Charles University in Prague
Faculty of Arts
Department of World History
Seminar of General and Comparative History

UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITES:
WAYS OF PRESENTING & INTERPRETING THE PAST
As seen in: Kutná Hora, Hiroshima and Villa Romana del Casale
SVĚTOVÉ DĚDICTVÍ UNESCO:
ZPŮSOBY PREZENTACE A INTERPRETACE MINULOSTI
Na příkladech: Kutná Hora, Hirošima a Villa Romana del Casale

Linda Kovářová

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Tutor: Prof. Luďa Klusáková
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'I state that I have written this PhD thesis autonomously with the use of indicated and properly cited sources and literature and that this thesis has not been used within the framework of any other university study programme or for the purpose of obtaining another title.'

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ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with a specific group of historical sites called World Heritage, which are registered on the UNESCO World Heritage List. It characterizes the basic elements of the UNESCO World Heritage idea as a cultural and social process, which engages in acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand, present and interpret the past within the present social frameworks. The thesis brings to the attention a range of viewpoints about the nature of heritage in general and the UNESCO World Heritage in specific that have emerged in the relatively new area of academic interdisciplinary heritage studies. For the purposes of exploring different aspects of the World Heritage phenomenon, following themes of heritage discourse have been developed: remembering and making public use of the past, the UNESCO approach and the ways of presenting and interpreting the past. In order to give a sense of what World Heritage looks like on the ground this thesis details some aspects of three different World Heritage sites. To study such matters in the physical world a strategy of undertaking case studies of three specific UNESCO sites and employing the methods of direct observation and a fieldwork were chosen. Closer examinations of the Czech medieval town of Kutná Hora, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park in Japan and the archaeological site of the Roman Villa del Casale in Sicily as individual UNESCO sites shed light on the matter of presenting and interpreting the past within the UNESCO commemorative narrative framework of the human past. These three case study investigations show three singular ways of approaching the past and of being a UNESCO site.

Key words: heritage, presenting and interpreting the past, UNESCO, World Heritage, UNESCO World Heritage sites

ABSTRAKT

Tato dizertační práce se zabývá specifickou skupinou historických míst nazývaných světové dědictví, která jsou zapsaná na Seznamu světového dědictví UNESCO. Práce charakterizuje základní prvky myšlenky světového dědictví UNESCO jakožto kulturního a společenského procesu, jehož součástí jsou akty vzpomínání vedoucí k různým možnostem chápání, prezentování a interpretování minulosti v rámci aktuálních společenských rámců. Práce poukazuje na řadu hledisek o povaze památek obecně, jako i konkrétně o povaze světového dědictví UNESCO, které se stalo předmětem zájmu relativně nové mezioborové akademické disciplíny, která se zabývá studiem kulturního dědictví, a pro kterou se vžil v angličtině termín 'heritage studies'. Za účelem prozkoumání různých aspektů fenoménu světového dědictví byla rozpracována tato témata: vzpomínání a veřejné využívání minulosti, UNESCO přístup a způsoby prezentace a interpretace minulosti. Proto, aby bylo možné zachytit jak koncept světového dědictví vypadá v praxi, věnuje se práce popisu určitých aspektů tří různých míst světového dědictví. Pro studium těchto záležitostí ve fyzickém světě byly s využitím metod přímého pozorování a terénního výzkumu vypracovány případové studie tří specifických míst UNESCO. Při bližším pohledu na jednotlivé vybrané památky UNESCO – české středověké město Kutnou Horu, pamětní park míru v Hirošime v Japonsku a archeologické naleziště Villa Romana del Casale na Sicílii je možné sledovat způsoby prezentace a interpretace minulosti v rámci UNESCO vzpomínkového narativu minulosti lidstva. Tyto tři případové studie ukazují tři různé způsoby zacházení s minulostí a bytí UNESCO památkou.

Klíčová slova: dědictví, prezentace a interpretace minulosti, UNESCO, světové dědictví, památky zapsané na seznamu světového dědictví UNESCO

CONTENTS

Appendixes 221

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	World Conservation Union
OUV	Outstanding universal value
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
WH	World Heritage
WHC	World Heritage Committee
WHCIA	World Heritage Center Internet Archive
WHL	World Heritage List

1 INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of this research there was an interest in historical monuments and heritage in general, above all in those termed World Heritage and registered on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Heritage sites were understood to be places of some sort of a testimony to the past. Inspired by the collective memory thesis of Maurice Halbwachs and the places of memory concept of Pierre Nora, heritage sites are to be perceived as sources of remembering the past, where the past itself was grounded, concreted, expressed, produced, presented and interpreted. Special concern was given to the ways of presenting and interpreting the past at such sites. UNESCO was seen as a manipulator of the past, in that it was not simply preserving, conserving and restoring the heritage and its past but also it was seen to be re-creating it. Desiring to study such matters in a physical world the research proceeded to a case study approach by examining, one by one, three different cultural World Heritage sites in different geographical and cultural settings and observing the ways of presenting and interpreting their past.

Three various modes of being a UNESCO World Heritage site in the examples of the Czech historical town of Kutná Hora, the atomic-bombed city of Hiroshima and the archaeological site of the ancient Villa del Casale in Sicily were explored. The choice of case studies was led by the UNESCO's proclaimed ideal of 'thinking globally' and by the recent central concept of diversity. Therefore the case studies represent diversity in terms of historical period, geographical location, heritage type, cultural setting, etc. Following UNESCO's policy the case studies are meant to show the diversity in any of its possible aspects and in different cultural contexts around the globe. Thus the aim of the thesis is to keep the variation between the cases and show the differences between the countries and the sites in order to contribute to the understanding of how World Heritage works in different kinds of settings and environments.

Heritage in postmodern times
Preoccupation with the past and attachments to heritage can be identified in many recent societies. Since the second half of the twentieth century there has been a significant rise in professional and public interest in the past in the West joined by an economic interest in heritage in the 1970s. We read about the boom of memory and its heritage and about remembering as one of the imperatives of our time[1]. Such phenomena

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[1] See Crane (1997), Gauck (2005), Klein (2000), Nora (2005) and Todorov (1998).

as fragmentation, nostalgia for the past, turning away from the present, fear of forgetting, unfulfilled past or an attitude of a post-culture are being commonly ascribed to postmodernism as some of its key aspects[2]. The postmodern inclination to heritage and memory matters is also nurtured by technophobia where an idealized past replaces a discredited future, reflecting traumas of loss and change and fears of the unknown future as stated by David Lowenthal[3].

Then and now, the present and the past together make an interactive process[4]. We tend to shape the past in the light of the present and vice versa. Thus the interpretation of heritage sites is rooted in the experience of the present. Heritage sites do not represent the past alone but they present the past by telling stories. They are a type of historical narration. A vast variety of heritage sites ranging from archives, museums, monuments, art to festivals or textbooks are symbolic places and forms that manifest public acceptance and use of the past. The past is valued and understood differently not only depending on the variable frameworks of the present situation but also depending on various people, interpreters. The cultural diversity of human experience means that different histories will perceive different things as significant therefore they will remember, present and interpret the past in different ways and also not all cultures will share the same concepts of what constitutes heritage.

Bauman characterizes postmodernity as taking responsibility for differences and sovereignty of the 'other'[5]. As such, the postmodern period has brought some shifts into the system by accepting differences and the other, by having interest for uniqueness and by putting stress on locality. In this context the idea of UNESCO World Heritage emerged, the idea of the protection of monuments and sites, which in a unique way excel and demonstrate the past. Although the concept of a common heritage has been used in the heritage preservation field since the eighteenth century, its importance significantly increased after the establishment of UNESCO in 1945 and after the adoption of the 1972 World Heritage Convention as a global acknowledgement of such a concept[6]. Bearing in mind that 192 countries acceded to the convention, it may be considered a success story. Nevertheless, it might be argued that the heritagization process promoted by UNESCO contrasts with local understandings of heritage sites and that, in certain ways, UNESCO's actions can be seen as colonialist.

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[2] See Assman (2001) or Havelka (2004).
[3] Lowenthal (1998: 10).
[4] Fowler (1995).
[5] Bauman (2002).
[6] Omland (2006).

In relation to the processes mentioned above, the significance of 'place' and the value of 'local' has been discussed lately. Martin Heidegger claimed that people had an emotional relationship to their lived space and therefore there existed a strong bond to a certain place.[7] 'Space' is socially constructed or even produced, according to Lefebvre[8], and expressed in two levels: one is the materialized space and the other one is not. To every space a wide range of meanings are attributed, those very significant are: social, ideological, political, economical or cultural. A lot of recent research focuses on the issue of what ways local people interpret the place and its history, which is the subject matter of this dissertation as well.

Previous comments imply that a heritage site is a complex network of meanings. It takes on a variety of official and unofficial forms and is part of the identity making process. It is a compound of cultural phenomena, which were formed in the past but their meaning transcends the time of their origin and their value is that they have something to tell present society. Heritage is a metaphor for public acceptance of the past and it has an ability to function as a sign, symbol, image and an expression all at once.

Heritage sites operate on two different levels: as material things they are historiographical records and on the other hand they convey an idea, story and values. The traditional Western account of heritage tends to emphasize the material basis of heritage and heritage values are often linked to the age, monumentality and aesthetics of a place. Speaking about heritage values, there are a variety of them, a mixture of artistic and historical values, direct and non-direct ones, the value of authenticity, spiritual values, value of uniqueness and so on. Thanks to such values heritage is being used as part of political projects as well[9].

Closely linked to this is also its function as a symbolic capital which appears in the field of heritage preservation. The intergovernmental organization UNESCO elaborated global norms for heritage preservation which has become a global cult[10]. Since the 1990s organizations like the United Nations, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the African Development Bank or the European Commission have undertaken various heritage related programmes, which is proving a significant development in the internalization of heritage conservation, the 'cultural turn' in the development sector[11].

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[7] Heidegger (2008).
[8] Lefebvre (2000).
[9] Crouch & Parker (2007: 341).
[10] Isar (2011: 39).
[11] Winter (2011: 71).

It is important to distinguish between heritage and history which are two different ways of approaching the past. Quoting David Lowenthal, heritage is not like history, which is not just an inquiry into the past and an effort to know what actually happened but rather just a simple celebration of it. Heritage consoles us with tradition and its main focus is the one of patriotism, linking us with ancestors and certifying our identity[12]. 'At its best, heritage fabrication is both creative art and an act of faith. By means of it we tell ourselves who we are, where we came from, and to what we belong.'[13].

UNESCO World Heritage concept

World Heritage is an expression that stands for an array of normative as well as commercialized values attached to the preservation, restoration and display of history, culture and nature and endorsed by the 'global bureaucratic apparatus of UNESCO'[14]. It has been forty years since an international specialist organization of United Nations had been formed. The UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) protects the most significant cultural and natural heritage of the world. Nowadays the World Heritage presents a specific phenomenon and a category of professional interest of its own. Although UNESCO was not the originator of the subject of heritage and its associated ideas, today it is a global-level instrument which mobilizes resources, reproduces dominant arguments, establishes program agendas and policies, etc. UNESCO is a powerful producer of culture that is framing the overall interests in heritage. It is possible to see UNESCO as an authority centre which is producing a hegemonic model of heritage practice.

UNESCO is a project that aims to create a new community based on heritage, mutual understanding and acceptance of cultural diversities. It is allowing the local sites to become global sites. The World Heritage concept was born as a new system of valuation of heritage focusing on a new type of heritage site shaped by a/the ?post-national key. We consider UNESCO as a process of constructing symbols for a new type of postmodern international community. It is forming new commemorative narrative forms, creating a new type of public history as a result. Since UNESCO's approach is to involve and include all the heritage, it puts individual commemorative narratives together into one, big master commemorative narrative of the human past making it understandable for all of us. In this regard the UNESCO idea of the World Heritage differs from the earlier national concepts of heritage.

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[12] Lowenthal (1998).
[13] Lowenthal (1998: xvii).
[14] Askew (2010: 19).

Whilst in the focus of national state heritage systems stands the national heritage, in the centre of UNESCO's interest is the World Heritage, which means the heritage of the whole world. Ergo what makes this concept unique is its use of the wide world scale. Hence the heritage sites UNESCO associates are the type of places of memory, which are gathered together on the basis of a post-national clue resting on the idea that cultural heritage can be held in common. Consequently UNESCO heritage sites are intersections, a blending of diverse sources and types of collective memories. Even though, most of the inscribed sites do not only represent important World Heritage but are usually significant national heritage as well or also play a vital role on a local level. Therefore the local, national and international roles are present and are in a very close relationship here regardless of what the 'world optics' claim.

UNESCO aims not only to present and interpret the heritage sites of the whole world but also to catalogue and preserve them. In the question of physical heritage preservation, UNESCO is leaving the actual care to individual states. Together with the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) UNESCO enacted new conventions and charters to define and regulate governmental and professional management and conservation practices. Through these documents World Heritage developed into an idea and perhaps an ideal proclaimed by these two global agencies and national states that the heritage sites are cultural property belonging to all people. Albeit the patrimony seen primarily in a global context its material form of natural and cultural resources is to belong to the people of a given country. Except, in cases of an incapability of that country to secure the heritage by means of the mutual respect for the heritages of others proclaimed by UNESCO. A group solidarity is meant to form and foster heritage globally. Then the common World Heritage can be interpreted in terms of a shared global moral obligation to protect the heritage of all people of the world and the UNESCO's conventions on cultural, natural and intangible World Heritage.

UNESCO's World Heritage Convention is a leading text influencing perceptions of heritage across the globe and a rapid proliferation of World Heritage sites over the last few decades is evident. The Convention is one of the most ratified international documents by Member States as well as the most representative, with World Heritage sites listed in 160 of its 190 Member States. In keeping with the postmodern logic, key concepts in the legislation are that of the unique, exceptional, outstanding, valuable and important. Taking into account space and time, every site might be defined as unique.

As clarified in the paragraphs above, the UNESCO concept stands for conservation, regeneration and symbol. Giving attention to the symbolical part, it was said that the idea of World Heritage claimed a new synthesis in world history and is aimed at interpreting

and presenting the history in a new and different way. This new way of telling the past is pursuing the United Nation's goal of achieving a world of peaceful coexistence. Like the way of telling the story of the past is positive and non-violent. Subsequently, the presentation and interpretation of individual UNESCO sites is accomplished in a positive manner. For example, even in the case of presenting the UNESCO site of the atomic-bombed city of Hiroshima, which for many certainly acts as a negative heritage, a rather optimistic approach was chosen. Instead of pointing out the destructive consequences of the tragic moment in the history of the city, a positive link was laid down by highlighting the local peace movement and by presenting Hiroshima as a mecca of peace.

The term of World Heritage is defined by UNESCO itself as a legacy to the past that we live today and that we forward to future generations. UNESCO distinguishes World Heritage as an irreplaceable source of inspiration and life. Initially UNESCO created two categories of World Heritage, the cultural and the natural. Afterwards, about thirty years later, it added a category for intangible cultural heritage and movable heritage and museums thus creating four basic categories of World Heritage. The intangible heritage covered the wide area of oral traditions, performative arts such as theatre, dance or music, rituals and festivals of different kinds of handcrafts. By enlarging the range of the World Heritage concept UNESCO showed it is no longer limited by the material aspects of heritage – a traditional perception of the Western heritage discourse from which settings the UNESCO World Heritage idea resulted.

UNESCO is seen as a type of intercultural communication which targets acceptance and integration of others, degradation of stereotype, prejudice and discrimination and the creation of a space for cultural differences and for mutual understanding. When people of different cultural backgrounds come into mutual relations, for example, when visiting a heritage site in a country which is not their own, that is exactly the situation in which UNESCO thinks people should be given a story that lets them accept the other. In this sense the World Heritage concept may be seen as an instrument for peace, which is aimed at the de-politicization of heritage and is avoiding its abuse by nationalist interests. Such an approach though does not exclude the use of heritage by local groups such as indigenous peoples seeking to maintain their identities.

1.1 Research questions and settings

This thesis concerns the ways space and spatial strategies contribute to preserve awareness about the past. The process of remembering the past can be achieved and led in different ways. There is a professional, institutionalized approach presented by academic historians forming history as a scientific discipline. There also exists a popular recognition of the past formed by the public. Apart from many possible differences in these two methods of approaching the past, the remembering itself (common to both) tends to be picking up sites in space which serve to unit ideas about the past with a material form. Heritages function as such a type of site as well, World Heritage sites not being an exception.

Having stated the UNESCO World Heritage concept as standing for conservation, regeneration and symbol, in our case we will tend to focus on the symbol part more. Taking an interest in the recent postmodern phenomenon of UNESCO World Heritage sites and their strategies of remembering the past, the research is concerned with the questions of public remembering, uses, presentations and interpretations of the past.

The thesis is an inquiry into how UNESCO's heritage and past interpretations and presentations correspond and interfere with local ways. The leading question is how people engage with the past in different ways within the UNESCO World Heritage sites framework. Some analysis of the mechanisms by which societies remember and incorporate the past into the present elaborates whether there are any common principles and elements in such narratives and how they reflect on the past in the material form represented by the World Heritage sites. Another objective is to examine to what extent the role the past's importance plays when presenting and interpreting one individual UNESCO heritage site.

The thesis explores the issue of common World Heritage through the medium of the UNESCO World Heritage concept and the designation of sites as part of that World Heritage. Therefore many of the research questions are focused on the UNESCO institution itself and its development and major changes in heritage strategy, policy and practice. Regarding the case studies, this research tries to answer the question of mapping the site, the way of presenting the local cultural heritage and interpreting its past, the potential modifications of telling its past involving a universalist narrative as a consequence of being influenced by the UNESCO approach and possible impacts of the World Heritage listing.

As the matter of remembering, presenting and interpreting the past is connected by its nature to the historical sites, the research is primarily concerned with sites listed as cultural heritage. Since UNESCO is putting together individual commemorative narratives into one single commemorative narrative of the world's past, this thesis analyses three UNESCO cultural World Heritage sites as three individual commemorative narratives that connect each part to a global whole. For such purposes, the research brings up three historically and culturally different cultural World Heritage sites, not comparable in terms of category, size, location or geographical condition, presented historical period or etc. and investigates how World Heritage is constructed in these particular settings.

By observing and analysing local attitudes to these heritage sites and the ways of presenting and interpreting them we can assess how these sites and regions make use of the past. We will see that they all have also attempted to display their cultural heritage as a marketable value. Focus is on different modes of being a World Heritage site examining three various cultural heritages: the gothic town of Kutná Hora, representing architectural heritage, the Peace Memorial Park in Hiroshima, as a representative of non-material aspects of cultural heritage and the ancient Roman villa del Casale in Sicily, illustrating archaeological heritage.

The World Heritage sites are discussed as social and political constructions, imagined and defined within their diverse cultural settings. Comparing the three different UNESCO heritage sites an analysis of how the World Heritage concept is constructed in particular settings is involved. Defining the material, functional and symbolic conditions of these heritages, having involved and discussed their local cultural context, is shedding light on the modality of World Heritage and on the ways of presenting it to visitors. The case study research design is leading us to a diminutive analysis of local and national heritage perception and practice.

1.2 Definitions, sources and methods

Memory concepts

Familiar notions of postmodernism are integrated in order to provide a context and a setting for the current phenomenon of UNESCO World Heritage and for a better understanding of the ways in which the past is being managed today. As a strong association factor to postmodernity the memory matters protrude. Recently, there has been a trend to see almost any historical phenomenon as a part of memory, labelling it as a place of memory. Various aspects of certain memory concepts were found to be a useful inspirational source and a starting point for my own investigation, though this research

does not aim to be a part of memory studies. For research purposes the term, 'remembering the past', has been found to be more suitable and accurate since the subject of identity is not the main concern. As much as the term, 'memory', implies the question of whose memory, that much is a matter of identity that is important when applied to the places of memory and reasoning. However, an original theoretical inspiration has been Maurice Halbwach's draft on collective memory, Jan Assman's concept of cultural and communicative memory, Pierre Nora's model of places of memory or Lisa Yoneyama's concept of memoryscape. Closer attention to these concepts is given in chapter two.

Case studies: fieldwork and comparison
The research design is based on a descriptive multiple case studies method in which the anthropological history logic has been applied. This complex research strategy is focused on a detailed examination and description of three individual UNESCO World Heritage sites and the way the past in presented and interpreted there. The case study serves as an inquiry that investigates this contemporary phenomenon of UNESCO WH sites within their real life context covering contextual conditions and relying on multiple sources of evidence[15]. The method serves the aim of understanding these heritage sites in their originality and complexity. In a way our case studies are explorative, descriptive and explanatory all at the same time. The aspiration is to explore the structure of the ways of presenting the site and interpreting its past in their specific cultural contexts while describing, as much as possible, the concrete, in situ appearances and with the help of this to give an explanation of the individual case.

In a certain way the individual case studies have been isolated for the purposes of comparison, which means they have been taken from the whole of their developmental context and only certain aspects of their context have been studied. Because the cases were not studied in their totality, the research is dedicated to analysing only its immediate context, which is used in understanding the whole. This supposes a certain limited selection of details. By comparing three cases stemming from different contexts, the aim of this operation is to bring out the similarities and differences. The stress is put on the cases themselves and the contrasts between and among them that underline the uniqueness of each. Such exploration of the unique features leads to a kind of descriptive holism rather than framing new theories or hypothesis or explanatory problems.

The comparisons in our research are based on analogous situations and are held on a synchronic time line and as a symmetrical one, where each case has the same importance. The specifications of the cases have been analysed and then are compared in the

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[15] Yin (2002).

Conclusions chapter. The aspects which are being compared are: the geographical location, heritage category, time period represented by the heritage site, tourism aspects, the type of remembered past and the commemorative story or the way the past was interpreted and presented.of presenting and interpreting the past.

The case studies are based on a variety and plurality of sources. Among the most influential ones that stand out is the direct observation practice together with a qualitative content analysis. The research and fieldwork for the case studies was carried out in the years 2008-2013. Thanks to a long-term research stay in both Japan and Sicily direct contact with different cultural environments and contexts had been set up and ethnographic fieldwork could have taken its was able to take place. Putting together facts from scientific literature with detected realities into an interrelation was the scope and then observations in situ featured the main fieldwork task, which included an eighteen month long stay in Japan, from February 2009 to July 2010, with   fieldwork at Hiroshima taking place in June of 2010. A research stay of four months was held from October 2011 to January 2012 at the University of Catania in Sicily and fieldwork at the Villa Romana del Casale site was realized in January 2012 and then repeated in September 2013. Repeated fieldwork at the Kutná Hora site was undertaken first in June 2008, then in September 2012 and last in August 2013. In addition several semi-structured one-to-one interviews were conducted with the local mayors or other local heritage body representatives.

The choice of the three case studies was led in accordance with the UNESCO claim of diversity and in order to show the variety. Regarding the selection strategy, the central criteria were that each case was a representative of a different commemorative story talking about a different past, being demonstrative of different cultural heritage types as well as the time periods and being located in different countries. In regards to historical time, the historical town of Kutná Hora encompasses the whole historical period of the Middle Ages, the city of Hiroshima demonstrates a historical event which formed the modern history of the 20th century and the Villa Casale is a representative of the whole historical epoch of ancient Rome.

Observing the different heritage types, Kutná Hora was inscribed on the WH List as an urban heritage site for its architectural monuments, Hiroshima reveals a special case and type of its own, being an example of a rather non-material, educational site and the Villa Casale is an archaeological site. As to the size and the location of these sites, the medieval town centre is a part of the provincial smaller town of Kutná Hora, the Peace Memorial park with the Atomic-bomb dome heritage monument is located in the very centre of one of the biggest Japanese cities but the archaeological park of Villa Casale lies in the semi-urban outskirts of a smaller inland town in Sicily. Concerning the countries in which

territory the sites are found, the case studies offer miscellaneous cultural backgrounds: the Czech Republic, a former Eastern European country situated in the geographical centre of Europe now part of the European Union; an Asian representative, Japan, with its island character which for long time has provided a natural isolation for a long time making possible an autonomous cultural development possible to a significant extent; and the island of Sicily, an autonomous region of Italy belonging to the Mediterranean cultural area.

The commemorative stories also vary. In Kutná Hora a story of wealth and a golden time is being told. In Hiroshima we are learning lessons from the past and about peace and in Villa Casale we are wandering into a mysterious, foreign world, to remind that this type of research is interdisciplinary by nature and that the case studies are written from a Western researcher's point of view. What was studied, observed and interpreted in this research was, to a certain degree, influenced by the cultural and intellectual environment of the author. Therefore the understanding of the individual cultural settings of the case studies are based on the personal perceptions of the researcher.

Sources: critical discourse analysis

In our research heritage is seen as a discursive practice. Discourse shapes the way we experience the world, it specifies the objects it talks about by giving them names. For analysing the links between the heritage discourse and its exercise in practice we make use of a well-established interdisciplinary methodology, the Critical Discourse Analysis, which offers a theoretical platform and methodological approach. The term discourse refers to the whole practice of social interaction which includes, in addition to the text, the process of production of which the text is a product, and the process of interpretation, for which the text is a resource[16]. Following this reasoning, this thesis analyses the relationships between texts, processes and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures to some extent. The author's interpretation of the heritage discourse and of the material related to the three individual case studies has been performed with only a vague reference to any philosophy, follows her inspiration.

For the purposes of the case studies a wide variety of printed and website material has been used. The subject matter involved texts of many kinds. The meaning of the texts was broadly interpreted. Relating to the UNESCO sites, various publically accessed information regarding the presentation and promotion of the heritage site were used. Collected, mostly in situ, were the promotional and informative material, booklets, brochures, pamphlets, flyers, advertising leaflets, newsletters, newspapers, standard published

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[16] Fairclough (1992: 25).

guides, tour literature, etc. As primary sources they functioned as well as the museum installations or any kind of signboards and informative panels within the heritage site area. Internet sources also represent an important part, in specific, the city and official site websites, websites of various travel and tourism agencies and institutions, interest groups and association blogs and websites and many others.

Non-text related sources are to be mentioned too, such as postcards, posters, photographs, the interviews and of course the material aspects of the sites being sources of their own. In the case of the Hiroshima site, recorded eyewitness testimonies of the atomic bombing provided by the National Memorial Hall of the Victims of the Atomic Bomb have been used. As secondary sources scientific literature concerning various themes interfering with the research topics was employed. Seven thematic interviews which were conducted with seven different interviewees selected by purposive technique were used. The interviews dealt with individual case studies and UNESCO WH sites in particular but also with many other issues related to the heritage studies and UNESCO issues.

Regarding the theoretical part of the research on heritage and the UNESCO approach, scientific books, papers, articles[17] and other website material and documents were considered in order to map the general UNESCO WH discourse and its evolution over years. These were the databases, charters, nomination files, operational guidelines and other such types of documents and material produced by UNESCO World Heritage Centre and accessible on their website.

1.3 Chapter overview

This thesis contains two parts. The first part provides a theoretical bases and context for the second practical part which introduces the individual case studies. Part one, Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the role of the past and heritage in contemporary society. Firstly, it briefly reviews theories and concepts of the public remembering the past and defines the relationship between the past, history, memory and heritage. The focus of Chapter 2 is also on the matter of heritage practice and use, relating to the issues of heritage values, heritage interpretation, heritage preservation or the tourism and heritage business. The following chapter provides an analysis of the UNESCO World Heritage idea and system. Attention is given to the historical background and the development of the World Heritage strategy. The institutional framework is talked over and then the discussion is brought over to the definitions, criteria and categories of World Heritage.

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[17] The four volumes of Laurajane Smith's edition *Cultural Heritage* provided a primary basis.

Part two of the thesis (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7) shifts the focus to the local level of the three UNESCO World Heritage sites and the manner in which they tell their past stories. Moreover, these sites are put in the context of their heritage category and their inclusion on the World Heritage List. These chapters illustrate some of the cultural specifications and heritage perceptions of given countries. The purpose of this part is to give an account of presentations of the past connected with these sites, including the UNESCO official production, the academic history frame and most of all the in situ presentations and interpretation. An examination of the various meanings associated with those heritage sites follows. A comparative analysis of these individual case studies is given in chapter seven leading to some of the conclusions which are integrated and summarized in the conclusions chapter at the end of the thesis.

PART ONE: THEORIZING HERITAGE

2 HERITAGE CONTEXT

The term heritage has broadened itself to include aspects such as: memory, language, oral history, music, traditions, dance, craft skills and it may be bounded by terms such as: management, conservation, techniques and procedures, economic, leisure, cultural and social practice, identity and meaning makers. In any case, heritage is not given, it is made. Cultural heritage is a continuous process full of new meanings and dynamic concepts and is a subject of continuous re-evaluation. To interpret the historic environment means to tell its stories. Such stories are a product of how people remember these sites and the pasts attributed to this or that heritage. The significance of each place will change through their retelling. The idea that a heritage site is a witness to history and tradition creates a sense that memory is embedded in the fabric of the site.

Laurajane Smith argues that 'the idea of heritage is used to construct, reconstruct and negotiate a range of identities and social and cultural values and meanings in the present'. Smith defines heritage as a cultural and historical practice concerned with the production and negotiation of cultural identity, individual and collective memory, and social and cultural values[18].

Heritage is also about our sense of place. It helps us to position ourselves in our own cultural, social and physical worlds and becomes a tool that nations, societies, communities and individuals use to express and construct a sense of identity[19]. Places change over time and the meaning of the places changes as well. Plurality of place, which a heritage site is, is in how it is used and perceived depending on the contours of gender, age, status, ethnicity, and so on as well on the present moment[20]. How the heritage is conceived and understood thus does not have a universal validity or reality. Western heritage discourse stresses monumentality, aesthetic values tied to time depth and the primacy of expertise[21], while many non-Western countries emphasize the intangible non-material aspects.

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[18] Smith (2007: 2).
[19] Smith (2007: 75).
[20] Bender (2007: 121).
[21] Smith (2007).

Heritage is also created by interpretation. Not only what is interpreted, but how it is interpreted and by whom, will create specific messages about the value and meaning of specific heritage places and the past it represents. These messages do not always find consensus and therefore might cause dissonance which we will see in case of Hiroshima. In this situation we understand that heritage is not only a social and cultural process, but also a political one. Heritage often seems to have been in thrall to politics and that it is used to support ideological movements.

David Lowenthal[22], when identifying recent heritage, has found himself in quite an anti-heritage mood defining six basic elements to heritage as being: destructively chauvinistic, elitist, incoherent, eclectic, commercially debased, historically 'wrong' . Also Robinson (2000) tends to view heritage as 'bad' history arguing that heritage, since being in the service of identity, ideology or commerce, is a colourful chaos of shallow meanings and stereotypical images. Such arguments may lead us to the impression that heritage is some kind of an extraction of history just offering something like an impression of the past. Therefore many historians tend to distinguish heritage and history as two different categories or they tend to put heritage under the category of popular history.

The critique that heritage falsifies the 'true past' is quite common. In accordance with Lowenthal, such critiques stem from misleading assumptions that both heritage and history serve the same purposes - to retrieve the past. But heritage has other goals. Integrating the entire past into a single frame is the aim of heritage. Heritage does not engage directly with the past but instead it is concerned with the ways in which artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions become resources for the present[23]. Heritage uses historical traces and tells us historical tales while upgrading it anachronistically, reading it backwards from the present and making the past better than it was[24].

Both heritage and history may be seen as different approaches to the use of the past. They do not have to be seen as usurpers of each other, as the thing is, they are just not the same. Of course there are many ways and concepts on how to draw the distinguishing line between them. In general those concepts see history as something theoretically more 'pure' since its declaration is scientific. On the other hand, heritage is commonly seen as something processed and mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas, or just plain marketing are being listed as the phenomenon through which the heritage is disseminated.

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[22] Lowenthal (1998).
[23] Graham (2007: 250).
[24] Lowenthal (2007: 111-114).

Urry[25] associates heritage with a changed perception of history, a movement away from the national versions of it to the proliferation of local alternatives representing social, economical, populist, ethnic and industrial images. He identifies a tendency to contemporize history and a shift from 'aura to nostalgia' which makes anything old interesting. He speculates whether heritage today is not just a 'leisurisation' of the past, perceived as fun and exciting. Urry cites the development of interactive displays and their use as a spectacle as an example. He draws such conclusions while talking about a 'melting pot of heritage' characterized by endless eclecticism that will admit anything, any incoherence and which therefore is devalued by its duplication.

