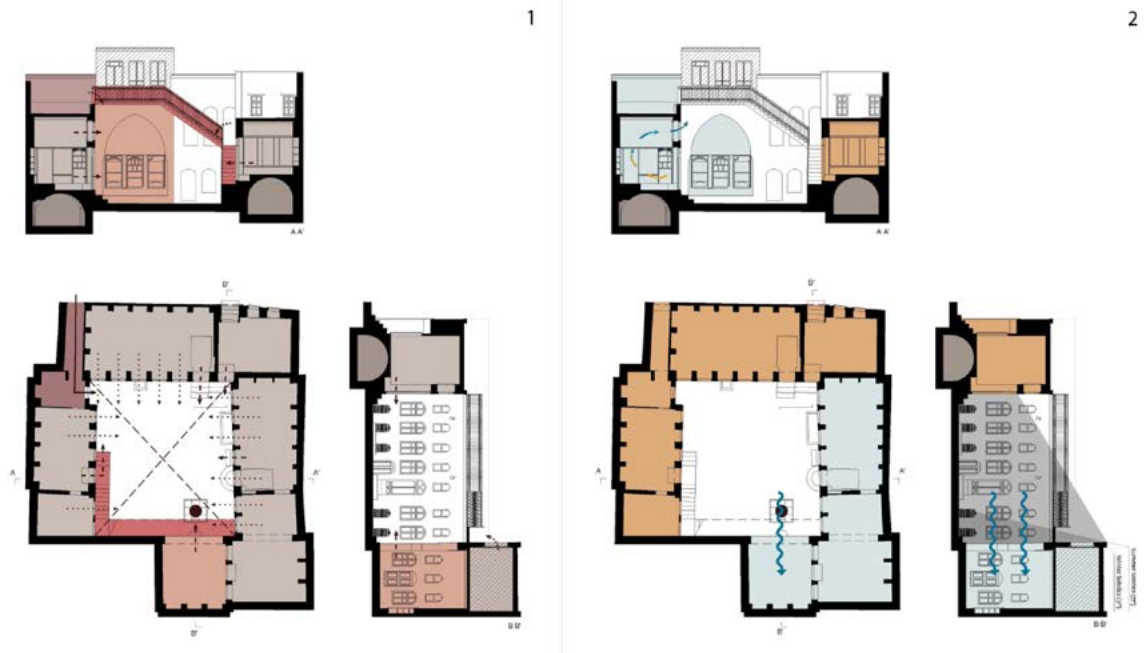
Fig. 5. Strengths and weaknesses of the courtyard houses in Aleppo. Strengths: 1. Spatial organization, 2. Climatic properties, 3. Construction techniques, Weaknesses: 4. Spatial organization. © Giulia Annalinda Neglia.

A vision for the recovery of Aleppo

The revised masterplan for the recovery of the Ancient City of Aleppo must specifically avoid the direct and indirect possibility of changing its Historic Urban Landscape, with the related courtyard typologies, urban morphologies and public open spaces, by requiring reconstruction to respect the footprint of the French cadastral map, as well as construction techniques, materials and ecological features, especially regarding the gardens inside the courtyards of the buildings. The latter need special protection not to be transformed into "covered rooms".

Moreover, in the vision for the recovery of the Ancient City of Aleppo there is also a need for reconciliation places: public spaces responsive to communities' needs and aspirations, where integrating culture can act as a driver of post-trauma development. Accordingly, the masterplan should also include public green areas, services, and infrastructure, planned not only to create a more sustainable city, in the light of

a westernized ecology, but instead envisioned as memorials and public places designed on the most significant damaged areas. This could be done, for example, by considering the area at the foot of the Citadel, al-Hatab square in al-Jdaydeh, or the cemeteries inside the Ancient City or outside Bab Quinnesrin as "protected areas", as places where the memory of the recent trauma can be kept alive, where ruins can be left as traces, where the imprints of the crisis on the urban level are redesigned by using signs and forms related to the local architectural culture.

Accordingly, to translate the vision into the best course of action the following is needed:

- To develop planning strategies envisioning continuity between reconstruction and inherited urban form and focus on the need to rebuild the Historic Urban Landscape in its whole, including the clusters of courtyard houses, the archaeological traces and the open spaces layout. That is to build back better physical (anthropic and natural) and dynamic cultural characteristics [UNESCO, 2011] that shaped and keep shaping the Historic Urban Landscape. Reconstruction can be an opportunity to improve

building or urban conditions, remediating problematic situations, and recovering and sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value [ICOMOS, 2016] of the Ancient City of Aleppo.

- To recognize the authenticity of the present layer of history within the cultural property [UNESCO, 1993] by updating building typologies and neighbourhood structures, in continuity with the local identity, to modern needs and standards. This could mean to interpret the Historic Urban Landscape as subject to dynamic factors [UNESCO, 2011].

- To lead, under a scientific umbrella, the spontaneous and uncoordinated actions of reconstruction that the inhabitants have already started carrying out and develop methodology in which the reconstruction of houses is logically connected to the same settlement models that have been at the basis of the formation of Aleppo's urban landscape. This is particularly important because today the scenario of destruction is made worse by other risk factors such as the natural aging of the urban fabric, illegal constructions built in a phase of lack of regulation, indiscriminate urban activities or disruptive reconstruction work allowed by documentation and property gaps. What is needed is therefore to develop guidelines focused on the regeneration of the urban layer of courtyard houses, where the same logic of choral formation of the historic built environment will be at the basis for the recovery process of the residential urban landscape [Neglia, 2016]. Taking into account both theoretical directives coming from the process typology, and practical tools coming from post-conflict strategy and pre-crisis best-practices [Nebel, Spiekermann, 2008], within the framework of the people-based focus and place-based approach, a culture-based city reconstruction can be more easily achieved by the local community by prompting a sum of micro-interventions based on participatory processes, with the aim of keeping the inherited characteristics of the built environment, especially in the many dwellings of limited aesthetic and functional significance *(Fig. 6).*

- To take into account the social and economic effects of the war on the neighbourhood structure, building typologies, and construction techniques. Reconstruction poses technical and methodological challenges concerning what has survived to reflect new needs, or to eliminate inadequate and undesirable previous interventions [ICOMOS, 2016], as in
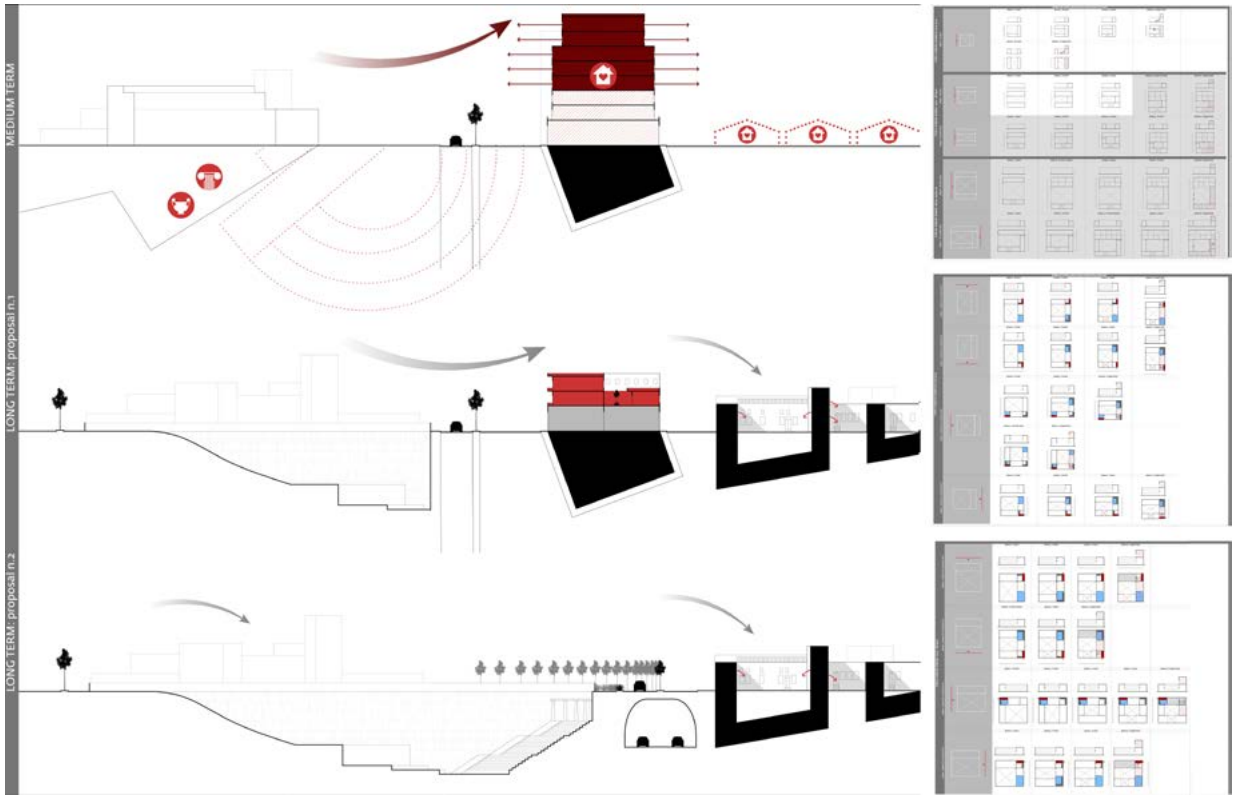
Fig. 6. Vision for the cultural recovery of the Historic Urban Landscape of the Ancient City of Aleppo focused on the regeneration of the layer of courtyard houses © Giulia Annalinda Neglia.

the case of the al-Farafira neighbourhood where the overlay of a modern western city on the historic and archaeological traces [Neglia, 2009] had a detrimental impact on the integrity of the Historic Urban Landscape *(Fig. 7).* Accordingly, it is particularly important to develop a reconstruction plan based on the maximum retention of historical material and its stratification and of local resources and traditional methods: since the urban fabric is the formal structure of urban society, it is essential that the process of recovery of its attributes becomes an integral part of the restoration process of the cultural heritage, and of the resettling of the inhabitants.
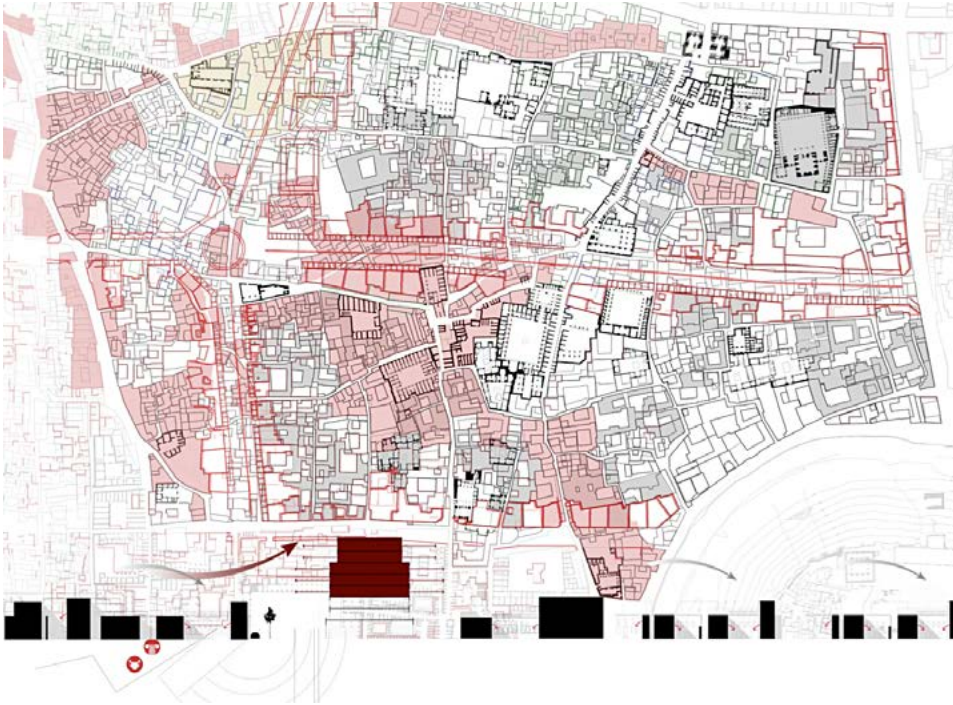
Fig. 7. Al-Farafira neighbourhood. Overlay of the modern city on the historic and archaeological traces © Giulia Annalinda Neglia.

Guidelines for the recovery of the Historic Urban Landscape

While a preservationist approach can be applied to monuments and to all the buildings that are documented, guidelines and directives to build-back better undocumented buildings, such as most of the courtyard houses in the residential areas, could provide instructions for the real involvement of inhabitants and the active engagement of communities in the reconstruction of their city, not only in cases when the scale of the destruction is huge and there is no documentation on the pre-crisis conditions, but also in all other cases when architectural renovation and typological updating are needed for the regeneration of old houses.

Embraced within the issue of an urban renewal, matters of migration and displacement, education and the right to heritage, or law of return, and focused not only on their artistic and constructive characteristics, or on stone conservation issues, guidelines should also include typological rules aimed at proposing design solutions that are in continuity with the historic urban landscape, providing the local population methodological tools to resettle the damaged parcels, and to gradually rebuild their own houses, interpreting resettling as the first step in the reconstruction process.

Guidelines should focus in particular on the key role of the garden in the courtyard and its relationship with the built-up area, to retain consistency of the landscape morphology, ecology and aspects related to intangible heritage. They should also consider the strengths and weaknesses of traditional courtyard houses, which already had some inadequacies before the crisis, which, combined with post-crisis social changes and the need to avoid gentrification, all together should lead to regarding houses recovery in a dynamic way: by retaining the constructive, typological and spatial characteristics listed as cultural aspects, while introducing minor adjustments to upgrade the building fabric to current day needs and living standards. In order to build-back better, this bottom-up/top-down strategy will facilitate the resettlement through rule-based self-construction tools by introducing updated building techniques and materials to better resist earthquakes, or patenting tools for providing semi-industrial self-construction skills (also re-using and re-assembling debris).

Crisis can be overcome by supporting, indeed, the capacity of communities to recover their cultural spaces and heritage elements, in the context of changed circumstances, by updating them to the current living needs. With the aim of a capillary urban recovery, we therefore need a comprehensive and flexible planning system, including table of action and guidelines, focused on the various aspects of urban management including land use regulation, infrastructure, environment, social services, public participation, and housing in particular. Acting against the possible transformation of the Ancient City into a forest of modern buildings or skyscrapers, which would completely change the cultural significance of the urban core, the future reconstruction must be grounded on the uniqueness of this distinctive urban landscape.

Giulia Annalinda Neglia

Résumé

La future reconstruction de la vieille ville d'Alep doit être soigneusement planifiée, en tenant compte en particulier de son impact sur les attributs d'une valeur universelle unique : en tant que processus interdisciplinaire complexe visant à préserver le caractère général authentique en harmonie avec l'environnement social et architectural, afin d'éviter la gentrification ou la dégradation progressive suite à des démarches inadéquates.

La réédification et la reconstruction des zones endommagées par des événements traumatiques nécessitent donc l'élaboration de directives méthodologiques et de recommandations spécifiques pour le site afin de restaurer le paysage urbain et social stratifié sous une forme améliorée. En même temps, la nature du site doit être prise en compte afin de maintenir la continuité et la cohérence avec le tissu urbain historique existant. En outre, la reconstruction devrait s'inscrire dans le cadre des principes généraux du développement durable et tenir compte de toutes les strates du paysage urbain : monuments et attractions touristiques, archéologie, espaces ouverts, maisons à cour etc.

En particulier, lors de la reconstruction il faut éviter toute possibilité directe ou indirecte de modifier le paysage urbain historique, tout en préservant le caractère existant des types de cours intérieures, de la morphologie de la ville et des espaces publics ouverts. Néanmoins, elle peut aussi être l'occasion d'améliorer le tissu matériel (anthropogénique et naturel) d'un lieu donné et ses caractéristiques culturelles dynamiques, l'état des infrastructures et les conditions de vie, ainsi que la typologie des bâtiments ainsi que de résoudre les divers problèmes locaux.

Par conséquent, bien qu'une approche de conservation puisse être appliquée aux monuments et à tous les bâtiments qui ont été inventoriés, des lignes directrices et des indices sont nécessaires pour reconstruire les bâtiments sans documentation appropriée, qui représentent la majorité des maisons à cour dans les quartiers résidentiels. Il s'agit d'instructions qui peuvent garantir que les habitants et les communautés locales seront réellement impliqués dans la reconstruction de la ville, non seulement en cas de dégâts importants et de manque de documentation décrivant l'état des choses avant la crise, mais aussi dans toutes les autres situations où la rénovation architecturale et la mise à jour des typologies sont nécessaires pour la revitalisation de maisons anciennes.

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Matko Vetma – conservation architect and cultural heritage project manager

He was heavily in the recovery of Dubrovnik in 1980s and 1990s as a Head of the architectural Unit in Conservation Department in Dubrovnik in the structure of the Ministry of Culture, member of Expert Advisory Council for Reconstruction of Dubrovnik. He was also associate and head of expert team for recording and assessing war damage on cultural heritage in Dubrovnik founded by Ministry of culture and UNESCO.

Reconstruction of Heritage as Permanent Architectural Challenge

Matko Vetma

Our discusions and suggestions will lead to a better understanding of the process of heritage reconstruction after natural or man-made disasters, or to prevent them by using clever and proven policy.

Dubrovnik historic facts and significance

The unique and rich history of Dubrovnik is, in fact, a history of many reconstructions and restorations which were necessary after different historic events, including natural disasters, like earthquakes, fires, and other misfortunes caused by human activity throughout many centuries.

Dubrovnik got its statute in 1272 and codified roman practice and local customs. The fifth book of the statute describes detailed town planning and regulations of streets and squares, the layout and construction of resident and public palaces, the maintaining and planing of infrastructure, and all conditions for safe and efficient living and working inside the city walls.

Situated in a highly seismic area, in the city archives there are many documents that record more than 85 quakes during the last 300 years. The most catastrophic quake struck in 1667, leading to a complete destruction of the buildings and over 50% of the populace being reported missing. This powerful earthquake came as a turning point in the space development of the city.

City of Dubrovnik.

Although severely damaged, Dubrovnik quickly established a policy for reconstruction of the city as a priority task in next centuries, managed to preserve city walls, fortresses, public buildings, churches, monasteries, important palaces, fountains and houses.

Dubrovnik, as we know it today, is Dubrovnik reconstructed after the big earthquake in 17th century, with techiques, materials and skills to privent future damage of natural disasters that we respect even today.

Dubrovnik disasters: earthquaqe 1979 and the 1991-92 war

More recently, in 1979, a violent magnitude 7 earthquake caused serious damage to the city. More than 1000 buildings were affected, some of them destroyed, and numerous fissures threatened the stability of the other buildings in urgent need of repair.

Klasifikacija oštećenja objekata nakon potresa 1979.g.
State of damage to buildings following the earthquake in 1979

lakša oštećenja
slightly damaged buildings

oštećenja konstrukcije
buildings with structural damage

teže oštećenje konstrukcije
buildings severely damaged
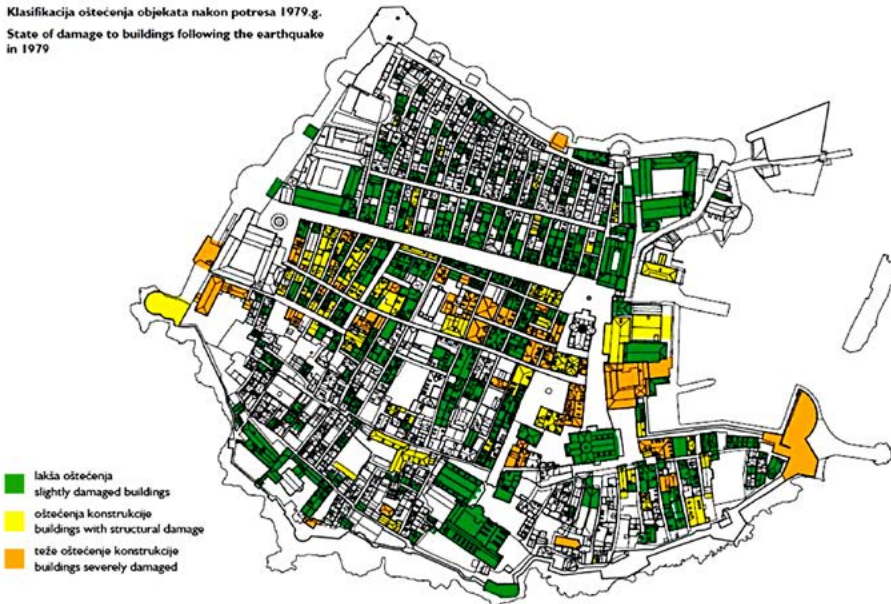
Extend of damage following the 1979 earthquake.

In the same year of 1979 Dubrovnik was inscripted into a world heritage list of UNESCO.

In 1979 restoration works began with a new policy, assembling documents, preparing necessary technical studies, raising and administrating funds and overseeing the restoration activities.

This work started within the walled part of the city and continued to the outside areas with summervilas, monasteries and fortresses. It was developing a process with methods and technics for reconstruction that help us in understanding

Dubrovnik under bombardment, November 1991. The war for Croatian independence.

And maintaing of our heritage. For this reason, the goverment and the town of Dubrovnik founded the institute for reconstrution of Dubrovnik in 1979, which played a leading role in organizing and managing programs and projects for reconstruction. This important process of reconstruction was interrupted in october 1991, when the yugoslav army started war operations, including destructive attacks on Dubrovnik, especially the city "intra muros" as well as on the whole Dubrovnik commune. Imme-diately, Dubrovnik was listed on the world cultural heritage in danger.

Façade of st blaise – with war damage.

Façade of st blaise – repaired and restored.

To illustrate the impact of the war destruction in term of authenticity and historic value of the heritage: there were no buildings left untouched inside the city walls. The most damaged parts of the buildings were roofs and decorative stone facades. Seven representative palaces and two resident houses were completely destroyed in fire. Unimaginable damage was done to the stone pavements and stairs, public fountains, as well as to the old city wall mantle with fortresses and teraces.

This artifical catastrophy struck Dubrovnik and added further damage to the construction of the buildings and city wall mantle already damaged by the most recent earthquake in 1979.

In the last 25 years, we have managed to repair almost all of recent war damages of the roofs, facades, squares and street surfaces, city walls and fountains, so walking today through the historic center, one doesn't encounter any visible damage. This hard work is organized and performed by government of croatia, ministry of culture, town of Dubrovnik, the association of friends of Dubrovnik antiquities, along with the help and support of the international community.

I need to emphasize the important role of the international community and unesco experts who assisted and helped us in the evaluation of the war damage, helped us to define specific and precise methods for the reconstruction of buildings with traditional materials and techniques improved by new technology.

Those methods and techniques are of great value for today's projects of reconstruction and maintenance of historical buildings and heritage.

The impact of the war damage and destruction is wedged deeply in the memories of Dubrovnik's inhabitants, and we will never forget it.

The entrance hall before reconstruction.

The main entrance and façade before and after reconstruction.

Palace in Braće Andrijića 8 – the entrance hall after reconstruction.

Realised reconstruction of heritage projects

Palace in Bbraće Andrijića street no 8.

In the oldest part of Dubrovnik, called pustijerna (post terra), there is a palace that we have restored and reconstructed two years ago. This palace was in the program of the institute for reconstruction of Dubrovnik after the 1979 earthquake. It was also damaged in the war in 1991.

Due to all this damage, from the earthquake and the war, the palace was not suitable for living or working in it. The condition of the building's construction was a great threat to the other houses in the neighbourhood.

The reconstruction project preserved the original stone facades and the outside look of the house, saving original volume, authentic materials improved with modern reinforcements, installation and equipment.

A typical disposition of space in the palace represents two cadastral particles merged into one ownership unit, after the earthquake in 1667. In the place of an old sewage channel, today we have a stone staircase that was fully restored and improved.

The project of reconstruction respected the old space plan of the levels together with two main enterances from side streets.

Project documentation was completed in 2014. The reconstruction works started in april 2016, to be finished in june 2017.

Today, this restored city palace is a place for working and living, and this project brings back to the town four young families feeling safe and accepted in their new homes.

Summer villa Bunić-Kaboga

The unique space and historical concept of summer villas, from 15th and 16th centuries, outside of city walls, represent the best example for co-existence of architecture and nature. Summer villas of Dubrovnik, also called "houses for leisure", were built in very carefully chosen landscapes, on the sea fronts, taking into consideration the orientation and exposure to sun and wind patterns.

The summer villas with gardens, terraces, porches and chapels were surrounded with high stone walls, creating closed and guarded environments, ideal for poets, humanists and writers.

Our project of reconstructing the summer villa bunić kaboga in rijeka dubrovačka was a big challenge. It is Dubrovnik's representative of its gothic-renaissance summer villas from 16th century, not only because of its historical and architectural value, but also for due to its poor condition caused by neglect of historical buildings, combined with legal problems and massive destruction in recent events, such as an earthquake and a war.

The project of reconstruction was initiated and carried out by the family kaboga, who donated funds for the project of restoring the house, chapel, terraces, porches and gardens.

The documentation project was finished in 2009. Construction started in october 2010 and was finished in april 2013.

The kaboga project was recognized as important, fully restored complex of summer villa, a new cultural address in Dubrovnik for concerts, workshops and a meeting place for those who cherish art and heritage, not only from Dubrovnik but from all over the world.

This project is a model example for the future reconstruction of other summer villas in the Dubrovnik region.

Summer villa Bunić Kaboga, before restauration, 2009.

Historic space of Bunić Kaboga is restored with respect to unique proportions, materials and measures, incorporating modern technology in reinforcement and instalations from the 21st century, thus preserving universal values for the future.

City walls of ston – fortress Veliki Kaštio

Third project concerns the reconstruction of a large fortress veliki kaštio – the great castle (fort st. Jerome) – in ston, a mediewal town 55 km west of Dubrovnik.

Ston was founded in the early 14th century as an important place for salt production.

This fortress, together with city walls of ston, created the border of the Dubrovnik republic and played a defensive role for the town and the sea salt fields.

In 2003, the association of friends of Dubrovnik antiquities began to implement their plans for a systematic renovation/reconstruction of the entire fortification complex of ston and mali ston. The renovation of the great castel fortress, which is under way, has begun in 2010. Built in second half of 14th century, the defensive might of the great castle was being continually strengthened in keeping with the needs of the

Veliki Kaštio - fort st. Jerome - before the reconstruction process.

time. The realisation of the project of reconstruction is going to create preconditions for its utilisation but is also going to firmly establish the significance of this structure within the unique defence complex of walls, towers, a bridge, chanells and complete outside areas.

The main idea behind the reconstruction was to present authentic volume and elements of the fortress using natural materials and traditional building techniques. After completing the research, historical survey, project documentation and obtaining all the neccesary permits, the main works started in 2014.

The work on the fortress and surrounding areas will be completed in 2019. After many years of man-made and natural disasters and neglect, this is a place of great public interest, a representative and unique cultural stage for concerts and other public events. It is allready open for visitors.

Veliki Kaštio - fort st. Jerome - during the reconstruction process.
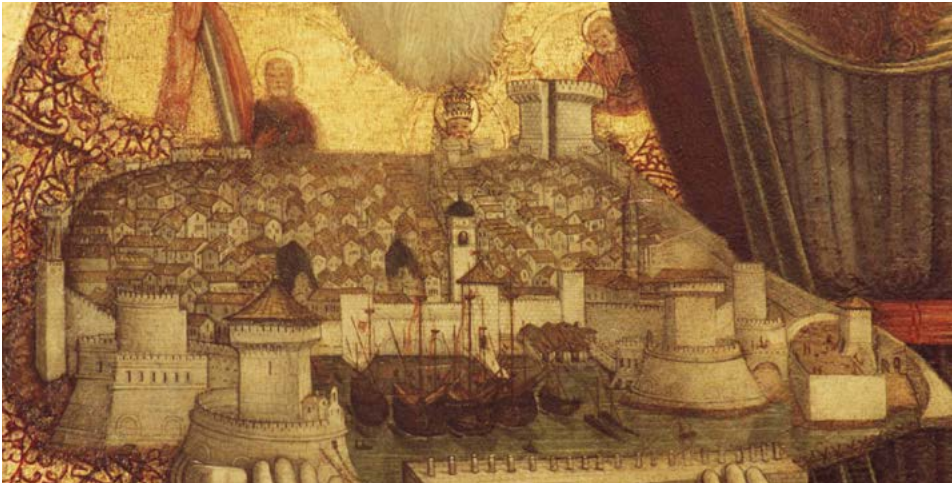
Conclusion

With those three examples, palace in braće andrijića, summer villa bunić-caboga and fortress veliki kaštio, we have tried to explaine the main principles of our work in the field of restoration of cultural heritage in order to protect the universal values of cultural property.