However, we think there are two levels to be distinguished. One is the material position, which shows the spatialized past. That is the part of the past which shows us the sites, the places, the material; in specific these are the architectural monuments, festivals and so on. On the other hand there is also a non-materialistic aspect of using the past, for example the historical narratives, which serve to present and interpret a site. These two aspects and positions of the public use of the past are linked together, standing in a close interrelationship. The historical narration is reflected in certain material space dimensions.

The following description shows how the heritage phenomenon is perceived in this thesis. The production of the past is performed through a process of remembering that uses the methods of selection and modification and which stems from the present social conditions and frameworks that are constantly changing and that are involved in the formation of identity. Such practices contribute to the localization of the past and is reflected in the creation of a memoryscape that is composed of heritage sites.

2.1 Remembering the past

The function of remembering is to break loose from forgetting and to bring the past back to life. All the past received by the present is filtered to some extent: past does not come in a pure essence. Remembering the past becomes a productive repetition of the past, not only its reproduction. Since the basic feature of memory is an interaction of forgetting and preserving, the remembering is becoming a choice. An individual who is remembering the past and who is the memory carrier is always an individual, even when speaking about collective memories.

Remembering itself proceeds in a concrete way: the ideas of past become visual and they access the memory as material objects. Hence, the link between concept and image is

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[25] Urry (1990).

established, which Halbwachs calls the, 'figure of remembering'. One of the key factors and mechanisms of collective memory is then the tendency to localize, to create and secure mediated and symbolic places of memory. With the help of localized memory the objectification of culture is being made.

Heritage then presents those traces of the past a society chooses to preserve. Heritage is that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, e.g. for defining ourselves. Popular past, academic history, collective memory etc. are all distinctive ways of remembering the past, are different types of awareness of the pastiness. Popular past or collective memory is certainly not to be confused with 'history' controlled by academic historians and archaeologists.

Interplay of history, memory and identity
A constellation of these three terms: heritage, memory and identity has dominated thinking for at least the last three decades. Heritage traditionally referred to the goods and properties inherited from ancestors but the meaning of the word has been enormously extended and today it refers to the goods and properties of a group which help define the identity of that group[26]. The association between heritage and identity is well established in heritage literature. Heritage as material culture is assumed to provide a reality and physical representation of the identity.

The two forms of narratives about the past, memory and history, are not exchangeable even though they are interrelated. In the field of history the concept of memory is the basis of the relationship to the past. The scientific boom of memory studies began in the 1980s with two important works; *Zakhor: Jewish Memory* by Yosef Yerushalmi (1982) and *The Realms of Memory* by Pierre Nora (1984). Both authors perceive memory as a primitive sacral form of remembering standing in opposition to modern historical knowledge. The issue of the relationship between memory and history has become one of the leading concerns since the 1990s focusing on how people remember and reconstructing the past through remembering, through memory. The notion of memory now stands in the centre of a new paradigm in social sciences which aspires to explain various cultural phenomena in new ways. Studies of memory are relatively new in social sciences and most of the researchers in this field relate to the fundamental systematic work of Maurice Halbwachs from the first half of the 20th century.

When we think of memory from the socio-cultural point of view, we take it in as a social phenomenon and because of that we attribute it to the collective. Memory is an important identity-making factor. Presenting the past is not only constitutive for the

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[26] Nora (2011: ix).

personal identity of an individual but also for the collective identity. Memory reminds us of the past nevertheless the past is not kept as such but is, with the help of selection and modification, constantly reorganized depending on present social frameworks. This implies that memory reconstructs the past according to how we experience the present. Individual societies evolve their memory and remembering in order to resist forgetting because preserving and presenting the past is a constitutive element for their identity. Therefore memory and remembering is an important technique for creating an identity[27].

Narratives about the past are sources of collective values providing sense and arguments for group cohesion. Past events provide justification for the position in the present and they also function as lessons for the present. The past is socially constructed, which means construction of the past is a selective filtering that is created in the present in order to justify, validate and legitimize contemporary circumstances[28]. The present is informed by the past and the past is reconstructed by the present[29]. The past is continually reshaped. According to John Urry, that past is constructed in the paramount reality of the present, each moment of the past as a consequence is constructed anew[30].

History
History is often understood as both the past and accounts about the past. But these are quite different things: the past that was and the past as chronicled[31]. It is commonly believed that actual past can be retrieved intact and that it is a historian's task to resurrect the past as it was. Lowenthal suggests that history departs from the past, it is not a copy of what happened but rather a replica, an interpretation. It is possible to see that what is known about the past very often gets reinterpreted through each new generation's updated lenses. As he says 'history is less than the past because only a fraction of all events have been noted, only a few past lives are remembered.'[32].

Scientific history is often reserved towards memory. It judges memory as an expression of values and the lifestyle of a certain social group, which is not objective, does not care about the scientific facts and defends its own interest. In the eyes of professional historians it is affected by the loss of seriousness. But every history writing is to some extent influenced by the time and the interests of its writer, similarly as is the collective remembering.

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[27] Suvák (2005: 60).
[28] Graham (1998: 21f).
[29] Harvey (2007: 34).
[30] Urry (2007: 191).
[31] Lowenthal (1998: 106).
[32] Lowenthal (1998: 112f).

Memory

According to Martin Heidegger, man is born into a world of memories, into a network which is set up by memory of family, clan, tribe and so on ending with the memory of all humankind. In practice it is possible see, as evidence of family memory, photo albums showing the past of the family. The states take care of the national pasts for which reason they have created national heritage institutes. Through UNESCO there is also an agent present that cares about the past of a humankind.

There are certainly many ways to understand 'memory' and how to define it. Naming its various aspects can serve the purpose of delimiting the term. Memory may be identified as a productive repetition, as a matter of selection and choice, as a technique of identity formation. Memory is inextricably linked with time, from which it erodes while it establishes it at the same time. Memory is one of the most general practices of reconstructing the past and of actualizing the present. The past itself is formed by people who relate to it in present time. Memory is retention and representation of the past and as such it is a kind of historical narrative. Memory can be understood as a defence and as a form of forgetting at the same time.

In recent years, many different readings of memory have been articulated within the memory discursive space. The theory of memory was hailed in France as a new paradigm for social sciences by Halbwachs' followers[33]. Halbwachs was the first author to use the term 'collective memory' in the late 1930s. He perceived memory as socially conditioned, the social frameworks as a decisive factor for remembering and the memories as formed on the basis of a group belonging. As one of the main functions of memory he described its place in reproduction as the most important frame for remembering language. Since the social frameworks are not static, the collective memory is a permanent reconstruction, a continuous re-actualization according to current social frameworks. New events and settings bring new looks at the past and therefore the memories are always only a part of a lived reality and they are never a faithful reproduction of reality. A group aims to create places that serve to maintain the memories and such places are symbols of the group identity.

Concepts of memory are various. Let us focus briefly on those that put memory into a relationship with heritage sites, those that analyse the material level of remembering. An interesting aspect is the so-called 'art of memory' which is a mnemotechnic practice grounded in the western tradition until the 17th century. Its principle lies in choosing a set of places in order to keep in memory things that are consistently associated with those places. It means that we create mental images and those we associate with the sites. The

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[33] Šubrt, Pfeiferová (2010: 9).

art of memory says that the things our senses mediate to us, especially sight, are the things that are recorded the most. What this technique does is that it visualizes images by placing them into known sites. Mnemotechnic indicates that memory has the characteristic of a text whose basic function is to keep the continuity of communication[34].

From the beginning of the 20th century a transition took place from the common perception of memory as a clearly individual matter to a memory defined by using such adjectives as collective, social, cultural, public etc. This was possible after memory had been newly identified as a set of customs and material artefacts. A memory based in its material and empirical disposition fulfilled the basic premise to become a subject of historical research. Also semiotics began then to deal with the topic of collective memory. It was observed as a system of signs and the historical process was understood as a form of communication, during which information was being constantly re-established and different meanings were being ascribed to this information.

Renewed academic interest in the topic of collective memory dates back to the 1970s. French historian Jacques Le Goff, wrote a book on this topic in 1977 entitled; *Storia e memoria* (History and memory). In 1984 another French historian, Pierre Nora, edited a vast monograph on places of memory in France called; *Les liux de mémoire*. In 1992 a German Egyptologist, Jan Assman, developed the concept of a cultural memory in his *Das kulturelle Gedächtniss.* Since then memory has become one of the central terms of our cultural history.

Over the past few decade scholars have identified the phenomenon of people being possessed of nostalgia for the past, which seems to be more and more distant. They often talk about the historical boom of the term 'memory' and about a 'cult of memory' that is associated with diverse factors. Among these factors the fear of forgetting the traumatic events of the 20th century such as the holocaust,[35] stand out. These shocking events stand in relation to identity matters. An expression of this anxiety can be seen in the newly established institutes of national memory all around Europe. Some say another reason for the memory boom is the decolonization process[36]. In the decolonized territory there are mostly non-literary societies without written histories but instead with real, living collective memories. Presentism is also often mentioned as a source of the memory boom. An increasing of uniformity is considered to be another significant factor as well. While the modern world is developing a higher degree of homogeneity, it is coming to an overall homogenization. This process is leading to the abolishment of traditional identities

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[34] Yates (1999).
[35] Havelka (2004: 90).
[36] Nora (2005: 8).

and consequently for the need to create a new collective identity for which memory is the main constitutive element[37].

Another possible cause of the highlighted interest in memory may be the fact that those who are striving for the status of 'victim' when they are remembering, are ensuring certain benefits for themselves. If a social group succeeds at convincing others that it has been the victim of an injustice in the past, that social group usually gains respect and benefits in the present. As an example Todorov mentions Afro-Americans and the exercised policy of positive discrimination in the USA[38]. Using such logic, we can identify this same phenomenon within the UNESCO framework, as nowadays there are higher chances for inscription on the WHL for African and Asian sites and other places that have been victims of colonization.

Identity

Identity is a multi-faceted phenomenon that comprises a range of attributes, including: language, religion, ethnicity, nationalism or shared interpretations of the past showing multiple identity markers. It is often said that the nation is no longer the principal site or frame of memory since people today are called upon to construct new memories better suited to present post-national cultural complexities[39]. UNESCO seems to play the role of a creator of the new world identity which is needed in a new globalized world. UNESCO's effort to establish a new community based on heritage is a way of offering new collective remembering of the world's past, where all the significant local memories would be included into one, big, commemorative story with which all of mankind could identify itself, thus offering a new common identity as a member of the biggest possibly imagined community, the world.

Halbwachs on collective memory

Halbwachs understood memory as a specific social phenomenon and defined it as a system of signs. He introduced the term 'collective memory' in the first third of the 20th century. His cumulative study of collective memory was published posthumously in 1950 in a book called; *The Collective Memory*. Halbwachs' principal thesis says that memory is always social, that it is a socially conditioned construct which is unthinkable without society. Memory itself is formed within certain social frameworks that are created by society. Since every collective memory is understood as a system of signs, therefore every single memory is taken as a sign. When social frameworks change, the sign itself changes as well since its social function within a society has been modified.

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[37] Todorov (1998: 115).
[38] Todorov (1998: 115).
[39] Isar Y.R., Viejo-Rose D., Anheier H.K., 'Introduction' in: Anheier H.K., Isar Y.R., *Heritage, Memory and Identity*, London, (2011: 9).

Outside of social frameworks memory is thus not possible, therefore memory is formed on a collective level. Even though it is an individual who remembers, his memories are created by communications and interactions within society and communities. Memories are part of the totality of ideas common to a group of people. Such memory is nontransferable and tightly bound to the individual and group which experiences it. Consequently, memory is very concrete in the sense of identity. An individual can be a member of many different social groups which makes him the subject of not only a single universal memory, but of a number of memories. This leads to the recognition of the plurality of collective memory. Different human groups elaborate different collective memories.

It is possible to remember only those things that can be reconstructed as the past within the present social frameworks and anything that cannot be attributed to any of the referential framework of the present is forgotten. Therefore forgetting is one of the most important and functional processes in the formation of memory. The process of forgetting usually happens over time, in a sequence and is traceable. The memories themselves do not cover the total time. Forgetting, though, can be targeted and manipulated. It can happen when forgetting events, situations or values is not compatible with legitimizing, self-identifying, or other possible functions and needs of various groups, ethnicities, political systems, social communities, families and what have you.

Collective memory looks at a society from the inside and tries to show the society the kind of image of its past in which the society can recognize itself in all of its stages. While doing so it highlights the differences in its own past on which its own uniqueness is based in opposition to all the others memories of all the other social groups. So a number of collective memories and remembering exist but only one history has been established because history claims that it has crossed out any possible reference to any other social group.

For Halbwachs, collective memory is always selective and the way and process of remembering influenced by present social conditions. The social frameworks within which people recall memories are to be understood as the totality of ideas common to the group of people being dealt with. These frameworks are collective and the organization and formation of memories depends on them.

An important aspect of collective memory is that the remembering proceeds concretely in contrast to the thinking which can be abstract. In the case of remembering, ideas need to become illustrative, they need to enter into memory as objects. In this situation a link

between a notion and an image is created which Halbwachs calls, 'the figures of memory'. This tendency of be localized is typical of all types of societies. Every group tries to create and safeguard sites which provide symbols of its identity. Memory has an essential tendency to go into space for which reason it needs (heritage) sites to ground itself. These places reproduce the past of a social group, define its essence, features etc. Thus heritage sites are places which produce the past. Thereafter we can understand why remembering plays a vital role in creating a material culture. Remembering situates memories into a fixed space. The site only needs to more or less correspond with the words, events and personalities of the remembering. In this way the memory is transformed from imaginary ideas into reality and creates for them a concrete place in space.

After the memory finds a suitable site it begins to attribute a certain prestige. It may happen that the significance of a certain site splits, disintegrates or extends. Individual parts of what was originally a single event are then distributed in various places, usually neighbouring ones. Diffusion into space takes place but thanks to the repetition and multiplication of reminders the memories are strengthened.

Nora on places of memory

A particularly influential addition to the French tradition of the collective memory concept was made by historian Pierre Nora and his colleagues in their massive collaborative work entitled; *Les liuex de mémoire* (The Realms of Memory), 1992. Materialization of memory, in Nora's perception, derives from Halbwachs' thesis discussed above. Nora is mainly concerned with the aspect of localization of memory and he offers the concept of, 'places of memory'.

For Nora memory is a living link to the past which is experienced on an emotional level and from which groups derive their identity. In contrast, history is, for him, problematic and an incomplete reconstruction of the lost past. Historians examine traces and narrations of the past from which they reconstruct the past. Since history is not bound to any particular group it tends to universalism. According to Nora, in connection with the disappearance of national identity, there is a need to create an inventory of places (concrete or abstract) serving as places of memory, e.g.: festivals, memorials, events and rituals, cemeteries, lexicon, museums, archives etc. We suggest that UNESCO might function in this way as well.

Nora speaks about an end to a society of memory whose model is represented by archaic societies. He perceives history itself as a substitute for lost memory, as an effort to align itself with heritage and values. History is a call to our fundamental establishments. Between history and memory is a sharp distinction where memory, presenting a living

past, stands on one end and on the other end is history as a mere reflection of the past. Sites where a consciousness transformed by memory persists in history are termed, 'places of memory'. Nora says that memory itself is fixed in concrete objects, gestures, images and places. These places of memory have their material, functional and symbolic aspects and can be classified from different points of view as: material, functional or symbolic.

Nora speaks further about our recent memory as one stunned by history and of having a strong archival nature. His argument is that the less memory is lived through internally, the more it needs external support and concrete evidence of its existence. In this respect, he explains that the archive obsession is typical for many present-day societies. From such reasoning a clear materialization of memory is affected and is constantly expanding, multiplying, decentralizing and democratizing Using these parameters we could explain UNESCO as an archive that catalogues, while regularly enlarging its List of WH; its politics are focused on the local as an expression of decentralization and its aspiration to be fair to all world memories and to fairly distribute inscribed sites as a manifestation of democracy.

Assman on cultural and communicative memory
Assman distinguishes two ways through which memory deals with the past. One way he calls, 'memory of non-literate societies' and the other one, 'our cultural external memory'. The basic difference between them is that our recent cultural memory is preserved through script which Assman characterizes as 'historical memory', because only at a time that it is possible to go through archived information is it possible to study the past and to historicize it how it appears.

Speaking about characteristic aspects of memory, Assman classifies four different types of memory: mimetic, memory of things, communicative and cultural. The 'mimetic memory' develops in the process of socialization by imitation and refers to physiological preconditions. Memory attributed to material things is the 'memory of things'. The other type of 'communicative memory' concerns the memories tied up with the recent past and enables communication between generations. This memory refers to recent events, it is an 'alive' memory consisting of various types of speech, prejudices and so on and its holders are all the members of a society. In our times media discourse and narratives represent such a type of memory. 'Cultural memory' is a space into which all the other three types of memories may enter. Cultural memory is typical for memories of a distant past and the more the memories go towards the past, the more they depend on specialists of memory, a special, privileged group: the historians or the shamans and narrators in more traditional societies. In this memory category we can see a high level of institutionalization and material attachments. To a certain degree we may identify cultural

memory with our historical science.

Regarding the content, form and time range, communicative and cultural memory seem to have polar structures: communicative memory speaks mainly about historical events dating back to such an extent to include the last three or four generations (time range of 80-100 years) and is produced informally. Conversely, cultural memory talks about mythical beginnings and an absolute past in formalized ways, relies on rituals and is a precondition for collective identity. But with the invention of writing its privileged position was radically changed. And that is what we might be experiencing lately – a rise in memory (communicative memory) at the expense of history (cultural memory) as an academic discipline.

Yoneyama on memoryscape

New insight was offered by Lisa Yoneyama with the notion of 'memoryscape' in her study of reading and understanding time and space in the book; *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* from 1999[40]. She uses the term 'memoryscape' for examining the productive and transformative nature of space and for studying spatial strategies that contribute to taming knowledge about the city's past[41]. As urban projects change the landscape, they are reformulating cityscapes which in turn could lead to new knowledge and consciousness (or forgetfulness as well) about history and society. Yoneyama notes that, 'many of the transformations of memoryscape have not been achieved without provoking conflicts over how to represent the past'[42]. Such battles have developed out of and have been mediated through space.

Enlightened by Halbwachs, Nora, Assman and Yoneyama, we understand the heritage sites to be places of memory, the holders of collective memory that do not represent the past as it was but rather they are only a narrative of this the past. Therefore the study of these places of memory may be perceived as the study of narratives about the past. Heritage as places of memory participate in the formation of collective identity by means of forwarding the values and standards of a given culture and therefore can be defined as places in which the sources of collective memory are located and expressed.

The basic feature of collective memory is its ability to change and re-adjust. The past is continuously reorganized by the metamorphosing referential social frameworks of the present. The essence of places of memory consists of so-called memory figures for which there is a typical interconnection of perception and image. Places of memory as

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[40] See also Yoneyama, L. (1992) *Hiroshima Narratives and the politics of memory: A Study of Power Knowledge and Identities,* Ph.D. diss., Stanford University.
[41] Yoneyama (1999: 33f).
[42] Yoneyama (1999: 34).

constructs of the present manifest the public's acceptance of the past. Such places come in a wide range of options from archives, museums, architectural sites, various commemorations and school books to the places proclaimed by UNESCO to be World Heritage. These have the important ability to constantly revive its meanings in unpredictable ways.

2.2 Heritage practice

Heritage has become one of the leading figures in a process first identified by British historian Eric Hobsbawm as the 'invention of tradition', which he linked with the course of national state movements as a phenomenon of rediscovery. According to Marc Askew the heritage movement reflects a long history of internationalism, with its origins in late 18th century romanticism, enlightenment universalism, and a missionary zeal aimed at human betterment through cooperation across national boundaries. This was consolidated in the post-war period by a determination to overcome the destructive forces of racism, exploitation and strife, represented by the formation of the United Nations and its agencies, including UNESCO[43].

To receive heritage status a decision that something will become a heritage site needs to be made. What influences this decision the most is the memory, the remembering itself which selects and interprets the past. Different approaches lead to a heritage selection and the ways of accessing the heritage itself vary. For example, to Western people it may look like the Chinese do not preserve their heritage enough if they are demolishing antiquities for the sake of modernization.

Understanding heritage traditionally concerns a single version dominated by aesthetics and historic criteria, valid at least in Western heritage discourse. To Westerners heritage is conventionally perceived as inherited property, something passed down from the preceding generations, indicating something valuable, which is inherited from ancestors. This heritage concept has been repeatedly modified and its meaning expanded so that now it conveys a variety of meanings. The heritage concept itself has been enlarged to include many new categories of artefacts. Many believe that UNESCO is largely responsible for this modification too. The UNESCO World Heritage Convention (1972) is considered to have had a significant impact on our concept of heritage. Under the influence of UNESCO modifications have been made, mainly in terms of culture, since the nominated sites are located in different cultural contexts.

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[43] Askew (2010: 20).

There are at least three major turning points to be identified according to Nishimura[44]. The first one occurred in the late 1970s and 1980s when UNESCO created a new category of 'complex heritage' and then consequently introduced the term 'cultural landscape' as a new World Heritage category in the 1990s. This meant an enlargement of the viewpoint of what can be seen as heritage. The second turning point is represented by more recent concepts of heritage that have started to note technologies and the knowledge which was used to create material heritage, subsequently leading to a further modification of including non-physical aspects of heritage. The third turning point can be seen in the most recent discussions concerned with even more intangible aspects of heritage which are leading us to focus on the everyday life and practices of local people.

Heritage idea and heritage values
Regarding the definition of heritage, its perception and associated terms, the concept has been extended over the past few years and now relates to a wider sphere of interest. Instead of using such notions as monuments, sights, heritage or places of memory all these relations might be covered by the term, 'historical environment', as well. Our historical environment is to be understood as part of our everyday life, accessible to everyone and bringing up different connotations, meanings and values from the past into the present[45]. We see that different levels can be applied to heritage perception.

The idea of heritage as our historical environment would represent a rather wider conception, on the other hand in a narrower sense of the term we may understand heritage as concrete objects that, due to a political decision, fall into the group of the generally protected property of a state. Based on a number of views it is evident that heritage is, in the first place a matter of agreement. So heritage may be defined as a metaphor of public acceptance and perception of the past[46]. Respectively, what represents heritage for someone, does not necessarily mean the same for another. This usually becomes evident when taking into account cultural differences.

When using the term heritage objects are placed into the continuity of a certain tradition and cultural continuity is put in first place. 'We' refers to a conscious cultural transfer within a society from preceding societies. While the term 'monument' refers especially to the material evidence of the society. As UNESCO is inclined to the term heritage, not monument, it expresses its program as a preservation and retrieval of certain cultural continuity. If the word 'national' is put alongside the term 'heritage', it is when the focus is on the preservation of national continuity. When 'world' as an adjective is added, as we

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[44] Nishimura (2006).
[45] Hems (2006: 5).
[46] Lamy (1998: 169).

see in the case of UNESCO, continuity is meant to reach all the possibly imaginable limits –
the continuity of the whole of mankind.

Gadamer ascribes to heritage four essential features: ability to be attributive, symbolism,
figurativeness and expressionism[47]. The meaning of the ability to be attributive is that the
heritage functions as a sign which is understood as an abstract reference to something
absent. The aspect of symbolism presents a pure representation in that it is presenting
something absent. Therefore symbol is more than a sign since it not only refers to the past
but it also presents the past. Figurativeness suggests that not only is it the presented past
that is being referred to, but it is also represented as an image of its own. Expressionism
stands for an approach in which there is a belief in actions of self-expression. Introducing
the past is always done for someone and in the case of a heritage site it is done for the
sake of future generations.

In identifying heritage as a cultural construct, let us outline what values constitute and
individualize it. We can operably distinguish heritage values as direct and indirect. The
indirect ones relate to aspects that stem from material heritage as objects and these
establish the values of uniqueness, typicalness, integrity and the value of the site as a
symbol. Among the direct heritage values associated with the material nature of heritage
we recognize the value of historical documents, art or the value of authenticity. Using this
distinction between direct and indirect values, we might then classify heritage sites into
two categories – 'heritage as an object', wherein heritage is in the position of a material
sign that refreshes the memory; and on the other hand, 'heritage as a memory', when we
focus on the mental aspects of heritage[48]. Popular viewpoints see heritage mostly as an
'object', as scientific proof of the development of a society for which reason all the other
artefacts, including nature, have become heritage.

Heritage interpretation
In our times, the most obvious and available form of heritage interpretation is signage,
i.e.: information panels together with marked paths and trails. These are often
accompanied by various informational and promotional material such as standard
published guides, booklets, leaflets, illustrated maps, brochures, tour literature, coach
guides and so on. Research in museums has demonstrated that people do not learn very
much from reading exhibition panels but that the most effective exhibits for learning are
those which encourage social interaction[49].

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[47] Richter (1993: 12).
[48] Richter (1993: 12).
[49] Uzzell (2007: 80)

In 1957, Freeman Tilden set the agenda for the interpretation of heritage practices and policies with the publication; *Interpreting our Heritage*. Tilden described interpretation as an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships about certain topics or a place through the use of original subjects usually connected to something with the experience of the visitors, through first hand experience and by illustrative media, rather than simply communicating actual information[50]. There are six principles for interpretation that have been identified by Tilden[51]:

'I. Any interpretation that does not somehow relate to what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or the experience of the visitor will be sterile.

II. Information, as such, is not Interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.

III. Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical or architectural. Any art is, to some degree, teachable.

IV. The chief aim of Interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.

V. Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part, and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.

VI. Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program.'

Information as such is not an interpretation but is the reception of information. Furthermore, interpretation is always a self-interpreted construction, since it is the individual who is receiving it. Thus each visitor arrives at a cultural heritage site with his own contexts and 'cultural imaginings'[52]. In order to be successful the interpretation must have meaning for the visitor which means it must make a connection between something in the experience and the understanding of the visitor. One way to do this is to put people into the picture[53].

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[50] Tilden (1977: 8f).
[51] Tilden (1977: 9).
[52] McIntosh & Prentice (2007: 383).
[53] Price (2006: 117).

Copeland identifies two main approaches for 'how to put people into the picture': the positivist one and the constructivist one. The positivist approach provides only one view of complex issues and presumes that there is a fixed place that the visitor must come to know. Therefore it will generally give ready, constructed facts and a fixed view of the site as it 'was' in the past and will require little of the visitor in understanding the place or the processes that formed it. So the information flow in a positivistic model is direct: from evidence, to interpretation, to the audience[54]. In a constructivist approach the past is unseen and useable.

Although the remaining evidence for past actions is retrieved and examined, this approach is aimed at getting a deeper understanding of the site by going beyond and by portraying the complexities of the site and how constructions about it have been made. This approach is challenging and allows visitors to make their own meanings. So the flow of information in this model is triangular, the transaction is more complex. The site will have many meanings for the visitor as there will be the possibility of numerous pasts being constructed[55]. I assume the nowadays UNESCO's interpretation model is constructivist. It encourages dialogues in order to include the complexities which we will see in the following chapter regarding the development of the UNESCO heritage concept.

The differences between a top-down or a bottom-up organization of interpretations is significant. An official top-down heritage interpretation will take a different line than a community-led interpretation. The official (top) interpretations have a general didactic intent and are usually concerned with concepts of historical validity and thus place its subject (heritage) into the context of a social and historical continuum[56]. On the other hand a community-led interpretation is concerned with validation of recent experience. Its didactic intent is to explain the behaviour and activity of preceding generations to present generations and place its subject (heritage) in the polarized context of 'then' and 'now'[57]. In many cases both approaches are found operating together, which we think is the case of UNESCO. Recent stress has been put on the local and the community based policy has received support which should, hypothetically, lead to encouraging community-led interpretations.

One of the very popular recent interpretative methods is 'living history'. This is when costumed performers become commentators while recreating incidents or activities from the past. This new method was founded in Great Britain in the 1970s and has

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[54] Copeland (2006: 86).
[55] Copeland (2006: 87).
[56] Price (2006: 111).
[57] Price (2006: 122).

become a significant interpretative technique. Living history is defined as any presentation using people, usually costumed, which aims to place artefacts, places or events in context against the background of the human environment of the past[58]. The interpretation is based on historical facts, has an educational intent and relies upon sound performances or other presentational skills.

Four basic elements constitute the living history method: historical content, educational intent, presentation skills and interaction with visitors. The festival of Royal Silvering in Kutná Hora, which we will describe in the case study, fully meets all these criteria. The first use of this type of heritage presentation and interpretation method took place over one hundred years ago at the open-air Museum of Scandinavian Folklore in Stockholm. From 1898 musicians and craft people were brought to the site to perform traditional arts. Today, there is a philosophy, terminology and methodology for living history, established by ALHFAM (Association for Living Historical Farms and Agricultural Museums) and IMTAL (International Museum Theatre Alliance).

Living history is a re-creation of the past where past is an intellectual construct. The setting may be right but we cannot create or recreate the human part of the past. We can acquire past skills, rediscover lost techniques and similar things but knowing what they were like or trying to be like them is doomed to failure. People are just different now than they were then. Therefore criticism of live interpretation is frequent. Most opposition is to the trivialization and misinterpretation of the past, some even speak about 'disneyfication'. Such criticism stems perhaps from a misunderstanding of the goal of living history.

What a living history offers is an interpretation of a period in time, what it might have been like, not what it was like. The live interpretation projects are generalizations about the past, based on incomplete evidence. If understood in this manner, the aforementioned criticism would be irrelevant. Of course it is not the most valid technique of historical interpretation but it probably does not aim to be. Its goal is to entertain and through this entertainment to educate about the past and to create a relationship to the past. Having such an objective the living interpretation offers the opportunity for the public to become their own investigators of the past. It is suggested that people learn more when their emotions are heightened and when the public becomes their own investigators of the past. Educationists assert that re-creation and re-enactment can engage children's interest in history. Another criticism relates to the topic of promoting heritage sites in order to raise tourist attraction and revenue.

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[58] Robertshaw (2006: 42).

Heritage preservation

Understanding heritage preservation, can be managed in different ways. It is possible to see it as a moral commitment[59]. One aspect that is not usually taken into consideration in professional discussions on heritage preservation is the emotional basis of conservation which Petzet calls to mind since the emotional basis can have a huge influence 'over the fate of certain monuments'[60]. When thinking of its institutionalized form, (state heritage preservation), we can define it as an act of protecting the public interest. The question of heritage preservation also brings us to the problem of what was understood by the term heritage in the past, how this perception has changed over time, how the values attributed to heritage were improved and how these have influenced the choice, presentation and interpretation of heritage sites. The central relationship in the heritage preservation practice is determined by the bipolarity in matters of valuing and evaluating[61].

The history of heritage preservation is a matter of the history of reactions societies have towards the past. Its executives are 'heritage managers', some of them consciously so. By promoting the practice of management in our dealings with the past, we are saying that we cannot only fix it but we can also manipulate it[62]. Managing heritage means consciously intervening in the past and its effect on us. What leads us to the preservation of relics of the past is a belief that keeping something of historical value is better than losing it. But preserving the past does not come cheap. The cost of preservation, conservation, interpretation and promotion is enormous. The general practice in current heritage preservation is that national commissions are recognized and financed by the national governments of each country and are responsible for the standards, compatibility and integration of the components of the national heritage record.

Today heritage preservation is a historical discipline which was established around the halfway point of the 19th century with intellectual roots that can be traced back to the previous century. The birthplace of the modern day heritage preservation movement is generally considered to be Europe[63]. The intentional preservation of certain heritage though goes back many centuries. Although heritage preservation does not have any consistent theory, discussions over its necessity are present. The biggest problem is it is unclearly defined.

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[59] Petrů (2004).
[60] Petzet (2001: 333).
[61] Kotalík (2008: 24).
[62] Fowler (1992: 8).
[63] See Štulc (2004).

Historical developments of heritage preservation and practice

The demand for cultural objects may be identified in various historical periods and in different cultures and civilizations. But the attitude towards preserving them was first documented during the Italian Renaissance which saw antiquity as its predecessor and consciously appreciated ancient monuments. The Renaissance interest in art works and works of the past in general was related to the 'cult of artistic genius'. Such heritage practice was limited though to a group of humanistic intellectuals, artists or their patrons. The concept of a common heritage of humankind then dates back to the 17th century[64].

Until the 19th century heritage policy was assumed to have been determined by an aesthetic dogmatism. Every epoch had its own; the Renaissance was known for its contempt of 'barbarian' Gothic, Classicism for its disrespect towards 'undisciplined' Baroque. Of crucial importance for the expansion and generalization of the interest in heritage was Romanticism and its fascination with the Middle Ages. In many countries the Romanticism movement correlated with the ideas of national Revival that saw in medieval heritage a welcomed proof of ancient and great national origins. The status of evidence of historical development became a central point in the future of heritage preservation and was made absolute. Heritage, understood as monuments, was to represent the new metanarrative of nationalism and the universalism, rationality and progress of modernity. Heritage became a cultural and political tool in the process of educating and regulating national identity and values[65]. The idea of identity was formed[66]on the basis of a shared heritage.

There was only one step from the search for and evaluation of heritage of the national past to making an effort for its renovation and conservation, meaning the establishment of a systematic heritage preservation. The evolving general interest in heritage guided the first individual laws and regulations on heritage protection and the creation of the first professional institutions established for the purpose of heritage recognition, documentation and preservation. Regarding state heritage preservation, it was France and the French Revolution that caused a fundamental shift in the recognition of the state as an agent of the public concern in national heritage preservation[67].

The 19th century conceptualized state heritage preservation as a technical process. The key aspects of heritage policy were established as: the aesthetic value, privileging

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[64] Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), a statesman of Dutch origin, was the first one to apply this notion of the common heritage of humankind to the world's seas, that were to be used by everybody but belonged to nobody. See Vahtikari (2012: 29).
[65] Smith (2007: 9).
[66] Smith (2007: 6).
[67] Lamy (1998).

materiality and monumentality and a sense of stewardship. In the early stages the value of age and authenticity played a central role. Using the words of a contemporary, John Ruskin (1849):

> 'the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. Its glory is in its age'[68].

It was commonly assumed that heritage represented the 'good' and valuable aspects of the past led to a conviction that taking care of heritage and preserving its material form was a duty. Restorations were undertaken in a manner to preserve the original material so that the heritage sites were conserved as they had been left[69].

> 'There must be no additions or subtractions, no substitutions for what nature has undone, no removal of anything that nature has added to the original discrete form. The pure and redeeming impact of natural decay must not be arbitrarily disturbed by new additions.'[70].

> Alois Riegel (1903)

The Romantic movement also found expression in the conservation of natural heritage. Laura Jane Smith notes that the idea of 'pristine wilderness' facilitated by the Enlightenment philosophy led to the concept of a natural landscape which was first institutionalized in the late nineteenth century with the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872[71].

By the last quarter of the 19th century, many European governments had established teams of officials whose task was to create inventories of valued buildings and establish the criteria for an officially recognized monument[72]. During the 19th and 20th centuries, most European countries developed policies for state heritage preservation. The European standards for heritage protection that had been formed during modern times became generally accepted in non-Western countries even though these might have different perceptions of heritage values and ideas. In the second half of the 20th century the ideas of intangible heritage from these Indigenous and other non-Western cultural contexts were brought to debate. All heritage was re-defined as intangible and even the tangible aspects were to be interpreted through the intangible since heritage in general was newly understood as a cultural process of meaning and value production[73].

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[68] Ruskin (2007: 102).
[69] Such ideas were presented by former prominent architects such as Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), John Ruskin (1819-1900) or Alois Riegel (1858-1905).
[70] Riegel (2007: 125).
[71] Smith (2007: 21).
[72] Ashworth (1998: 265).
[73] Smith (2007: 4).

The year 1972 is often considered a milestone in the development and institutionalization of the heritage discourse. In that year, the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* was adopted by UNESCO and it established an international agenda for heritage identification, protection, and conservation. Above all, it confirmed the presence of heritage as an international issue. Gradually, countries started applying the UNESCO heritage preservation system to their own national and cultural concepts.

The organizational structure of heritage preservation today is complex. It exists on global, international, continental, national, regional, district and local scales. From the global to the local level, much of the activity in looking after our various pasts depends on volunteers. Indeed, they initiate much of the action, looking to their own pasts rather than merely subscribing their efforts to other pasts which have been defined by official agencies and national organizations. Heritage studies now exist as an academic discipline and heritage management exists as a systematic course at various institutions of higher education.

2.3 Heritage uses

Nostalgia is often referred to as one of the most powerful motives for contemporary use of the past. The difficulty when recreating the past is identifying where or when use becomes exploitation or even abuse whereas the manipulation of the past can take on a wide range of forms. When referring to a specific form of historical practice targeted at a non-academic audience the expression, 'public history', is often used. Regarding the public's use of the past, some of the complaints claim that history is served up to be photogenic, as a decoration to fast-food outlets[74].

One of the dominant debates in heritage studies is over the economic value of heritage and its use as a tourist attraction. According to the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, heritage represents the means of capital accumulation and therefore is treated as a commodity. Because the culture itself is being packaged, consumed and forced into cycles of capital accumulation it has lead to the development of the culture industry. The idea of heritage as an income earner goes back to the 1970s[75]. Historic preservation was one of the first cultural domains to be considered 'bankable'. In the 1970s the United Nations Development Project (UNDP) and the World Bank began to devote funds to the preservation of the 'built' environment and for crafts development, justified purely in

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[74] Goodey (2006: 15).
[75] Isar (2011: 43).

economic terms - by the idea of 'conservations as development'[76]. The plans were to help rejuvenate the economic base of the old parts of the cities, generating income and employment.

Since some cultural expressions are viewed as marketable goods that can help development, UNESCO encourages development agencies to cooperate with it. For example, handicrafts that are nowadays considered to be a specific type of 'living heritage' are believed by UNESCO to be providing a means of empowerment to a significant number of people. UNESCO is aiming to strengthen the notion of 'fairly traded crafts' which is an equitable deal for the producers of handicrafts proposed by the Fair Trade Federation and known as the, 'Fair Trade Seal'.

Concerning the urban policy uses, an appreciation of the perceived parts of the past as communal resources is nowadays present in numerous cities. Many local authorities have developed a tourism strategy in which heritage is a vital factor. Heritage resources can have a direct economic impact on a region by attracting tourists and other visitors as well as providing job opportunities. In many cases it has been proven that the WH List helped governments to resuscitate marginal urban and regional economies through tourism.

Using heritage as a political resource in legitimizing certain versions of the past and identities lead us to the question of the political uses of heritage. Heritage has been used in an active political manner for centuries ever since invading armies appropriated the cultural property of conquered peoples as a part of the process of suppression. An example is the armies of Napoleon and the works of art that ended up in Louvre[77]. Also many cases have already been described in which the argument of historical necessity was easily taken for the purposes of political interpretations. Citing one example from the Czech Republic - the ethnic conflict between the Czechs and the Sudeten Germans living in one country until the time of their expulsion after the second World War. This was explained by Havelka as having followed the basic interpretation perspective of the nationalist historiography and the right to self-determination[78].

Tourism

Tourism is a complex phenomenon with political, social, cultural, environmental, and educational dimensions. The use of the past in tourism is a serious business and tourism also has a major impact on those very places people wish to tour. Heritage is regarded as

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[76] Perez (1995).
[77] Newman & McLean (2007: 102).
[78] Havelka (2004: 87).

the most significant and fastest growing component of tourism[79]. Heritage tourism as a category of tourism is an activity which enables people to explore and experience the different ways of life of other people to a certain extent, reflecting their customs, traditions and also their heritage. The 'heritage industry' as a part of contemporary tourism has been widely analysed in many publications.

Tourism is a widespread, age-old human experience that has varied throughout history. Special characteristics which distinguish modern tourism from earlier kinds of travel are its organized structure and its large-scale, systematic promoting and marketing. International tourism and heritage conservation have historically evolved together since the times of the Grand Tours of the 18th century[80]. Over the last few decades exploring cultural differences has become a typical activity and such intercultural encounters are now much more likely to be an expected part of normal life[81]. It is now economically possible for many people to travel abroad. During the 20th century tourism has become a part of the Western urban consumer culture. Before the 19th century few people outside of the upper classes travelled for reasons unconnected with work or business. Urry identifies a historical shift from the individual traveller to 'mass society tourism'[82]. Nowadays it is possible to speak about tourism as an industry and it is estimated that worldwide, tourism is the largest source of employment[83].

Tourism may be defined in many possible ways and can be seen from different perspectives. Many tourism theories and interpretations stem from the basic binary division between the ordinary and the extraordinary which makes tourism a limited detachment from established routines and the practices of everyday life. Tourism is taken as a behaviour which enjoys cultural differences and is in search of something new and different. As a non-ordinary experience, tourism can be seen as a sacred journey or ritual, as a cultural practice and is in contrast to normal life which leads to a personal transition and is meant as a total transformation of the self. The idea of tourism as a form of cultural imperialism could be due to a possible unequal relationship between the hosts and the guests. MacCannell provides us with the concept of tourism as a search of authenticity and a quest for the other[84]. He describes tourism as 'staged authenticity' which means that tourists are looking for a sense of authenticity that is lacking in their lives at home and the hosts are creating authentic-seeming presentations of their own cultures.

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[79] Poria, Butler & Airey (2007: 391).
[80] Tunbridge & Ashworth (2007: 231).
[81] Hendry (2008: 256).
[82] Urry (1990).
[83] Urry (1990).
[84] MacCannell (2007).

There is a risk that heritage tourism disturbs the host communities lifestyles and destroys the authenticity and significance of their heritage because of the tendency of more economically primitive cultures to imitate the behaviour patterns of more complex ones and to incorporate the learnt behaviour into its own lifestyle[85]. The idea of putting cultural heritage on display is not a new one, museums have been doing it for a long time. But when talking about the influence of tourism on museums, the transformations of museums into attractions is often mentioned. The motive behind traveling is suggested to be the quest for authentic experiences, but what is being shown to tourists is rather a kind of living museum, a staged back region[86] and the tourist are becoming passive consumers of history and heritage.

UNESCO is raising visitor expectations and thus World Heritage has became a kind of brand for those who want better travel quality or more quality travel. The UNESCO World Heritage term is fully institutionalized and commercialized as a label for the valorised past[87]. The UNESCO label is often a catalyst for investments, regeneration and an increase in tourism. According to a survey, half of the tourists in Kutná Hora admitted that their motivation for visiting the site was influenced by the fact that the site was inscribed on the WH List[88]. Today many travel agencies draft their offers with regard to whether a site is on the UNESCO WHL or not. So besides the basic concept of World Heritage as conservation, restoration and protection, UNESCO has also developed the promotion of socio-economic development, especially tourism development, perhaps as a side effect. Because of the potentially large profits and benefits that inclusion on the WH List provides, many see World Heritage as a business chance as well. In fact, one can even get the impression that the economic aspect of WH prevails while the essential concept is being neglected[89].

The influence of tourism development on UNESCO WH sites and the aspects of such forces can be well noted from anthropological perspectives. For example, the culture of Bali is generally perceived by anthropologists to have been totally created by tourism, pushing aside the local culture[90]. In 1969 the Indonesian government opened the country to international tourists and borrowed money from the International Monetary Fund, to which the *Bali Tourism Master plan* had been submitted. In order to continuously receive money from the World Bank, tourism had to keep on being

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[85] Metalka (1986).
[86] MacCannell D., 'Staged authenticity' in Smith L. (ed.), Cultural Heritage,Vol. III, (2007: 294f).
[87] Askew (2010: 19).
[88] The survey was conducted by STEM/MARK agency and published in 2007.
[89] Nishimura (2006).
[90] Picard (1996).

successful. As a consequence, a centralized plan controlled by the Indonesian government was established which meant a lost possibility to express local culture. Under the influence of such processes the people of Bali started rethinking their own culture and changing it to new Bali culture, changing it into a commodity for tourists.

Nowadays, many refer to Bali as a living museum and they recognize two types of culture: real local culture, on the underground level, which is kept only for the locals themselves and the other as an exhibiting tourist culture which is different and which is offered as a created culture to the tourist and is the only one tourists get a chance to see. Locals started looking at their culture from an outsider's point of view, through the eyes of a tourist, inventing things they thought could be sold but that have nothing in common with the traditional culture[91].

We see that tourism can create a 'tourism culture'. The danger is that if tourism culture is too big, it makes the local culture disappear. What UNESCO claims to preserve is authentic culture and thus the WH Committee is concerned that cultural heritage does not become an exclusive commodity that only serves tourists, but that it is brought into a supportive relationship with it. Tourism culture is usually created by the centralized plans of local or central governments. Until recently, the problem was that the elites were planning without any involvement from the local people which led to many misunderstanding of each other[92]. Another problem of heritage tourism projects is that they tend to dwell on the past by freezing people's lives, by musealization and by commodification of historic environments[93]. This is leading to the commodification of the lives of host-communities and of the tourist experience which also means a dismantling of vital relationships between heritage and its associated host-community. Another issue, which has been raised concerns the sometimes excessive numbers of visitors which have deleterious effects and in many aspects may cause problems.

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[91] This example was given and explained by Professor Masao Nishimura during an interview in 2010. He has been involved in various UNESCO activities over the last few years.
[92] Nishimura (2004).
[93] Daher (2000).

3 UNESCO APPROACH

When we see or hear the word 'UNESCO' what comes to mind? A label for some heritage sites and tourist places? An international and intercultural educational organization with the aim of teaching respect and diversity? A call for a policy centered on local people? A defender of the cultures of the world against globalization which causes the disappearance of distinct identities? An international community built up through heritage?

The UNESCO emblem symbolizes an archaeological site of an ancient temple. Through this choice the focus is put on archaeological heritage which can be found throughout the world and therefore, for the majority of people, it is possible to identify with it. Thus it stands for a universal topic that can serve as a starting point for mutual conversation and as a basis for one, big commemorative story offering a new common identity for each member of the biggest, possibly imagined, community in the world. In the matter of ownership, since the archaeological heritage is usually connected with some extinct, ancient civilization, it fits UNESCO's idea that heritage is not possessed by a single certain nation or country.

Figure 1   UNESCO emblem.

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was founded in 1945 as a United Nations agency for education, science and culture. It was created to contribute to a mutual understanding and convergence among nations in a post-war reality and focused on developing educational, educative, scientific and other cultural activities.

The UNESCO slogan; 'Building peace in the minds of men and women' ,gives us a clear idea of the purpose and aim of this organization. In the preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO we read that; 'since wars begin in the minds of man, it is in the minds that the

defences of peace must be constructed'. UNESCO's essential goal then was the promotion of mutual understanding and solidarity among peoples. In order to achieve that, the main concern of the founders was to promote and organize international co-operation through the spreading of knowledge, the comparison of experiences and through the discussion of ideas in collaboration with non-governmental organizations and associations and international non-governmental federations in which many specialties were meant to be represented[94]. Some of the World Heritage sites have been specifically inscribed with a peacekeeping purpose which, for example, is the case of the Peace Memorial park in Hiroshima which is studied in this thesis. The project of creating a World Heritage has as its final goal: peace, in accordance with the purpose of UNESCO or at least it hopes to create a new myth that stresses the unity of people[95].

World Heritage is UNESCO's key term and is defined as a legacy to the past that we are experiencing now and which is a source of inspiration and understanding that leads to accepting the 'other', which then, presumably, leads to the peaceful coexistence of humankind that we will forward on to future generations. What makes this concept unique is its use on a worldwide scale. Today, various conventions, charters, recommendations and other texts enacted by UNESCO represent the dominant form of an international heritage discourse. The UNESCO World Heritage sites are established on the basis of a political decision, which means they are established at the 'top'.

This concept puts together very different kinds of sites, which are nowadays grouped into three basic categories: cultural heritage, natural heritage and cultural intangible heritage. This categorization signifies certain shifts in the perception of the heritage idea which is not limited to material forms. Achieving an inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) is a symbolic act of stepping into a community which is built through heritage and which carries the idea of an international commonwealth based on the heritage ideas. Such processes are to be perceived within the globalization framework as a melting of borders and a building of supranational identities. The World Heritage concept is based on the idea that some places posses some kind of an outstanding universal value. The term 'outstanding universal value' (OUV) has become a central expression of the UNESCO policy and also a highly debatable one.

While cataloguing and preserving World Heritage, UNESCO leaves the actual care to the individual states on whose territory the site is founded. UNESCO acts as insurance - only in cases of an extraordinary threat or in situations in which the state is unable to fund the

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[94] Valderrama (1995: 25).

[95] Omland A., 'The ethics of the World Heritage concept' in Scarre Ch., Scarre G. (eds.) The Ethics of Archeology, (2006: 252).

maintenance or reconstruction for various reasons, will UNESCO step in and take action if possible. The World Heritage Convention involves primarily state-to-state cooperation and the WH Committee relies mainly on accounts given by the national delegations and the advisory bodies of: the World Conservation Union (IUCN) which reports on natural sites, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) whose reports cover cultural sites. The role of minority and local groups was little considered during the first few decades of the Convention though now it is on the agenda of the Committee[96].

Figure 2   UNESCO World Heritage emblem [97]

There are four separate heritage lists: the World Heritage List, which puts together cultural and natural heritage sites, the List of World Heritage in Danger, the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. Placing a heritage site on the WH List is like giving it a brand name which is connected with a certain degree of prestige and which usually becomes a business value. Thus the process of inscription developed partly into a political affair due to quarrelling among national states and into an economical fight for tourists.

Consequently some may claim UNESCO is a new type of industry or at least a part of the tourist trade, specifically heritage tourism. For example, in the case of Kutná Hora the UNESCO label was a catalyst for investment, regeneration and tourism. The mayor of the town stated the effects of inclusion on the UNESCO List, as: significantly bigger numbers of visiting tourists, improved possibilities to draw funds leading to, as a result, brisk urban development and monument restoration and preservation. Moreover, on the symbolical level, an increased feeling of patriotism among the locals in response to the prestige of

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[96] Omland (2006: 248).

[97] According to the information given on the UNESCO official website [http://whc.unesco.org/en/emblem/] 'The World Heritage emblem represents the interdependence of the world's natural and cultural. While the central square symbolizes the results of human skill and inspiration, the circle celebrates the gifts of nature. The emblem is round, like the world, a symbol of global protection for the heritage of all humankind.'

being a World Heritage site was aroused[98].

Taking into account the context in which the UNESCO approach of introducing a new global policy of heritage preservation is being practiced, we see that the concept of World Heritage is always constructed in a particular setting. Therefore it might be difficult to argue that World Heritage is a universally shared concept, we see it rather as many concepts of World Heritage all together. Because external factors come into the process from the beginning to the end, UNESCO represents an interplay of global, national and local matters. This is evident especially in case of the management of World Heritage sites.

Growing literature on the subject embodies many different approaches to the World Heritage concept. There are some negative perceptions in which some view it in terms of a meaningless beauty contest between nations and for symbolizing commercial values others speak against. Well-known is the critique that the World Heritage concept is seen as too European, privileging Western assumptions about the nature of heritage and emphasizing the tangibility of heritage. The excess of Western influence on the World Heritage perception is documented by the dominance of European sites inscribed on the WH List and by the selection of non-European sites which copy Western heritage values[99]. As a consequence, the notion of Western cultural imperialism is not rare. Some highlight that the heritagization processes promoted by the World Heritage concept may even contrast with local understandings of these spaces, and its actions can be seen as colonialist.

For the past few decades we have been suggesting that UNESCO initiatives be developed to be more inclusive. Recent proposals made by UNESCO have been significant for their innovations including the incorporation of intangible heritage which has developed in part to address criticism from Indigenous peoples and a range of other non-Western cultures about the privileging of tangible heritage. The launch of a new policy (called the Global Strategy) with the goal of settling up the imbalances in the WH List in order to offer a fully representative list of true World Heritages, and the affirmation of conservation practices that reflect the cultural values of particular societies, which means that the variant conservation practices were acceptable (proclaimed in The Nara Document on Authenticity).

We believe that recent decades have conveyed an accommodation of alternative heritage forms into UNESCO's lexicon and have shifted it from a paradigm of aesthetics to a

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[98] From an interview with Ivo Šanc, the mayor of Kutná Hora (28 August 2013).
[99] Klusáková (2013: 8).

paradigm of representation, from centralized decision-making to local support, from top-down to bottom-up and to the affirmation of local distinctiveness[100]. Rather than imposing uniformity, UNESCO has accommodated change by assimilating alternative approaches. Thus UNESCO brings in multiple ways of knowing, explaining and being in the world.

3.1 Strategy development

The idea of establishing an international organization in order to preserve World Heritage emerged after World War I. Since World War II, UNESCO has supported a series of heritage initiatives, starting with tangible heritage, both immovable and movable, expanding to natural heritage, and most recently to intangible heritage[101]. Throughout the history of the institution we can note the various changes in the valuation of such places and the concept of World Heritage has also undergone several changes since the adoption of the 1972 *Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. The convention was supposed to provide a global ethical solution for heritage protection and encourage respect for the cultural heritage of others. By introducing a global heritage policy which stressed partiality and diversity UNESCO expressed a postmodern approach and attitude.

Heritage activity before the World Heritage Convention
The need for an international legal instrument to ensure the protection and conservation of natural and cultural heritage had been discussed over several decades by the League of Nations[102], without any concrete results. The League of Nations promoted the concept of a common cultural heritage in an effort to enhance international interests over nationalistic ones[103]. Though there were some initiatives and its patronage, the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, adopted the *Athens Charter* in 1931 which is claimed to have establish international awareness about heritage and conservation issues. It proposed the establishment of international organizations for heritage restoration on operational and advisory levels and called for technical and moral co-operation and for international documentation for cataloguing purposes. The preservation was to be kept by legislation at a national level.

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[100] Isar (2011: 51).
[101] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2007: 309).
[102] Cleere (2012).
[103] Vahtikari (2012: 29).

Still recovering from the war experience in 1954 the so-called *Hague Convention* was adopted by UNESCO. Its full title was: the *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict,* and it aimed at protecting cultural heritage in cases of war conflicts. This document called cultural heritage by the term; 'cultural property', and sorted it into two categories: (1) movable or immovable heritage represented by monuments of architecture, art, history or religion, archaeological sites, works of art, scientific collections, archives etc. and (2) buildings for exhibiting or preserving the cultural property such as museums, archives, libraries and so on. It was stated that cultural heritage should receive international protection. The reasoning was that damage to cultural property belonging to any people meant damage to the cultural heritage of all humankind. Hence it promoted respect for cultural property and offered the technical assistance of UNESCO when safeguarding the cultural heritage.

In 1956 an important international conference entitled; the *World Heritage Trust,* was held in Washington D.C.. It was to stimulate the establishment of an international organization for preserving unique natural places and historical sites. The fundamental innovative idea of the future organization was to join the preservation of culture heritage with the protection of natural heritage.

An event which is said to have unleashed an international interest in heritage preservation was the decision made by the government of Egypt to build a water dam in Aswan in 1959. Due to this project the valley where a treasure of Ancient Egyptian civilization was located, the Abu Simbel temple, was to be flooded. UNESCO initiated an extensive international campaign for the perpetuation of this heritage. The temple was disassembled and transferred to a safe place, where it was reconstructed. This rescue action cost eighty million US dollars and about fifty states from all over the world contributed financially expressing the importance of solidarity and the responsibility of states and nations in preserving cultural heritage of exceptional importance. The indisputable success of this action has led to other rescue campaigns.

In 1964, about thirty years after the First International Congress of Architects of Historic Monuments had met and during which the Athens Charter had been adopted, the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments met in Venice. This time the congress produced the; *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites,* known as the Venice Charter. This charter has become one of the primary, foundational texts of Western conservation philosophy and practice and has established conservation ethic and it's key principles of heritage management. It was based on respect for original material and authentic documents and thus the charter urged a strict preservation of original material substances and said that

attaining a stylistic unity should not be a goal of a preservative intervention. Though later it was revised and criticized for its emphasis on original materials that consequently left out the cultures and traditions that place more stress on spiritual values and on authenticity of thought, than on material symbols. Its novelty was seen in the definition of historic monuments which were not necessarily seen as single architectural works but also included the urban or rural settings which formed them and of which they were a part.

In 1965, shortly after the congress, an International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) was created in order to propagate the ideas and programme of the Venice Charter. This non-governmental organization, based in Paris, was established as an international network of heritage and conservation professionals. Both at national and international levels it gained the reputation of being a successful lobby group, which influenced the development of heritage policies and legal frameworks through international charters produced by its members. ICOMOS was to become an international standard-setting organization in the field of cultural heritage and it was given a strong role as an advisory organization with UNESCO in dealing with cultural WH, specifically in matters concerning heritage valuation and management[104].

World Heritage Convention and additions
In 1972, the *Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* was signed in Paris but didn't come into force until 1975. The *Operational Guidelines* issued periodically since 1977 became a normative device in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The Convention was a unique international document, which combined the protection of natural heritage with the preservation of cultural sites. The Euro-American experts and heritage professionals were the principal drafters of the convention that established the World Heritage mechanisms. The authors were inspired by the American practice of jointly managing natural and cultural sites under an integrated vision. The convention proclaimed that securing evidence and the preservation of those cultural and natural sites, that are of 'outstanding universal world value' was the most important task. It was based on the consciousness that certain heritage is of a unique importance which is necessary to keep as a part of the World Heritage of humankind as a whole. The Convention text corresponded with Western perceptions of heritage which conceived heritage as built relics of the past, incorporating mainly castles, cathedrals and settlements[105].

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[104] Vahtikari (2012: 33).
[105] Aa (2005: 32).

The main goals of the convention were identified as the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission of the world cultural and natural heritage to future generations. For these purposes a World Heritage Committee (WHC) was founded and it was tasked to formulate the criteria according to which the tangible monuments were to be inscribed on the World Heritage List (WHL). The definitions and criteria for the cultural heritage given by the WHC will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. The Convention employed a principle of inclusion and exclusion as it was not supposed to protect all of the cultural and natural heritage but only those parts that are classified as universally outstanding[106]. According to Cleere[107], it had originally been intended that the List would not exceed one hundred properties, with equal numbers of them cultural and natural. However, due to various reasons such as the ambitions of different countries that compete to have as many as possible of the most important heritage properties in their territories inscribed on the List and due to the weaknesses of the evaluation process, the List has achieved 1,052 properties (814 cultural /203 natural/ 35 mixed) in 165 states as of March 2017.

The reason for introducing the convention was the fact, that cultural and natural heritage was in increasing danger not only due to the traditional causes of decay but also due to the changing social and economical conditions, which make the situation even worse. Every decline or damage to any item of cultural or natural heritage was seen as the irreplaceable impoverishment of the heritage to all nations of the world. Thus the aim was to create an effective system for the collective preservation of cultural and natural heritage organized on a regular basis and according to modern scientific methods.

Therefore its main mission was to create a powerful system for the collective protection of World Heritage in which individual Member States were obliged to secure the denomination, protection, preservation and forwarding of the heritage sites proclaimed as World Heritage. The state should do so with the maximum help of its own sources, if necessary with international help and in collaboration with the assistance of UNESCO. So actually the responsibility to secure the preservation of the heritage was left to the states, UNESCO was put in the role of some kind of a supervisor and acts as insurance in case other (state) mechanisms failed. For this reason a trust fund called the World Heritage Fund (WHF), with provisions from UNESCO and the compulsory or voluntary contributions, was established[108].

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[106] Klusáková (2013: 7).
[107] Cleere (2012).
[108] Countries (Member States) finance the biggest portion of the fund. In 2002, contributions from state parties totaled $3,313,300 (82.4%). See Aa (2005: 89).

UNESCO's 1972 convention applied only to tangible heritage and was conceived, supported and nurtured by industrially developed societies, mostly Western. To date the convention has been signed by 190 state parties making it the most widely ratified piece of international cultural legislation. According to Vahtikari (2012: 41) the WH Convention was a response to the growing tendencies of globalization and modernization at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s as the logic of the WH system deals with the protection of local diversities and it favors localism, particularism and anti-modernism.

During the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century UNESCO gained much of its popularity. It is possible to feel it in connection with the promotion of the idea of the European Union - it was assumed it could be useful in the integration processes. 'Peacemaking' and the promotion of global justice became the leitmotifs of UNESCO[109]. Maybe it was not a matter of chance that Hiroshima was inscribed in 1996.

In this period (in 1992) a World Heritage Centre based in Paris was established. Its purpose was to coordinate all the matters connected to World Heritage within the UNESCO framework. It started organizing annual WHC sessions and scientific conferences and courses. It started providing advisory services to Member States during the nomination process and evolving teaching materials and informing the public about problems and questions regarding World Heritage.

In 1993 the Japanese government, in cooperation with ICOMOS, sponsored and organized the *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention,* whose participants drafted; the *Nara Document on Authenticity*. It was proposed to revisit some of the Venice Charter's doctrine, in particular the issue of original material substance survival because for many conservators it had become important to retain the original form rather than just the original substance. It was also pointed out that the subject of authenticity had different cultural perceptions which should be taken into account and included in the UNESCO heritage framework. Also, that year the Canadian and Norwegian governments got involved and sponsored a workshop in Bergen on this topic. Like in Nara, it held that the criteria of authenticity cannot be fixed but considered within the cultural contexts to which they belong[110]. ¨ Thus the question of authenticity was redefined and became reflected by UNESCO.

Over several of the past decades there has been an attempt to define and protect intangible heritage, previously and sometimes still called, folklore. UNESCO's efforts to establish an instrument for the protection of intangible heritage dates from 1952 when

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[109] Askew (2010: 24).
[110] Isar (2011: 50).

UNESCO adopted the *Universal Copyright Convention*. This document was initially focused on the legal concepts of intellectual property, trademark, copyright, and patent and was the basis for protecting what was then called, folklore. During the 1980s, legal issues were distinguished from preservation measures, and in 1989 the UNESCO General Conference adopted the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* which focused on the preservation of the traditions themselves by supporting the practitioners. This brought about a shift from artefacts to people, their knowledge and skills[111]. Inspired by approaches to natural heritage as living systems and by the Japanese concept of, 'Living National Treasure', which was given legal status in 1950[112].

In 1993 and 1998 UNESCO developed the *Living Human Treasures Programme* (proposed by the Republic of Korea) and the *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.* They were programmes to identify and to keep a list of intangible cultural skills, techniques and knowledge. This was the first time that such skills and knowledge were placed at the focal point of preservation within the UNESCO framework[113].

A heavy majority of European sites and an overall imbalanced composition of the WH List led UNESCO to adopt; the *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List* in 1994. The Global Strategy identified new types of heritages for the purpose of achieving a more balanced regional and typological representation. As the cause of the imbalance of the List several aspects could be pointed out.

 Some countries, for example, did not have the 'right' kind of heritage in the sense that it did not fit into the heritage categories and values then in effect. Or the conservation could have been considered a luxury for economically weaker states. Also, the WH Operational Guidelines required trained professionals, funds and management plans that might have been difficult for some states to achieve. Anyway, in order to attain a more representative List, the Global Strategy indicated a move away from universal standards of evaluating heritage towards the use of more particular and culture-specific ones. As a consequence, new kinds of heritage sites were to be identified, including those exhibiting living cultures and cultural landscapes. The definition of World Heritage was broadened to better reflect the full spectrum and to provide a comprehensive framework. The new strategy also implied that the regional World Heritage centres gained more support.

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[111] Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2006: 164f).
[112] Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2006: 165).
[113] Smith (2007: 107).

The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance attempted to deal with plurality, multimodality and the need for community participation in conservation, interpretation and management. The Burra Charter of 1979 was later amended in 1981, 1988 and 1999 in order to reflect heritage conservation in Australia including the conservation of intangible values[114]. It recognized intangible values as an integral aspect of heritage significance and was a step towards the later *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* of 2003.

The Decisions adopted by the 26th session of the WHC in 2002, known as the *Budapest Declaration,* defined new objectives referred to as the 'Four C's': credibility, conservation, capacity-building and communication[115]. The purpose was to strengthen the credibility of the World Heritage List as a representative and geographically balanced List by optimizing the uneven distribution of sites. The next goal was to ensure the effective conservation of WH properties, an ambition present ever since, as well as promoting the development of effective capacity-building measures, including assistance in preparing the nominations for the WH List. The fourth 'C' aims to increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through communication.