After the 1991 war in Dubrovnik, we acted like our ancestors after the earthquake in 1667: we were highly motivated to react fast and to reconstruct our city and heritage in the best possible way.

In this hard and responsible task, we have been learning from expirienced colleagues, implementing in our projects their methods and knowledge to provide sustainable future for our common cultural heritage.

Matko Vetma

Résumé

Cette conférence décrit l'histoire de la ville de Dubrovnik et sa reconstruction après les catastrophes naturelles et les dégâts causés par de divers événements historiques. Dubrovnik a été reconstruit après les grands tremblements de terre des XVIIème et XXème siècle. Un violent tremblement de terre à l'échelle de 7 MCS a été enregistré en 1979. La ville a été gravement endommagée. La même année, Dubrovnik a été inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'Unesco. Les travaux de conservation ont commencé par la mise en oeuvre de nouvelles politiques, la collecte de documents, la préparation des études techniques nécessaires, la levée et l'administration des fonds et la supervision des activités de conservation. C'était un processus évolutif, utilisant des méthodes et des techniques de reconstruction qui ont permis de comprendre et de préserver le patrimoine culturel. En 1979, le gouvernement national et la ville de Dubrovnik ont donc fondé un institut pour la reconstruction de la ville de Dubrovnik qui a joué un rôle essentiel dans l'organisation et la gestion des programmes et projets de reconstruction. Ce processus important a été interrompu en Octobre 1991. L'armée yougoslave a entamé une action militaire et lancé des attaques de destruction de la ville. Dubrovnik a été immédiatement inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine mondial en péril. Cette catastrophe a touché la ville, détruisant des bâtiments et des murs qui avaient été endommagés par le tremblement de terre. Au cours des 25 dernières années, tous les dégâts de guerre sur les toits, les façades, les places et les trottoirs, les murs de la ville et les fontaines ont été réparés. Ce travail acharné a été organisé et accompli par le gouvernement croate, le ministère de la culture, la ville de Dubrovnik et l'association des amis de l'antiquité avec le soutien et l'aide de la communauté internationale. La communauté internationale et les experts de l'Unesco ont joué un rôle important dans l'évaluation des dégâts de guerre et l'identification de méthodes pratiques et précises de reconstruction des bâtiments, en utilisant des matériaux et techniques traditionnels enrichis par les technologies modernes. Ces méthodes et techniques sont d'une grande valeur pour les projets actuels de reconstruction et de rénovation des bâtiments et du patrimoine historique. La deuxième partie de la conférence décrit des projets de restauration du patrimoine culturel dans Dubrovnik :
1. Hôtel de Ville ul. Braće Andrijića 8,
2. Villa d'été Bunic Caboga
3. Forteresse Veliki Kaštio à ston

Tomasz Błyskosz – conservation architect and expert on regional architecture

For many years he worked as an expert in the conservation of architecture in the Regional Monuments Protection Office in Gdańsk. Since 2015, he serves as head of Gdańsk Regional Office of the National Heritage Board of Poland.

Tentative List and Reconstruction: The example of Gdańsk – Gdańsk Shipyard

Tomasz Błyskosz

Examples of reconstruction of Warsaw and Gdansk, which were destroyed during World War II, constitute the two largest and most spectacular restoration projects of this type in Poland, perfectly fit with the subject matter of the conference. In Poland coming back to life after the devastation and destruction brought by war, the idea of rebuilding the Old Town in Warsaw as the heart of the capital city of the country, the oldest and most valuable part of its historical downtown – having the preserved extensive archival documentation[1] – was quite obvious. At the same time, it was enthusiastically welcomed by the nation.

In Gdańsk, the situation was different. To depict it, it is necessary to recall a few historical facts. Before the outbreak of World War II, this city was part of the autonomous political entity resulting from the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, called the Free City of Gdańsk, which was under protection of the League of Nations. From the 11th century until the end of the 18th century (with a break during the Teutonic period) the town was under the authority of Poland, but at the beginning of the war, the Polish inhabitants constituted less than 9% of its population.

On September 1, 1939, at 4.48 am, the battleship Schlezwig-Holstein began firing at the Polish sentry guard on the Westerplatte peninsula, which became the symbol of the beginning of World War II. For a country invaded by the Nazi Germany, and on September 17 also by the Soviet Russia, the 7-day heroic defence of this place (against much stronger enemy forces) became a legend of the Polish defensive war. As a result of decisions made at the conferences in Yalta and Potsdam, and as the consequence of a radical shift of its borders, Poland lost 1/5 of its pre-war territory.

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1   Archives of the Warsaw Reconstruction Office – containing 11,679 units of archival documents showing the destruction of Warsaw during World War II and the subsequent reconstruction of the city, were entered into the list of the UNESCO "Memory of the World" Program in 2011.

Fig. 1. Gdańsk, part of the Main Town, bird's-eye view towards north-west, 1930s, archive of the National Heritage Board of Poland.

At the same time Gdansk together with the neighbouring territory became part of Poland. The decisions of the Big Three eventuated in mass displacement of the German population to the west[2] as well as of Poles living in the east – in the territories of present-day Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine and Russia. Thus, during the first few years after the war, Gdańsk became inhabited mostly by Poles. For ordinary citizens arriving from places several hundred kilometres away, mainly from the east, the city was unknown and culturally foreign. On the other hand, for representatives of the then authorities and some intellectuals, the satisfaction of regaining Gdańsk for Poland was a symbolic settling of scores for previous historical injustices as well as material losses and war casualties.

The destruction of Gdańsk city centre caused by the war was enormous. The most devastated were residential houses. The wooden roof trusses and ceilings burned easily, and the densely constructed dwellings enabled the rapid spread of fire. Because of the destruction, as much as 80-95% of houses were deemed unusable.

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2   Beyond rivers Odra and Nysa Łużycka.

Fig. 2. Gdańsk, Main Town, Part of Mariacka and Św. Ducha Streets, view towards North-East, 1948, photo by Kazimierz Lelewicz, archive of the National Heritage Board of Poland.

This did not mean that it was impossible to rebuild them. Most of the architectural structures of the churches survived, they had mostly damaged roofs, partly vaults and antique furnishings. However, in the majority of municipal buildings only architectural structures survived *(Fig. 2).*

Against this background, discussions on the shape of the city centre reconstruction began. Some people expressed the view that "Gdańsk should not be rebuilt at all (...) No one seriously thinks about rebuilding the Forum Romanum to its original state so as to place the county authority in Basilica Julia, and to organize motorcycle races in the Colosseum" [Janowski, 1946: 8]. These are the outlines of the three basic approaches that emerged from the discussions:

- Preservative – in the form of arranging the Main Town into a place like Pompeii or Herculaneum [Gruszkowski, 1962: 425];

- following that example, it was postulated to leave relics of historical buildings in the form of a permanent ruin documenting the eruption of Nazi barbarity, while preserving monumental buildings testifying to the former glory of the city and transferring the city centre to the port quarters;
- Modernist – the idea was to level the debris and on the basis of a modern plan erect a modern city centre on top of them [Rymaszewski, 1992: 80] or to construct modern buildings situated on the layout of the former main streets with the use of underground utilities;
- Historical – assuming detailed reconstruction in the historical shape only of the Main Town with the shift of collision functions to the areas adjacent to it. This idea was presented for the first time at the beginning of September 1945, by the vice-president of Gdańsk who came from Warsaw, Professor Władysław Czerny. That was the topic of his inaugural lecture beginning the post-war activity of the Gdańsk University of Technology.

After fierce discussions, the concept that was finally adopted assumed recreation in historical forms only of the Main Town, for which significant amounts of documentation materials was preserved and which, unlike neighbouring quarters, was not much changed during the 19th and early 20th centuries.[3]

Apart from political and ideological considerations, the factors in favour of the adopted concept included:

- well-preserved walls of monumental medieval churches;
- preserved architectural structures of the most important secular public buildings;
- the possibility to recreate the most valuable historic interiors with the use of their original furnishing which, thanks to the efforts of the then Preservation Officer[4], were well documented and hidden before the battle front reached Gdańsk;
- economic factors – reconstruction using the existing network of streets and underground infrastructure was cheaper than building a district from scratch.

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3   The concept outlined in 1945 in the program of the General Historical Preservation Officer, Jan Zachwatowicz was then elaborated in the form of a detailed urban plan accepted by him in 1948, prepared by Władysław Czerny, Stanisław Bobiński and Witold Doliński.

4   Erich Volmar, these works were carried out under the guidance of engineer Jakob Deurer.

Fig. 3. Gdańsk, St. Mary's Church and a part of Długie Pobrzeże, view from the east, 1950, photo by Kazimierz Lelewicz, archive of the National Heritage Board of Poland.

A significant influence on the adopted concept was exerted by Jan Borowski[5] – an architect and restorer who came from Vilnius in October 1945, and who became the first post-war Voivodeship Monuments Preservation Officer. From the beginning of his work, he undertook activities related to securing the most valuable historic buildings (which was often the decisive factor in their preservation), estimating losses and organizing a preservation-restoration office. He was the person who on October 11, 1947, decided to provide legal protection to the area of the city centre within the boundaries of the 17th century fortifications. This document enabled the shaping of the area in accordance with the preservation principles *(Fig. 3)*.

Unlike the Warsaw Old Town, in view of the enormous scale of destruction throughout the country and the lack of educated personnel, it was assumed that the Main Town would be rebuilt as a housing estate. A public investor[6] offered the chance to recreate the historic character of the quarter, but at the same time carried the threats associated with the compromise resulting from the need to meet hygienic, social and functional requirements. This idea quickly found a large social support among preservation-restoration officers, architects and artists who came mainly from the former Polish lands in the east, as well as among the broader public.

As part of the urban plan adopted for implementation[7], clear preservation-restoration rules were defined:

- preservation of the network of streets and squares;
- reconstruction of built areas whereby in place of the former outbuildings, courtyards and green areas were to be arranged;
- abandoning the reconstruction of outbuildings and other structures formerly located inside the housing blocks;
- reconstruction of townhouses set on a grid of medieval narrow lots, with preservation and use of the ground floor and basement walls;

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5   Jan Borowski was at that time an employee of Państwowa Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków Architektury Naczelnej Dyrekcji Muzeów i Ochrony Zabytków *(State Studio for the Preservation and Restoration of Monuments of Architecture at the Supreme Directorate of Museums and Monuments Protection).*

6   Workers' housing estate.

7   "Gdańsk. Miejscowy plan zagospodarowania przestrzennego części dzielnic staromiejskich" (Gdańsk. *Local spatial development plan for selected Old Town quarters)* called Zachwatowicz's plan, from the name of patronizing over the whole project General Monuments Preservation Officer.

- resignation (except for a dozen or so of the most valuable objects) from the recreation of a deep, three-bay layout of townhouses due to the need for adequate solar irradiance of interiors, the original length of the projection was preserved only in corner buildings with side elevations;
- construction of 3-4 storey buildings with a modern interior layout;
- facades of townhouses at Długa, Długi Targ, Piwna and Garncarska[8] streets were to be strictly reconstructed on the basis of preserved engravings and photographs, with the difference between them and other buildings being that the ground floors would also have a historic character, with the possibility of joining interiors of several townhouses[9].

The purpose of the planned works was also to recreate and emphasise the original medieval plan of the city and to partially rebuild the defensive walls with the accompanying gates and towers.

Reconstruction began in the quarter around Długa, Pocztowa, Ogarna and Garbary streets, at the beginning of June 1949. As it was the first such work, this place was called experimental block. Shortly after its completion, the work was met with a barrage of criticism from both preservation-restoration specialists and architects. The main objections were:

- construction of buildings of the same depth;
- placement of windows at the same height in the line of adjacent townhouses;
- the use of a typical window joinery, repeatable in the form and size;
- replacement of old stone elements with artificial stone;
- the use of ordinary painted plaster, which resulted in dilution of paint and loss of colour.

Full reconstruction, based on the method developed by the staff of the Institute of History of Polish Architecture at the Gdańsk University of Technology, began in 1952. On the basis of historical reports, the Institute's specialists made drawings of reconstruction of individual frontages of the streets in a scale of 1:200. Each elevation had

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8   This street is located outside of the Main Town. Indicating its possible faithful reconstruction shows that a serious consideration was given to concept of harmoniously connecting the Old Town railway station transport hub with the Main City. At that time, due to the advanced construction process of multi-family residential buildings at Kowalska and Rajska streets, it was the only opportunity for combining these areas in a historical shape.