In 2007, during its 31st session, the World Heritage Committee added one more 'C' to the existing set of strategic objectives: communities. It was argued that heritage protection without community involvement and commitment would be wrong[116]. Therefore all the previously mentioned objectives of conservation, capacity building, credibility and communication should be linked to the idea of community. The stress was put on the strategic objective of involving local communities in the process of the protection and preservation of World Heritage properties.

In this time of re-defining UNESCO World Heritage objectives and strategies, a senior Japanese diplomat, Matsuura, was elected for the post of the UNESCO Director-General (1999-2009). He brought in Japan's strong awareness and practices of the intangible heritage[117] which had been started earlier and followed the proposals made by the Nara conference, Global Strategy programme or the Burra Charter. Thanks to such initiatives an opinion began to grow in favour of a new system of protection and recognition for heritage in its immaterial forms. It lead to the creation of a global movement within the UNESCO framework and to the elaboration of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the*

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[114] Ahmad (2006: 297).
[115] Budapest Declaration on World Heritage (2002)
[116] Proposal for a 'Fifth C' to be added to the Strategic Objectives (2007)
[117] Japan is noted for being maybe the first country to have passed legal protection for intangible cultural heritage, the 1998 *Law for Protection of Cultural Properties.* See Jokilehto (2006).

Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003[118]. The UNESCO concept of intangible heritage came out of the concept of, 'national living treasure', which had been developed decades earlier in Japan and Korea[119]. On the occasion of the adoption of this Convention Matsuura announced[120]:

> 'Culture no longer solely inhabits the proud temples that European civilizations had raised up to it: theatres, operas, museums and libraries Throughout the world, it has moved into cities and countryside, descending into the streets, pervading the forests and fields, endorsing traditions, customs and know-how, encompassing oral traditions as well as the written word in expression of the memory and of creativity, drawing together the functional object and the work of art, and relativizing the distances that used to lie between actual experience and creation.'

Certainly, all heritage has its intangible dimensions. The key criterion of inscription for Intangible Cultural Heritage was the notion of representativeness. It was understood that all monuments, sites and artefacts embody intangible components such as spiritual values, symbols, and meanings, together with the knowledge and the know-how of craftsmanship and construction and thus the interdependence between the intangible and tangible cultural heritage was deep-rooted. Often cited was the example of the Ise Jingu shrine in Japan that was traditionally rebuilt every twenty years which showed that it was not only the actual material product of traditional knowledge and skill that is valued but its spiritual aspect embodied in people. A general assembly as a sovereign body of the convention was established as well as an intergovernmental committee which was to manage the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding and the Intangible Cultural Heritage Fund.

Interesting fact to be mentioned is that countries such as the USA, UK, Australia and Canada abstained in voting for this Convention because they did not see the relevance of the concept of intangible heritage since the concept probably sits too far outside their national heritage frameworks.

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[118] Isar (2011: 47).
[119] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2007: 318).
[120] Smith (2007: 110).

Figure 3   UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage emblem.

There has been increasing attention on a more holistic approach to the definition of sites in the two previous decades (1990's and 2000's) culminated by the ICOMOS report on the representation of the WH List, the *Gap Report,* presented to the WH Committee in 2004. Built on the recognition of cultural diversity and the attempt to identify issues of a universal nature, related to anthropological, historical, aesthetic and scientific views[121], these new aspirations and the course of UNESCO policy was concluded in 2005 by the adoption of the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions,* linking together the ideas of preceding innovative initiatives which started in the 1990s. As were the Nara Document on Authenticity, the Global Strategy, the Burra Charter, the Budapest Declaration and the Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The convention was affirming that cultural diversity was a defining characteristic of humanity whose preservation was indispensable for peace. Cultural diversity was identified to be embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities and cultural expressions which could manifest themselves in manifold ways containing a wide spectrum of aspects reaching from material to intangible. Actually, all the heritage categories that UNESCO developed throughout that time could have been included under the term of cultural diversity or cultural expression. On the basis of this convention an Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions originated and was given control of the International Fund for Cultural Diversity.

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[121] Jokilehlto (2006: 2).

3.2 Institutional framework and policy

The activity of UNESCO is based on its position as one of the fourteen agencies of the United Nations. It operates through a set of generally framed documents that respect the full sovereignty of individual Member States and their cultural diversity. UNESCO operates with the use of three types of documents: declarations and charts, recommendations and conventions [122] . Declarations and charts are multilateral, legally binding general documents of a fundamental and often political nature. The recommendations are documents issued by the General Assembly which formulate principles and norms that are accepted by a qualified majority and that invite Member States to accept laws or other legal documents according to their constitutional rules in order to enforce them. Conventions are for the parties binding contracts and agreements that solve critical problems in a rather specific way. Into this third category of documents belongs the *Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, one of the most significant and underlying documents regarding the UNESCO's heritage policy, the recently adopted *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* and the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions.*

UNESCO legislature imposes that certain sites are unique and valuable, and that, because of these characteristics, they should be preserved. Sites may be nominated by Member States of the Convention. Once a site is listed, the state is obliged to preserve it using its own resources if possible. Only in cases in which a country cannot afford it will the WH Committee offers various types of assistance.

As this thesis primarily concerns the cultural World Heritage, in the following paragraphs it will focus on the documents, bodies and procedures that regard this heritage category. This means the World Heritage Committee, the nomination process of cultural World Heritage, the protection and management systems together with the World Heritage Fund and the World Heritage List will be discussed.

World Heritage Committee
The Convention of 1972 established an intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage that had to formulate criteria for putting sites on the World Heritage List, to set up rules for the implementation of the Convention and to monitor and record the development of the state of the individual sites. The WHC is compounded from delegates of members of the Convention and is based in Paris. Today, the Committee consists of twenty-six representatives elected for terms of up to six years, meeting once a year. The *Operational Guidelines for the World Heritage Committee* were

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[122] Patočková et. al. (2012: 43).

adopted at the 1st session of the World Heritage Committee (WHC) in 1977 and stated the four critical functions of the WHC: (1) drawing up the World Heritage List (WHL) in accordance with criteria to be established by the Committee; (2) preparing a List of World Heritage in Danger; (3) defining ways and conditions of using the resources of the World Heritage Fund (WHF); and (4) assisting Member States in heritage protection.

The World Heritage Committee receives nominations from the state's parties and it selectively designates monuments and areas as 'World Heritage Sites'. The 2012 *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* state that the WHC seeks to make its decisions based on objective and scientific considerations. From the very beginning the Committee has decided on the inscription of the proposed sites relying on the professional opinions of the two advisory bodies - the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in cases of cultural heritage and the World Conservation Union (IUCN) in matters of natural heritage. The basic principle for the selection of sites is their 'outstanding universal value'. WHC also examines reports, usually prepared by the previously mentioned advisory bodies, on the state of conservation of inscribed sites and decides on the inscription or removal of sites from the List of World Heritage in Danger.

The Committee, having a powerful tool in its hands, has the right to delete a site from the WHL in cases where it has lost the characteristics for which it was inscribed. The 1977 Operational Guidelines also stated another reason for which a WH site could be withdrawn from the WHL: if further research had shown that the site was not of an outstanding universal value. Recent updates of the Operational Guidelines though do not include such criterion anymore. Awareness of the negative publicity which would follow the withdrawal strengthens UNESCO's authority. The possibility of deleting a site form the WHL has been used only twice. First in 2007 in the case of an Arabic natural reservation in the Oryx area in Oman because its total area was reduced by 90%. The second situation occurred in 2009 in the German city of Dresden and its Elbe river Valley in response to construction of a highway bridge in the protected area. On the one hand withdrawal of a site from the WHL deprives the locality of its outstanding universal value but on the other hand the Committee loses any possible possession or control over it.

Nomination process
Individual countries prepare their own proposals for UNESCO's WHL and the selection of World Heritage is done by small groups of experts and politicians. The nomination file[123]

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[123] Regarding the content of the nomination file, since 2005 according to the 2013 Operational Guidelines in the submitted nomination files the following should be stated: (1) identification of the property including: country, state/region, name of property, geographical coordinates, maps and plans showing the boundaries of the nominated property and buffer zone, area of nominated property and proposed buffer zone; (2)

itself is prepared by the government and the State Parties should not expect that a heritage locality of significant importance on a regional or state level would automatically be inscribed on the World Heritage List. Actually, it is only the government that has the right to request inscription on the List. To a certain extent the decision and selection of the sites the government nominates can appear as a political issue. For example, if the site represents the heritage of some ethnic minority group, the government can tend not to nominate it. Tourism pressures may create additional circumstances as well. It is quite ironic that while UNESCO is promoting 'local' and the bottom-up programs of community development and resource management there is no bottom-up heritage identification process allowed for in the World Heritage listing process due to the designed nomination process which resulted in a bureaucratised system where national governments take over responsibility from local management.

Technically speaking, the first step in the nomination process is that the Member State creates a tentative list of sites that it might be willing to nominate in the next five to ten years. When the Member State hands in a nomination file at the World Heritage Centre in Paris the site gets officially nominated. After checking whether all information needed is complete, the WH Centre forwards the nomination file to the IUCN or ICOMOS whose experts evaluate the documentation and write a report including a recommendation on whether or not to include the site on the List. Once a year the WH Committee ,consisting of 21 rotating country representatives, meets and on the basis of the report makes a final decision. In practice, the nomination of a potential World Heritage site highly depends on the ability and willingness of the country in which the site lies.

Global relations plays its role in the success or failure of individual nominations and the political significance of the inscription should be taken into consideration. According to

description of the property including: history and development; (3) justification for inscription including: brief synopsis, criteria under which inscription is proposed and justification for inscription under these criteria, statement of integrity, statement of authenticity, protection and management requirements, comparative analysis, proposed statement of OUV; (4) state of conservation and factors affecting the property including: present state of conservation and factors affecting the property; (5) protection and management of the property including: ownership, protective designation, means of implementing protective measures, existing plans related to municipality and region in which the proposed property is located, property management plan or other management system, sources and levels of finance, sources of expertise and training in conservation and management techniques, visitor facilities and infrastructure, policies and programmes related to the presentation and promotion of the property, staffing levels and expertise; (6) monitoring including: key indicators for measuring state of conservation, administrative arrangements for monitoring property, results of previous reporting exercises; (7) documentation including: photographs and audio-visual image inventory and authorization form, texts relating to protective designation, copies of property management plans or documented management systems and extracts of other plans relevant to the property, form and date of most recent records or inventory of property, address where inventory, records and archives are held and bibliography; (8) contact information of responsible authorities including: preparer, official local institution/agency, other local institutions, official web address; (9) signature on behalf of the State Party.

Tanja Vahtikari, who analysed the work of the WH Committee on the basis of its documents, argues that the political nature of the selection process remained mostly hidden with only a few exceptions. A 2008 ICOMOS report notes that the ICOMOS evaluations had been approved by the Committee in 96 per cent of the cases[124]. However, in 2012 Cleere pointed out a tendency for properties to be inscribed on the List as a result of backroom discussions by delegations during the Committee meetings as demonstrated in the figures of the 2010 meeting of the WH Committee: among the 21 properties put on the List, 10 were approved against the advice of the advisory bodies (ICOMOS, IUCN). In addition to such numbers, Cleere refers to the fact that the numbers of heritage professionals on national delegations has decreased alarmingly in recent years in favour of politicians and bureaucrats[125].

Even if we assume such forces are hidden from our eyes it does not necessarily mean they do not exist. In an interview the representative of the Czech Commission for UNESCO, Mr. Michal Beneš, said that the selection of the sites made by the WHC at its annual meeting is mainly a political negotiation that is decided in the 'political boudoirs'. Since the competition among the heritage sites and the prestige of the UNESCO List is big[126], it indicates the idea that the inscription is in large part also a deal of international diplomacy and that it can depend a lot on the individual delegates of the Member States to which a heritage site belongs to - how they manage to argue its outstanding universal value and fulfil the criteria. Logan reflects on UNESCO as the distributor of symbolic prizes to competing nations in the global status game[127].

Beazley notes: 'Although assumed to be a depoliticised process, the nomination of places to the World Heritage List is deeply politicised at both the global and the local level.'[128] As an example he points out how the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park with the Atom-bomb Dome became inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1996. Beazley states that while on one hand the US was trying to silence the Japanese nomination at the global level on the other hand, at the local level the voices of not only non-Japanese victims of the atomic bombing but also of the survivors were put down. He demonstrates how in the process of constructing state framed narratives and memories associated with the Hiroshima Peace Memorial for inclusion on the WHL, those who were at the local level were excluded.

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[124] Vahtikari (2013: 71f) on the ICOMOS report 'Outstanding Universal Value: Compendium on Standards for the Inscription of Cultural Properties to the World Heritage List, ICOMOS, May 2008, 18f. See WHCIA: WHC-08/32.COM/9 (Paris, 22 May 2008). Also Aa (2005) states that the decision of the WHC has hardly ever differed from the IUCN's or ICOMOS's recommendation.
[125] Cleere (2012).
[126] The 'death-rate' of the proposals is seventy-five per cent.
[127] Logan (2001).
[128] Beazley (2010: 45).

Protection and Management System

Based on the 1972 Constitution a World Heritage Fund (WHF) for the preservation of World Heritage was established. Resources for the Fund are formed by the mandatory and voluntary contributions of Member States and by various donations and gifts. The creation of an international fund was one of the important reasons behind the adoption of the WH Convention, aimed at fulfilling the global moral obligation of international protection.

There is a distinction to be made between 'conservation' and 'restoration' both of which are parts of heritage protection activities. To conserve means to keep and according to Petzet it is the supreme preservation principle[129]. Petzet describes conservation as the protection of the fabrics of a monument and a prevention of further loss. According to him it includes, for example, a consolidation of the historic fabric of a monument (which means, e.g., impregnation of a stone sculpture, injections in the cavities behind a layer of plaster, securing a layer of peeling pigment, etc.). In cases of historic buildings the conservation practice includes all measures that prevent further decay, for instance structural strengthening with appropriate auxiliary constructions or the replacement and completion of the components, etc.[130]. Based on Petzet (2004), to restore corresponds to re-establishing. In the case of restoration, the aim is to reveal the heritage values and accentuate those that are hidden, harmed or diminished. Following the stabilization and conservation of the original fabric, restoration adds new elements, ideally without reducing the original fabric.

Monitoring, keeping track of the WH sites, is one of the identified key processes contributing to quality, protection and management. Continuous monitoring of inscribed sites is therefore a basic condition that must be fulfilled by every State Party according to Article 4 of the Convention. Periodic reporting takes place every six years and it includes both measurement and evaluation of positive and negative changes occurring at the site. Within the monitoring framework the following acts take place: a visual evaluation of changes, surveys and questionnaires, scientific measurements or research focused on historical, social or cultural values. Recently, as a mandatory tool for the protection and management of the WH site, a planning document called Management Plan is now in use[131]. Supposed benefits of the monitoring are the identification of problems in a direct relationship to the individual site, the identification of resources and tools important for improving management, upgrading professional and qualified training, supporting the involvement of local communities in the management and protection systems, strengthening the scientific development in monitoring, improving conservation strategies

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[129] Petzet (2004: 9f).
[130] Petzet (2004: 9).
[131] Vlčková et. al. (2011).

at regional and national levels and setting up priorities leading to general improvement in preservation and management practices at both local and international levels[132].

Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the WH Convention define two forms of monitoring. One is a periodic reporting, the other is reactive monitoring[133]. Monitoring of World Heritage may be performed independently of state or government bodies of the State Parties. At the NGO level the three most important institutions providing monitoring at local, national and international levels are the UNESCO advisory bodies: ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), IUCN (World Conservation Union) and ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Presentation and Restoration of Cultural Property). The monitoring process is set up to protect and preserve the outstanding universal value of the sites which is its main aim and purpose. Providing periodic reports on the implementations of the Convention and on the state of order of the site preservation is one of the obligations of every State Party as explained earlier.

World Heritage List

The World Heritage List contains both well-known and less known heritage sites. The first inscriptions onto the List occurred in 1978. Four cultural and four natural properties located in diverse countries on three different continents (Canada, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Germany, Poland, Senegal and the USA) were enlisted. Since the List aims at being representative, the listed sites should symbolically stand for a certain type of a heritage in a certain region. On the other hand, the choice was, probably from its very beginnings, also a subject of geopolitical viewpoint because the Committee aspired to a balanced representation of individual Member States and of continents too. On average, there are about thirty new sites inscribed on the List every year[134]. Certain doubts arise over the increasing numbers of inscriptions and over maintaining the high standard of the List as a consequence.

The global coverage of sites is clearly uneven and European cultural heritage continues to dominate the List. As noted earlier, some think that the listing developed into a 'beauty contest' for individual countries to inscribe as many World Heritage sites as possible[135]. In the representation of World Heritage sites an uneven participation of civilizations, geographical disbalances or for example a high proportion of Western monumental and church architecture is noted. When comparing the proportion of cultural and of natural heritage, the later is much less presented on the List. Looking at the numbers and typology of inscribed sites, Europe as a whole is overrepresented, religious buildings are

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[132] Vlčková (2013: 46).
[133] Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2013).
[134] Aa (2005: 13).
[135] Dingli (2006: 233).

the largest category among European World Heritage objects followed by palaces and other elite housing. Almost a third of the World Heritage sites in Europe are historic cities or areas in cities. Rural heritage is scarce. The emphasis on cities is remarkable. Thus the part of the List presenting cultural heritage is mostly composed of architectural and art pieces, such as castles, historical cities, churches, statues or paintings and less by other types of heritage, such as industrial or folk heritage for example.

Due to these discrepancies natural sites now have more chances for inscription as well as sites outside the Euro Atlantic region. Since the beginning of the 21st century the Committee has been favouring technical sites and sites of modern architecture in the category of cultural heritage. Consideration is also being given to cultural landscapes intentionally created by man with a certain artistic intention. Such preferences represent an effort to compensate for imbalances on the World Heritage List (WHL).

We see that UNESCO's World Heritage List can be considered unbalanced in a number of ways but it is the only List that is available on a supranational level which also gives the context for everything on it.

The World Heritage Convention has set down a parallel to the World Heritage List in the form of the *List of World Heritage in Danger* in order to inform about the heritage that is on the World Heritage List but that are threatened by danger. This List is targeted on inspiring and supporting the preservation activity towards the heritage in need. The reasons of threat can be various: natural catastrophes, armed conflicts, uncontrolled urbanization or the negative aspects of tourism e.g. Recently, there are forty-four sites of both natural and cultural character located on five continents inscribed on this List of WH in Danger[136].

3.3 Defining World Heritage

What distinguishes the Convention and World Heritage the most is the concept of an 'outstanding universal value' (OUV) expressed in terms of the quality of a site. It is the chief criterion for the recognition of a site as World Heritage, whether of a natural or cultural character. Since the late 1980s UNESCO has widened the number of listed sites trying to make the list more representative. The adoption of the Global Strategy in 1994 brought in wide-ranging categories in order to accommodate diverse and complex sites,

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[136] Specifically nineteen sites are representatives of natural and twenty-three of cultural heritage. Seventeen of them are to be found in Africa, fourteen in Asia (from which twelve in Far East Asia), four of them in Central America, three in South America and one in both North America and in Europe.

including cultural landscapes, industrial sites, modern architecture, and inhabited settlements. The flexibility of the 'universal value' frame was stressed. However, the concept of OUV became the most important selection tool.

The term 'historic monument', used in the Venice Charter (1964), was reinterpreted by ICOMOS (in 1965) as 'monument' and 'site' and later by UNESCO (in 1968) as 'cultural property' to include both movable and immovable aspects of heritage. The concept was broadened to include gardens, landscapes and environment. Although the scope of heritage is now agreed by UNESCO to include both 'tangible' and 'intangible' as well as 'environments', the finer terminology of heritage has not been standardised and therefore no uniformity exists between the countries, claims Ahmad[137].

The latest Operational Guidelines (2013) state the following categories of World Heritage covered by the 1972 World Heritage Convention: (1) Cultural Heritage, (2) Natural Heritage, (3) Mixed Cultural and Natural Heritage and (4) Cultural landscapes[138]. We will discuss definitions especially of the term, cultural heritage, which is our main concern in this thesis, and then briefly look at characterizations of the other World Heritage categories.

Cultural Heritage is defined in Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention which describes three types of Cultural Heritage: the monuments, groups of buildings and sites:

> monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point view of history, art or science

> groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

> sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

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[137] Ahmad (2006: 292).
[138] The term 'cultural landscape' has its roots in the academic literature of the late 19th century and was first adopted for professional use by heritage conservationists during the 1990s. The WHC adopted the cultural landscape as a new nomination category in 1992. See Vahtikari (2012: 94f).

The Natural heritage category is outlined in the following Article 2 as natural features, geographical and physiographic formations and as natural sites of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view. The Mixed Cultural and Natural Heritage group and the Cultural landscape class is regarded to be a specific type of World Heritage. Properties are reflected as Mixed Cultural and Natural Heritage when they satisfy a part or the whole of the definitions of both Cultural and Natural Heritage given in Articles 1 and 2. Cultural landscapes are considered to be cultural properties that represent combined works of nature and of man as designated in Article 1 and that are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time.

Within the UNESCO framework, in a category of its own, is Intangible Cultural Heritage, which is not covered by the World Heritage Convention. This type of heritage was brought up by the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage which we suggest is analogous to the WHC and its mechanisms. UNESCO defined the Intangible Cultural Heritage as: all forms of traditional, popular or folk culture, that is collective works originating in a given community and based on tradition. These creations are transmitted orally or by gesture, and are modified over a period of time through a process of collective recreation. They include oral traditions, customs, languages, music, dance, rituals, festivals, traditional medicine and pharmacopoeia, the culinary arts and all kinds of special skills connected with the material aspects of culture, such as tools and the habitat. This holistic and conceptual approach refers to a 'totality of tradition-based creations of cultural community' as defined by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett[139].

World Heritage Criteria

To reach the World Heritage status, a property needs to meet a number of conditions. The most important one is to be assessed with an 'outstanding universal value' (OUV). Since 1978, the Operational Guidelines have set down six criteria for the recognition of the OUV of Cultural Heritage. In addition to the recognition of the OUV, the site should meet the test of authenticity and consideration must be given to the state of preservation and to the protection and management systems. From 2005 the Operational Guidelines state that the property should also satisfy the conditions of integrity.

The ambiguous criterion of outstanding universal value is the prime principle behind site selection, but its exact meaning has not been defined. The convention text offers a set of six criteria from which one or more should be met in order to consider a property as having an outstanding universal value.

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[139] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2007: 311).

'i.   represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;

ii.   exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

iii   bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;

iv   be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;

v   be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;

vi   be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.'

WHC Operational Guidelines (2012: Article 77)

These criteria are necessarily vague so as to be flexible and inclusive. Their keynote is a notion of uniqueness or representativeness and the heritage value depends on the particular, intellectual, historical, and psychological frames of reference[140]. Competing heritage values often come into conflict since the interest groups and their values interact. Such an interaction may be highly political as Smith points out[141]. The criteria have been subject to debate because they do not seem unequivocal and definite at all, instead they are more likely under a permanent progression. It is unclear to what extent a site should be of OUV and on which grounds. Aa claims that international comparisons with similar types of sites have not been consistently applied, while specific characteristics, such as location or age, have been put forward in order to underline the site's uniqueness[142].

Authenticity is, according to the Operational Guidelines, manifested in several kinds of attributes and the nominated sites must meet the set conditions of authenticity based on the Nara Document on Authenticity[143]. These attributes are: form and design; material and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems;

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[140] Lipe (2007: 288).

[141] Smith (2007: 176).

[142] Aa (2005).

[143] Before this recent revision, the 'test of authenticity' referred to 4 parameters: design, material, workmanship and setting. Basically, the authenticity was seen in reference to the tangible material of the heritage. As a result of the 1994 expert meetings on authenticity, first in Bergen and then in Nara, the revised Operational Guidelines have given a new definition of the conditions of authenticity. The new parameters included: traditions, techniques, language, and other forms, as well as spirit, feeling or other.

location and setting; language and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; other internal and external factors[144]. It may be difficult to establish a single 'true meaning' of authenticity as authenticity is very much a contextual thing. For example for some Japanese historic buildings can be regularly or/and entirely rebuilt with modern materials without compromising their heritage values or sense of authenticity. On the other hand, many Europeans would consider an entirely rebuilt historic building as having lost its heritage character.

Attention given to the idea of authenticity in heritage management and conservation is a relatively new issue. According to Smith it was not seen until the Venice Charter[145]. Lately, it has been demonstrated by several researchers or heritage agents and widely accepted that the meanings and values of heritage reside not merely in the fabric, but more in the way the heritage functions in relation to the various communities that are linked with it. And it was the Nara Document on Authenticity that marked a major turning-point in the way heritage professionals think about authenticity.

Integrity is defined by the 2013 Operational Guidelines as a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the heritage and its attributes. Hence the question of the level of this measure is not elaborated on any further. For Cultural Heritage it is indicated that a significant portion of the physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features and elements should be included and should be in a good condition. The relationships and functions essential to the property's distinctive character should be maintained as well.

Jokilehto identifies three diverse aspects and types of integrity: social-functional, structural and visual integrity. The social-functional aspects of integrity refer to the identification of the functions and processes on which its development over time has been based, such as those associated with interaction in society, spiritual responses, utilisation of natural resources, and movements of people. The structural integrity is defined by spatial identification of the elements and processes of the place, referring to what has survived from its evolution and the visual integrity is characterized by the aesthetic aspects represented by the area[146].

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[144] Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2012).
[145] Smith (2008: 27).
[146] Jokilehlto (2006: 14).

PART TWO: PRACTICING HERITAGE

4 KUTNÁ HORA IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

A district town of about 20,000 inhabitants Kutná Hora is located in the central bohemian region at a distance of about 70 kilometres west of the capital city of Prague. For over a century Kutná Hora has been a popular tourist destination and today is among the most visited heritage sites in the Czech Republic. The importance of the town is considerable and we may assign it not only national but also international touristic potential. Its attractiveness lies in the historic medieval town centre with the Gothic cathedral of Saint Barbara and two decentralized buildings: a cemetery church with ossuary and the Baroque Gothic cathedral of Our Lady in Sedlec (today a part of the town). The cultural and historical appeal of the town was multiplied by the inscription of the historical town centre with the cathedral and the cathedral in Sedlec on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1995.

Nowadays tourism represents one of the town's main economic sources and main concerns. The other important economic source is represented by the tobacco industry. Tobacco production has a long history in Kutná Hora and today it is the site of the Philip Morris factory[147]. When local industries, such as textile or mechanical engineering, which had been artificially introduced during the communist era as part of a centralized plan, started to stagnate soon after the change of regimes in 1989, the town started looking for alternative areas to invest in. A strategy of economic recovery focused on the new cultural politics of emphasizing the unique history of a royal mining town made up a certain type of product for sale. The strategic plan from 2004 specified the town's objectives: support of business and employment in a relationship with tourism in first place and secondly the upgrading of historical architectural heritage associated with medieval mining by a spectrum of additional services in order to make the tourists stay longer. Tourists usually come for a half-day or not more than a one-day visit throughout the whole year with summer as the peak season.

In its orientation on tourism the town did not have to 'rediscover' its own past all at once since Kutná Hora had already been a very well recognized and appreciated historical heritage site for the past one hundred years. But this does not necessarily mean that the

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[147] The company creates more than 1,200 jobs. After the abolishment of Cistercians in 1812 a tobacco manufacture was placed inside the abandoned monastery in Sedlec which has continued uninterrupted till today - now being a seat of the Philip Morris company.

ways of presenting and interpreting its history have remained constant. As a site it is in a permanent dialogue between present conditions and the past, The past interpretations of the site are under the influence of constant creation and evolution depending on variable contemporary changes. Ever since its heritage protection in 1961 Kutná Hora has been acknowledged as a reminder of a medieval royal mining town with its Gothic architectural monuments.

The central figures and symbols that stand out in current presentations of the town are the mines, silver ore mining and minting and the medieval Gothic architecture and monuments that came out of it. Besides these there are several figures of minor importance that help to form the town's historical image: the old tobacco factory, medieval daily life including alchemy, torture, the royal court and mines, theatre, local famous historical figures, natives and kings whose reigns are associated with the town. When monitoring issues offered in academic writings on the town's history we see that not all of the history has been displayed in today's presentation and that only a certain amount of information could have been employed due to the use of selection and modification and therefore only a certain amount of information corresponds.

The presented historical image of the town unequivocally points the 14th century as a golden time and creates the impression of a singularly wealthy royal mining town. It is explained that it was through silver ore mining that the town gained the wealth which was turned into the Gothic architectural monuments the town still preserves. Proclaimed uniqueness is being reinforced by mentioning the UNESCO World Heritage inscription. This highlighted image of a golden time is the one that all following generations are to be confronted with despite—living in different economical, ideological, political or social conditions. And such a picture of the town has been transposed into the domain of local feast culture and tourism. According to Altová (2006:175), the immemorial town image of being a great site of the Czech national past had already developed by the 17th or 18th centuries. And later, in the period of national Revival, we can the beginnings of tourist interest and inquisitiveness over the town's past which slowly began to take on the form of a myth and to gain commercial importance.

Carrying forward Pierre Nora's thesis on memory being fixed in real objects, space, gestures and pictures, in the case of Kutná Hora we see the physical embracing of remembering the past in the Gothic architectural dominants such as the cathedrals and churches, the medieval mines, the mint, in the copies of silver coins as well as in the historical parade of the Royal Silvering of Kutná Hora.

4.1 Contexts

The Czech Republic is a rather small country lying in the geographical centre of Europe, though since the end of World War II, it has been politically perceived as an Eastern European country. In spite of its central position on the continent, the Czech Republic, is a member state of the European Union, and is hardly among the most familiar European countries. The current international popular perspective sees the Czech Republic as a former communist, Eastern European country and its capital city, Prague, is well-known as a beautiful, historical city. It is a very popular tourist destination with an ever-growing number of visitors and it is on the list of the top ten most visited places in Europe. Even though the political frontiers have continuously changed, the natural boundaries have made the country compact and as it has never been colonized its dense local inhabitants are rather homogenous.

The country is popularly known as a former communist country that was once under the supremacy of the Soviet Union, However it is also well known for ~~through~~ the Prague Spring of 1968, its beer, classical music composers, a few writers (like Kundera), former president Václav Havel and for some of its ice-hockey, tennis and football players and female models.

Cultural, historical and geographical specifications

Historical development of the Czech Republic can be briefly summarized through several turning points: the emergence of a Bohemian duchy under the Slavic dynasty in the 9th century; periods of power and prestige in the 14th century; boisterous episodes like the reform movement, also known as the Hussite Reformation, it was also a part of the Habsburg empire; becoming the independent country of Czechoslovakia in 1918; subsequent submergence within the Soviet bloc after World War II; the Czechoslovak experiment in reformed socialism known as Prague Spring; the induced Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia as the largest military operation in Europe since World War II; the breakup of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic in 1993 and the establishment of the Czech Republic, which became a part of the European Union in 2004. As the westernmost Slavic nation, the Czechs have seen themselves as a bridge between the 'West' and the 'East'. But 20th century politics has relegated the Czechs to the 'Eastern' side of the political divide[148].

For much of their history the Czechs have been a part of larger, multi-ethnic political units such as the Habsburg empire and they have also shared the land with others, be they Latin peoples, Germans, Jews or Roma (Gypsies). The tensions in the coexistence of Germans,

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[148] Agnew (2004).

Jews, and Czechs in the Bohemian lands at the turn of the century, especially in Prague, created a cultural milieu that produced many significant writers, e.g. Franz Kafka, Max Brod, Gustav Meyrink, Rainer Maria Rilke or Franz Werfel. By the mid 19th century, having taken part in the European national Revival process, the Czechs had developed social, cultural, and political self-consciousness and they started calling for recognition as a separate but equal nation within the Austrian empire which was not achieved before the end of World War I.

Regarding the landscape, it is characterized by dense regular urban networks and forests interspersed with fields and a mountain belt which stretches from the east to the west with more across the northern borders. The Czech specialty of raising carp in large ponds, which dates back to the Middle Ages, has created another typical feature, plentiful artificial lakes. Considering heritage sites, the territory of the Czech Republic is not evenly covered.

Heritage perception and institutional framework

Seeing the beginnings of local national heritage concerns, the Czechs made use of Romantic historicism, which had became a significant feature of European national Revival and which celebrated the Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages and the common people, who preserved the traditions of the nation and forged a link back to an 'unspoiled' past[149].

As part of the Habsburg monarchy, the Czech lands followed the earlier examples of France and Prussia and their state heritage preservation systems. In 1853 the first professional institution of heritage preservation was established by the Austrian state. In the case of the Habsburg state it was difficult to find a unifying idea for heritage preservation since the monarchy was made up of many various nationalities that were each concerned with their own national heritage[150]. To a considerable extent contemporary state heritage preservation was under the influence of the aesthetic dogmatism of the day which meant that attention and admiration was given mostly to the monumental heritage of the Middle Ages whereas Baroque, Rococo and Classicism heritages were despised.

At the turn of the 19th and the 20th century Alois Riegel, regarded as the founder of modern Czech heritage preservation, stated the basic principles of heritage preservation as: scientific research, denial of a purism doctrine and a request for respect for all the stages of its historical and artistic development, stress on preserving original substance

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[149] Agnew (2004: 102).
[150] Nejedlý (2008: 32).

and unacceptability of forming and completing the site[151]. By introducing such principles the heritage perception was enlarged by the added values of authenticity and variability.

In the first two decades of the 20th century Prague played a pivotal role as a world innovator in heritage preservation when the idea of the preservation of all urban complexes arose. During an extensive sanitation of the historic central area of Old Town, the Prague public stood up for the preservation of these historical parts of the city. They formed an association called, the Club for Old Prague (still active today), with the aim of protecting the authentic, historical form of Prague against modern, disruptive interventions. For the first time the idea of preserving whole urban areas arose and so that not only individual buildings or monuments but also whole historical quarters should be perceived as heritage sites requiring legal protection[152].

During the communist regime (1948-1989) state heritage preservation focused mainly on a selected set of castles and historical town centres. In 1950 the state proclaimed 30 historical town centres to be heritage reservations with the goal of rehabilitating them to their historical unity [153]. Such an act was inconceivable and unprecedented in all of the contemporary state heritage preservation systems. Valorising the communist period, state heritage preservation focused on a limited number of chosen monuments whereas other heritage properties were neglected. The professional set up was often debased by ideological censorship so presentations of heritage sites were often affected by misrepresented historical interpretations. According to Soukupová, during these years Czech society was being intentionally cut off from its past through official propaganda and its memory was being reduced to certain historical stages modified on purpose, and thanks to which society was losing its ability to self-identify through its heritage[154]. The official political line going contra heritage preservation enabled new buildings, contradictory to the historical environments, to penetrate into heritage areas. The communist regime often influenced and deformed the efforts of heritage preservation in severe manners - the 1970s witnessed a lessening of the interest of the state in heritage preservation when a one-sided political and economical preference for the building-up of prefabricated tower block housing estates was pushed ahead even in protected urban heritage areas.

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[151] Riegel (2004).
[152] Soukupová (2007).
[153] These facts form the perspective of the inscription of five Czech historical town centres (see Appendix 3) on the UNESCO WHL as a result of a local national tradition of urban heritage area preservation. It may also be taken into account as a source of the state's determination to nominate such sites (historical urban areas) which are considered traditional, indigenous, unique.
[154] Soukupová et. al. (2007: 31).

Figure 4   Department store Prior from the socialist era built in the middle of the
historical central town square in Jihlava.

After the change of regimes in 1989 the main goal of state heritage preservation was to objectify the heritage fund by incorporating previously discriminated sites, mostly churches. New activity in heritage preservation was especially requested in the field of international cooperation by joining the UNESCO WH Convention in 1990.

The current Czech law[155] on state heritage preservation defines cultural heritage as significant evidence of historical development, lifestyle and social environment from the earliest times to the present. Cultural heritage is considered to be a result of human creativity and work from various fields of human activity and is based on its revolutionary, historical, art, scientific and technical values and those which have a direct relationship to significant personalities or historical events. The law states basic cultural heritage categories: architectural, technical, archaeological, artistic, handicrafts, parks and gardens. Depending on size the listed categories are: heritage reservation area (urban or natural), heritage zone (urban or natural, being of lesser importance than the reservation) and archaeological findings. The classification of national cultural/natural heritage is a variant of the cultural/natural heritage category and is explained as that segment of cultural heritage which forms the most noted part of the cultural riches of the nation and which has been proclaimed by the government of the Czech Republic.

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[155] Zákon České národní rady č. 20/1987 SB. Ze dne 30. března 1987 o státní památkové péči (law on state heritage preservation).

Joining UNESCO

The Czech Republic has been a member state of UNESCO from its very beginning because the former Czechoslovakia was one of the founding members of the organization, although it only joined the WH Convention in 1990 due to the political situation of the communist regime and Cold War perspectives. Czech cooperation with UNESCO World Heritage agents lies in the hands of the permanent Czech Commission for UNESCO which was established in 1994.

Today the Czech Republic has twelve sites on the WH List, all of them are classified as cultural heritage except for one, which is inscribed as mixed cultural and natural heritage. With its twelve inscribed sites the Czech Republic has become one of the twenty countries with the highest absolute number of listed sites. Based on the size and the population of the Czech Republic such a number of sites may be considered quite unusual and is generally referred to as a great success.

All of the twelve sites were put on the List in just one decade (1992-2003). All of the inscribed sites are representatives of architectural heritage, mostly of classical, historical, European architectural styles, such as Romanic, Gothic, Renaissance or Baroque. There are five historical city centres on the List: Praha, Český Krumlov, Kutná Hora, Telč and Třebíč, a castle in the town of Litomyšl, gardens, and a castle in the town of Kroměříž, a pilgrimage church in Zelená Hora and a column in the city of Olomouc. Other than these there are a few more atypical representatives of modern architecture on the list; a functionalist villa, Tugendhat, in the city of Brno and a representative of folk Baroque architecture in the village of Holašovice. There is also a representative of landscape architecture: the castles of Lednice and Valtice with their cultural landscapes. To complete the overall picture of the numbers of inscribed heritage, let us add five Intangible Cultural Heritage sites that are also inscribed on the ICH List[156].

The Czech UNESCO WH sites are of diverse importance and have various functions. They generally attract more tourists (especially international), and receive visitors also during the low tourist season. The economic impact stemming from tourism is evident and considerable[157]. A certain degree of prestige is associated with these sites. According to a survey called, *Culture in the regions of the Czech Republic 2011*, the Czech population attributes a prominent place[158] to UNESCO World Heritage sites. Another survey

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[156] They are a recruit dance, two processions, falconry and puppetry. The Institute of Folk Culture (organized by the Ministry of Culture) plays an important role in the preservation of folk culture in the Czech Republic. The Institute was established in 1990 and continued the activity of the previous Moravian Central Office for Folk Industry, active since 1908, which was changed into, the Folk Trades and Handicrafts in 1945.

[157] Mattyašovská (2013: 62).

[158] Patočková et al. (2012: 222). Respondents of the survey linked culture in general with cultural heritage,

questioned the officials of the Kutná Hora municipality whose majority claimed that the UNESCO shield is important not only for the preservation of the monuments but also for the tourist development in the city. Most of them argued that the UNESCO label has a great influence on the numbers of visitors who perceive an inscription on the UNESCO WHL as a guarantee of quality. All of them agreed on the positive effects of the inscription leading to the higher attractiveness of their town[159]. Towns with UNESCO sites have realized how important the inscription has been for tourism development and the local economy and there is a now notable effort from many other Czech towns to get their heritage on the lucrative UNESCO WH List.

Regarding the Tentative list and the type of sites the Czech Republic might nominate in the following years, there is an apparent shift tracking the changes of UNESCO's strategy towards technical heritage, cultural landscape, natural heritage and the representatives of modern architecture. Among the nineteen items on the List there are, for example: the fishpond network in Třeboň, a stud farm in Kladruby, hop manufacturing in Žatec, an industrial complex in Ostrava, spa towns, the Ještěd television transmitter, a paper mill in Losiny, a fortress in Terezín, the architecture of Jože Plečnik, the mining cultural landscape of Erzgebirge and the Czech Paradise rock cities.

4.2 The site

The town's origins are intimately related to medieval mining activity. Kutná Hora grew up chaotically directly from the agglomeration of mining village settlements without any regular layout. The ground plan of the town was radially composed by a babel of streets and roads. Everything was located in one space: the mining pits, adits, piles and dirt, the sheds of the miners, the taverns and the shops, the public square and the first sacral buildings. In the 14th century the town became a busy mining centre, a central mint for the Czech Kingdom and a privileged royal town which gained big economic importance through the enormous wealth coming from the silver ore mining. In terms of population and economic importance, Kutná Hora was, after Prague, the second town of the kingdom at that time.

The diverse social structure of the mining town created a special culture. In feudal society the townsmen and the miners had to face the disadvantage of a lowborn origin so they

both with its tangible and intangible aspects that were represented by monuments and heritage sites and by folk traditions and customs and with the 'art culture' characterized by theatre, fine arts or classical music.
[159] The survey was held by the STEM/MARK agency in Kutná Hora in 2007. See Agentura STEM/MARK (2007) *Marketingová koncepce rozvoje cestovního ruchu ve městě Kutná Hora*.

paid close attention to both individual and corporate representation. Thanks to high financial profits a significant investment was put towards representational building activity. In regards to its extent and the demands of its construction, in the Czech environment cathedral was a unique building action. Its peak is presented by the construction of a Gothic cathedral dedicated to the patron saint of the miners which became one of the most important symbols of the town. The cathedral has remained the second most important church in the Czech lands right after the Saint Vitus cathedral in Prague. Sculptures and stonework from the late Gothic, paintworks and frescoes with motives inspired by the local mining and coining activity, which can be observed inside of the cathedral, are a great source of knowledge about medieval culture and the everyday life of a mining town.

Due to the importation of cheaper silver from overseas to Europe starting from the 16th century and the exhausted silver deposits in Europe, the town began unstoppably losing its importance and was slowly changing into a provincial town. The mining activity stopped and the mint had been shut down by the 17th century. The national Revival of the 19th century brought up an intensified awareness of the town because its history served the purposes of the Revival very well by offering proof of a glorious and ancient national past. Its heritage was seen as a legacy to the national past and so the town's major monuments were restored. The development of the town as a heritage site began and was symbolically accomplished first, in 1961 when Kutná Hora was proclaimed an urban heritage reservation area and then again in 1995 when it was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

The town of Sedlec is today a district of Kutná Hora. It was here that the first Cistercian monastery in the Czech lands was built before the actual mining activity in Kutná Hora developed. The Cistercian cathedral is now also inscribed on the WHL making it part of the Kutná Hora site inscription. When mining advanced in the Kutná Hora area it also took place on the property of the monastery, thanks to which the monks were also able to accumulate a considerable amount of wealth that enabled vast building activity. Nowadays we can still see a significant part of it: the Cemetery Church of All Saints with it's Ossuary, the Cathedral of Our Lady and the convent building of the monastery. The cathedral was built around 1300 and at that time it was the biggest and most difficult construction in the country for which reasons it belongs to the gravest examples of Czech architecture. It was not by chance that the Sedlec Cistercian monastery stood in the background at the origins of the monumental architecture in the town of Kutná Hora.

During the Hussite wars of the 15th century the monastery buildings were severely damaged and left in ruins until the time of their Baroque recovery when they became

prominent representatives of the Baroque Gothic style. Their generous Baroque renovation was initiated under the supervision of a Czech Baroque architect, Jan Blažej Santini Aichl. He used a revolutionary style combining Baroque and Gothic. The so-called Baroque Gothic, was applied especially in the reconstruction of the cathedral, which did not have a parallel in the contemporary Europe. An interesting fate met the monastery after the abolishment of the Cistercians in 1812. A tobacco manufacture was placed inside the abandoned monastery which is still used today. Nowadays an American tobacco company, Philip Morris, resides in the former monastery area and represents the biggest American investment in the Czech Republic.

In the Central Bohemian region, Kutná Hora is the only UNESCO site to be found. Over the last few years the town has received generous funding as the result of a decision made by the former county governor, David Rath (2008-2012), who chose Kutná Hora as a primal destination in the region for investments. This led to the foundation of the Central Gallery of the Central Bohemian region (GASK) in 2009. It is located at the site of a former Jesuit College which needed to go through a costly reconstruction itself in order to become the site of the gallery. The special funds from the region also enabled the reconstruction of historical gardens with a vineyard in the valley under the Cathedral of Saint Barbara which were opened in 2013. It is natural to question whether or not the UNESCO status of Kutná Hora was a key factor in receiving the funding, moreover you must also keep in mind the singular position of Kutná Hora as the only UNESCO town in the Central Bohemian region.

The mayor of the town confirmed that tourism is of key importance and represents a priority for Kutná Hora[160]. The city council annually actualizes its tourism marketing conceptions and visions of presenting the town. For the last couple of years the slogans used in the promotion campaigns were: 'Culture is not found only in Prague' and 'One day is not enough'. From these slogans it was clear that the town wanted the visitors who usually came for a half-day or a one-day trip to stay longer in order to make bigger profits. They were targeted at gaining more international tourists, who mostly come to the Czech Republic to visit Prague, trying to convince them to also visit Kutná Hora. Kutná Hora is a member of the Czech Heritage UNESCO association which brings together UNESCO WH sites in the Czech Republic in order to cooperate in the sphere of mutual interest by lobbying for WH sites. The mayor of Kutná Hora states that the joint actions of the associations help the town in drawing the funds from governmental or European Union bodies[161].

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[160] From interview with mayor Ivo Šanc from 28 August 2013.
[161] From interview with mayor Ivo Šanc from 28 August 2013.

The town's strategic plan from 2004 specified that the first priority was the support of business and employment connected to tourism. It was decided that historical architectural heritage associated with medieval mining would be upgraded by a spectrum of additional services which today are represented in new sport and leisure time facilities (bobsleigh track, swimming pools), art galleries, music concerts, cultural events (music festivals, heritage days, theatre festival, historical fairs), sport events, and conference venues. With the help of structural funds from the European Union the town is realizing a reconstruction of public communications, public areas, squares, green spaces and the technical infrastructure within the area of the historical town centre. A new modernized orientation system was introduced a few years ago including information boxes with touch screens which give information on individual heritage monuments.

The monuments in Kutná Hora are opened year-round and are endowed by a firm visit rate of about 300,000 people a year[162]. The most visited monuments are the Cathedral of St Barbara and the Ossuary in Sedlec. There are several tourist information centres and points dispersed around the town also operating year-round and offering a wide range of services, especially various guided tour activities. In order to make tourists stay longer, the town has started offering a new range of services and activities not necessarily connected with heritage, such as sports facilities (bobsledding, swimming pools and baths), biking trails and cultural programmes (concerts, festivals, fairs and markets). Tourist destinations often focus on having tourists stay as long as possible since it generates higher income. Disposing other sites of interest in the vicinity helps this aim. Kutná Hora is aware of it and also pays attention to the promotion of other sites of interest in the surroundings area.

Urban heritage
Urban heritage as part of an urban landscape is a cultural symbol that has been created over periods of time in the past. Given that Europe's societies are mostly urban, the city can be regarded as a very significant symbol in Europe. Ashworth explains that in the terms of physical extent, the number of buildings or certain protected areas make up a remarkable proportion of the total urban space in almost all European cities[163]. When compared to the conventional situation in Asian cities we see a different scenario in which city areas have been constantly renewed for the sake of modernization. We see urban heritage as a typically European phenomenon and the conserved urban landscape as a dominant feature of European imaginations. The origins of urban conservation were European since the movement occurred in almost all the nation states of Europe in much the same way and at much the same time, resulting in broadly similar legislation and

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[162] Data gained through the Průvodcovská služba Kutná Hora (Guided Service of Kutná Hora) which keeps statistics on visitor numbers on the basis of sold tickets on 10/10/2013.
[163] Ashworth (1998: 261). According to Ashworth, on average, protected buildings make up 5-10 per cent of the building stock in a European city.

practices in conserved historic cities[164]. As Vahtikari points out, the long tradition of urban area conservation in Europe is one of the key factors in the high number of European cities on the WHL since the early understanding of a historic city within the WH framework has been greatly influenced by an image of a conserved European city centre[165].

As researchers in semiology perceive a city as a language, the question is what kind of story do they tell? We suppose fragmentation and discontinuity are the major obstructions of urban interpretations. As Ashworth believes, different coding is in use at different places at various times and thus are neither universal in space nor stable over time[166]. Speaking about recent urban presentations we are seeing cities exhibiting themselves as unique sites, each of them possessing its very own special story. In the case of big cities there is a popular claim of being global and international. Competition between cities takes place at the local, national and global levels. Their competition may be recognized also on economic, political or cultural levels. Such competition generates the premises for their storytelling. In this setting UNESCO plays a role at the global cultural level. One quarter of the total UNESCO's WH sites present urban heritage. A World Heritage city shows itself to be mainly a pre-nineteenth-century city since the WHL holds few nineteenth- and twentieth-century cities and has been understood principally to be a historic city centre[167].

The Czech Republic has five urban heritage sites on the WHL with Kutná Hora being one of them, which is a representative of Gothic architecture. In every (European) country where this style developed Gothic cathedrals are inscribed on the WHL[168]. Therefore it is not any rare or specifically unique type of heritage. Indeed it is quite a common one and from the point of view of the disproportions on the WHL, the Gothic cathedrals make a significant contribution to that matter.

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[164] Ashworth (1998: 263).

[165] Vahtikari (2012: 136). According to Vahtikari, for European countries it has been less complicated to get the sites (historical city centres) inscribed also from the point of view of the management since this had been established long before the nomination process in cases of European sites and in contrast to many of the other countries.

[166] Ashworth (1998: 263).

[167] Vahtikari (2012: 151 and 164).

[168] Cleere (2012).

Figure 5   View of the town Kutná Hora with the two dominants of the Cathedral of
St Barbara on the left and the Church of St Jacob on the right.

The most valued monuments and sites of the urban heritage of Kutná Hora are the Gothic
Cathedral of Saint Barbara[169], the Gothic Church of Saint Jacob, the former royal mint,
Vlašský dvůr[170], a patrician residence of a mining entrepreneur called Hrádek[171], a
patrician residence called the Stone House[172], a late Gothic stone water well[173], medieval
mines, the medieval town centre and street layout and the Sedlec cathedral, church with
it's ossuary and monastery. The tent roof of St Barbara's Cathedral evokes a ship floating
on the edge of a terrace over the valley and the 85 meter tall tower of St Jacob's Church,
which was the first monumental stone building in Kutná Hora, make up the two spatial

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[169] The five-vessel cathedral dedicated to the patron of miners, St Barbara, was built in the outskirts of the
former town centre. It was constructed in several stages starting in 1380. The most prominent building
houses and architects of that time participated (namely: Petr Parléř, Matyáš Rejsek or Benedikt Rejt).
[170] Today preserved as a four-wing complex that is a compound of two-storey buildings gathered in an
irregular ground plan in which the remains of a Gothic royal palace from the beginning of the 14th century
have been preserved. Some parts are used as a seat for the municipality, other parts are accessed as a
heritage site.
[171]A former medieval fortress located in the very town centre was rebuilt into a showy medieval town castle
by the end of the 15th century. It is rich in stonework ornamentation with mining motives and decorated
with painted Renaissance ceilings. The Museum of Silver resides here offering tours to an original medieval
silver ore mine which is located right under the property.
[172] This building commemorates the origins of the town and belongs among the greatest examples of late
Gothic town houses in Bohemia.
[173] This well with it's stonework decoration from 1495 used to be a part of the town's medieval water
system serving as a water tower.

dominants of a specific town view[174].

The medieval urban ground plan of Kutná Hora was formed by a mutual merging of individual mining centres. The medieval urban space was characterised as a space of immediate contact. Work and private life were conjoined with only the churches standing for the sacral sphere of life formed in solitary units within the town structure. Furthermore, the dissected and hilly terrain of Kutná Hora, an insufficiency of drinking water, a changeover in the settlement and mine works and fires often contributed to the specific conditions of the medieval building activity in the town.

Figure 6   Ground plan of the historical town centre and a map of its most prominent monuments

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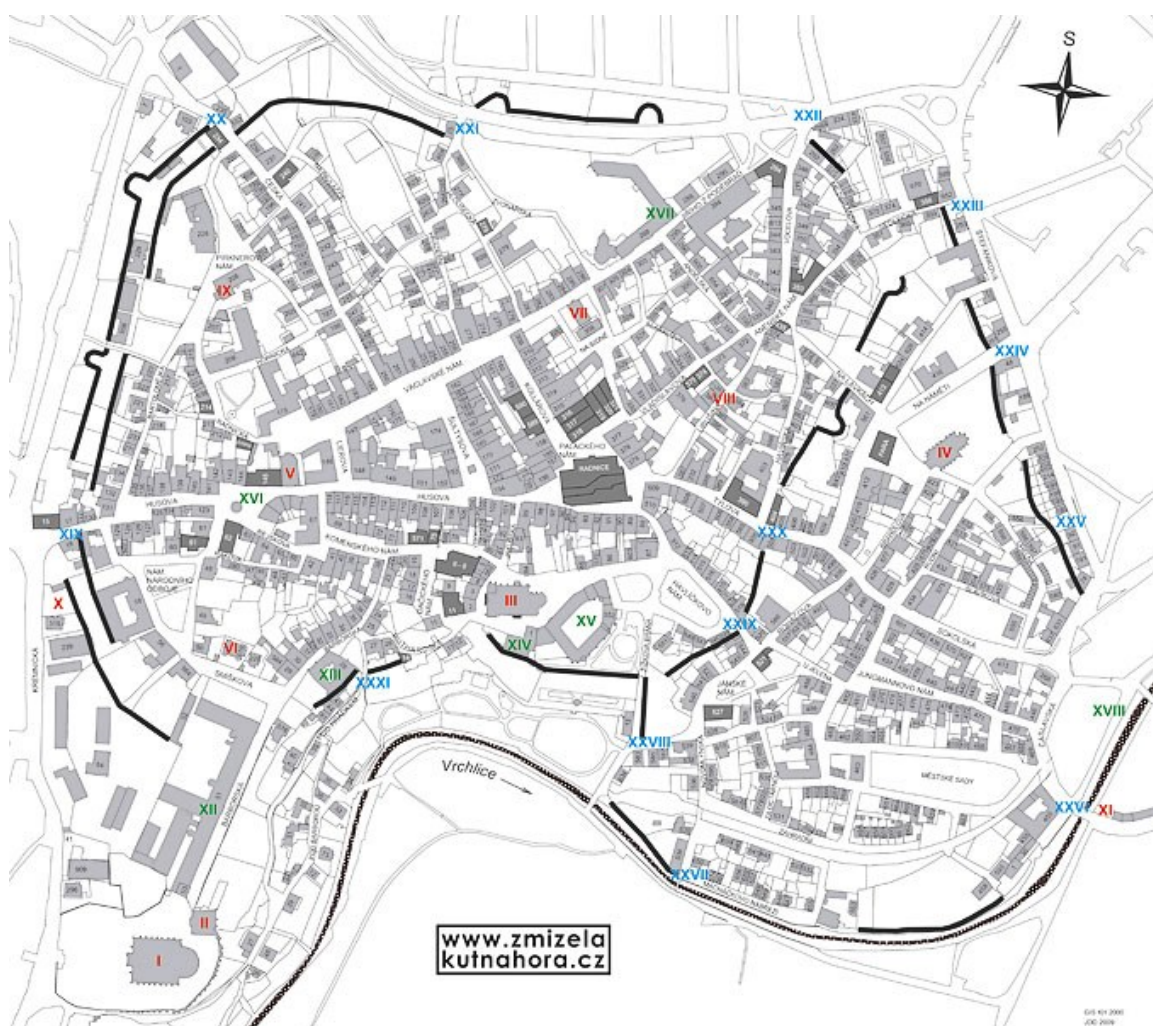
[174] The churches were built according to the miner's conception: a hallway construction was chosen instead of a cathedral type because in the hallway type the vessels are arched at the same height so they make up one integrated, central space and all the community is equally endowed by light. By choosing such a type of architecture the miners were manifesting themselves as a community with all its members being equal.

Churches and chapels (in red):
I   St. Barbara Cathedral
II   Chapel of Corpus Christi
III   St. James Church
IV   Church of Our Lady Na Náměti
V   Church of St. John of Nepomuk
VI   Hieron of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church
VII   Hieron of the Czech Evangelical Church
VIII Former Chapel of the Holy Trinity
IX   Former St. Bartholomeus church
X   Disappeared St. George Church
XI   Disappeared Church of the Holy Cross

Monumental buildings (in green):
XII   Jesuite College
XIII Hrádek
XIV Archdeanery
XV   Italian Court
XVI Stone Fountain
XVII Ursuline Monastery
XVIII Executioner's House

Disappeared gates (in blue):
XIX - XXXI

High financial profits and the special culture of the royal mining town that was aspiring to a reconciliation with court culture, urged the dwellers towards ostentatious representation which brought prominent artists to the town. The self-esteem of the town residents got even bigger by establishing the majestic cathedral at an exposed place over the valley which gave the building an even more monumental look. The church was drafted as a five-vesseled basilica of a cathedral type without any concrete Church reasons and the use of the cathedral scheme did not have any church authorisation since Kutná Hora was not the seat of a bishop. Choosing the cathedral type demonstrated the self-confidence of the order party who sought to compete with the Cistercian cathedral in Sedlec and also with the royal cathedral of Saint Vitus in Prague[175].

Leaving the immediate historical town centre and heading three kilometres west we arrive at Sedlec (now part of the town) where the Cistercian monastery was founded in 1142 making it older than the town of Kutná Hora. There we find two more important monuments: the Baroque Gothic Church of All Saints with a Cemetery Chapel and an Ossuary[176] and the Cathedral of Our Lady which is inscribed on the WHL and presents the first cathedral of this type built in the Czech Republic. As mentioned earlier, due to the serious damage caused during the Hussite wars, the buildings underwent a Baroque recovery.

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[175] Altová (2000: 189).
[176] The Ossuary is not inscribed on the WH List but it is the most visited place in Kutná Hora. In 2009 it received 227,414 visitors (source: Průvodcovská služba Kutná Hora / the Guide service of Kutná Hora). The two storey chapel with ossuary was built at the end of the 14th century and is also a result of the Baroque modifications made by J. B. Santini Aichl at the beginning of the 18th century. The ossuary is decorated in the Baroque style with human skulls and bones as a reminder of the impermanence of human life and the existence of death. The creator of this unique decoration was most probably a woodcarver, František Rint. It is estimated that the decoration consists of the remains of up to 40,000 people.

Under the supervision of the architect, J.B. Santini Aichl, a revelatory style combining Baroque and Gothic was applied especially in the reconstruction of the cathedral, which was unparalleled in the contemporary Europe of the day. The monastery met an interesting fate when, after the abolishment of the Cistercians in 1812, a tobacco manufacturer was placed inside the abandoned convent buildings. These are now the property of an American tobacco company, Philip Morris, who use them as a seat for the company and as a plant for which purposes it has built several new, modern buildings conjoining the monastery complex. In the former monastery premises a museum of tobacco was founded by the Philip Morris Co.. The imminent vicinity of the churches and the tobacco factory gives quite an extraordinary impression.

Figure 7   The Cathedral of Our Lady inscribed on the WHL and the
neighbouring Phillip Morris tobacco factory in Sedlec.

There are also several Baroque monuments in the town centre under heritage protection. Among them the most dominant and important are the two Church complexes and the Jesuit College[177] which are significant to the townscape and the Ursulines Monastery[178]. In recent years the college was reconstructed and changed into a multifunctional art centre and a seat for the Central Bohemia art gallery GASK.

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[177] Jesuits piled an artificial terrace with a wide path in front of the college which they called the bridge and they decorated its banister with statues following the example of the Charles Bridge in Prague. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Czech lands the college was rebuilt and served as a barracks.
[178] The monastery was built according to the plans of prominent Czech architect Kilián Ignác Dietzenhofer in 1712.

Figure 8   The most significant parts of the heritage site of Kutná Hora

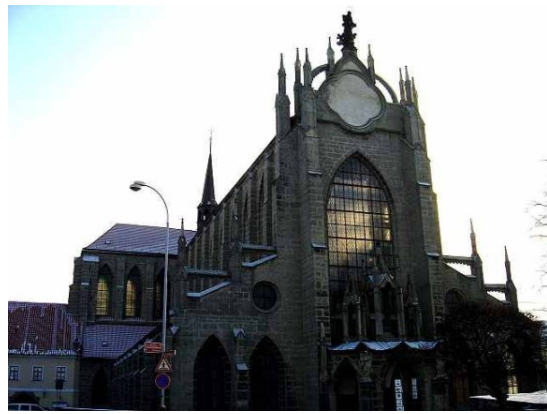|			
1	Italian Court	7	Church of St Jacob
2	Hrádek (Czech Museum of Silver)	8	Cathedral of Our Lady in Sedlec
3	Jesuit College	9	Medieval mines
4	Ursuline Monastery	10	Stone House
5	Cathedral of St Barbara	11	Medieval streets
6	Stone Fountain	12-14	Cemetery Church of All Saints with Ossury in Sedlec (not inscribed on WHL)

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Inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List

Kutná Hora was put on the WH List in 1995 as 'Kutná Hora: the historical town centre with the Church of St Barbara and the cathedral of Our Lady at Sedlec' on the basis of criteria ii and iv. In terms of the categories of property set out in Article 1 of the 1972 WH Convention, Kutná Hora represents a group of buildings and is a cultural World Heritage. It was the fifth Czech site to be inscribed on the WHL.

The justification by the State Party given in the nomination file presents Kutná Hora (using the original expressions) as: a historical town which from the early 14th century to the early 16th century stood as the second most important town in the Kingdom of Bohemia after Prague; a town of great historical renown since King Wenceslas II launched a monetary reform there that introduced the Prague groschen, a monetary unit that survived for a long period as one of Europe's most prestigious currencies and which laid the foundations for the immense wealth of Bohemian kings; a town which played an important role during the Hussite wars and throughout the Middle Ages as one of the foremost centres of art in the Kingdom of Bohemia; a town which possesses an exceptional wealth of historical architecture; its buildings being of a wide variety of types and styles, imposing a compact whole; the Gothic and the Baroque styles especially meet the highest European heritage standards; Sedlec cathedral being the first living evidence of Cistercian architecture from the turn of the 13th century and the first grandiose manifestation of the Gothic Baroque architecture of Jan Blažej Santini; with a historical centre being evidence of the long vanished medieval silver mining industry with mines that ranked among the largest in the world; with a panorama ranking among the most impressive sights of its kind; with architecture from the Jagiellonian era (1471-1526) constituting an important link in the evolution of the late Gothic style in Europe; with late Gothic merchants' houses, superior in value and with medieval vaulted interiors being exquisite testaments of the housing conditions of the town's inhabitants during the 15th and 16th centuries; with the Church of St Barbara representing a unique work of cathedral architecture which remains unparalleled and without any specific ecclesiastical function but is simply a monument to the town's artistic and cultural aspirations.

We see an ambition to interpret the site as an outstanding and original on its own. Expressions like: the most important, great renown, most prestigious, exceptional, foremost, highest, the first, most impressive, the largest, grandiose, superior, unique, being without a parallel, indicate such effort.

The ICOMOS evaluation and recommendation on which basis the WHC decided to inscribe Kutná Hora on the WHL is as follows[179]:

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[179] From the UNESCO archives: *Nomination file no 732: Kutná Hora*. According to the Czech delegate to

'In its urban fabric and its buildings Kutná Hora constitutes an outstanding example of a medieval town whose wealth and prosperity was based on its silver mines. As a result it was endowed with many buildings of high architectural and artistic quality, notably the Church of St Barbara, which had a profound influence on subsequent developments in the architecture of central Europe. Its stock of well conserved domestic buildings is also of great significance, since they illustrate the social and economic parameters that distinguish settlements of this kind exceptionally well.'