9   These facades were screen elements, behind which were contemporary apartments, often of the widths of two or three facades.
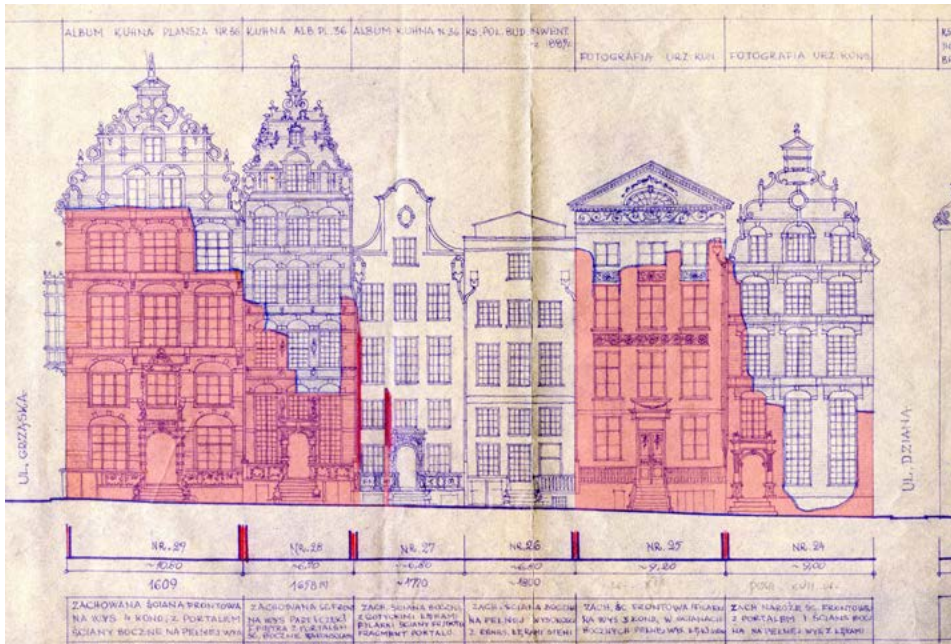
Fig. 4. A portion of historical documentation on a complex of townhouses at 24-29 Chlebnicka Street in Gdańsk, showing the preserved walls against the background of reconstructed buildings, 1952, the archive of National Heritage Board of Poland.

a brief description of the state of preservation and a reference to iconography, which was the basis for its reconstruction. Thanks to this, an architect preparing the project documentation could use the archives on his/her own. The adopted principle was that the designs for implementation were subject to assessment and correction by the authors of the reconstruction. In the years 1952-1960, most of residential buildings were reconstructed. After 1960, the pace of construction works slowed down[10], which was beneficial to the city *(Fig. 4)*.

Mariacka Street, which was designed after the reconstruction of Długa and Długi Targ, is the best reconstructed urban development complex in Poland [Krzyżanowski, 1986: 100]. After drawing conclusions from the previous mistakes, basically all flats were adjusted to the heights of the original storeys. The high entry halls have been

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10   The main focus was on finishing work on elevations.

Fig. 5. Gdańsk, Mariacka Street, view towards the west, 2006. Photo by Tomasz Błyskosz.

Fig. 6. Gdańsk, Crane and Długie Pobrzeże, view towards south-west, 2006. Photo by Dorota Hryszkiewicz-Kahlau, the archive of National Heritage Board of Poland.

preserved at the ground floor level. The form of the woodwork was varied, adapted to the character of the elevation. Service premises for artists were envisaged under the stoops *(Fig. 5)*.

During that time, work of many years dedicated to the reconstruction of the most valuable sacral and municipal developments was completed. These included: the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1955), one of the most important symbols of Gdansk – Żurawia Street (1959), the Great Armoury (1961), the Town Hall of the Main Town - with the seat of the Gdańsk Museum (1970, reconstruction of hełm (spire) (1950). These works were carried out with the utmost care, most often with the use of antique stonework and the furnishing which had been protected from the approaching frontline. In the monument preservation-restoration circles, they were appreciated both at home and abroad. Destruction of residential buildings in the vicinity of defensive walls, just like in Warsaw, made it possible to clarify their course

and carry out their revalorization. It was also decided not to build up the southern section of the foreground of defensive walls, thanks to which it was possible to display a picturesque panorama of the reconstructed complex in the Main Town *(Fig. 6)*.

Gdańsk Shipyard

In 1945, along with securing the most valuable historic buildings of Gdańsk, there began the works aimed at putting into operation the port of Gdańsk and industrial plants. Among them, shipyards were of key importance for the recovery of the naval economy. At that time, these enterprises were staffed by the Soviet army officials, because they were treated as war spoils. In May 1945, the Soviet Defence Committee specified the division of property between countries - 70% of the equipment preserved in the shipyard No. 1 (pre-war Gdańsk Shipyard, and earlier the Imperial Shipyard) and No. 2 (formerly Schichau Shipyard) was assigned for export to the Soviet Union. On July 21, 1945, the first Polish workers entered these areas[11]. On October 19, 1947, shipyards No. 1 and 2 were merged into a new enterprise called Gdańsk Shipyard. Already in November 1948, on the old slipway, there was the first post-war launching of a ship. It was a collier named Sołdek[12].

During the reconstruction of the plant, ten almost completely destroyed buildings and barracks were dismantled, several slightly damaged buildings were renovated, and the production halls were equipped with new installations. Despite the damages, the preserved complex of movable and immovable objects of the Gdańsk Shipyard is an outstanding example of over 100 years of history of constructing sea-going vessels - from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century. It includes several dozen structures:

- huge production halls for various purposes;
- a unique dock from the second half of the 19th century enabling the launching of ships constructed on three horizontal slips, using a dry dock;
- as well as preserved semi-dock slipways;
- and transport (rail tracks, cranes, bitts) and power infrastructure – reinforced concrete light poles.

11   First of all, the area was cleaned up and machines were put into operation.
12   From the name of mould loft worker, work champion.

Fig. 7. Gdańsk, part of the former Gdańsk Shipyard, bird's eye view in the south-eastern direction, 2008. Photo by Wiesław Stępień, the archive of National Heritage Board of Poland.

The preserved complex of Gdańsk Shipyard buildings is a perfect example of more than a century of development and evolution of industrial architecture resulting from changes in stylistic conventions, type of property, material and structural progress in construction solutions and technical and technological progress in shipbuilding:

- from buildings with partly wooden structures – in the former equipment prefabrication hall (building 41A);
- objects continuing the traditions of Schinkel's historicism – (management building 128A);
- building in Art Nouveau style from the beginning of the 20th century – (building 38A);
- to modernist buildings from the 1940s using reinforced concrete construction solutions (90B and the most monumental building of this type - 89A) [Affelt, 2015: 39-42].

Fig. 8. Gdańsk, part of the former Gdańsk Shipyard, the building of sheet iron works and mould loft, 2018. Photo by Tomasz Błyskosz, the archive of National Heritage Board of Poland.

The area of the Gdańsk Shipyard is directly connected with the recent history of Poland, Europe and the world. It is the place where, in August 1980, a workers' strike broke out, quickly spreading to other workplaces throughout Poland. The protesters sent the authorities a list of 21 demands calling for economic changes, respect for human rights and, above all, the right to freely organize into trade unions. On August 31, 1980, in the BHP (Occupational Health and Safety) Hall of the Gdańsk Shipyard, an agreement was signed with the communist authorities, under which an independent self-governing trade union, Solidarność, or Solidarity in English, was formed, the first one in the Eastern bloc. As a result of the partially-free parliamentary elections conducted in June 1989, Poland became the first country in Eastern Europe where the democratic opposition had a real influence on governing the country. This event initiated democratic transformations in this part of the world. The Gdańsk Shipyard – as the birthplace of Solidarity is a symbol of the idea of solidarity among nations, which played a crucial role in the collapse of the communist system and the end of the division of the world into two hostile camps.

Fig. 9. Gdańsk, Historic Gate No. 2 of the former Gdańsk Shipyard, 2018. Photo by Tomasz Błyskosz, the archive of National Heritage Board of Poland.

At present, among the candidates from Poland on the Tentative List[13], is an application under the heading Gdańsk – Town of Memory and Freedom, submitted in 2005. It includes three areas proposed for entry in the World Heritage List:

1. A complex of 12 historic buildings in the Main Town.
2. Memorial site: Westerplatte – the place where World War II began.
3. Memorial site: Part of the Gdańsk Shipyard connected with the creation of Solidarity, and The Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers.

Since then, the Government of the Republic of Poland has been making efforts to ensure legal protection for post-shipyard areas. Last year[14], by the decision of the General Conservator of Monuments, prof. Magdalena Gawin, the most valuable complex of shipbuilding halls with slipways and shipyard cranes in the former pre-war Gdańsk Shipyard, and earlier Imperial Shipyard, was entered in the register of mon-

13   http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/530/ (accessed: 17.04.2019)
14   December 14, 2017

uments. Currently, there are on-going proceedings for listing in the register of monuments the remaining two valuable areas that are important from the point of view of integrity and authenticity:

- the area adjacent to the historic Gate No. 2;
- as well as the area of the former Schichau Shipyard including a slipway complex and the largest shipbuilding hall - the mould loft building and Lech Wałęsa's workplace.

Conclusion

Based on Gdańsk's experience related to the reconstruction of the city's historical heart from war damage, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- the decision to rebuild historical objects in their former shape should be based on:
  - having good archival documentation (inventory and iconography);
  - speedily securing the preserved relics of the original buildings and equipment/furnishing against adverse interference of nature and humans;
  - conducting interdisciplinary research using scientific methods in order to define preservation and restoration conditions and guidelines required to prepare project documentation for a place or object planned to be rebuild;
  - adaptation of the new function to the character of a given area or object enabling maximum preservation of the historic substance and character of the building, and also, which is often a key argument;
  - obtaining general public acceptance for the reconstruction process that allows for securing partial or total public funding.
- preceding action serving to preserve the cultural identity of a given place is the systematic collection of relevant records and preservation-restoration documentation;
- at the same time, it is important to develop a system of protection of historic furnishing, which in the event of imminent danger of war or natural disasters will help save, transfer or secure such monuments.

This is a paradox, and at the same time the Gdańsk phenomenon that the reconstruction of the city's heart in the historical shape was accomplished by people for whom this place was foreign culturally, but which quickly became familiar with it, began to love it and found in it their small homeland.

Fig. 10. Gdańsk, Main Town, bird's-eye view towards the north, 2006, the archive of National Heritage Board of Poland.

Résumé

L'auteur a présenté la question du renouveau de la ville de Gdańsk après les dégâts de guerre de 1945. Il a examiné le processus d'élaboration de la stratégie de restauration, le concept de reconstruire le centre-ville et de réédifier les bâtiments historiques les plus précieux, ainsi que de restaurer la plus grande usine industrielle de la ville – le chantier naval de Gdańsk.

Les exemples de reconstruction, après les désastres de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, des villes de Varsovie et de Gdańsk – les deux projets de restauration les plus importants et les plus spectaculaires de cette nature en Pologne – correspondent parfaitement au thème de la conférence. En Pologne qui était en train de renaître après les dégâts de guerre, la reconstruction de la Vieille Ville de Varsovie, le cœur de la capitale, la partie la plus ancienne et la plus précieuse du centre historique de la ville, semblait évidente, d'autant plus qu'une vaste documentation du quartier a pu être conservée dans les archives.[1] L'idée de la reconstruction a été d'ailleurs accueillie avec enthousiasme par les Polonais.

La situation de Gdańsk était bien différente. Pour la dresser, il convient de rappeler quelques faits historiques. Avant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, la ville faisait partie d'une unité politique autonome, créée en vertu du Traité de Versailles et sous la protection de la Société des Nations, appelée la Ville libre de Dantzig. Dans cette ville, qui du XIème à la fin du XVIIIème siècle (sauf la période des Chevaliers Teutoniques) était gouvernée par la Pologne, les Polonais ne représentait que 9% de la population au début de la guerre.

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1   Les archives du Bureau de reconstruction de Varsovie contiennent 11.679 unités d'archives présentant la destruction de Varsovie pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale et la reconstruction ultérieure de la ville. En 2011, les archives ont été a été inscrits au Registre de la Mémoire du Monde de l'UNESCO.

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Since 2007, he works in l'ISPAN, where is Technical Director. In the same time he is World Heritage Focal Point for the National Historic Park, Citadel, Sans-Souci & Ramier and Citadel Works Engineer. After the earthquake of 2010 he worked as Director of the Measurement Conservation project.

Historique Citadelle Sans Souci Ramiers Haiti (Pnh-Cssr). Confortement de la Citadelle

Colas Elsoit

Geographical location of the Republic of Haiti

With an area estimated at more than 27,000 square kilometers, the Republic of Haiti, along with its satellite islands (the Gonave, the Turtle, the Cow Island, the Cayemites, the Navy, the Great Caye and the other islands of the Territorial Sea), occupies more than one-third (36.0%) of the island bearing the same name. It is located between 18° and 19° north latitude and 68° and 75° west longitude *(Fig. 1)*.

Fig. 1. Map of Haiti. © OpenStreetMap contributors.
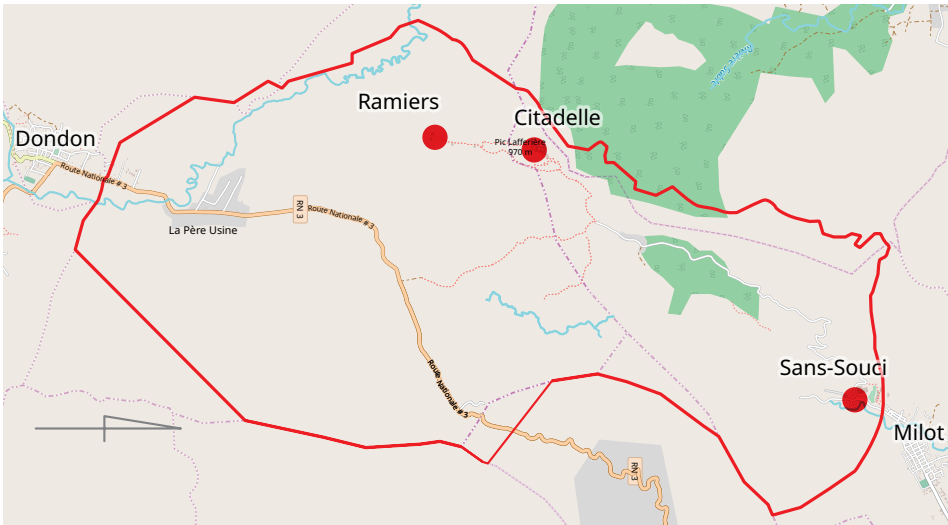
Fig. 2. © OpenStreetMap contributors.

History of the PNH CSSR

Located in the northern part of the Republic of Haiti, the National Historical Park is part of the central zone of the northern massifs that extend into the Dominican Republic. It encompasses, in the department of North, four communes: Milot, Dondon, Plaine-du-Nord, and Grande-Rivière du Nord. It is characterized by a complex morphological structure formed of massive and steep limestone slopes to the west (the chain of Bonnet-à-l'Evêque); to the south, the gloomy Ka Madi, gnawed by runoff waters that give it a uniform appearance; volcanic massifs (Morne Jerome, Morne Ginette …) notched many gullies that go down north to Milot and south along the valley Brostage, flat depression that is the gateway between the north of the country and the interior, forming the Dondon pass. *(Fig. 2)*

The Citadel Henri

Following the order of General Jean-Jacques Dessalines in April 1804, General Henri Christophe erected at the summit of the Bonnet à l'Évêque, at an altitude of 900 meters, a huge fortification (approximately 10,000 m^2) in order to avert the eventual

Fig. 3. With the following nomenclatures in a clockwise direction: Coidavid Battery – The Rotunda – Royal Battery – Officers' Quarters – Princes Battery – Queen Battery – Prince Royal Battery – Battery Mayor Louise – Battery Grand Boucan – Inner Powder Magazine – Battery Levis Bridge - Governor's Palace and in the middle of the Citadel Place d'Armes.

return of French troops. The Citadelle Henri is a harmonious synthesis of classical applications of bastioned military works of the Marquis de Vauban and the theory of vertical fortifications developed by the Marquis de Montalembert.

Implemented according to the plans of the Haitian military engineer Jean Etienne Barre, the Citadelle Henri is equipped with more than two hundred guns which constitute the largest collection of weapons of this type in the world. They are placed in the Pont Levis batteries, Grand Boucan, Princesses, Marie Louise, Royale & Coidavid, which revolve around a central courtyard. This icon of freedom has been the focus of the Haitian state for eighty years; it was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1982.

Fig. 4. The Sans Souci Palace. Photo: Wikimedia.

The Sans Souci Palace

Surrounded by mountains and covered with lush vegetation, Sans Souci Palace is one of the four monuments of the Citadelle National Historical Park, Sans-Souci, Ramiers (PNH-CSSR), located in the North of Haiti, in the commune of Milot. *(Fig. 4)*

Ramiers

Located at the top of Morne Ramiers, in the commune of Dondon and overlooking the Brostage valley, this fortified site completes the role played by the citadel Henry in the postcolonial defensive system and remains in the collective memory as the residence of the Queen. The site of the Ramiers is built on a small plateau located at the southern end of the bonnet to the bishop, commands a superb panorama and reveals an unexpected appearance of the Citadel, with its massive silhouette against the emptiness of the sky. In the centre of this small plateau are the ruins of the residence inside a protected perimeter; it is composed of four (4) redoubts shaped like truncated pyramids that could only be accessed with the help of a drawbridge
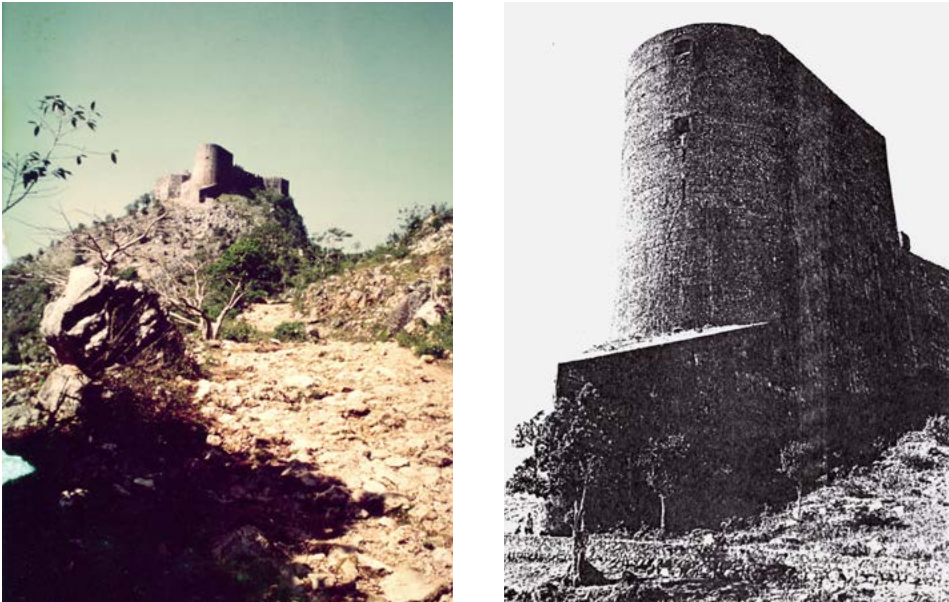
Fig. 5. The Citadel before inventorying in 1979-1982.

Strengthening of the Citadel

Methodology of the comfort of the Citadel:

- Analysis and diagnosis of the Citadel microclimate
  – static and seismic situation of the Citadel;
- Recommendation;
- Conclusion.

Analysis and diagnosis of the Citadel

Microclimate situation

As part of the analysis of the Citadel, a monitoring system was installed to record changes in the microclimate inside the Coidavid battery and its obvious static degradation due to earthquake or soil compaction.

Microclimate data evaluation

As in the original design, the location of the sensors consists of two separate probes recording the temperature values: the external reference probe *(red curve in Fig. 7a)* and the internal value represented by the blue curve.

Coidavid Baterry – 5th level
Strain Gauges Location

SG1

SG2 – SG3
SG4 – SG5
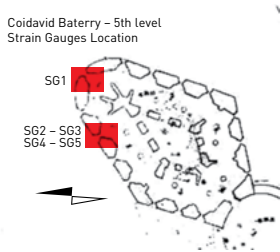
Fig. 6. View of the location of the monitoring sensors at the Coidavid battery.

The SG1 tool is located in the floor and aims to record the movements of the fissure cutting the pavement from the gun window to the large hole that opens in the floor in the extreme corner of the Coidavid, in the same direction of the spur.
The two photos *(Fig. 7b)* show how the water is distributed inside the masonry in the embrasure exposed to the north of the Coidavid battery, affecting the vault and the vertical walls; this means that the water comes from the upper vault and the smoke

Fig. 7a
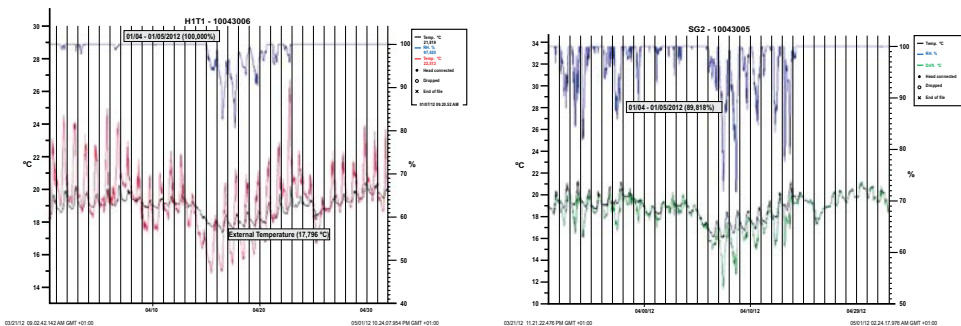
Location	Temperature (MAX) °C	Temperature (min) °C	Temperature (Average) °C	ΔT°C
H1T1 - Outdoor	26,7	14,9	20,8	11,8
H1TI - Indoor isolated	20,5	17,3	18,9	3,2
SG2- Indoor open	21,4	16,2	18,8	5,2

window on the doorway. All the restoration archives show that the water is concentrated on the top of the openings. The fact that all restoration work was done using concrete causes the risk of collapse of the original masonry.
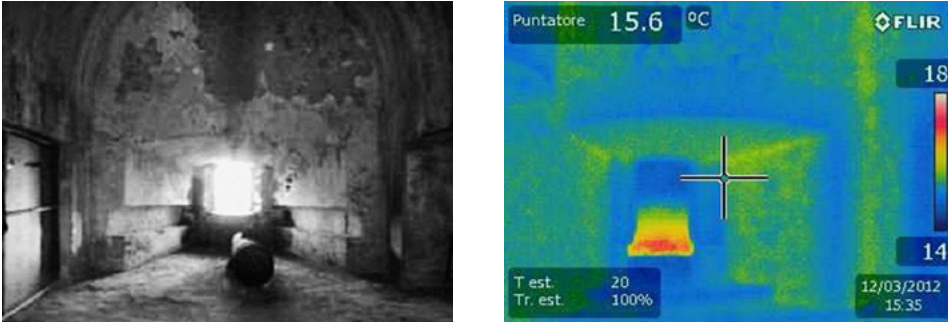
Fig. 7b. Water distribution in the set 3 embrasure.

Mechanical evaluations of solicitation

The two photos *(Fig. 8)* show sensors that record the movements of the Coidavid Battery and measure the mechanical stresses of the structure, located in diagonal cracks whose maximum value of movements is indicated by the movements of the building.

The data recorded so far confirms the negative conservation of the Coidavid battery both in terms of indoor microclimate and the static stability of the building. With regard to the values of the inner microclimate, it seems that the infiltration of water both at the top of the masonry and in the inefficient original drainage system causes the increase of
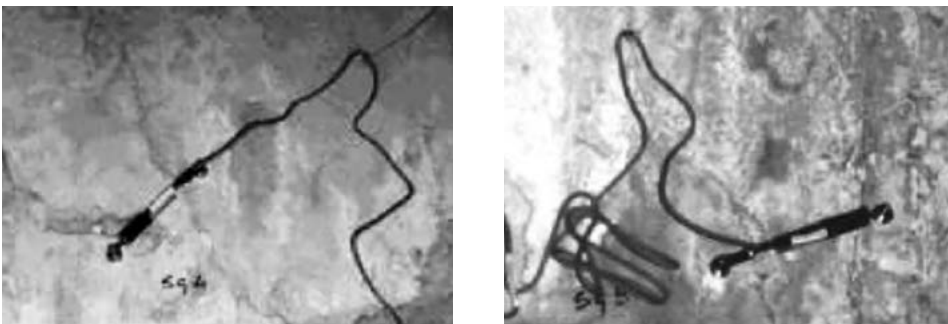
Fig. 8

the relative humidity value up to the point of saturation and consequent condensation of liquid water on the walls. This induces the degradation of bonding mortars and the reduction of masonry strength. The dynamic monitoring of certain cracks that affect the monument shows that all parts of the building are moving.
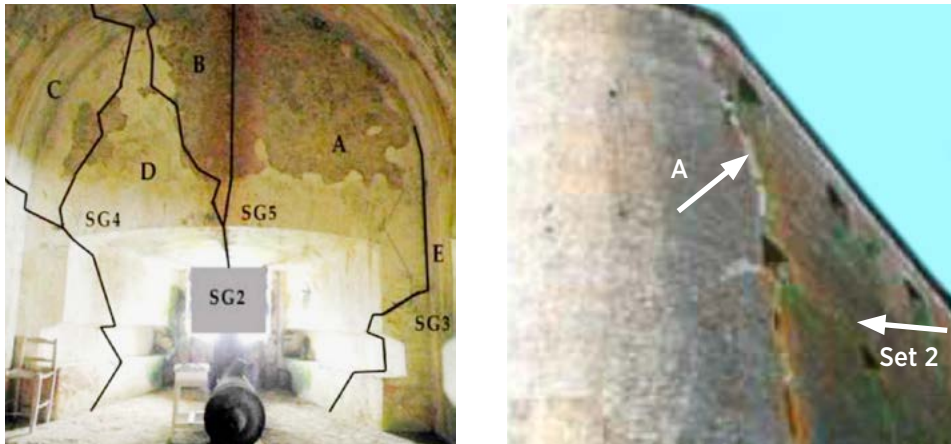
Fig. 9. Left: **A:** sector tends to glide and press the fissure SG3 reducing its thickness of about 0,1560mm; **B:** this section of the wall tends to glidepressing the fissure SG5 that reduces in thickness of about 0,1465 mm; **C:** the section causes that SG4 locationrecorded the maximum elongation of 0,1578 mm. Right: **A:** This fissure probably newly opened causing the shrinkage of Set 2.

Seismic situation

Given the seismicity of the area and the fact that the complex has been hit by the 1842 earthquake, there is a high probability that the site will experience earthquakes in the future.
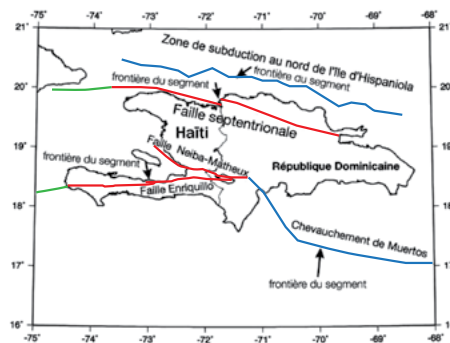
Fig. 10. Haiti seismic map.

Fig. 11. View of ruptures on the axis of the windows, and the cracks of the Coidavid battery outside and inside.

Synthetic description of the building

The diamond-shaped Coidavid battery is located on the eccentric part of the ridge at the north-east corner of the Citadel. Its symmetrical plane follows the longitudinal axis of the lateral rocky ridge, below the main ridge.