The requested notion of uniqueness was, in the case of Kutná Hora, defined as a uniquely preserved historical town centre with the urban solution of a medieval royal mining town with distinguished examples of townsmen's houses and monuments of Gothic architecture symbolizing singular prosperity as a result of the silver ore mining. Going through the ICOMOS evaluation material, we also find that the ICOMOS language is oriented towards underlining and exhibiting the site on its exceptional ability and grandiosity. Paraphrasing the evaluation (using the original expressions) the site is described[180] as: an urban landscape of high aesthetic quality, a jewel; with the Church of St Barbara being an exceptional example of late Gothic architecture which had a profound influence on later architecture in central Europe; with Sedlec Cathedral being of great importance as the first large-scale work in the Gothicizing Baroque style of Jan Blažej Santini; its existence is indelibly linked with its great silver mine from which its prosperity developed.

The comparative analysis recognizes 'a considerable measure of uniqueness since it forms a part of the surviving stock of medieval towns that still exist in central Europe'. The circumstances of the creation of the town are stated as 'unparalleled in that what had been a mining boom town was abruptly converted into a Royal industrial administrative centre, a situation not to be found in any of the other historic towns in this region'. Though its role as a centre of silver mining and production is considered comparable to other towns, including those on the WHL, 'in all these cases, there was controlled urban development, unlike the unrestrained growth of Kutná Hora up to the assertion of Royal control by Wenceslas II'[181]. It was pointed out that one of the most interesting aspects of Kutná Hora is, 'its immense potential for achieving a better understanding of medieval mining and metallurgy…and for learning more about this little-understood aspect of

UNESCO Mr. Beneš, while making the decision over Kutná Hora's inscription, the presence of the historical festival of the Royal Silvering of Kutná Hora was largely brought into consideration and favourably affected the final decision. From an interview with Mrs. Hrabánková, the director of the Czech Museum of Silver in Kutná Hora and the author and organizer of the Royal Silvering festival of Kutná Hora.

[180] From UNESCO archives: *Nomination file no 732: Kutná Hora*.

[181] From UNESCO archives: *Nomination file no 732: Kutná Hora*.

medieval society'.

Comparing the two parts of Kutná Hora's nomination file: the justification given by the State Party and the ICOMOS evaluation with its recommendation for inscription, both present the site with its special peculiarities and the use of expressions of uniqueness and exceptionality. This nomination case file looks as if the ICOMOS was selecting from the range of qualities given by the State Party without adding any other attributes. It seems to us that it was as if the State Party's perception was not modified in terms of quality but just in terms of quantity, by reducing it and making it narrow. It is as if the role of ICOMOS was to approve or not what the State Party comes up with. The interpretation and the elements of the ICOMOS evaluation do not differ from the State Party's other than in the prospective re-composition of its elements.

It is generally believed that inclusion on the WHL often leads to a stronger involvement of local authorities and institutions in the restoration of monuments and that the World Heritage designation often makes for a higher financial commitment from the region[182]. In the case of Kutná Hora, we can consider both aspects to have come true[183]. Previously we have mentioned the special attention and financial commitments the town gained over the last few years from the hetman of the region. The mayor of Kutná Hora believes that the UNESCO label has helped the town, at the symbolical level, to raise the prestige of the site which, by reason, leads to better chances in obtaining state and regional funding and grants for the renovation of local heritage[184].

4.3 Past interpretations

For Kutná Hora the past and public use of history play a significant role in the production of the town's image. It serves the municipality in its focus on tourism, making use of the architectural heritage and the mines. The past has been turned into a commodity and has become a product. In the historical town centre there are a lot of ventures serving tourism (commercial) purposes: restaurants, cafes, antique shops, souvenir shops that offer historical items, traditional handicraft shops and shops with local products.

The town and its history are not only a matter of a local interest. Due to its important rapport to the national history it is still in the centre of interest for academic historians. The following paragraphs will confront UNESCO's official presentation, the academic

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[182] Aa (2005: 99).
[183] The STEM/MARK analysis considers the level of participation of the local authorities in heritage protection high. For more see: STEM/MARK (1997: 58f).
[184] From interview with the mayor Ivo Šanc from 28 August 2013.

historian's picture, the 'in-situ' presentations of the town's past and the internet sources on this topic.

UNESCO's presentation of the site
Theoretically, UNESCO's interpretation of the town's history is meant to be conceived within the framework of the whole number of inscribed World Heritage sites and their pasts and within the framework of an overall world history as seen through the lenses of UNESCO's heritage concerns and general unifying tendencies. Therefore notions of national history are expected to be omitted and the emphasis on specifying the site as an exemplary heritage/history category is predictable. The official presentation offered on the UNESCO website in brief is:

> 'Kutná Hora developed as a result of the exploitation of the silver mines. In the 14th century it became a royal city endowed with monuments that symbolized its prosperity. The Church of St Barbara, a jewel of the late Gothic period, and the Cathedral of Our Lady at Sedlec, which was restored in line with the Baroque taste of the early 18th century, were to influence the architecture of central Europe. These masterpieces today form part of a well-preserved medieval urban fabric with some particularly fine private dwellings.'

This brief introductory description is followed by a 'long description' and by a 'historical description'.

UNESCO's presentation model, in the case of Kutná Hora, appears to have been copied from the Nomination file documentation. They speak about (in its own terminology): human settlement in the Kutná Hora region from early times and about a mint from the 10th century associated with rich deposits of silver ore and about the numerous mining settlements in, what is now, the historic centre of the town from the 13th to the 16th centuries; about the town's development as a result of the exploitation of the silver mines; about the pattern of settlement dating back from the 12th century and the complex street plan attributable to early exploitation; about its development into a major industrial region, together with the cities of Čáslav and Kolín, during the reign of King Wenceslas II (1285-1305); about Kutná Hora as a boom town like those in North America during the Gold Rush of the 19th century; about the early 14th century when Kutná Hora was transformed from a chaotic mining settlement into a proper town; about the town's prosperity which had reached its climax in the 14th and the 15th centuries and which had been one of the richest places in Europe; about the coinage reform of King Wenceslaus II after which the central mint was founded in the Vlašský dvůr (Italian Court) in Kutná Hora and was where the first Prague groschen were struck after which the town became a Royal mining town given the status of the second town after Prague; about Kutná Hora

becoming the country's most important economic centre; about also becoming the cultural and political centre of Bohemia and competing for importance with Prague; about the Hussite wars (1419-1434) during which the Sedlec Monastery was destroyed by fire in 1421 and about other serious fires in the town in 1422 and 1424 which destroyed most of the buildings that were rapidly rebuilt thanks to the wealth resulting from silver mining; about the 15th century and an unusual development in construction; about the 16th century when the mines in the city centre were exhausted and abandoned, causing a sudden decline in the town's fortunes which is graphically illustrated in the relative lack of Renaissance buildings; about the economic stagnation of Kutná Hora exacerbated by the after-effects of the Thirty Years' war (1618-1648); about becoming an administrative centre of some importance but not until 1850 and about the town beginning to revive and become concerned with its architectural heritage; about the historical centre having architectural jewels of European significance, such as the Italian Court, Church of St Barbara, Church of St Jacob, the Stone House, a Gothic fountain and the church and cathedral in Sedlec; about the Cathedral of St Barbara as a jewel of the late Gothic period with medieval frescoes depicting the secular life of the medieval mining town of Kutná Hora; about St Barbara's Cathedral as an expression of the importance and power of the upper-town, symbolizing the self-esteem, exceptional ambitions and possibilities of the Kutná Hora patricians; about St Barbara's Church which, despite its status of no more than a daughter church of the parish church of nearby Pněvice, is of cathedral-like proportions; about St Barbara's Cathedral built in the late 14th century and 15th centuries and up to the first half of the 16th century, its first designer, John Parléř, and other outstanding architects such as; Matyas Rejsek and Benedikt Rejt; about the Jesuits that came to the town in 1626 and placed the cathedral under their administration and who, from the 1660s, began to build their college in the vicinity.

From the preceding we identify the key elements of UNESCO's interpretation as the notions of: late Gothic, medieval, architecture, mining, coining, historicity, economy, wealth, jewel, and above all, the cathedral which was given the most space and attention.

Professional history frame
In 1142 the first Cistercian monastery in the Kingdom of Bohemia was founded in Sedlec, in the very surroundings of the future town of Kutná Hora. Discovery of silver in this region in the 13th century is not seen to be directly related to the monks[185]. Nevertheless,

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[185] Even Though the beginnings of the mining have sometimes been related to the activity of this monastery and hypothetically sometimes also to the mint in nearby Malín, where a local Czech tribe of Slavníkovci were coining the silver denier between 981-995. Supposed continuity of the former mine in Malín with the one of the 13th century in Kutná Hora lacks evidence since direct quarrying has not been proven in the Czech lands since the 10th and 11th centuries. After the tribe of Slavníkovci were killed off by the leading tribe of Přemyslovci in nearby Libice, Přemyslovci took control of the Czech lands establishing a royal ruling dynasty

it is assumed and probable that they were involved in 'surface mining' and they were definitely involved, at least passively, as owners of the property on which the mining took place. In addition to the mining activity, the monastery played a significant role in the economical and cultural development of the whole area.

The news of the discovery of silver ore deposits spread quickly not only around the Czech lands but also throughout Europe. The newcomers, especially foreigners and entrepreneurs from the German Empire, had settled down around the paths and routes and built provisional wooden houses and settlements on the sites of the mines. This process was rather spontaneous and sudden without any urban planning. The town grew chaotically directly from the agglomeration of mining village settlements without any regular layout giving it an irregular ground plan and street network radially composed by a tangle of roads and paths. This initial mining settlement happened casually and elementally without creating public space[186].

The end of the 13th century saw a transformation from a chaotic settlement into a town[187]. The effort and quest for recognition and the arrangement of Kutná Hora as a town arose together with the social definition of the miners, which is proved by a strong identification with the place and its mining character. The work associated with mining, processing and trading in silver ore ensured not only a bare existence for the miners but also their social status and so was of crucial importance to them. The diverse social structure of the mining town created a different culture[188].

The development towards a privileged, royal, mining town of great economic importance in the Bohemia Kingdom took place at the beginning of the 14th century. In 1300 a new mining code, *Ius Regale Montanorum,* came into force and granted Kutná Hora a royal mining decree. The document was important not only for the town, by specifying all the organizational and technical conditions required for running the mines, it also became the standard for legal adaptations of rare ore mining in central Europe for several successive centuries. Together with the new mining code a monetary reform was carried out. Kutná Hora became the central (and the only) mint of the Kingdom and a new currency, the *Prague groschen* which was well-known for its quality outside of Bohemia, started to be

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and the Kingdom of Bohemia. All the property and lands became possessions of the new king, including the future mining area of Kutná Hora. See Štroblová & Altová (2000).

[186] The first mining settlement was under the jurisdiction of the nearby royal mining towns of Čáslav and Kolín and the Cistercian monastery in Sedlec.

[187] Kutná Hora gained its town character after building up a representative town centre during the reign of King Wenceslaus II (1285-1305). The first construction of a stone sacral building began in 1330 with the Church of St Jacob. The dominant art style was Gothic. The Cistercian monastery in Sedlec had significant influence on the building activity.

[188] Altová (2000).

coined here. The organized manufacturing of silver ore turned into a state monopoly and soon became one of the most significant sources of the state's income and Kutná Hora developed into a financial centre. The 14th century represented the peak in the town's development. Kutná Hora was a busy mining centre and a privileged royal town with 10,000-15,000 inhabitants. In terms of it's population and economical importance, Kutná Hora is considered to have been the second town of the Kingdom.

During the Hussite wars (1419-1434) Kutná Hora became the seat of the royal residence of the Czech king and Holy Roman Emperor Zikmund for about a year (in 1420). The monastery in Sedlec was burnt down,. The town was also severely damage and the mining activity and coining were stopped. After the wars the town was urbanized by a new population, mostly Czech, who replaced the expelled Germans. The town began to prosper again soon after the wars. The Jagiellonian period (1471-1526) was a time of great development when the town was once more aligned with Prague in economical and cultural terms. The new Czech entrepreneurial patricians made a lot of money which was shown off in the construction of spectacular patrician houses in the late Gothic style. This was a time of peak building activity in the town. Also during this period several important royal assemblies took place in Kutná Hora which underlined its importance[189].

The import of cheap silver from overseas starting in 1530's caused a price revolution that consequently led to the decline of mining in Kutná Hora. In 1547 the mint quit coining the traditional Prague groschen that had been the pride of Kutná Hora for centuries[190]. The beginning of the breakdown in the mining enterprise came in the 16th century and caused a lull in building activity so the new Renaissance art did not gain prominence. Qualitatively a new period was beginning. The mining enterprisers changed into craftsmen or merchants. Deepening economic depression was worsened by the Thirty Years' war (1618-1648) and was accompanied by the persecution of non-Catholics. A lot of the houses were abandoned or left in ruins. The Gothic town got something from the Baroque look after new building activity[191] was introduced by the Jesuits in 1626. However, the new Baroque facades only slightly readjusted the medieval face of the town. The Jesuits also influenced local cultural and spiritual life. Education was in their hands and the newly established college had an excellent reputation, one of the best in the country. However, the Jesuit order was abolished in 1775 and in 1783 the Cistercians also had to leave the town.

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[189] In 1471 an assembly elected a new king, Wladyslaw II, here. Since then the king's initial, 'W', has became one of the symbols of the town.

[190] The mint was completely closed down in 1726.

[191] Most significant were a spacious college and a terrace with a gallery of Baroque statues and an Ursuline monastery built according to the plans of Czech architect, Kilián Ignác Dientzenhofer.

Even though Kutná Hora was one of the biggest cities in the Czech lands, in terms of population, till the second half of 19th century, it had lost its importance. The town missed the start of the Industrial Revolution with the exception of the establishment of a state tobacco factory in Sedlec in 1812 after the Cistercians were expelled[192]. Kutná Hora became a mostly handicraft-agricultural town with a minimum of industry and for the second half of the 19th century it was seen as a town of schools and offices[193].

The Czech national Revival of the 19th century meant an intensive awareness of the town, which history served well in the purposes of creating a great national past. The Czech theatre also played an important role in 'awakening the nation' and one of the most prominent figures of the Czech theatre was a playwright and a native of Kutná Hora, Josef Kajetán Tyl. The town's heritage and monuments were seen not only as a legacy to the past but also a potential source of tourism. In the years 1884 to 1905 all the major monuments were restored and in the following decades Kutná Hora became a town of monuments and sightseers.

During WWI numerous military objects were located in the town[194]. During the interwar period Kutná Hora attempted to take advantage of its monuments and certain attention was given to heritage promotion. The first guide to Kutná Hora's monuments for foreign visitors was published in 1923 and in 1928 a promotional movie was produced. Initially it was the Czech Tourist Club that took care of tourism in the town but, since the 1930s, this agenda has been taken over by a City Foreign office that also does the promotions and who organized the local guide service.

In 1948 the Communist party took over. One of the new strategic plans of the communist regime was to industrialize underdeveloped areas in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, mines quarrying lead, zinc and copper ore were opened in Kutná Hora in 1960 as part of a newly established metallurgic plant and the tobacco factory in Sedlec was transformed into a national enterprise. Other state planning intended to develop peripheral areas by constructing panel blocks of flats. The new altitudinal, prefabricated tower blocks built in Kutná Hora changed the town's fibre but fortunately the very town centre was kept intact due to its urban heritage area status which had been proclaimed in 1961. In 1950 the nuns from the local Ursuline monastery were evicted as ideological enemies to the regime.

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[192] An important factor in this course of action is seen in the rejection of the municipality to establish railways into town. Even today the distance of 3 km from the railway to the town centre is quite a disadvantage.

[193] Štroblová & Altová (2000).

[194] The barracks were situated in the Jesuit college, military hospitals were seated at schools and the headquarters occupied the Hrádek.

In situ presentations

The town produces a notable amount of printed promotional and informative material. In these Kutná Hora is presented as a wealthy, medieval, royal mining town rich in Gothic architectural heritage and as a town that once stood as the second most important in the Kingdom of Bohemia right after Prague. Mentioning Prague aims at putting the town's history in parity with the national history. By doing so, the importance and relevancy of the town's status is amplified and perhaps it rings more in the ears of foreign tourists. Surprisingly for us, only some of the brochures mention UNESCO and Kutná Hora as a World Heritage site. Instead of operating with the UNESCO logo usually the logo of the town is used. The official logo was selected by the city council seven years ago and it represents an architectural element present at the Cathedral in Sedlec and at other of the town's stone Gothic buildings. Having chosen such an attribute the town has demonstrated the significance of its architectural heritage.

Figure 8   Official logo of Kutná Hora on the left. On the right a detail of a decorative element of a Gothic building from which the logo was developed.

From the town's history the 14th century, as a golden age, is highlighted as well as the silver past and architectural monuments. The most common and principal adjective and the most significant town's attribute is 'silver' and 'Gothic'. Kutná Hora is called a silver town and special attention is given to the wealth coming from the silver ore mining. The coining of the Prague groschen and its aftermath are represented in the form of the Gothic architectural monuments often called 'jewels'. The key words [195] of the promotional material that it is possible to collect at the site and its vicinity[196] are: UNESCO, silver, mining, Gothic, architecture, medieval, royal, past.

The most common catchword expressions are: royal mining town, silver Kutná Hora, architectural treasure/jewel of Kutná Hora, UNESCO site. The main commemorative story would be that of a medieval mining town from the Middle Ages whose enormous wealth is reflected in the monumental Gothic architecture. Fixing the site to a particular 'Golden Age' and idealizing one ideal phase of development means that other phases become interpreted as insignificant. Such an attachment to a 'Golden Age' is supported by the WH

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[195] We call key words those expressions that repeat in these materials the most.
[196] Various brochures on Kutná Hora were collected in 2008-2013 at: the railway station, information desks and offices, at the sites and museums, in restaurants and cafes. Also a few of them were picked up at the central Czech Tourism office in Old Town Square in Prague.

concept of outstanding universal value and by cultural heritage criterion iv which states: that a nominated property should be an outstanding example of a type or structure, or later, of a type of building or architectural ensemble, which illustrates a significant stage in history[197].

Taking into account the informative panels spread around the town, the museum and monument exposition panels, the guide's talks, the composition of sites offered for visits, the town's cultural programme and the physical appearance of the site, in Kutná Hora the central figure of remembering material substance would be the gothic Cathedral of Saint Barbara. It is the pride of the town and offers a peak at the town's identity.

It stands as a symbol which encompasses the main themes of the story: the Middle Ages, the Gothic architecture, the silver mining (through the dedication to St Barbara, the patron saint of miners). In the second rank of figures of remembering we see those forming the context for the existence of the cathedral: the silver ore mines, the mining and coining activity and their products, the silver Prague groschen coins, thanks to which enormous wealth gave rise to a rich, privileged, royal town with a special status and lifestyle enabling vast building activity in the Gothic style whose masterpiece was the Cathedral.

Regarding the matter of presenting the town's history, a historical overview is given from a traditional chronological perspective. It starts with the town's origins which are linked to the foundation of the first mining settlements and continues with its transformation into a royal town; it highlights the period of its heyday in the 14th century; passes on the Hussite wars, the reduction of mining and the overall decline of the town; it then discusses the Thirty Years' war and the unfortunate battle at Bílá Hora in 1618; the consequent introduction of Jesuits and the successive abolishment of the their order as well as the Cistercians; the time of national Revival was not left out and the special role of theatre, whose prominent representative was a native from Kutná Hora, the playwright Josef Kajetán Tyl, was also included; it continues with the industrialization era and the founding of the tobacco factory; moves on to the establishment of a military barracks in the town and the burden of World War I, and ends with the time of the reconstruction of the town's monuments and how it has become a popular tourist destination, important to national heritage, and finally a World Heritage site.

The history of kings and idyllic images of it's medieval past have often been employed in the creation of the town's historical picture. As a contrast to this view the subject of the miner's lifestyles and images from the everyday life of the miners were commonly used as

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[197] Vahtikari (2012: 154).

well. Such pictures present the type of original historical images that are in use in contemporary presentations of the town. Some of the originally preserved images come from frescoes in the interiors of Kutná Hora's monuments and many others are from written archive sources.

Figure 9   Preserved fresco from the Cathedral of St Barbara featuring the stamping of silver coins.

Some of the medieval mine areas in the very town centre are open for guided tours organized by the Czech Museum of Silver. The commentary focuses on explaining the mining process within the medieval frame, from the very beginning, to the final product of a silver coin. Attention is given to the miners and other people involved in the mining process as a distinctive social group of medieval society. Information known about their daily lives, their status and rights, their life fortunes etc. is presented and interpreted as, the 'hardships of a specific proud class of society', sometimes put in contrast to the 'sweet life of the court'. Visitors to the authentic medieval silver ore mines are given a white coat resembling a miner's traditional dress with the intention of letting them experience something form the miner's life for themselves. The scenically structured tours and exhibits allow the sightseers to understand the miner's culture in terms of a living history (a popular trend in museum exhibitions).

The Czech Museum of Silver, which organizes the mine tours, is the most important and the most visited museum in the town. It was established in 1877 and operates exhibitions at three different monument sites. The main central exposition on 'the story of silver'[198] is located in Hrádek, the former patrician castle residence in the Gothic style. Elements of

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[198] The panels picture the specific origins of the town, its boisterous development and privileged status explaining the processes of mining, manufacturing and coining the silver and how, thanks to the silver, the Gothic heritage of the town was created.

living history are added to the presentation of the silver history: costumed life-sized figures perform activities connected with the processing of the silver. According to the director of the museum, these installations are a favourite and are successful because they are emotive[199]. But far more popular are the visits to the mines which present the main tourist attraction and for which there is a constantly increasing number of visitors.

Other museums in the town, include a Museum of the Mysterious Past of the Town in which medieval crime and torture are popular topics and are also exhibited in a scenic way using life-sized figures and historical instruments of torture in the authentic cellars of the former mint in the Italian Court. The town also presents the theme of alchemy, another popular topic of the Medieval. The Museum of Alchemy is based on the premises of what is probably the original medieval alchemy laboratory in the historical town centre. The existing museums with their topics of medieval silver mining and coining, the medieval crime and torture and the medieval alchemy all supplement and emphasize the town's central commemorative story of the 'world of the Middle Ages'.

There is one more museum in the town, an exception that does not fit the medieval framework and stands out as single figure of remembering, the Museum of Tobacco in Sedlec which shows the memory of the local tobacco manufacturing tradition. The museum was founded by the Philip Morris Co. in 1997 in the former monastery refectory and is dedicated to the history of tobacco planting and the factory production of cigarettes in Kutná Hora.

When thinking over what is displayed in the presentations of the town's past and comparing it to academic writings we see that not all of the historical moments are mentioned or treated with the same amount of stress. According to Halbwachs, collective memory tends to create an image in which a society/social group can identify itself in all its stages[200]. For the residents of Kutná Hora it seems possible to identify themselves with the past of a mining town, with one of the stages in their town's development (in which the town was inhabited by townspeople to whom the current residents are similar and who thus may be identified as their ancestors) rather than with, for example, the Cistercians, who, although they stood at the very origins of the town, and who played a significant role as a cultural and economical agent in its development, but who were monks (which none of the recent inhabitants are and its majority have never been), moreover they resided in the outskirts of the town.

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[199] From an interview with the director of the Czech Museum of Silver, Mrs. Světlana Hrabánková, from 25 Aug 2013.
[200] Halbwachs (1992).

Halbwachs says that figures of remembering should also be possessed of a certain type of distinction and uniqueness[201]. In the case of Kutná Hora it is the characteristic Gothic architectural heritage that, as a physical figure of remembering, creates the town's memoryscape. These sights are able to distinguish the town's own past and they are able to span this uniqueness over periods of time. According to Halbwachs, there is usually one central figure of remembering[202]. In Kutná Hora we identify it as the silver. Silver is the dominant figure of remembering and rules the interpretation of the town's history and from which other important remembering figures emerged: all the Gothic architectural heritage, the miners' culture and lifestyle, the royal mint and the silver coins, the position of the second most important town in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the medieval mines, the Middle Ages.

Only one of the present figures of remembering stands out because it has no connection to the silver and that is the tobacco. But the memory of tobacco is from younger data than the commemorative story of silver. These two figures remind us of and represent two different time periods and bring up two different images of the town. The memory of silver calls to mind an attractive medieval picture of a wealthy town, the later invokes a less glorious sketch of a provincial town of early Modern and Modern Times. Nevertheless, the tradition of the tobacco industry, which has been present in the town for the last two hundred years has, gained a certain degree of importance. On a national level Kutná Hora is often identified as a 'city of tobacco'. However, the memory of silver offers more unique and valued sites in material forms and better suits the purposes of crafting itself as original and of presenting a model example which could fulfil the criterion of being of an outstanding universal value and thus fit the UNESCO requirements for inscription on the WHL.

Several other local histories did not find their place in the mainstream commemorative story simply because they did not fit in or they did not meet the criteria for becoming central figures of remembering, as discussed above, or because, for various reasons, they just have not been identified as important, interesting, significant or whatever. Let us look back at the academic history frame and name some of them:.the existence of a mint in nearby Malín operated by the Slavníkovci tribe; Kutná Hora being a capital residence of the Czech King and Emperor Zikmund of the Holy Roman Empire during the Hussite wars; some of the important royal assemblies held in Kutná Hora, e.g. when Jiří z Poděbrad was elected as the new Czech King in 1458 or when a religious peace agreement was concluded there in 1485; the signing of the Decree of Kutná Hora by King Wenceslas IV in 1409, which regulated the conditions at Prague University.

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[201] Halbwachs (1992).
[202] Halbwachs (1996).

Such memories were left out. The question is why? In the case of Malín it is possible to argue that for a long time this place was not a part of the town so it did not contribute to the town's memoryscape and therefore it was difficult for it to be integrated. In the case of King Zikmund it is quite a different matter though. For a long time the figure of Zikmund was remembered as a 'redheaded fox', a negative symbol personifying trickery and national betrayal in the historical awareness. Although the current Czech historiography has already objectified the image of King Zikmund and has pointed out his statesmanlike qualities, the strength and stability of this stereotype in popular historical awareness is considerable. It shows us how local memory tends to incorporate and talk only about positive values. Also, local society does not want to be identified with the symbol of national betrayal nor does it probably even see itself as being a part of such history.

In conclusion, there are two levels of remembering and presenting the past. One is the material level which creates the spatialized past of which product is the memoryscape. The memoryscape in Kutná Hora is formed by the medieval mines, the medieval streets, the layout of the town centre, the Gothic cathedrals and other monuments of architecture, the museums and the souvenir shops offering silver coins. The other level is demonstrated by non-materialistic aspects such as the historical and commemorative narrative which presents the story. In the case of Kutná Hora: the story of a rich, royal mining town, of tobacco, of Gothic architecture etc. These two aspects and positions of public use of the past are inseparably linked together making them two sides of the same coin. This is based on Halbwachs' assumption that memory has a natural tendency to be localized and in order to be fixed it needs footholds in space [203], suggesting commemorative practice and historical narration be reflected in material dimensions and vice versa.

Performed past: the Royal Silvering of Kutná Hora

Festivalization is a common strategy repeatedly used in order to create an original site. In Kutná Hora this approach has been demonstrated in the form of a historical parade called, the Royal Silvering of Kutná Hora. It is a noted, trans-regional event which has been arranged every last weekend in June[204] since 1992 and draws about 10,000 visitors. During the parade, which goes on for two days, the town symbolically goes back 600 years into its medieval past. The town comes alive through the fictive story of the arrival and presence of the Czech King, Wenceslas IV, with his court. In the authentic surroundings of the historical town centre participants and visitors dress up in historical costumes and the

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[203] Halbwachs (1996).

[204] This date was chosen because it is the time of celebrating Saint John. In the folk calendar it is a ceremony of fires. As part of the festival, during the evening, fires are lit and there are fireworks held in the valley under St Barbara's Cathedral.

parade is led in the spirit of a medieval fest: a market, chivalry tournament, carnival or medieval dances are performed. Peculiarities in the lifestyle and culture of medieval mining towns are presented in an amusing way. This performed past recalls the image of the town at the peak of its prosperity. It is meant to remember and celebrate the tradition of a medieval royal mining town. The festival supports the central commemorative story of the Middle Ages, the story of a medieval silver mining town.

The Royal Silvering of Kutná Hora meets the criteria of the living history method. It has historical and educational intent, uses diverse presentational and performativity skills and interacts with visitors. Its aim is to directly experience the past and to give pleasure and entertainment. When performing the past, standard methods of historical representations are historical paintings, reproductions, costumes, pageants, etc. which are all included in Kutná Hora's festival.

The festival has various functions. The main two seem to be the commercial and the commemorative ones. The official organizer of the festival is a local civil association, *Silver Kutná Hora,* which claims to hold the event on account of the historical awareness of the town's medieval past and for the sake of educating younger generations and to stimulate their interest in the history of the town[205]. The concept of the living history parade of the Royal Silvering is original. The idea came from the director of the local Czech Museum of Silver, a professional historian specialized in the Czech Middle Ages[206]. Perhaps, is was also due to her long-term, scientific interest in the age of the reign of the Luxemburgs, that this period was chosen for the parade. According to the director, the time of King Wenceslas IV (the theme of the festival) suited best since there were many parallels between the king and the town to be found due to the king's sympathies for Kutná Hora and his frequent visits. It was also the time when the Cathedral of St Barbara, the central figure of remembering, was founded.

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[205] The actors, performers and organizers are volunteers. The organizer (director of the museum) states that there is no lack of volunteers, every year many new ones become part of the parade. Many in-groups of the Middle Ages came to be involved too. There are about 250 official costumed participants that perform. There are also usually some foreign visitors. Actually several German tour operators offer a one-day trip to Kutná Hora on the date of the festival.

[206] The festival originated unintentionally on the occasion of the historical anniversary of the existence of local Cistercians and a conference held in the town. The director of the Czech Museum of Silver was asked to organize some kind of a historical parade and she came up with the 'Silvering of Kutná Hora'. It took the form of rather a smaller parade which has grown very quickly into a very popular weekend festival. From an interview with the director of the Czech Museum of Silver (2013).

Figure 10 Historical parade of the Royal Silvering of Kutná Hora.

Each year visitors are taken exactly six hundred years back in time so every year of the story is new and presents a successive year from the past. The scenario is based on the actual events of the times - a new script is written by the director of the museum based on historical sources from archives every year. Selected historical events based on real historical evidence are performed with the aim of educating visitors about history. For example, a medieval ceremony is acted out in the most traditional form based on original texts from the archive documents of that time. When possible, preferably authentic historical texts are used, like the guild vows. Original terminology especially any associated with any of the mining activity is incorporated into the texts in order to let the historical specifications be known.

Elements of an idealized romantic past from the peaceful medieval times are performed. The main figures of the story are the king and the queen who love each other. The king is wise and honest, the queen is gentle and beautiful. All the other figures in the story are happily gaming with them, standing right next to them, evoking the idea of being equal. Such perceptions and displays confirm how people create the past within their present social frameworks. Since the king wants to be presented as having a good character, the attributes that are associated with being a good person are thought of as: being fair and honest, wise, but not arrogant and not giving oneself airs. That is true for the present which has formed this idea. But it does not necessarily have anything in common with the 'real past'. It can easily even be the opposite. As we know from academic history, the figure of the king was superior to all the other common people. So such a scene would most probably not have happen in the medieval past. What these festival scenes show is

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the present local ideas about the past and the local interpretation of the town's medieval history.

The festival is supported by the municipality which also promotes other kinds of festivities and cultural, social and sports events. Music performances and festivals that make use of the impressive surroundings of the historical monuments are held inside some of the most prominent historical sites. There is also the traditional theatre – a festival of amateur theatre groups organized in 2001. There is a national competition for young poets which has been held since 1993 in memory of Jiří Orten, a Kutná Hora native poet. Perhaps, it is not by coincidence that the town commemorates these two traditions of theatre and poetry as they are associated with two important natives of Kutná Hora: Josef Kajetán Tyl and Jiří Orten. The composition of the events over the whole year shows a period known as the high season: beginning in spring March/April, peaking during the summer months and ending by October.

5 HIROSHIMA IN JAPAN

Hiroshima is best known as the first and only city ever to be bombed by a nuclear weapon in human history. The city is one of the largest of Japan's cities[207] and is a major city in the Chūgoku region of western Honshū, the largest island of Japan on whose eastern coast lies the capital city of Tokyo. The prefecture of Hiroshima has developed primarily through heavy industries, such as automobile, iron, steel and shipbuilding and makes up one of Japan's leading industrial zones. The prefecture hosts major companies that are active players in the global market[208].

Hiroshima is a city that would have world fame with or without the World Heritage status. It is a strongly associative site evoking memories and marks of the dramatic moment of the first atom bombing in human history. It is a very important destination of both national and international tourism. Among Japanese sites of interest, Hiroshima recently tops the list among tourists[209]. According to the Hiroshima Prefecture Government the total visitor number to Hiroshima city reached 58,930,000 million in 2012[210].

There are two World Heritage sites in the prefecture: the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome[211]) and the Itsukushima Shinto Shrine. These sites are 25 kilometres from each other and were put on the List in the same year, 1996. The first one has an unparalleled status stemming from its very nature – being the only site to witness the unprecedented destructive forces of technological advances of modernity, the nuclear atom bomb. The other one contrasts and is a representative of the creative forces of old times and tradition, having the status of a holy place of Shinto. Looking at the two nearby sites we realize that not all heritage is about the 'good', the 'beautiful' or 'great' but that it can be also 'negative' or 'uncomfortable' in certain ways.

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[207] With 1,178,000 inhabitants Hiroshima ranks as the eleventh most populated city in Japan.
See [http://www.citymayors.com/gratis/japanese_cities.html], (retrieved 4/3/2014).
[208] There are 313 manufacturing, 75 information communication and 29 wholesale industries in the Hiroshima Prefecture. See [http://www.jetro.go.jp/en/invest/region/hiroshima/icinfo.html],
(retrieved 4/3/2014).
[209] See 'Hiroshima atomic bomb attraction more popular then ever' by Richard S. Ehrlich for CNN at: [http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/01/travel/hiroshima-peace-museum/], (retrieved 27/1/2015).
[210] The Hiroshima Official Site of Prefectural Government,
[http://www.pref.hiroshima.lg.jp/site/toukei/doukou-index.html], (retrieved 21/1/2013).
[211] It is a skeletal dome, the ruins of what had been the Industrial Promotion Hall which the people of Hiroshima began spontaneously calling the Genbaku Dome, literally, Atomic Bomb Dome.

Although UNESCO heritage, identified through the World Heritage List, is ostensibly depoliticised, in the case of Hiroshima we see that cultural heritage can also be political at both the global and the local levels. This documents the inscription process of the Hiroshima site on the World Heritage List. The site can evoke memories of World War II and remind some of us of the historic split of society rather than its unity. The US and China objected to the designation of Hiroshima during its nomination process. Quite ironically the memorial that should have symbolised peace became a political battleground for some time as various groups ascribed various values to the site[212]. We will get to this matter in more detail later in this chapter when discussing the inclusion of Hiroshima on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Figure 11 Atom-bomb Dome, the symbol of Hiroshima.

However, the Atom Bomb Dome of Hiroshima has became a symbol of peace and a memento of the dread nature of nuclear weapons for future generations. Such a proclamation had already been adopted as a new strategy for the city by 1949 when Hiroshima was declared a 'peace city'. Ever since then the city has been working under the theme of 'creating peace'. In general its stated goal was the realization of true global harmony and its activities were meant to be focused on contributing to international peace. The recent city strategic plan, 'Hiroshima for Global Peace', states Hiroshima's role and mission in the world as: to bring about a peaceful international society without nuclear weapons[213]. In an effort to do so the municipality holds an annual peace festival, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony, on the day that the city was destroyed and during which the mayor of Hiroshima delivers a speech, the Peace Declaration. Students

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[212] Omland (2006: 253).

[213] See [http://www.pref.hiroshima.lg.jp/soshiki/232/globalpeaceplan-e.html], (retrieved 29/1/2015).

and research teams are welcomed at the Institute for Peace Science at Hiroshima City University and at the new United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) The Hiroshima office operating in the city focuses on training sessions in global peace and development.

According to public opinion surveys the Japanese public of today is still deeply split in their assessment of both the character and conduct of the war and its consequences[214]. Nevertheless, extensive anti-nuclear and anti-military sentiments, are present not only in Hiroshima but also throughout Japan, developed, according to Hashimoto, with a strong emphasis on the victimhood of the Japanese in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and in hundreds of other air raids. In order to overcome Hiroshima, Japan became a respected ,pacifist nation. Following this logic Hiroshima can be understood as a part of the Japanese moral recovery.

5.1 Contexts

Japan is a big country in terms of population and overall geopolitical and economical importance and is, without a doubt, one of the best known countries in the world. An intensive agricultural pattern has permitted Japan to maintain a larger population than any other Western European nation ever[215]. Located in the Pacific Ocean, the country comprises an island nation in the East Asian civilization zone, closely related to Koreans and Chinese. Its geographic isolation led to a cultural and linguistic distinctiveness which spared the country from any conquests and resulted in greater peace and the production of a remarkably distinctive way of life. In spite of the popular concept of the Japanese as a race of borrowers and imitators, which might be perhaps best applied to modern industrial and technical developments, however, the fundamental features of daily life and religion are unique. This is thanks to its extraordinary ethnical homogeneity[216] Japan also hasn't had to cope with any kind of national issues and in general the Japanese are commonly considered highly self-conscious.

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[214] Hashimoto (2011: 242).
[215] Reischauer (2004: 5).
[216] Ethnic Japanese make up at least 98 % of the total population. During the decades following the Meiji restoration (1868) there were large flows of immigration and especially emigration. Many Japanese emigrated to South and North American countries. As part of the Japanese imperial expansion and the colonial project there was government-assisted emigration to Latin America. After Japan's colonial takeover of Korea in 1910 a big number of Koreans were forced to resettle in Japan - by the end of World War II there were about 2,000,000 million Koreans in Japan. See: Bucerius & Tonry (2014: 740).

Popular perspectives see Japan as an expensive country with a lack of space and an excess of people who are considered to be very friendly, punctual, extremely hygienic and obsessed with futuristic, weird technology. Associations that come along and stand out as unique and very famous worldwide are those of the samurai culture and the moral codex of warriors and the geisha lady companion culture.

Cultural, historical and geographical specifications.

Japan originated in the 5th century AD as a priest-chief state which later developed into an imperial line and clan society based on hierarchy and aristocratic mounted warrior groups. The religious beliefs of Shinto developed in this setting with an emphasis on ritual purity. Objects of worship were places where people felt a sense of awe. These became cult spots and eventually Shinto shrines that, today, dot the Japanese landscape in the thousands. Recently Shinto has centered around a devotion to nature, fertility, a reverence for ancestral deities, a sense of communication with them and the spirits of nature[217]. Acceleration in the rate of learning from the continent, especially from China, could be detected as early as the 6th century, particularly through the introduction of the Buddhist religion. Clans shrank into insignificance and court ranks gained importance instead. A heavy flow of Chinese influences which, however, were changed to fit Japanese needs, led to the double heritage of today: It also led to the heritage of the native culture of early Japan and to the heritage of the higher civilization of Classical China.

The transition from imperial to feudal institutions had occurred by the end of 12th century and Japan happened to be the only close and fully developed parallel to Western feudalism. For a long period of time Japan remained a feudal, agrarian society ruled by a private military government of shōgun. Japanese feudalism was to survive until the mid 19th century and still persists in the strong master-discipline and boss-client relationships in certain areas of present-day Japanese society[218].

Japan's history is characterized by influences coming, mainly, from China, followed by periods of isolation, particularly from Western European influence. The last period of isolation started in the early seventeenth century when the 'law of closed doors' decreed death to all intruders. The US caused a sudden collapse in the Japanese policy of isolation in 1853 when the country had no choice but to sign a collaboration treaty under military pressure. This brought about the Meiji revolution which led to the piecemeal adoption of Western institutions - in theory imperial rule was restored but, in praxis, the feudal structure was abandoned and models of innovation from the contemporary West were introduced. In its unwilling opening to the West, the Japanese saw a road to a semi-

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[217] Reischauer (2004: 15).
[218] Reischauer (2004: 47).

colonial status therefore they were fearful of foreign loans and thus Japan lifted itself economically through its own resources. Japan stands alone as a major non-Western nation which has made the full transition to a modernized society and economy with little turmoil and extraordinary success. Japan was perhaps, to a certain extent, seen as a backward nation, behind the West, but only in technology. On the contrary, however, in certain ways it was ahead – e.g. in group coordination, in cooperation skills, a strong work ethic and a drive for education[219].

The country is made up of a chain of islands having sea and seaside landscapes as an important spatial element in its geography. Mountains that comprise three quarters of the land have the same importance. Thanks to its volcanic character, thousands of natural hot springs (called onsen) are scattered around the country and represent a very unique cultural phenomena. According to the Shinto religion, the mountains represent a sacred type of space where it is possible to come into contact with 'kami' (a Shinto deity), and to pursue spiritual meditation. The Japanese have a very strong relationship to nature, in general, because they tend to see all nature in relation to God.

The mountains in Japan are densely forested and cover about 70% of the land area which leaves limited space in lowland areas where the majority of Japanese live. Such morphology leads to an extra high population density and short distances between settlements create an extended populated zone, without sharp boundaries and permeated by rice fields or other agricultural areas. High concentrations of people almost everywhere, except in the mountains, gives people the impression that Japan is overpopulated which is valid, especially in the cities.

Roland Barthes's (1982) comments on Japanese space are interesting and characterize it as unsorted and based on different principles to the ones acknowledged in the West. If we take a look at the ground plan of a Japanese town or city we realize that it does not show signs of symmetry and there are no street names, which means numeric addresses are used instead. Train stations are the most important landmarks in current Japanese cityscape/townscape and they have several functions – they serve as leading orientation markers and as the location for public buildings and services. Traditionally city landmarks were the shrines, temples, gates and bridges which are still present in today's Japanese cities but most of them do not function in this way anymore. Typical Japanese architectural heritage is found in the scenery in the form of a countless number of Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples that seem to outnumber churches in Europe. There are some castles but its number is definitely smaller than in Europe. There are a lot of gardens which are representatives of originality and showcase the very popular Japanese art of

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[219] Reischauer (2004: 113).

gardening. There are also a few technical monuments, however, one will not find any of the typical heritage of the West, such as squares, fountains, city halls or towers.

Heritage perception and institutional framework

The Japanese way of perceiving heritage is, in certain ways, different from what people are used to in Europe where, traditionally, the age of a monument and the authenticity of its material are highly appreciated. In Japan these values do not seem to have such importance. Much more relevant for them, in appreciating a site, is whether it is kept under the same conditions as it used to be in the past. Which does not necessarily mean the material has to be identical. The important thing is that, in cases where old material has been replaced with new, it is done exactly the same way it had been done originally. So, keeping and following the tradition of its creation kind of equals having the monument be of the same age as the age of the technique or the age of the original material. Therefore we might consider the concept of authenticity rather different: in the West authenticity is considered mainly based on its material dimension, but in Japan authenticity is seen in its spiritual and intellectual aspects too. So it is not only the material, but also the way of doing, which gives the material its form and relevant value. Such a perception stands in the background of the Japanese ideas and concepts of intangible heritage that were adopted by UNESCO in 2003.

Very typical for the Japanese is a desire to preserve an atmosphere. This aim may be seen as a spiritual aspect in the search for authenticity and thus also considered as one of the key functions of Japanese heritage. To illustrate let's discuss the Kōbe Earthquake Memorial Monument which remembers the Great Hanshin Earthquake disaster of 1995. Part of it is a former pier left in a torso state in order to capture the very special authentic atmosphere of that past moment and to let visitors feel and experience it. Actually the same principle was applied much earlier inside the Peace Memorial Park in Hiroshima where the former exhibition hall, almost completely destroyed during the atomic bombing, was kept intact and also in its torso state.

I believe one of the main functions of a heritage site for the Japanese is to evoke a sense of authenticity. Together with the value of tradition, authenticity seems to be of key importance. The fundamental intention is thus to capture a historical/past atmosphere and a feeling of authenticity.

There is a very close mutual rapport between heritage, religious thoughts and nature in Japan. As mentioned earlier, the Japanese have a very strong connection to nature to which they connect god powers called kami. Belief in kami is a part of everyday life and Shintoism defines kami as anything spiritual and superior to humans. It may be any kind of

115

existence that is marked by some significant quality, for example water, sun, trees, stones, waterfalls and other natural phenomena[220]. That is why, for example, very old and sacred trees or giant stones have been tagged by belting them with a huge white rope called a shimekawa which, to the Japanese, represents their heritage[221].

Besides the most traditional heritage, such as temples and shrines, there is a genuine Japanese type of heritage; Japanese garden art, which can trace its sources to the distant past and is unlike the Western phenomena of historical gardens. The original meaning of the Japanese word for garden, 'niwa', stands for, a 'gathering place of the gods'. Similarly, the perception of nature, in Japanese gardens, symbolizes a place where man can enter into a dialogue with the gods. Joy Hendry (2000) further explains Japanese garden art as: a cultural interpretation of nature which is wrapping and holding in wild nature, catching it and representing it in a miniature form. One of the traditional Japanese gardens is also inscribed on the WH List[222].

Considering heritage preservation, the Japanese feel a strong commitment to heritage and a responsibility for the conservation and prosperity of a site that has been inherited from their ancestors. The present-day Japanese government's heritage institution, the Agency for Cultural Affairs, has as its logo a so called tokyō, which is an element of Japanese architecture and stands for the continuity in time of cultural property protection.

Figure 12 A sign for tokyō.

Heritage has been protected for over a thousand years in Japan thanks to different agents and to the heritage protection system carried out by the national government which has been in effect for more than a 150 years. The original purpose of government heritage protection was to rescue possessions from the declining aristocracy and temples[223]. The

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[220] Knotková-Čapková (2005).
[221] Boháčková & Winkelhöferová (1987).
[222] In was enlisted in 2011 as; 'Hiraizumi: Temples, Gardens and Archaeological Sites Representing the Buddhist Pure Land'. It comprises five sites, including a garden with a design unique to Japan, a combination of the indigenous Japanese nature worship of Shinto and of the Buddhist pure land concept.
[223] Kakiuchi (2014: 1).

Meiji government started heritage protection efforts in 1871 by enacting a state decree, the Proclamation for the Protection of Antiques and Old Properties. Prefectures, shrines and temples were ordered to compile a list of important buildings and art treasures which were meant to be protected[224]. Since the 1880s the Japanese government has been allocating funds for the preservation of ancient shrines and temples[225]. The first systematic law for heritage preservation was made in 1897, the Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law, which established a system of governmental financial support for preservation and restoration. At the time of its enactment only a few European countries had similar legislation in place[226].

The 1950's Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties and its amendments specify eight categories of cultural property: 1) tangible heritage meaning structures and works of art or craft, 2) intangible cultural properties in the sense of performing arts and craft techniques, 3) folk materials, both tangible and intangible, 4) historic, scenic or natural monuments 5) cultural landscapes, 6) groups of traditional buildings such as merchant quarters, ports, castle towns, mining towns, farming or fishing villages etc., 7) buried properties such as tombs, caves or ruins and 8) conservation and restoration techniques. Designation as a cultural heritage property can occur at a national, prefectural or municipal level resulting in diverse status values. The law designates a special category of 'National Treasures' for Japan's most precious heritage, that which shows outstanding workmanship, has a high value for cultural history or is of exceptional value for scholarship. About 20 per cent represent structures such as castles, Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines or residences and the remaining are mostly in the form of paintings, scrolls, works of calligraphy, sculptures, pottery, carvings, metal works, swords or archaeological and historical artefacts.

A particularity of the traditional Japanese way of heritage preservation is the habit of periodically rebuilding some of the bigger and more important Shinto shrines which continued until the end of the Edo period (1868) and still persists at the most important Shinto shrine in Ise which is ritually rebuilt every twenty years. This habit is mainly considered to have its origins in the Shinto concept of purity[227]. When rebuilding a shrine it must be done in exactly the same way as it was originally, maintaining traditional

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[224] Coaldrake (2002).

[225] Jokilehto (2002).

[226] Such as: England, France, Greece, Germany, Italy or other countries in the Austrian monarchy.

[227] It is possible to presume this original habit to also be affected by Japanese climate conditions. Due to hot humid summers traditional wooden constructions decay at a fast pace. Inasmuch the Japanese consider architecture to be part of the natural world, they do not assume buildings can last for ages. They understand their collapsing as an essential part of a natural cycle of rotting wood going back to the ground. Thus when a building starts to go bad the Japanese built another one and they might even consider the new one to be better which is something that again relates to the concept of purity.

technologies and materials. It is done so for the sake of conserving authenticity which, for the Japanese, represents the immediate simulation of past times. As described already, the Japanese perception of authenticity is expressed through meaning of verity rather than through the reality of originality. Therefore the Japanese point of view is closely associated with the idea of the immaterial, or so-called intangible and movable heritage. The Japanese believe that it is not only the material that preserves heritage value but also the ways and techniques that give material its form.

Joining UNESCO

In Japan UNESCO is seen as a very influential organization which has enabled the country to recover from defeat and rebuild its position in the spheres of education, science, and culture. Movements to promote Japan's membership in UNESCO began among private citizens and as it gained strength, a Diet Member's Union for UNESCO was formed to lobby for Japan's affiliation. With support from both the people and the government Japan was accepted into UNESCO in 1951, prior to the formal termination of the US Occupation. The following year the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO started work. Japan plays an active role in the organization and I see it is as a significant transformation agent in UNESCO[228]. Quite surprisingly though Japan accepted the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage quite late, in 1992.

Japan has nineteen sights on the WH List composed of fifteen cultural and four natural that were inscribed between 1993 and 2015. Such a number is significantly above the List's average. Among inscribed cultural heritage the majority is represented by Shinto and Buddhist shrines, temples, gardens and other monuments in: Kyōto, Itsukushima, Nikkō and the Nara area. Besides this architectural heritage there are the two historical villages of Shirakawa and Gokayama which are also included. Archaeological heritage is represented by the Hiraizumi site. As cultural landscape and a mix of natural and cultural heritage Mount Fuji and the pilgrimage routes in the Kii mountains are enlisted. In the industrial heritage type there are 3 inscriptions: a historical silver mine in Iwami, a silk mill in Tomioka and sites of the Meiji industrial revolution in multiple locations on the Honshū and Kyūshū islands. Last but not least on the list is the peace memorial in Hiroshima.

What is missing from the list of inscriptions is an example of a common category of urban heritage in terms of a historical town centre. This is mainly due to regularly occurring earthquakes which did not allow towns and cities to maintain their original historical forms due to constant re-constructions and developments in urban ground plans.

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[228] Japan has been an initiator to several important discussion within the UNESCO framework, e.g. regarding the intangible values and character of heritage. Japan is also a generous donor. In 1975 the United Nations University was established in Tokyo thanks to the Japanese government which contributed US $100 million. It also runs Japanese Funds in a Trust for the preservation of world cultural heritage.

The big number of twenty-one properties of Japanese intangible heritage inscribed on the List of Intangible Heritage makes Japan the second country after China with the highest number of total intangible heritage inscriptions among the member states[229]. Perhaps no wonder, when we recall that the intangible aspects of heritage are, for Japanese, of the same importance as the tangible ones are. Moreover, it was they who brought up the topic of intangible heritage at UNESCO World Heritage discussions and became its leading promoters.

Regarding the properties submitted to the Tentative List, Japan, on one hand, keeps holding to the original strategy of nominating the most traditional and popular Japanese heritage, such as temples, shrines, castles, gardens or archaeological sites, on the other hand, it is in line with a new trend of proposing underrepresented and wanting types of heritage, like industrial, technical or modern architecture heritage.

5.2 The site

Hiroshima is of great emotional significance to the Japanese like no other site. The events that took place here not only underline the national but also the international importance of the city and the World Heritage status that was gained in 1996. Earlier, in 1980, Hiroshima obtained a 'designated city' status. Since 1956 this status has been given by the government to twenty Japanese cities with populations greater than 500,000. Designated cities come under Local Autonomy Law and in practice they are delegated many of the functions normally performed by prefectural governments in fields such as public education, social welfare, sanitation, business licensing and urban planning. Since the time Hiroshima city gained these powers, the 'peace city' status and its attributes, the city's strategic orientation and planning and the city's presentation have been created and managed mainly at the local city level.

Geological features of Hiroshima and its surroundings include sea, islands, rivers, valleys, plains, and highlands – except the mountains and volcanoes there are all of the natural elements that can be found in Japan. 'All Hiroshima is one vast graveyard. On every corner in the townships throughout the city there are memorial monuments'[230], is how Kenzaburō Ōe described Hiroshima in 1965 adding that 'Hiroshima no longer looks like a ghost town at dawn, it is now an active city, with the largest number of bars in Japan'[231].

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[229] Inscribed Japanese intangible properties are mainly traditional folk performing arts such as ritual dances, parades or rituals, traditional technologies and traditional types of theatre.
[230] Ōe (1995: 36).
[231] Ōe (1995: 29).

In 2010 I had the same feeling when visiting the city.

Besides the Peace Memorial site, which by all means tops Hiroshima's points of interest, other noteworthy cultural heritage sites located in the city are: Hiroshima castle, Fudoin temple, Shukkeien garden or the Memorial Cathedral for World Peace.

The Hiroshima castle was originally built in 1591 and was named a National Treasure in 1931 only to be destroyed by the atomic bomb during the war not so many years later. In 1958 it was decided to reconstruct the severely damaged castle. The Fudoin temple is the oldest remaining temple in the city built in the middle of the fourteenth century in the rare medieval 'kaga' architectural style. It is located in the outskirts of the city and its main hall is dedicated to a statue of a sitting Buddha. It is the only designated National Treasure in Hiroshima today. The historic garden of Shukkeien displays many features of the traditional aesthetics of Japanese gardens. It has a long history dating back to the beginnings of the seventeenth century, just after the completion of Hiroshima castle. The garden served a feudal lord and for a brief period of time the Japanese emperor lodged there when present in Hiroshima during the war with China (1894-1895). Being only a short walk from the epicentre, the garden was destroyed by the atomic bomb. It was reopened to the public in 1951 however restoration was still in progress until 1974.

In 1920 a small community of four German Jesuit priests was sent to Hiroshima on a mission. They built a Jesuit Church dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption and a Jesuit Rectory in the city where the Catholic population was only about two hundred people. The church was heavily damaged by the bombing but this heritage was also rebuilt in 1954 as a cathedral devoted to the memory of the Atomic Bomb victims and as a symbol of love and peace for all nations. This new catholic church was called; Hiroshima Memorial Cathedral for World Peace.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) site registered on the WH List is situated in the very centre of the city, at the place of the atomic bomb detonation. The main part of the site is formed by the Peace Memorial Park that was built on a vast, open field of ashes created by the explosion. The park accommodates an extensive number of memorials and monuments, statues, towers, gates, dozens of memorial trees, a cenotaph, a pond, a museum, a memorial hall and a conference centre. Before the bombing this place was a busy downtown commercial district. Currently the park is visited by over a million visitors every year[232]. A symbolic dominant of the park is the monumentalized ruins of what is today called the Atom Bomb Dome or the Genbaku Dome. These artificially preserved remains are of what once was an Industry Promotion Hall and are a

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[232] See [http://www.pref.hiroshima.lg.jp/site/toukei/doukou-index.html], (retrieved 17/2/2015).

symbol of Japan's early-twentieth-century imperial modernity, They were saved thanks to preservation construction projects held in 1967 and 1989.

Memorial heritage

Edward Linenthal (1996) offers us three working hypotheses regarding memorial heritage matters: 1) the finished product (memorial) in no way captures all the behind the scenes drama; 2) memorial construction will always be controversial; 3) controversy surrounding memorial heritage does not mean that something is wrong, rather that unsettled memory work is taking place. While discussing various topics relating to the Hiroshima site we will see how all the three hypotheses are valid in this case.

It is often the practice of remembrance, generally said to be a crucial element of the healing process, which leads to the creation of memorial heritage. In Hiroshima, this practice of remembrance (commemoration) is closely connected to the peace processes. Even though the memorial heritage landscape usually documents the suffering of the community serving to invoke the fear in the collective that violence remains a real threat[233], in the case of Hiroshima this course is meant to lead to the ultimate goal which is the realization of the necessity of peace.

Approaches to presenting and interpreting troubled pasts are different. 'Taking a lesson from history' is a frequently invoked argument. Hiroshima as an example of an approach to presenting and interpreting a troubled past that is no exception to this rule. 'Taking a lesson from history' is one of the central arguments in the interpretation of this memorial heritage. Winners and losers remember wars differently. Japan's long-standing problem was the narration of the Asia-Pacific war still brings up divisive questions, debates and unresolved emotions. The wartime generation experienced a complete inversion of the moral order in 1945 when the US Occupation brought a new 'truth' that changed the right war into the wrong war. Immediately after the war Japanese guilt was defined explicitly in the Tokyo war crimes tribunal (1946-1948) by the Allies. Since then Japanese history has been frequently renamed, redefined and reinterpreted and has brought up issues of credibility and revisionism[234]. In this setting individuals ventured diverse positions: from being victims of brutal American war actions, to claims of never making the same mistake of starting a war again or to being victims of (Japanese) an imperial war.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park brings us to the issue of 'negative heritage'. There are a few cultural sites on the WH List associated with negative memories such as the

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[233] Mc Dowell, S. & Braniff, M. (2014).
[234] Hashimoto (2011: 240).

Auschwitz Birkenau concentration camp, the Island of Gorée, the Robben Island and the Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site in the Marshall Islands. All these sites were inscribed and treated as peace memorials within the World Heritage framework in order to avoid open politicization by discussing negative aspects. Using the 'peace' clarification was seen to stimulate a harmonious overall interpretation of the shared heritage of humankind[235].

Throughout history certain ruins have impressed people so much so that they have left them without any interventional reconstruction. These ruins have become mythical symbols as well as romantic ones in some cases and in some periods of time. Ruins introduced a whole new topic into heritage preservation. They were handled as visualizations of turning points in history in public spaces and valued for their double beauty derived from both the man and the nature[236]. Reasons for conserving ruins vary. In the case of war ruins, these are typically left for moral purposes as object lessons. Common for war ruins is the evocative atmosphere they possess and the damage to the buildings might even appear picturesque to visitors[237]. That is why such sites can become places of great emotional significance to future generations.

Hiroshima memorial heritage is formed by the dialectics of a bombed city and a peace city within the same urban space. Ergo the central figure of Hiroshima's memorial heritage, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park which stands in the paradoxical situation of being commemorated as the place of the first use of an atomic bomb on a living target and at the same time as a so-called mecca of peace. The usage of the memorial heritage of Hiroshima has, from its very beginnings, tended to be apolitical and is especially committed to the promotion of the idea of peace.

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park features a central site of remembering the past and is located in an 'empty city centre' on the banks of the Motoyasu river. What can an 'empty' city centre imply? Perception of empty space is culturally determined. Unlike Westerners, to the Japanese the idea of emptiness is not connected with nothingness. An empty space in Japan usually carries meaning and some invisible content. An empty space is of special importance and is generally connected to something sacral and intangible.

The Hiroshima park gives evidence of how remembering takes its place in space and time. The park originated on the basis of a new construction law from 1949 in which the city was declared a memorial city of peace that aimed at keeping a living memory of the tragic

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[235] Vahtikari (2012: 168).
[236] Pane (2011: 55).
[237] Supposedly Japanese government agencies became aware of such an effect when the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park received a designation as a National Place of Scenic Beauty in 2007.

event and at the same time proclaim ideas of peace[238]. The park, designed by Tange Kenzō in 1949, was situated in the vast, totally devastated area around the epicentre of the explosion and was built between 1950 and 1964 in order to commemorate the victims of the Hiroshima bombing. Due to the fact that the US occupation administration established a censorship on the atom bombing formulation, the new Peace Memorial City Construction Law had to be carefully formulated. It was explained that the terms 'commemoration' and 'memorialization' were not by any means intended to imply bitter memories or any negative spirit but instead referred to constructing a future-oriented symbol of peace[239].

Inside the huge park area of about 120,000 m^2 there are tens of individual memorial sites. The Genbaku Dome (Atomic Bomb Dome) is the most prominent. The remains of a former industrial exhibition hall have become a memorial icon of war tragedies known all over the world. The Dome has become a central figure and a symbol of the city, it could also be called the city trademark. Among Hiroshima's memorial sites, the Dome is one of the most frequented but the question of preserving it was discussed for quite a long time. There were different opinions about whether to save it or not and the Dome's status as an artificially preserved ruin remained unstable until the late 1960s. Public opinion was divided, some people said that it had to be kept for the sake of future generations as a reminder of the horrors of the war and as a memorial to the bombing. Others were calling for the removal of the ruin because it evoked too many painful memories. A number of action groups appeared collecting signatures either for or against its preservation. During the national fundraising campaign to preserve the Dome, survivors were less supportive however, the municipality recognized its symbolic capital[240]. Eventually, in 1966 the city council decided the Dome should be permanently preserved and the following year preservation work was carried out.

In contrast to this period, public consensus about maintaining the Dome ruin has dominated since the late 1980s. According to Yoneyama[241] , it was mostly because the Dome had acquired central status in the Hiroshima memoryscape over the previous decades. Secondly, preservation work, as a precaution against collapse, was carried out in 1989-1990, again thanks to a public fundraising campaigns although this time major hibakusha associations and antinuclear groups were involved. In 1996 the A-bomb Dome was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List for its extraordinary worldwide universal values as a symbol of the peace movement and the effort to ban nuclear weapons. Hiroshima memorial heritage and especially the A-bomb Dome as a

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[238] Shinoda (2008: 8).
[239] Yoneyama (1999: 19).
[240] Yoneyama (1999: 70).
[241] Yoneyama (1999: 70).

museumized object with attributes of sacredness and transcendence became an officially designated site of memory for collectively shared (both on a national and global level) legacy of catastrophe[242].

The Memorial Monument for Hiroshima, known as the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims or the A-bomb Cenotaph was one of the first memorial monuments built in the park, in 1952. The arch shaped cenotaph resembles the figure of an ancient house and contains in its stone chest and underground storage a register of all those known to have died due to exposure to the A-bomb(Japanese as well as non-Japanese people's names). The front of the stone coffin placed under the arch reads; 'Please rest in peace; For we shall not repeat that mistake'[243]. Later on, in 1957, the Pond of Peace[244] was constructed encircling the cenotaph in order to make it seem as if it was floating up and out of the pond's water. At its northern edge the Flame of Peace was built in 1964 with donations from all over Japan. It was meant to symbolize the universal wish for a world free from nuclear weapons and its flame was to burn until all such weapons have disappeared from the earth. The Flame of Peace lies in a direct line between the cenotaph and the dome and is in the abstract form of two hands opening upwards symbolizing hope.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, also known as the A-bomb museum was first erected in 1955 and is together with the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Hall in one building in the central area of the memorial park. The Hall has been used as a place for peace study activities, meetings, A-bomb eyewitness testimonies and the showing of A-bomb documentaries. Before the museum was built, an 'A-bomb Memorial Hall' was set near the Central Public Hall which collected items from the disaster as important historical evidence. In 1990 the former memorial hall adjoining the memorial museum was abolished and the building was rebuilt to become the new Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum which was opened in 1994. The museum received designation as a National Important Cultural Asset in 2006.

The official current full name of the memorial hall is; the Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims. It was re-founded by the Japanese government and reopened in its own new building in 2002. It collects 'A-bomb Memoirs' of the survivors and registers names and photographs of the victims. The Hiroshima in-situ

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[242] Yoneyama (1999: 71).

[243] This epigraph caused one of the earliest public debates on the anonymity and universality of the remembering of Hiroshima's bombing. See Yoneyama (1999: 16), where she explains that 'the equivalent of the second lines's subject, 'we', does not exist in the Japanese original, and this absence of the grammatical subject, common in Japanese writing, has generated numerous debates about 'whose' and 'which' mistake the sentence ultimately refers to'.