The rocky outcrop is narrow and very steep, the foundation of the outer wall is up to twenty meters lower than the floor of level 1 (especially east of the south-east facade). The bottom of the south-east walls and the north have drainage barbacans up to the first floor, on the height of the embankments they contain. These walls have an external fruit. To stop the movements and degradations of the Citadel, UNESCO/UNDP-funded works carried out between 1982 to 1991 focused on the following:

- The installation of wood-frame roofs with aluminum bins on the Coidavid Battery, wooden roofs with tiles on Royal batteries, Officers' Quarters, and battery-sealing Marie Louise, Princess and Governor's Palace, whose objective was to avoid the leaching of masonry and reduce the infiltration of water into the walls;
- Repointing work, lime grouting of cracks and walls;
- The implementation of the shoring of the Coidavid Battery with a wooden gantry system, the objective of which was to reduce the translation of the structure and stabilize the masonry and brick vaulted floors.
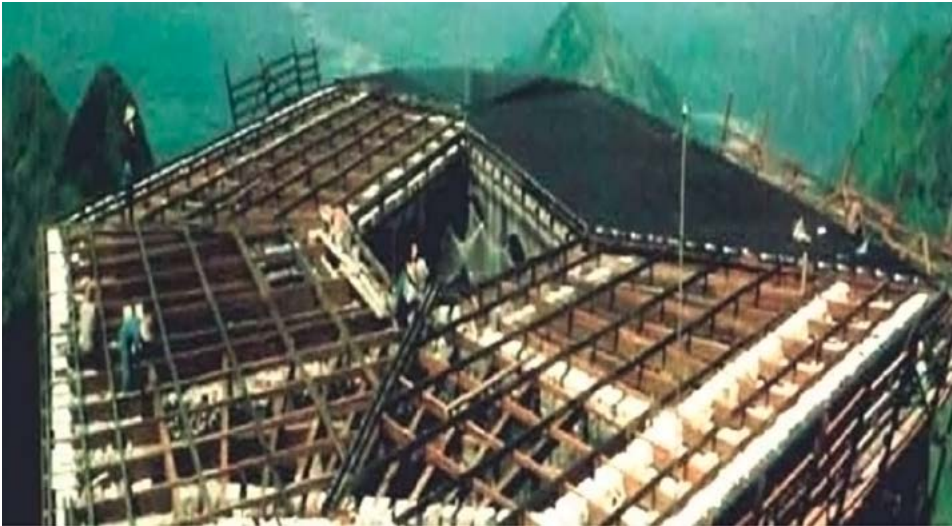
Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Obviously, these problem areas arose from the mechanical stresses resulting from the earthquake of 1842 and that of January 12, 2010, and can be explained by various absences, including that of the top floor of level 5 and roof that would have formed a diaphragm on the occasion of these solicitations, and then that of low floors level

2 and level 3 which would have played the same role of diaphragm for the building and would have contained a part of shear loads. In the absence of these remedies, the stability of the building is especially compromised in case of earthquakes

Fig. 14
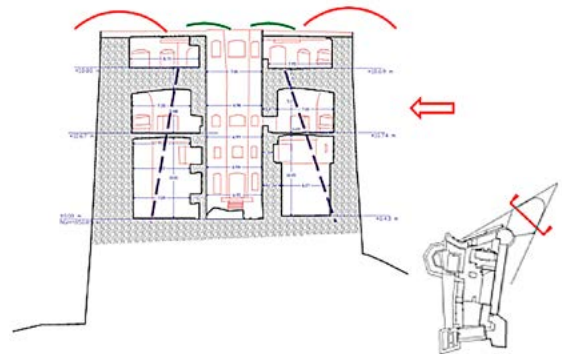
Légende:

⬅ Direction majeur du séisme de l'action du séisme de 1842

⌒ Oscillation muraille

------ Oscillation façade de la cour

Ruptures des murs et voûte en (+) et (-)

Dynamic analysis

The wooden floors and the masonry vaults had a much lower stiffness than the walls and the courtyard walls, and the mechanical connections with these walls had no resistance. They did not have a function of "diaphragm" in the dynamic sense of the term. As a result, the north and south-east walls, as well as the courtyard facades, functioned as a "free" oscillator, each with a different oscillation frequency depending on their geometry (height, thickness) and mass.

Following various analyses, several recommendations have been made for the safeguarding and conservation of the Citadel, especially the Battery Coidavid.
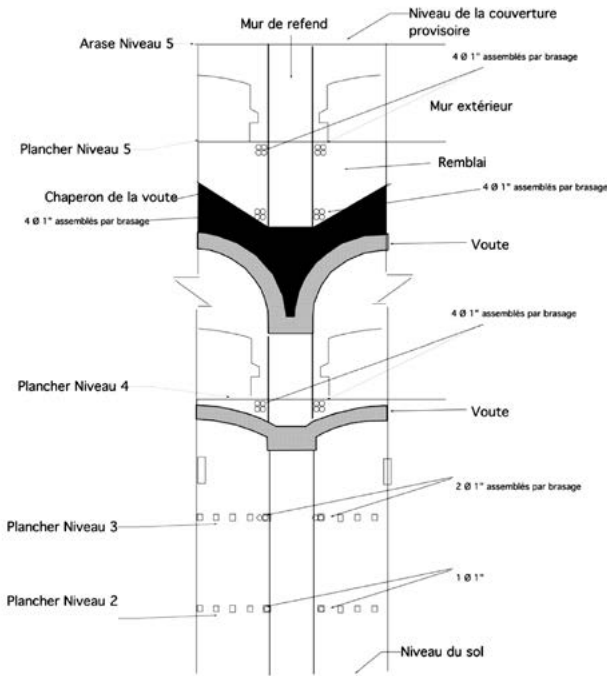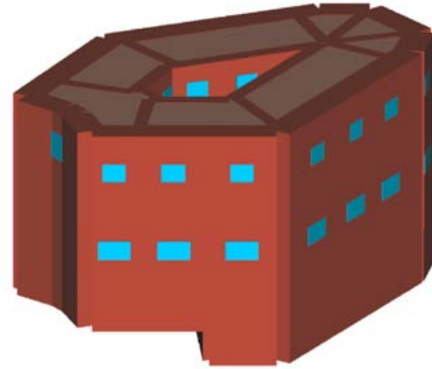
Simplified TreMuri model.
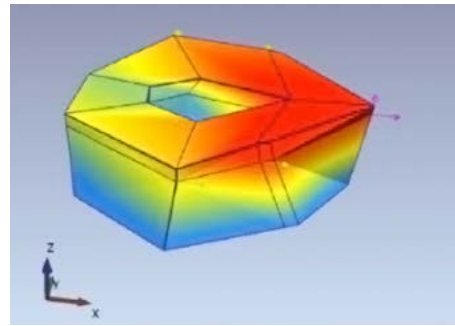
Fig. 15   Frequency 4,502Hz (Rapport BRGM).

Conclusion and recommendations

Recommendations for safety

The descents of vertical loads in the walls are assured. The load transfers of floors in the vaults are altered by local collapses but remain operational in a static situation.

ISPAN and its experts have already taken the necessary measures for the immediate safety of the public:
- installing a properly supported protection on the underside of the vault to prevent bricks and rubble falling on the premises;
- prohibition of unauthorized access to the public.

Recommended technical studies to be carried out before the reinforcing work

- Identification of the seismic parameters of the site for the purpose of verifications and possible calculations of additional structures;
- Definition of seismic acceleration "reference to the horizontal rock" on the site of the Citadel;
- Verification of the presence or absence of a transverse topographic site effect and the frequency of its spectral peak;
- Evaluation of the topographic coefficient;
- Evaluation of the current natural frequency recorded on the following parts of works:
  - High walls south, north, south-east and southwest;
  - Level 5 soil.

To reach its fixed objective there are two stages before launching the studies of reinforcing:
1. Studies: geotechnical / geological / seismic and structural;
2. Topographic survey.

Conclusion

Reaching the objective of reinforcing the citadel is a matter of employing all the new technologies in the field of civil engineering and monument conservation in order to understand the behaviour of the building before and after. Therefore, the modelling of the building with all the characteristics of the materials and its excise soil is the key step, which in turn will allow us to draft an action plan for strengthening the structure and resume analysis. To see the different movements and weaknesses of the modes of structural reinforcement, various models will be taken into account until adaptation of the model that presents the least risk of collapse, and the one that best meets the outstanding universal value of the property.

In conclusion, I would say that following the earthquake of January 12, 2010 the international community has looked favourably on Haiti, which allowed us to create great projects for the tourism and cultural sectors. In order to promote tourism development and support the preservation of heritage in the Northern Region, the

Government of Haiti has obtained a non-refundable contribution from the World Bank for the execution of a project entitled *"Project Heritage Preservation and Tourism Sector Support"* (PAST Project). The project, with a budget of $45 million USD, has the following objectives:

a. Increase the attractiveness of cultural sites in northern Haiti for tourists;
b. Improve the living environment for residents living in northern Haiti;
c. Support the Government's ability to respond quickly and effectively to a defined emergency, if necessary.

To achieve the first two objectives, the Project has three operational components:

Component A: Development of tourist sites and circuits through a selection of investments in the Citadelle Sans Soucis Ramiers National Historic Park (PNHCSSR) and the historic centre of Cap-Haïtien; $28 million;

Component B: Investments and local initiatives to support the development of inclusive tourism; $7 million;

Component C: Support for the development of tourism activities and services. $4 million.

Component A of the PAST Project targets the conservation, restoration and enhancement of northern heritage assets, including the National Historic Park (Citadelle, Sans-Souci, Ramier) and the Historic Centre of the city of Cap-Haitien. This work is being developed under the aegis of ISPAN, the national institution responsible and recipient of conservation management. (UNESCO is the technical support of ISPAN in the PAST project).

So to answer the different recommendations above and to reach the objective of strengthening the Citadel the project "PAST" has already carried out the following initiatives: the topographic survey of the monuments of the Park - the geotechnical / geological / structural studies - the analysis on the security and the vulnerability of the monuments of the PNH-CSSR.

Résumé

Situation géographique de la République d'Haïti : D'une superficie estimée à plus de 27 000 km², la République d'Haïti et ses îles satellites occupent plus du tiers de l'île du même nom.

Histoire de la PNH CSSR : Situé dans la partie nord de la République d'Haïti, le parc historique national fait partie de la zone centrale des massifs du nord qui s'étendent jusqu'en République dominicaine. La citadelle Henri a été érigée en avril 1804, au sommet du Bonnet à l'Évêque, afin d'éviter le retour éventuel des troupes françaises. La Citadelle Henri est une synthèse harmonieuse des applications classiques des ouvrages militaires bastionnés du marquis de Vauban et de la théorie des fortifications verticales développée par le marquis de Montalembert. Réalisée selon les plans de l'ingénieur militaire haïtien Jean Etienne Barre, la Citadelle Henri est équipée de plus de deux cent canons, qui constituent la plus grande collection d'armes de ce type au monde. Cet icône de la liberté est au centre des préoccupations de l'État Haïtien depuis quatre-vingts ans. il a été déclaré site du patrimoine mondial par l'UNESCO en 1982.

Confortement de la Citadelle : Dans le cadre de l'analyse de la citadelle, un système de surveillance a été installé pour enregistrer les changements du microclimat à l'intérieur de la batterie Coidavid et sa dégradation statique évidente due au tremblement de terre ou au compactage du sol, ainsi qu'à l'infiltration d'eau. Les données enregistrées jusqu'à présent confirment la conservation négative de la batterie Coidavid, tant en termes de microclimat intérieur que de stabilité statique du bâtiment. De plus, compte tenu de la sismicité de la région et du fait que le complexe a été frappé par le tremblement de terre de 1842, il est très probable que le site connaisse des tremblements de terre à l'avenir.

Les contraintes mécaniques résultant du séisme de 1842 et de celui du 12 janvier 2010 peuvent être expliquées par diverses absences structurelles de la vue, la stabilité du bâtiment étant particulièrement compromise en cas de séisme.

Analyse dynamique : Les planchers en bois et les voûtes en maçonnerie avaient une rigidité bien inférieure à celle des murs et des murs de la cour, et les liaisons mécaniques avec ces murs n'avaient aucune résistance. Ils n'avaient pas une fonction de «diaphragme» au sens dynamique du terme. En conséquence, les murs nord et sud-est, ainsi que les façades de la cour, fonctionnaient comme un oscillateur «libre», chacun avec une fréquence d'oscillation différente selon leur géométrie.

Conclusion et recommandations : Des recommandations pour la sécurité et des études techniques doivent être effectuées avant le début des travaux de renforcement.

Atteindre l'objectif de renforcement de la citadelle consiste à utiliser toutes les nouvelles technologies dans le domaine du génie civil et de la conservation des monuments afin de comprendre le comportement du bâtiment avant et après. Pour voir les différents mouvements et faiblesses des modes de renforcement structurel, différents modèles seront pris en compte jusqu'à l'adaptation du modèle présentant le moins de risque d'effondrement et celui qui correspond le mieux à la valeur universelle exceptionnelle du bien.

Suite au séisme du 12 janvier 2010, la communauté internationale a accueilli favorablement Haïti, qui a permis la création de grands projets pour les secteurs du tourisme et de la culture.

WARSAW RECOMMENDATION ON RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

RECOMMANDATION DE VARSOVIE SUR LE RELEVEMENT ET LA RECONSTRUCTION DU PATRIMOINE CULTUREL

WARSAW RECOMMENDATION ON RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

1. We, the 200 participants from more than 30 countries, representing different regions of the world, including institutions from Poland, the Global Alliance for Urban Crises, ICOMOS, ICCROM, the World Bank, UNISDR and UNESCO, gathered at the Royal Castle of Warsaw, on the occasion of the International Conference on Reconstruction "The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery" (6-8 May 2018), wish to express our gratitude and acknowledge the generous hospitality and intellectual leadership of the Polish authorities and of the City of Warsaw for providing a forum to reflect on the principles that should govern the recovery and reconstruction of World Heritage properties following armed conflict or disasters caused by natural hazards, as requested by the World Heritage Committee in its Decision 41 COM 7, adopted in Krakow in July 2017.

2. Recognizing the City of Warsaw, which provided the venue for the Conference, as being the most relevant and inspiring context to our deliberations, considering the tragedy of deliberate destruction it has suffered during World War II and the subsequent exemplary reconstruction of its historic centre, evidence of the strength of the spirit and determination of the Polish people to recover their cultural identity, as recognized through the inscription of the "Historic Centre of Warsaw" on the World Heritage List in 1980 and the inclusion of the "Archive of Warsaw Reconstruction Office" (BOS Archive) on the UNESCO Memory of the World Register in 2011.

3. Being deeply concerned by the growing impact of armed conflicts and disasters on important cultural and natural heritage places, including World Heritage properties, which in recent years have resulted in their widespread destruction on a scale similar to that of World War II, notably within historic urban areas and archaeological sites.

4. Condemning in the strongest terms, the numerous intentional attacks on cultural properties and in general the perpetration of all policies of 'cultural cleansing' aimed at erasing diversity, inciting sectarian violence and preventing the affected population from realizing their human rights, including cultural rights.

5. Being cognizant of the relevant international legal instruments and established doctrine in the field of cultural heritage and, within the context of the World Heritage Convention[1], of the need to ensure that any reconstruction be undertaken only in exceptional circumstances, while protecting the Outstanding Universal Value of the concerned properties and meeting the test of authenticity and conditions of integrity.

6. Recognizing, at the same time, the legitimate aspiration of concerned communities to overcome the trauma of conflicts, war and disasters by reconstructing as soon as possible their cities and villages – and particularly their affected cultural heritage – as a means to reaffirm their identity, restore their dignity and lay the conditions for a sustainable social and economic recovery.

7. Considering, moreover, that the recovery of the cultural heritage lost or damaged as a result of armed conflict offers unique opportunities, notably within the context of stabilization processes, to foster mutual recognition, promote dialogue and lay the ground for reconciliation among all components of society, particularly in areas characterized by a strong cultural

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1   The English and French versions of the Convention are available on the website: https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/ (8.08.2018).

diversity and/or hosting important numbers of refugees and/or internally displaced people, which will lead to new approaches to recovery and re-construction in the future.

8. Appreciating as well, through recent experiences of heritage recovery in countries affected by armed conflict and disasters, the review of numerous past case studies and the outcomes of several meetings and workshops on the topic held in many parts of the world, how closely connected cul-tural heritage is with humanitarian, security and peacebuilding concerns and why it should not be considered in isolation from other broader so-cial, economic and environmental issues in the context of post-conflict or post-disaster recovery and reconstruction policies and plans.

9. Mindful of Art. 5 of the World Heritage Convention, calling on States Par-ties "to adopt a general policy, which aims to give cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community", and of the 2015 Policy on the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective in the Processes of the World Heritage Convention[2], are convinced that each generation has the right to contribute to human legacy and to the wellbeing of pres-ent and future generations, including through adaptation to natural and historic processes of change and transformation.

10. Conscious also of the new possibilities offered by evolving technologies, in particular for very high-definition 3D digital recording and reproduction of material attributes of cultural heritage properties, and of the ethical challenges that this poses in relation to their possible reconstruction.

11. Considering that further guidance is required to assist States Parties, site managers, practitioners and communities through the multi-faceted chal-lenges that reconstruction brings, with due consideration given to its so-cial and economic context, the short- and long-term needs of properties, and the notion of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV).

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2   The English and French versions of the document are available on the website: https://whc.unesco.org/en/sustaina-bledevelopment/ (8.08.2018).

To this end, and based on the discussions at the Conference, **we propose the following non-exhaustive set of principles:**

TERMINOLOGY

In post conflict and post disaster situations, the overall goal is the recovery of the society. This aims at the consolidation of peace and security and at restoring or improving the economic, physical, social, cultural and environmental assets, systems and activities of an affected community or society, aligning with the principles of sustainable development and "build back better". An essential part of this process is the recovery of a place's heritage, which may include reconstruction.

The term "reconstruction", in the World Heritage context, is understood as a technical process for the restitution of destroyed or severely damaged physical assets and infrastructure following an armed conflict or a disaster. It is important to stress, in this regard, that such reconstruction of physical assets must give due consideration to their associated intangible practices, beliefs and traditional knowledge which are essential for sustaining cultural values among local communities.

VALUES

Prior to taking any decision on a proposal for recovery and reconstruction of a heritage place, it is essential to understand the values, which justified its inscription on the World Heritage List and the related attributes. It is equally essential, at the same time, to understand – and integrate in the reconstruction process – the values identified in the heritage property by local communities, including new values resulting from the traumatic events associated with the destruction, together with the corresponding physical attributes and related intangible cultural practices and traditional knowledge. Assessment of authenticity should take account of the recognized values of the property in accordance with the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity[3], emphasizing both material and other aspects.

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3   The Nara Document is a part of Operational Guidelines – Annex 4: https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (8.08.2018).

CONSERVATION DOCTRINE

Decisions on recovery and reconstruction should take into consideration conservation doctrine that aims to protect the Outstanding Universal Value of properties. Since the 1990s, there has been a doctrinal shift towards intangible dimensions as a result of the introduction of the concept of cultural landscapes and the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity. The emergence of these intangible associations needs to be consolidated within existing conservation doctrine.

COMMUNITIES

Decisions on recovery and reconstruction should follow people-centred approaches and fully engage local communities and, where appropriate, indigenous peoples, as well as other relevant stakeholders. Recovery and reconstruction should enable people to connect to their heritage, identity and history. In reconstructing heritage, consideration should be given to social justice and property titles and a rights-based approach should be applied, which would ensure full participation in cultural life, freedom of expression and access to cultural heritage for all individuals and groups, including refugees and internally displaced people, where relevant. In this regard, it is important to identify cultural rights and their holders in every reconstruction programme, and to ensure their prior and informed consent to key decisions, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention[4] and the 2015 Policy on the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective in the Processes of the World Heritage Convention.

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4   The English and French versions of the document are available on the website: https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (8.08.2018).

ALLOWING TIME FOR REFLECTION

While recognizing people's need to return at the earliest opportunity, sufficient time should be allowed for reflection before decisions are made within a gradual and additive approach, taking into consideration the evolving nature of values post-trauma, the challenges of ensuring a fully inclusive and participatory process of consultation and the complex interrelations between heritage and other societal needs in the context of post-conflict and post-disaster recovery and reconstruction.

RESILIENCE, CAPACITIES AND SUSTAINABILITY

Building resilience is essential to address destruction and disasters. In reconstructing heritage following an armed conflict or a disaster, it is critical to reduce existing structural and social vulnerabilities, including by building back better, and to improve quality of life, while retaining cultural values as much as possible. It is also essential to invest in long term capacity building in disaster risk management and conservation techniques, notably for craftspeople, in order to provide for a sustainable future of the heritage places.

MEMORY AND RECONCILIATION

Memorialization of the destruction should be considered for communities and stakeholders; this could be done through site interpretation or presentation, keeping selected remains of destruction for remembrance, education and tourist information, as appropriate. In the context of post-conflict recovery and reconstruction, such places should integrate as much as possible a shared narrative of the traumatic events that led to the destruction, reflecting the views of all components of the society, so as to foster mutual recognition and social cohesion, and establish conditions for reconciliation.

DOCUMENTATION

Proper documentation and inventories, including documentation of building methods, is key for a successful reconstruction of cultural heritage and for ensuring that it protects the Outstanding Universal Value and meets the test of authenticity and conditions of integrity. Documentation and its regular updating, making the most of the possibilities offered by new technologies, are essential

features of all site management so that in the event of disaster, the records are available as a basis for response post-trauma. It is important also to document activities during and after reconstruction. This process should not limit itself to the physical aspects of buildings, sites and collections, but capture as well the social and economic relations between these and the associated communities. In cases where no technical documentation is available, traditional knowledge and communal memories associated with the site, as appropriate, could also be used to guide reconstruction. It is important also to document the decision-making process during reconstruction, for future record.

GOVERNANCE

The key to a successful reconstruction of cultural heritage is the establishment of a strong governance that allows for a fully participatory process, is based on a comprehensive analysis of the context and on a clear operational strategy, including mechanisms for the coordination of national and international actors, and is supported by an effective public communication policy. In this process, it is essential that concern for cultural heritage is integrated in policies and plans of other sectors involved in the recovery and reconstruction effort, including housing, infrastructure, economic development, education and communication, amongst others, through the appropriate inter-institutional coordination mechanisms.

PLANNING

It is critical to develop heritage recovery and reconstruction projects within the larger urban planning context, giving consideration both to physical attributes and to the web of relations and uses with which they are associated. There are a variety of planning tools available for the development of special plans and projects for the recovery and reconstruction of heritage. Particularly useful, in the urban context, is the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL)[5] approach. Authorities should use such tools to develop guidance for local owners on matters such as materials, typologies and colours, in order to set out an overall approach to recovery and reconstruction of cultural heritage, while allowing for flexibility in the process. Planning strategies for heritage reconstruction should also give consideration to investing as a priority in the rehabilitation of public open spaces,

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5   UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape in English and French version is available on the website: https://whc.unesco.org/en/hul (8.08.2018).

as anchors around which communities can be engaged in decisions about the future of their cities. It is also important that any planning framework should pay full attention to issues of ownership and legislation.

EDUCATION AND AWARENESS RAISING

One important way to prevent the destruction of cultural heritage and support its recovery post-conflict and disaster is to promote the knowledge and appreciation of – and respect for – the diversity of cultures and heritage, notably through educational programmes at all levels and awareness raising initiatives.

WE ADDRESS THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS:

To the World Heritage Committee

Develop guidance for reconstruction and recovery at World Heritage sites, including Resource Manuals, further development of case studies and best practice examples, taking into account the principles listed above.

To the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention

Use the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) and integrated management approaches to achieve a holistic approach to reconstruction for post disaster recovery.

To the Advisory Bodies

Consider the clarification of conservation doctrine as it applies to reconstruction by reviewing the substantial body of charters, declarations and recommendations, further development of case studies as well as by providing specific advice to States Parties, as necessary.

To UNESCO, the World Bank, and other UN and International Bodies

Reaffirm that cultural and natural heritage, including World Heritage, is an essential and integral part of recovery and the growth of sustainable communities towards achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and ensure accordingly the necessary international coordination mechanisms.

Warsaw, 8 May 2018

RECOMMANDATION DE VARSOVIE SUR LE RELEVEMENT ET LA RECONSTRUCTION DU PATRIMOINE CULTUREL

1. Nous, 200 participants de plus de 30 pays représentant diverses régions du monde, y compris des institutions de Pologne, l'Alliance mondiale pour l'action contre les crises urbaines, l'ICOMOS, l'ICCROM, la Banque mondiale, l'UNISDR et l'UNESCO, sommes réunis au Château royal de Varsovie à l'occasion de la Conférence internationale sur la reconstruction, intitulée « Les défis du relèvement du patrimoine mondial culturel » (6-8 mai 2018), voudrions exprimer notre gratitude et notre appréciation pour l'hospitalité et l'appui intellectuel des autorités polonaises et de la ville de Varsovie pour avoir offert un forum de réflexion sur les principes qui devraient régir le relèvement et la reconstruction des biens du patrimoine mondial après des conflits armés ou des catastrophes naturelles, comme l'a demandé le Comité du patrimoine mondial dans sa décision 41 COM 7, adoptée en juillet 2017 à Cracovie.

2. Considérant la ville de Varsovie, hôte de la Conférence, comme un contexte important et inspirant pour nos délibérations, compte tenu de la tragédie de la destruction délibérée de la ville pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, et de la reconstruction exemplaire de son centre historique, qui constitue la preuve de la force de l'esprit et de la détermination de la nation polonaise dans la reconstruction de son identité culturelle, confirmée par l'inscription du centre historique de Varsovie sur la Liste du patrimoine

mondial de l'UNESCO en 1980, et l'inscription des Archives du Bureau de reconstruction de Varsovie (Archive BOS) au Registre « Mémoire du monde » de l'UNESCO en 2011.

3. Exprimant sa profonde préoccupation face à l'impact croissant des conflits armés et des catastrophes naturelles sur d'importants sites du patrimoine culturel et naturel, y compris les biens du patrimoine mondial, qui, ces dernières années, ont causé des dégâts considérables à une échelle comparable à celle de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, en particulier dans les zones urbaines et archéologiques historiques.

4. Condamnant fermement les nombreuses attaques délibérées contre les biens culturels et toutes les politiques de « nettoyage culturel » visant à éliminer la diversité, à encourager la violence motivée par la religion et à empêcher la population affectée d'exercer ses droits humains, y compris les droits culturels.

5. Considérant les actes juridiques internationaux pertinents et la doctrine acceptée dans le domaine du patrimoine culturel, ainsi que dans le contexte de la Convention du patrimoine mondial1, la nécessité de veiller à ce que le processus de relèvement ne soit entrepris que dans des circonstances exceptionnelles, tout en protégeant la valeur universelle exceptionnelle des biens et en respectant les critères d'authenticité et d'intégrité.

6. Reconnaissant, en même temps, l'aspiration légitime des communautés concernées à surmonter le traumatisme des conflits, des guerres et des catastrophes naturelles en reconstruisant dès que possible leurs villes et villages, en particulier leurs sites du patrimoine culturel, comme moyen d'authentifier leur identité, de restaurer leur dignité et de créer les conditions d'un renouveau social et économique durable.

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1 Les versions anglaise et française de la Convention sont disponibles sur le site Web: https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/ (8.08.2018).

7. Considérant en outre que la relèvement du patrimoine culturel perdu ou endommagé par les conflits armés offre des possibilités uniques, notamment dans le cadre des processus de stabilisation, de la promotion de la reconnaissance mutuelle, de la promotion du dialogue et de la réconciliation entre tous les secteurs de la société, en particulier dans les zones à forte diversité culturelle et/ou accueillant un nombre important de réfugiés et/ou de personnes déplacées à l'intérieur du pays, ce qui se traduit par une nouvelle approche du processus de relèvement et de reconstruction à l'avenir.

8. Compte tenu également, sur la base des expériences récentes de relèvement du patrimoine culturel dans les pays touchés par des conflits armés et des catastrophes, de l'examen de nombreuses études de cas antérieures et de nombreuses réunions et ateliers sur le sujet, organisés dans de nombreuses parties du monde, du fait que le patrimoine culturel est étroitement lié aux questions humanitaires, de sécurité et de consolidation de la paix et ne devrait donc pas être considéré indépendamment d'autres questions sociales, économiques et environnementales plus larges dans le contexte des politiques et plans de relèvement après un conflit ou après une catastrophe naturelle.

9. Ayant à l'esprit l'article 5 de la Convention du patrimoine mondial, qui invite les États parties à « adopter des politiques générales visant à donner au patrimoine culturel et à l'environnement naturel une place appropriée dans la vie communautaire », et la Politique pour l'intégration d'une perspective de développement durable dans les processus de la Convention de 20152, nous considérons que chaque génération a le droit de participer à l'édification du patrimoine de l'humanité et au bien-être des générations présentes et futures, notamment en s'adaptant aux processus naturels et historiques de changement et de transformation.

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2 Les versions anglaise et française du document sont disponibles sur le site Web: https://whc.unesco.org/en/sustainabledevelopment/ (8.08.2018).

10. Gardant également à l'esprit les nouvelles possibilités offertes par l'évolution des technologies, en particulier pour l'enregistrement numérique et la restauration en 3D à haute résolution des attributs matériels des sites du patrimoine culturel, ainsi que les préoccupations éthiques liées à leur éventuelle reconstruction.

11. Gardant en outre à l'esprit la nécessité d'élaborer de de nouvelles orientations pour aider les États parties, les gestionnaires de sites, les praticiens et les communautés à relever les multiples défis de la réhabilitation, en tenant dûment compte du contexte social et économique, des besoins à court et à long terme des installations et du concept de « valeur universelle excep-tionnelle » (VUE). À cette fin, et sur la base des discussions de la Conférence, **nous proposons l'ensemble de principes suivant et non exhaustifs:**

TERMINOLOGIE

Dans les situations post-conflit et post-crise, l'objectif premier est d'amener la société à se relever. Il s'agit de renforcer la paix et la sécurité et, de restaurer ou d'améliorer les ressources, les systèmes et les activités économiques, physiques, sociales, culturelles et environnementales de la communauté ou de la société affectée, conformément aux principes du développement durable et d'une « meilleure reconstruction ». Une partie importante de ce processus est la relèvement des lieux, qui peut également inclure la reconstruction.

Dans le contexte du patrimoine mondial, on entend par « reconstruction » le processus technique de restitution des biens et infrastructures endommagés ou gravement endommagés, à la suite d'un conflit armé ou d'une catastrophe naturelle. Dans ce contexte, il convient de souligner qu'une telle reconstruction de biens matériels doit tenir compte des pratiques immatérielles, croyances et savoirs traditionnels qui y sont associés et qui sont essentiels à la préservation des valeurs culturelles au sein des communautés locales.

VALEURS

Avant de prendre une décision sur une proposition de relèvement et de reconstruction d'un site, il est nécessaire de comprendre les valeurs qui ont justifié son inscription sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial et les attributs associés. Il est tout aussi important que les communautés locales comprennent et intègrent les valeurs identifiées dans le site patrimonial, y compris les nouvelles valeurs résultant des événements traumatisants de sa destruction, ainsi que les attributs physiques pertinents et les pratiques culturelles intangibles et les connaissances traditionnelles associées, dans le processus de restauration. L'évaluation de l'authenticité doit donc prendre en compte les valeurs reconnues du site, conformément au document de Nara sur l'authenticité de 1994[3], en mettant en évidence à la fois les aspects matériels et autres.

DOCTRINE DE CONSERVATION

Lorsqu'on décide du relèvement et de la reconstruction, la doctrine de la protection, qui vise à protéger la valeur universelle exceptionnelle du bien, devrait être prise en compte. Depuis les années 1990, à la suite de l'introduction du concept de paysage culturel et du Document de Nara sur l'authenticité de 1994, il y a eu un changement doctrinal vers une dimension immatérielle. L'émergence de tels liens intangibles devrait être consolidée dans le cadre de la doctrine de protection existante.

COMMUNAUTÉS

Les décisions relatives à la relèvement et à la reconstruction devraient être fondées sur une approche centrée sur la population et faire participer pleinement les communautés locales et, le cas échéant, les peuples autochtones ainsi que d'autres parties prenantes. Le relèvement et la reconstruction devraient permettre aux gens de se relier à leur patrimoine, à leur identité et à leur histoire. La justice sociale et le régime foncier devraient être pris en compte dans la restauration du patrimoine et une approche fondée sur les droits devrait être adoptée pour assurer la pleine participation à la vie culturelle, la liberté d'expression et l'accès au patrimoine culturel pour toutes les personnes et tous les groupes, y compris les réfugiés et les personnes déplacées à l'intérieur du pays,

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3 Le document de Nara fait partie des directives opérationnelles – annexe 4: https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (8.08.2018).

selon le cas. Dans ce contexte, il est important que chaque programme de réhabilitation identifie les droits culturels et les droits de ses détenteurs et assure leur consentement préalable et éclairé aux décisions clés, conformément aux dispositions des Orientations devant guider la mise en œuvre de la Convention du patrimoine mondial4 et de la Politique d'intégration des perspectives de développement durable dans les processus de la Convention du patrimoine mondial de 2015.

TEMPS DE RÉFLEXION

Tout en reconnaissant qu'un retour à l'état initial le plus tôt possible est nécessaire pour l'être humain, il convient de consacrer suffisamment de temps à la réflexion avant de prendre des décisions dans une approche progressive et complémentaire, en tenant compte de la nature changeante des valeurs après les catastrophes, des défis à relever pour assurer un processus de consultation pleinement inclusif et participatif et de la relation complexe entre le patrimoine culturel et les autres besoins sociaux dans le contexte du relèvement et reconstruction post-conflit et post-catastrophe naturelle.

RÉSILIENCE, CAPACITÉ ET DURABILITÉ

Le renforcement de la résilience est essentiel pour prévenir les dommages et atténuer les catastrophes. Lors de la restauration du patrimoine culturel après un conflit armé ou une catastrophe naturelle, il est nécessaire de réduire les vulnérabilités structurelles et sociales existantes, y compris par une meilleure reconstruction, et d'améliorer la qualité de vie tout en préservant les valeurs culturelles. Il faut également investir dans le renforcement des capacités de gestion des risques de catastrophe à long terme et dans les techniques de protection, en particulier pour les artisans, afin d'assurer un avenir durable pour les sites du patrimoine culturel.

MÉMOIRE ET RÉCONCILIATION

La possibilité de commémorer les dommages causés aux communautés et aux parties prenantes devrait être envisagée en interprétant ou en présentant le site, tout en préservant certains éléments de destruction pour la commémora-

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4 Les versions anglaise et française du document sont disponibles sur le site Web: https://whc.unesco.org/ en/guidelines/ (8.08.2018).

tion, l'éducation et l'information touristique, selon le cas. Dans le contexte de relèvement et de reconstruction post-conflit, ces lieux devraient, dans la mesure du possible, inclure un récit commun des événements traumatisants qui ont conduit à la destruction, reflétant les vues de tous les groupes sociaux, afin de promouvoir la reconnaissance mutuelle et la cohésion sociale et de créer les conditions de la réconciliation.

DOCUMENTATION

Une documentation et un inventaire adéquats, y compris la documentation des méthodes de construction, sont essentiels à la réussite de la restauration du patrimoine culturel et à la préservation de sa valeur universelle exceptionnelle et répond aux critères d'authenticité et d'intégrité. La documentation et sa mise à jour régulière, en utilisant au mieux les possibilités offertes par les nouvelles technologies, sont un élément essentiel de la gestion du site, de sorte qu'en cas de catastrophe, les dossiers disponibles constituent la base d'une réponse post-traumatique causée par la catastrophe. Il est également important de documenter les activités menées pendant et après la reconstruction. Ce processus ne devrait pas se limiter aux aspects physiques des bâtiments, des sites et des collections, mais devrait également tenir compte des relations sociales et économiques entre eux et leurs communautés. En l'absence de documentation technique, les connaissances traditionnelles et les mémoires communautaires du site peuvent également être utilisées, le cas échéant, pour guider le processus de réhabilitation. Il est également important de documenter le processus de prise de décision pendant et après la reconstruction.

GESTION

La clé d'une restauration réussie du patrimoine culturel est la mise en place d'un système de gouvernance solide qui permet un processus participatif, reposant sur une analyse globale du contexte et une stratégie opérationnelle claire, y compris des mécanismes de coordination entre les acteurs nationaux et internationaux, et soutenu par une politique de transport public efficace. Dans ce processus, il est essentiel que les préoccupations relatives au patrimoine culturel soient intégrées dans les politiques et les plans des autres secteurs impliqués dans les opérations

de relèvement et de reconstruction, y compris le logement, l'infrastructure, le développement économique, l'éducation et la communication, notamment par le biais de mécanismes de coordination interinstitutionnelle appropriés.

PLANIFICATION

Il est essentiel de développer des projets de relèvement et de reconstruction dans le contexte plus large de la planification urbaine, en tenant compte à la fois des attributs physiques et des réseaux et des applications auxquels ils se rapportent. Il existe de nombreux outils de planification permettant d'élaborer des plans et des projets spécifiques pour le relèvement et la reconstruction du patrimoine culturel. L'approche du Paysage urbain historique (Historic Urban Landscape – HUL)5 est particulièrement utile dans un contexte urbain. Les autorités devraient utiliser ces outils pour élaborer des orientations à l'intention des propriétaires locaux sur les questions de matériaux, de typologie et de coloration, afin de définir une approche globale de relèvement et de reconstruction du patrimoine culturel, tout en assurant la souplesse du processus. Les stratégies de planification de la restauration du patrimoine devraient également inclure des investissements dans la revitalisation des espaces publics ouverts, car ils fournissent une base pour impliquer les communautés dans les décisions concernant l'avenir de leurs villes. Il est également important de prêter attention aux questions de propriété et à la législation en matière de planification.

ÉDUCATION ET SENSIBILISATION

Un moyen important de prévenir la destruction du patrimoine culturel et de soutenir son relèvement à la suite de conflits et de catastrophes naturelles est de promouvoir la sensibilisation, la reconnaissance et le respect de la diversité des cultures et du patrimoine, en particulier par le biais de programmes éducatifs à tous les niveaux et d'initiatives de sensibilisation.

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5 Recommandation Concernant le Paysage Urbain Historique, les versions anglaise et française sont disponibles sur le site Web: https://whc.unesco.org/en/hul (8.08.2018).

NOUS ADRESSONS LES RECOMMANDATIONS CI-DESSOUS:

Au Comité du patrimoine mondial

Élaborer des orientations pour le relèvement et la reconstruction des biens du patrimoine mondial, y compris des instructions de références, développer davantage les études de cas et les exemples de meilleures pratiques, en tenant compte des principes énoncés ci-dessus.

Aux Etats parties à la Convention du patrimoine mondial

Utiliser le concept de Paysage urbain historique (HUL) et l'approche de gestion intégrée pour parvenir à une approche globale de la reconstruction pour le relèvement post-catastrophe.

Aux Organisations consultative

Envisager de clarifier la doctrine de conservation, telle qu'elle s'applique à la reconstruction, en examinant un ensemble complet de chartes, de déclarations et de recommandations, en développant davantage les études de cas, ainsi qu'en fournissant des conseils concrets aux États parties si nécessaire.

A l'UNESCO, la Banque mondiale et autres organismes des Nations Unies et institutions internationales

Réaffirmer que le patrimoine culturel et naturel, y compris le patrimoine mondial, est une partie essentielle et intégrale du relèvement et du développement durable des communautés, afin d'atteindre l'agenda de 2030 pour le développement durable, et garantir les nécessaires mécanismes de coordination internationale nécessaires.

Fait à Varsovie, le 8 mai 2018

PHOTO GALLERY

Prof. Wojciech Fałkowski, Director of Royal Castle in Warsaw.

Prof. Toshiyuki Kono, President ICOMOS International.

Lazare Eloundou Assomo, Deputy Director of World Heritage Centre, UNESCO.

The first day of the Conference. From the right: prof. Wojciech Fałkowski, prof. Magdalena Gawin, dr Mechtild Rössler, Lazare Eloundou Assomo, dr Zaki Aslan, dr Sameh N. Wahba.

Dr Sameh N. Wahba, Global Director for Urban and Territorial Development, World Bank.

The first day of the Conference.

From the left: Joseph King, dr Magdalena Marcinkowska, prof. Ihsan Fethi, Giovanni Fontana Antonelli, prof. Giulia Annalinda Neglia.

From the left: Barbara Furmanik, prof. Krzysztof Pawłowski, dr Giovanni Boccardi, prof. Sławomir Ratajski.

Presentation by Matko Vetma.

Presentation by prof. Ihsan Fethi.

Presentation by El-Boukhari Ben Essayouti.

Presentation by Tomasz Błyskosz.

Presentation by Elsoi Colas.

Presentation by dr Rohit Jigyasu.

Presentation by Joseph King.

Dr Zaki Aslan, Director of ICCROM-ATHAR.

Presentaion by prof. Amra Hadžimuhamedović.

Presentation by dr Wojciech Kozłowski.

Presentaion by Jonathan Nsubuga.

From the left: dr Sameh N. Wahba and Francesco Bandarin.

Presentation by prof. Giulia Annalinda Neglia.

From the left: prof. Christina Cameron, prof. Magdalena Gawin, Francesco Bandarin.

Presentation by Giovanni Fontana Antonelli.

Dr Christopher Young, independent expert.

From the left: Dąbrówka Lipska, Lazare Eloundou Assomo, dr Magdalenia Marcinkowska.

From the left: prof. Kamil Zeidler, El-Boukhari Ben Essayouti, prof. Christina Cameron, Giovanni Fontana Antonelli, Tomasz Błyskosz.

Presentation by Helen Stawski.

Prof. Ihsan Fethi, prof. Sabah Mushatat, dr Zaki Aslan, Giovanni Fontana Antonelli.

From the left: prof. Danuta Kłosek-Kozłowska, prof. Krzysztof Pawłowski, prof. Bogusław Szmygin.

Working group on the draft text of Warsaw Recommendation.

Lassana Cissé, independent expert.

The moment of acceptance of the Warsaw Recommendation.

Prof. Zbigniew Wawer, Director of the Royal Łazienki Museum.

From the left: prof. Magdalena Gawin, dr Mechtild Rössler, prof. Toshiyuki Kono.

From the left: prof. Magdalena Gawin, prof. Piotr Gliński, dr Mechtild Rössler.

From the left: prof. Katarzyna Zalasińska, dr Mechtild Rössler, dr Magdalena Marcinkowska.

From the left: dr Machtild Rössler, Lazare Eloundou Assomo, prof. Piotr Gliński.

The opening of the Conference in the Royal Łazienki Museum.

Dr Mechtild Rössler, Director of World Heritage Centre, UNESCO.

Prof. Amra Hadžimuhamedović, independent expert.

Participants of the Conference.

UNESCO's role as the standard-setter in the fight against destruction of world cultural heritage and in support of recovery practices is central. Therefore, international debates on the ongoing processes of reconstruction, where participants share their knowledge and experience, in addition to in-depth analysis of case studies, are of great importance. The recent non-binding instrument in this field is the Warsaw Recommendation on Recovery and Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage, developed at the international conference "The Challenges of World Heritage Recovery. International Conference on Reconstruction" held in Warsaw between May 6-8, 2018.

This volume contains twenty-one valuable think-pieces that address the topic of reconstruction and recovery of cultural heritage from different angles. The papers present new approaches in current thinking on the topic of world heritage reconstruction and recovery, accompanied by various regional examples. This undertaking is complex, as it involves conservation theory, engaging communities, building societies' resilience, cultural rights and property rights, which must all be taken into consideration during the recovery process. The book provides guidance for future challenges in the area of cultural heritage crises, especially is post-conflict areas. The volume's editors succeeded in gathering international experts, heritage professionals, and researchers to share their thoughts

on this important matter for today's societies and for generations to come.

Dr Alicja Jagielska-Burduk
UNESCO Chair on Cultural Property Law at Uniwersytet Opolski

Ministry of
Culture
and National
Heritage of
the Republic
of Poland

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