[244] In 1964 the pond was altered to its current dimensions by increasing its width to 17 meters and its length to 70 meters out from the cenotaph. See Kosakai (2007: 52).

database contains about 100,000 written testimonies, 700 video testimonies and other 'peace study' sources such as film images or photographs before and after the bombing, topical literature etc. Names and photos of people who died in the bombing appear on large screens in order to understand the value of each individual life that was lost. This aspiration and motive is involved on a symbolical level again in the Hall of Remembrance where the number of tiles used to portray the city panorama corresponds to the number of people who died there during the bombing. In addition, the memorial hall also manages a global network (online database) where some of the testimonies are accessible online in 23 world languages.

One of the must-visit sites in the memorial park is the Children's Peace Monument which is packed with thousands and thousands of origami paper cranes which are a major symbol for Hiroshima second to the Dome. This memorial monument serves as a popular pilgrimage site for Japanese school children who come to visit Hiroshima with their schools from all over Japan. This monument is dedicated to the memory of Sadako Sasaki, a 12 year-old girl from Hiroshima who was diagnosed with 'atom bomb disease' in 1955 which was a local popular designation for leukaemia at that time. Because of an ancient Japanese story that promises that anyone who folds a thousand origami cranes will be granted a wish by the gods, Sadako started folding cranes. A popular version of the 'Sadako and the Thousand Cranes' story is that Sadako fell short of her goal, having folded only six hundred and forty-four before her death. So her friends continued to fold the cranes to complete one thousand. Since that time the tradition of people folding paper cranes developed. Paper cranes became a symbol for innocent victims of the war and visitors to Hiroshima bring their folded paper cranes with them and leave them at the monument or all around the memorial park to console the victims. They also symbolize hope for a peaceful future. Nowadays, the paper crane is internationally recognized as a symbol of peace and to this day it is probably the most recognized origami model all around the world and yet the majority of people do not know the story and meaning behind it..

As part of the memorial heritage of the park there is an enormous Fountain of Prayer, made possible by a donation from the Hiroshima Bank, which willingly participated in the creation of the memorial area, along with many other local agents and stakeholders such as local gas, coal or lumber companies, local public works, insurance or post offices and the local agricultural association. The fountain, which 'cries' water, was constructed in front of the memorial museum in 1964 and was dedicated to those who died in the bombing. According to Kosakai the fountain is considered to be one of the most beautiful in Japan[245].

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[245] Kosakai (2007: 55). It has an oval shape measuring 27 x 19 meters. It is equipped with 567 spray jets

After Hiroshima was bombed most of the trees and other vegetation was destroyed and rumour had it that nothing would grow there for at least 75 years. Some 170 trees bearing scars from the atomic bombing survived though and sent forth leaves. This is said to have given encouragement to the survivors and other Hiroshima residents. Over the following years, in the city of Hiroshima, tree experts and citizen volunteers tended the trees that had survived. Markers were placed by trees that had been exposed to the bomb within approximately 2km of the hypocentre and each bears a nameplate reading; *Hibakujumoku* (survivor tree). In 1951 the global community started sending tree seeds to Hiroshima upon the request of the former Dean of the University of Hiroshima. Sixty years later, in 2011, an initiative of UNITAR, with the support of the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation and the University of Hiroshima, started sharing A-bomb tree seeds worldwide. These Hiroshima memorial trees have become symbols of regeneration and reconciliation. Nowadays, seeds from these trees are growing in schoolyards around Japan, helping to convey Hiroshima's peace message.

Among the victims of the atom bombing were a significant number of Koreans, most of whom had been brought to Japan during the war for use as forced labour. For a long time they had no place within the memorial area and no memorial site in Hiroshima at all. In 1970 a separate memorial for the Korean victims of the bombing was erected outside of the Peace Memorial Park area. Why this absence of Koreans within Hiroshima's memorial site? Before being survivors of the bombing, they had been forced to resettle and work for imperial Japan. For this they acted as reminders and symbols of the injustice of the former military regime which no one wanted to remembered. The time for letting in this kind of memory did not come before the 1990s. In 1990 the municipality made a proposal to relocate the geographically marginalized Korean Memorial to the Memorial Park, but only after eliminating colonial reminders from the memorial[246]. It was not until 1999 that the Korean Memorial of Victims of Hiroshima was moved into the official territory of the park.

In 1989 the International Conference Centre in Hiroshima was opened in the memorial park on the site of the Hiroshima City Auditorium. The centre was meant to function as the main facility for international exchange activities and for promoting international understanding of world peace.

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sending water to a height of 10 meters and is capable of spouting 11 tons of water per minute. At night it is illuminated by 153 underwater lamps in 5 different colours.
[246] Yoneyama (1999: 25).

Figure 13   Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and its vicinity.

1   Honkawa Elementary School Peace Museum
2   Honkawa Bridge
3   Monument for the Volunteer Army Corps
4   Hiroshima Second Middle School A-bomb
5   Memorial Monument for the Hiroshima Municipal Commercial and Shipbuilding Industry
    Schools
6   Aioi Bridge
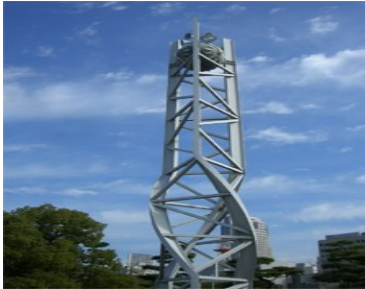
7   Peace Clock Tower
8   Peace Bell
9   Atomic Bomb Memorial Mound
10 Peace Stone Lantern
11 Monument in Memory of the Korean Victims of the A-bomb
12 A-bombed gravestone in the remains of Jisenji Temple

13   Merciful Goddess of Peace Kannon Memorial Monument for Nakajima Residents
14   Nakajima District A-bomb Disaster Marker
15   Peace Fountain
16   Children's Peace Monument
17   Rest House, the former Taishoya Kimono Shop
18   Flame of Peace

19   Pond of Peace
20   Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims
21   Monument of the Former North Tenjin Area
22   Monument to the Former Zaimoku-cho (city district)
23   Monument Dedicated to Sankichi Tōge (Hiroshima poet)
24   Phoenix trees

25   Monument of Zensonpo (All Japanese Casualty Insurance Labour Union)
26   Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum
27   Clock Commemorating the Repatriation of Those Who Chose to Return to Korea
28   Monument in Memory of Dr. Marcel Junod
29   Fountain of Prayer
30   Statue of Mother and Child in the Storm

31   Statue of Peace 'New Leaves'
32   Monument of the A-bombed Teachers and Students of National Elementary Schools
33   Friendship Monument
34   A-bomb Monument of the Hiroshima Municipal Girl's High School
35   Monument of the Former South Tenjin Area
36   West Peace Bridge

37   Peace Pagoda
38   Monument for staff of the Chūgoku and Shikoku Civil Engineering Branch Office Who Died on Duty
39   Monument of the Hiroshima District Lumber Control Corporation
40   Monument to Tamiki Hara (Hiroshima writer)
41   Memorial Tower to the Mobilized Students
42   Shima Hospital Disaster Marker

43   Motoyasu Bridge
44   Monument to the Employees of the Hiroshima Post Offices
45   Monument Dedicated to Construction Workers and Artisans
46   Hiroshima Monument for the A-bomb Victims
47   Monument of the Hiroshima Gas Corporation
48   Monument to the Employees of the Coal Control-Related Company

49   Monument for the A-bomb Victims from the Hiroshima Agricultural Association
50   Merciful Consoling Kannon for Mobilized A-bomb Victim Students
51   Gates of Peace
52   Monument to Mr. Norman Cousins (American world peace advocate)
53   Monument Commemorating Pope John Paul II's Appeal for Peace
54   Peace Watch Tower

55   Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims
56   Memorial Monument for Barbara Reynolds (American world peace activist and educator)
57   International Conference Centre
58   Literary Monument Dedicated to Miekichi Suzuki (Hiroshima novelist)
59   Monument to the Old Aioi Bridge
60   Monument of Prayer

61   Peace Cairn
62   Statue of a Prayer for Peace
63   Flower clock
64   Peace Tower
65   Hair Monument
66   Memorial Monument for the Hiroshima Municipal Commercial School

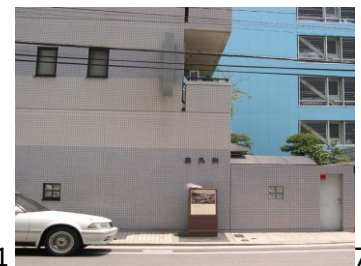

67   Hiroshima City Ground Zero Milestone
68   Prayer Monument for Peace
69   Haiku Prayer Monument for Peace
70   Red Cross Hospital Monument
71   Peace Boulevard
72   Hypocentre of the A-bomb explosio

So far only the tangible part of Hiroshima's memorial heritage has been considered. But there also exists an intangible part represented by the oral history and testimonies of the survivors, the so-called 'A-bomb literature'. Kenzaburo Ōe, the Nobel prize laureate for literature, identified a whole new literary movement based on the 'new humanism sprouting from the misery of Hiroshima', that he himself was a part of . The two prominent survivor's associations for telling personal memories are the Atom Bomb Victim's Assembly for Witnessing and the Hiroshima Narrating/Relating Society founded in 1983-1984[247].

Inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List

The 'Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Genbaku Dome' was nominated by Japan to be included on the WH List in September 1995. The state party suggested the Dome to be a monument (in terms of the categories of property set out at the WH Convention) but it did not make any proposals concerning the criteria under which the property should have been inscribed.

Prior to the state nomination, a Hiroshima local citizens groups initiated the A-bomb Dome registration discourse in 1992 when Japan signed the World Heritage Convention. Initially, the government opposed the idea, stating that the Dome did not meet the requirements for World Heritage site status since it was not protected under the domestic Cultural Properties Protection Act. In response, the Committee to Promote the A-bomb Dome as a World Heritage Site was formed and in a nationwide campaign collected 1,653,996 signatures[248]. As a result, the Dome received the designation and the government submitted Hiroshima's nomination.

During the year 1993 the US had informally suggested that the Genbaku Dome should be part of a joint nomination together with the Trinity Site in New Mexico – the place where, as part of the Manhattan Project, an atomic bomb was first tested [249]on 16 July 1945. There was no clear collaboration between Japan and the US and it seemed the positions the two countries held towards the inscription of Hiroshima were controversial. Whatever the facts the Japanese proceeded alone with the Genbaku Dome nomination in 1995[250].

As Beazley mentions, there was considerable lobbying by the US against the inscription of the Dome because Americans were preoccupied with the way the Dome was to be

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[247] Yoneyama (1999: 86).

[248] Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Genbaku Dome (1998: 11).

[249] Beazley (2010).

[250] In this year Americans started a period of withdrawal from UNESCO (1984-2003). This decision did not lead to a suspension of their activities on the WH Convention though and they remained a Committee member. The question is how much these circumstances could have influenced the Japanese decision to proceed with the Hiroshima nomination file anyway.

presented to the world. Beazley interviewed Mr J. Reynolds, one of the members of the US delegation at the World Heritage Committee meeting in Merida Mexico in 1996, where the Hiroshima nomination was discussed. He stated that in order to protect the position of the US Administration with its veterans and the American public, he was required to make a statement against this nomination. At the same time Hiroshima was receiving positive consideration from the WH Committee the US delegate made a statement dissociating the US from the committee's decision.

> 'The United States is also disassociating itself from today's decision on whether or not to inscribe the Hiroshima Peace Memorial on the World Heritage List. The United States and Japan are close friends and allies. They cooperate on security, diplomatic, international and economic affairs around the world. The two countries are tied by deep personal friendships between many Americans and Japanese. Even so, the United States cannot support its friend in this inscription. The United States is concerned about the lack of historical perspective in the nomination of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial. The events preceding the United States' use of atomic weapons to end World War II are key to understanding the tragedy of Hiroshima. Any examination of the period leading up to 1945 should be placed in the appropriate historical context. The United States believes the inscription of a war site is outside the scope of the Convention. We urge the Committee to address the question of the suitability of war sites for the World Heritage List.'[251]

There was one more country that expressed reservations on the approval of the Hiroshima nomination - China. This country made a statement prior to the Committee making its decision though.

The main protagonists in this nomination process, Japan and America, had different views of how this nomination should be framed and of the symbolic status that should be attributed to it. The ways in which both nations have constructed Hiroshima in their national and communal histories and memories were different. Many in the US considered the dropping of the atom bombs as the defining act in ending the war [252]. On the other hand, the Japanese were suffering the aftermath of Hiroshima and as a defeated nation they were looking towards peace and reconstruction. It is the peace rationale that is the main message behind the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) nomination[253].

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[251] Annex V of the Nomination file 775.
[252] Hogan (1996).
[253] Beazley (2010: 47).

Eventually the Committee decided Hiroshima should be inscribed on the List, exceptionally, on the basis of criterion vi (see App. 1) alone as recommended by ICOMOS. Certainly Hiroshima represented a type of heritage which was not on the List. It was absolutely rare and outstanding.

The dissonance of the Hiroshima nomination was seen not only at the international level, but at national and local levels as well. One problem was that nowhere in the nomination documentation was there any mention of any nationalities, other than the Japanese, as victims of the bombing[254]. Then the memories of 'hibakusha' (survivors of the atomic bombing) were not taken into consideration since these did not conform to the commodification of Hiroshima to be seen exclusively as a city of world peace, looking only to the future, not to the past. Yoneyama suggests such memories were silenced by the dominant rhetoric of the Japanese government and subsequently globally legitimised by inclusion on UNESCO's WH List.

The Hiroshima nomination and inscription situation shows how UNESCO only extends to governments and how the representation of minority cultures and ethnic minorities can be undermined. It also illustrates how the World Heritage inscription can assist in the unwelcome homogenisation of cultural differences within the boundaries of a nation-state.

> 'Thus State Parties are able to manipulate heritage to meet their own ideologies and memory constructions while at the same time disempowering and subjugating the memories and heritages of minority groups.'
>
> Beazley (2010: 63)

Beazley proceeds even further in his judgement saying that 'the Hiroshima Peace Memorial nomination was wholly constructed and manipulated by State Parties and by ICOMOS to meet nationalistic and international diplomatic imperatives'[255].

The justification for nominating Hiroshima given by Japan reflected three criteria: 1) the Genbaku Dome is a witness to the first use of an atomic bomb in history, 2) the Genbaku

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[254] There was a considerable Korean minority present in Hiroshima at the time of the bombing. There are various estimations regarding the number of Koreans in Hiroshima on the day of the bombing. Yoneyama (1999: 152) states it was at least 45,000. The Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation suggests 32,000 – See Eyewitness Testimonies, Appeals from the A-bomb Survivors (2009): 151. After the inscription of Hiroshima on the WH List we can see it perhaps as an act of satisfaction when in 1999 the Korean memorial to the victims of Hiroshima, located originally on the far side of the river, was moved into the area of the Peace Memorial Park.

[255] Beazley (2010: 62).

Dome is the only building in existence carrying a physical image of an atomic bombing and 3) the Genbaku Dome is a universal peace monument calling for the elimination of nuclear weapons. In presenting the site the state party uses information about the physical appearance of the original building and of the remaining ruins. It describes the function of the original building as a commercial exhibition hall serving to promote local industrial production. The location, on the eastern side of the Motoyasu river in the city centre, is stated as well as the year of the decision to erect this building made by a prefectural assembly (1910), the year of initiation of the building works' (1914) and the year the building was completed (1915). The name of a Czech architect, Jan Letzel, is mentioned as the author of the building's design. The official name of the site from 1933 was declared to be; the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall.

Besides giving the physical parameters and historical background of the building's origins the event of the atomic bombing is very briefly described in terms of the time and date (8.15 am on 6 August 1945) of the explosion, the number of deaths (140,000) and it is pointed out that the Dome was the only building in the immediate vicinity of the hypocentre of the bomb blast left standing, even if in skeletal form. Who dropped the bomb or why is not discussed at all. Not even the context of the world war is given. The word 'American' or 'US' is absolutely missing in this presentation. When dealing with the issue of dead people nothing more than the formulation, of 'bomb', as having caused the deaths of 140,000 people, is used. There is no closer determination of whose deaths, the fact that they were Japanese (and Koreans), and the term 'victims' is not used. The interpretation of the event is as short and general as possible. The aspiration to avoid any kind of imaginable politicization is evident.

Next in Japan's presentation of Hiroshima to UNESCO are the comments surrounding the naming of the site; 'Genbaku Dome' (Atomic Bomb Dome). When reconstruction of the city began in 1966 the city council adopted a resolution declaring the Dome should be preserved in perpetuity. The Dome is indicated as the principal landmark of the Peace Memorial Park within which the Dome is situated. They actually proposed giving the site a buffer zone which comprises the whole area of the park. Even though the nominated site is only the Dome, somehow, an effort to present it as an integral part of the park and to consider the park as if it were a 'part of the deal' is present. Consequently, attention is also given to the presentation of the park. It is said that it was built between 1950 and 1964 and two other things are introduced in connection to the park - the Peace Memorial Museum and the annual Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony both of which are in the area of the park.

The ICOMOS evaluation report interprets the site in terms of its utmost qualities which lie in the remains of the building. On one hand this gives a testimony to the 'ultimate in human destruction' and on the other hand it communicates a message of 'hope for a continuation in perpetuity of world peace'. Basically the ICOMOS presentation goes along with the state party's arguments but its rhetoric is slightly different when it comes to the topic of the atomic bomb and the atomic bombing. ICOMOS does not involve this term, instead, in describing the cause of the ruins, phrases such as; 'human destruction' or 'atomic bomb blast' are chosen. It avoids, as well, the notion of, the 'elimination of nuclear weapons' from its presentation. As both the atomic bombs and the elimination of nuclear weapons are relevant political subjects ICOMOS erased all such words from the presentation in order to handle World Heritage issues purely apolitically.

ICOMOS gave a recommendation that, as there is no comparable building anywhere in the world, this property should be inscribed, exceptionally, on the basis of criterion vi alone and the interpretative frame was set as follows:

> 'The Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Genbaku Dome, is a stark and powerful symbol of the achievement of world peace for more than a half a century following the unleashing of the most destructive force ever created by humankind.'[256]

5.3 Past interpretations

The Japanese perception of past and the place of history in Japan have some distinct features to a Western observer. In their understanding of time the Japanese are influenced by Shinto and Buddhist ideas which believe that time is cyclic. The structure of time flow is one of a constant circulation of events. There are no causative relations organizing the time stream which are the core of the linear time conception typical for traditional Western philosophy. The suppression of the processional apprehension of time is the cause of understanding historical courses as an endless sequence of present moments with no given rapport to the past or the future.

A Japanese literary critic, Katō Shūichi, assumes Japan to be a nation living in the spatiotemporal dimensions of 'just now' and 'right here'[257]. On account of this time perception history more likely represents a sum of solitary moments than a compound unit. Rather than focus on the logic of the historical process the Japanese focus on the details of singularities. Although the popular approach to historical events is, to various degrees, influenced by these ideas the professional history in today's Japan commonly

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[256] Nomination file 775.
[257] Sýkora (2006: 41).

applies causative relation logic and interprets historical processes and events according to causative formula - along with Western historiography.

The Japanese tend to be aware of fate as a mover of the course of events. Popular interpretations of historical events as destiny relate to the Buddhist Carmine law of the revenge of actions which states that anything that happens is a result of previous actions and causes further consequences[258]. Fate may spontaneously occur in the cycle of time at anytime. From this background stems the ideas of some Japanese that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima was due to fate and was a consequence of Japanese actions such as starting the war. As 'evil begets evil', the wrong was reverted against Japan in the form of an atomic bomb which was understood as a punishment[259]. This is another aspect that should be taken into consideration in this matter. Buddhism does not doubt the normality of suffering saying the whole of existence is pain. Marcel Eliade believes that Buddhism gives the grief of historical events ordinary meaning. He perceives grief as unbearable only in situations when the cause remains unknown, once it has been revealed the grief becomes understandable and as such acceptable[260].

The role of history does not seem so important in the presentation of the city. It looks as if the city could do without it. It gives the impression that the past and its history are lying in the background and serve only as an argument for the peace movement, which is the real symbol of the new city identity. Most of the attention in presentations of Hiroshima is given to the atomic bombing and its aftermath. Presentations of this event change in respect to the different interpreters. The professional public of historians are mainly concerned with general circumstances and by the question of why the atomic bomb was used. Survivors have given personal testimonies of the event and of their after-lives. The municipality extracts from the aftermath and emphasizes local peace movements and images.

UNESCO's presentation of the site
Unlike other UNESCO cultural World Heritage sites Hiroshima does not only speak about the past but also about the future. It is concerned mainly with the future, being a warning of what might happen if atomic weapons are used again. But keeping in mind UNESCO's intentions, any negative, disjunctive or controversial notions are expected to be omitted from the presentation framework. As discussed earlier, UNESCO's aim is to interpret heritage issues purely apolitically.

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[258] Boháčková & Winkelhöferová (1987: 107).
[259] From interviews with Masao Nishimura.
[260] Eliade (2009: 84).

The brief introductory description of the Hiroshima heritage site presented on the UNESCO website is:

> 'The Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) was the only structure left standing in the area where the first atomic bomb exploded on 6 August 1945. Through the efforts of many people, including those of the city of Hiroshima, it has been preserved in the same state as immediately after the bombing. Not only is it a stark and powerful symbol of the most destructive force ever created by humankind; it also expresses the hope for world peace and the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons.'

We can see that the bomb/peace link is a cornerstone of the presentation. When speaking about the bomb part, which could easily be negatively perceived, the context of World War II is absent, as well as the fact that the bombing caused any deaths or the destruction of the city. There follows 'long' and 'historical' descriptions which present the site: as a place, as a symbol of world peace and as a preceding part of the world peace historical status. All of these circumstances were introduced in one sentence:

> 'The Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome), is a stark and powerful symbol of the achievement of world peace for more than half a century following the unleashing of the most destructive force ever created by humanity.'

The 'rest' of the presentation deals with factual information which is basically copied from the nomination file. It goes on, more or less chronologically, mentioning selected realities using the following words: the prefectural intention to build an exhibition hall in order to promote industrial production; the location of the new exhibition hall on the Motoyatsu riverbank; the designer of the building Jan Letzel; the name change to Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall in 1933; the explosion of the first atom bomb over Hiroshima on 6 August 1945 causing the deaths of 140,000 people; the Dome as the only building left standing near the hypocentre; the 1966 resolution that the Dome should be preserved in perpetuity; the Peace Memorial Park as a principal landmark laid out between 1950 and 1964; the Peace Memorial Museum in the park opened in 1955; the annual 6 August Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony held in the park; technical details of the original building (materials, height, layout etc.); distance from the hypocentre and degree of damage; description of the remains of the building. In conclusion, there is a copied statement from the ICOMOS evaluation on authenticity which is not open to challenge since the ruined structure stands exactly as it did and the only interventions made in order to ensure stability of the ruins have been minimal and comparable to work carried out on archaeological sites around the world.

Professional history frame

In the delta of the Ōta river, where Hiroshima is situated, there are several islands that have been moulded over time on which fishermen villages were originally found. In 1589 a castle was built on the largest of the islands and the place took on the name, 'hiroshima', meaning, literally, a large island. Hiroshima started gaining the appearance of a provincial castle town. Rivers and canals running through the town were used as roads for water transport. During the era of the Tokugawa shogunate (1609-1868), which was generally seen as a period of peace, the town lived through a tranquil period of development and prosperity and expanded around its castle complex. The modernization of the country followed by the Meiji restoration (1868) meant leaving behind the feudal clan system. In 1871 the Hiroshima fiefdom became the Hiroshima Prefecture. The castle town rapidly rose to a higher political position and grew to become one of the most important Japanese cities. The system of local administration was completely changed in 1889 and Hiroshima officially became a city[261]. Hiroshima was reborn as an economic and cultural city with a good harbour, ideally situated for military purposes. The city's military significance was increased over time and the city became a crucial army logistic base for overseas troops and one of the army's major headquarters which proved itself, during the First Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895), the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) and during the world wars.

During the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) the emperor relocated the Imperial General Headquarters to Hiroshima for eight months in order to be able to order his troops from there. During this period of time a temporary seat of congress was established in Hiroshima. and Supreme officials were present in the city which was experiencing the prestige of being a provisory capital.

The image of the city at the turn of the century and during the first decades of the 20th century was, apart from being a military city due to Hiroshima's physical position, also a modern city and a centre of education. In 1902 the city established the first university out of Tokyo. In the central area there were commercial and amusement districts full of theatres, cinemas, music halls, restaurants, coffee houses and shops which arose in the 1920s and soon became the most prosperous city area. Numerous rivers served as transportation and bridge constructions were of vital importance. Special attention was later given to the Aioi bridge which is constructed in the form of a letter T and which became a target of the atomic bombing. A specific feature of the city was a considerable Korean minority which began to migrate to Hiroshima in search of employment and education after Japan's colonial takeover of Korea in 1910. Moreover, under the National Manpower Mobilization Act which was also extended to Koreans, the Japanese

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[261] With a population of 83,387 at that time. See Kosakai (2007: 11).

government brought hundreds of thousands of Koreans to Japan for forced labour during WWII of which many were resettled in Hiroshima[262].

Hiroshima had grown into a modern, industrial, economic, educational and above all, a military city. Hiroshima was a major port and a military headquarters, and therefore a strategic target. The city and its citizens were fully engaged in a system of troop transportation to overseas battlefields. City factories were forced to change over form consumer production to military manufacturing which involved the labour of the Korean minority, women or students. From 1943 a great number of local civilians had been mobilized in demolishing works to create firebreaks in order to protect the city against fire in case of anticipated air raid bombings. It was mainly local citizens and students who were mobilized to do this work and who, at the time of the atomic bombing, were working mostly outdoors and near to the epicentre.

What preceded, and what happened during and after the atomic bombing is well documented. The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were something like the top news story of the twentieth century. The frequency of the warnings about the bombings and the continued abstinence of it brought about a rumour that the Americans were saving something special for the city. Due to several evacuation programs Hiroshima's population formed a wartime peak of 380,000 which had been reduced to about 245,000[263]. Out of these, a hundred thousand people had been killed in one blow and a hundred thousand more were hurt during the atomic bomb attack of 6 August 1945 which instantly destroyed almost all of the houses and buildings in Hiroshima and resembled total destruction[264]. The bomb exploded in the air six hundred meters over the city and the hypocentre was situated about one hundred and fifty meters from the A-bomb Dome. A few days later on 9 August the Americans dropped one more atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Nagasaki. The following day the Japanese emperor surrendered and for Japanese the war was over.

Several aspects are discussed by professional histories - technological, military, political and humane. The technological standpoint pays attention to the American Atom bomb program known as the 'Manhattan Project' which was initiated in 1939. The military perspective focuses on the possibility of a Soviet invasion of Japan after Germany's capitulation, which Stalin confirmed at the Yalta conference in 1945, as a decisive factor for the atom bombing and president Truman's arguments were on saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers by ending the war fast through the use of the

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[262] According to the figures from the 'Hiroshima Prefecture Statistical Report' there were 81,863 Koreans in Hiroshima in 1943. See Eyewitness Testimonies, Appeals from the A-bomb Survivors (2009: 150).
[263] Ōe (1995: 4).
[264] Hersey (1989: 25).

atomic bomb. The political angle concerns Americans who sought a way to gain a strong position in East Asia. Perhaps this is the most common viewpoint - the military weapon served mainly political reasons[265]. The humane point of view contemplates the justification of using atomic bombs on human targets.

For a long time the American perspective dominated the general academic discourse of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. It was said that the bombing helped to speed up the end of the war and as such it helped to save hundreds of thousand of lives – both of the American soldiers and of Japanese citizens and soldiers. Another interpretation element backed up the logic of the 'fast war end purpose'. Since the former Soviet Union would conceivably be intervening in Japan in the fall of 1945, the US, which was oriented towards limiting its influence, especially with regards to a possible postwar situation and potential Soviet presence in Japan, was looking for ways to avoid such a course of events. So ending the war fast was desired even more. A big number of historians also accepted and reproduced this perspective in Europe[266]. The mainstream of Japanese national historiography though remembers the atomic bombing of Hiroshima traditionally as a collectively experienced surrender and victimization[267]. Over time a more universalistic narrative on the bombing developed recording it as an unprecedented event in the history of humanity and in all kinds of ways it was also adopted into professional histories.

After the war, Hiroshima, as well as the whole of Japan, was under American occupation for seven years. The US occupation administration established a systematic censorship and the notions of the Hiroshima bombing were suppressed[268]. Under occupation restrictions people in Hiroshima had to keep silent[269]. Ever since 1945 Japanese people have been strongly anti militarist and pacifist, they no longer saw themselves as 'a warrior race but became the most passionate of pacifists'[270].

Debates about the future of the city arose shortly after the bombing. The A-bomb destroyed all levels of administration, transportation facilities, the communication system, journalism, offices, factories, private and public corporations, and all other facilities. The city centre, where the atomic bomb was dropped was totally destroyed, Nothing was left but a few ruins. According to the foreign news, the city was contaminated by radioactivity to such a degree that no one would be able to live there for the next seventy years[271]. For

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[265] Coulmas (2010: 20).
[266] Coulmas (2010: 88).
[267] Yoneyama (1999: 3).
[268] US policy included the so-called Press Code that called for legal restrictions on all publications and public debates about the bomb, regardless of their form. Yoneyama (1999: 20).
[269] Ōe (1995: 73).
[270] Reischauer (2004: 186).
[271] Kosakai (2007: 17).

the first few months it was not sure whether the city was going to be maintained or abandoned. However, quite soon, it was determined to preserve Hiroshima - the remains of what once used to be a city. It was decided that a torso of the former exhibition hall (today's Genbaku Dome), would be left alone. This decision was not unequivocal. There were some people who wanted to leave it in its original state as a heritage and memorial site but there were also those calling for its demolition because of the painful memories it evoked in them. On the day of the atomic bombing, the 6th of August 1946, the city held its first commemorative activity, the Peace Restoration Festival. It was a local community activity which was under occupation surveillance. Since 1947 the commemorative festival has been held by the Hiroshima mayor on August 6 every year in the area of the memorial park.

In the post-war period the promotion of peace became the main objective for Hiroshima. In keeping with the city's intention was the newly developing postwar ideology of Japan as a nation pursuing peace and democracy[272]. In the late 1940' the concept of 'peace administration' and the characterization of Hiroshima as the Peace Memorial City developed as both top-down and bottom-up activities. The public's idea that the municipality should be active in promoting world peace and culture was projected in the 1948 'Peace Memorial Construction Law', a new building act which passed the Japanese government and financially helped to rebuild Hiroshima as a 'peace city'. On the basis of this law the city centre was to be kept as a cleared area that was to be transformed into an exceptionally large green space of 122,100 m^2 functioning as a memorial park. The park was constructed over 14 years (between 1950 and 1964) on the basis of a design made by a Japanese architect, Tange Kenzō. In 1955 a museum and a documentation centre were opened to public.

Survivors of the bombing, the so-called hibakusha[273], lived in economic limbo for more than a decade after the bombings since the Japanese government (under the influence of the US occupation administration) made no special provisions for them until after a nationwide movement erupted in 1954, when a Japanese fishing boat, the Lucky Dragon Five, was exposed to radioactive fallout near the US nuclear test site at Bikini atoll[274]. Its cargo of irradiated tuna was brought to the Tokyo market. Shortly after this incident, housewives in Tokyo initiated a campaign to ban atomic bombs. This mass campaign succeeded in collecting over a million signatures and antinuclear sentiment emerged as a national consensus[275]. According to Yoneyama this popular mass movement, the nuclear protests of the World Conference against the A- and H-Bomb etc. paved the way to the

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[272] Gluck (2003).
[273] Literally meaning 'explosion-affected persons'.
[274] Hersey (1989: 92).
[275] Yoneyama (1999: 14).

nationalization of Hiroshima's memory.

Yoneyama suggests that medical discoveries of the effects of radiation and the notification of panhuman eschatology led to remembering Hiroshima from the position of humanity which gave Hiroshima a universal reference. The new administrative identity of Hiroshima as an 'International Peace and Cultural City' was outlined in 1970' in order to achieve the city's goal of rapid 'internalization'. The mayor of Hiroshima together with the mayor of Nagasaki played continuing roles in spreading the official message of peace and anti-nuclear proliferation. In 1969 Hiroshima was proclaimed a 'City of Peace' by the Japanese parliament. Several peace declarations had been made and the two mayors stood as the main representatives calling for an international agreement for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons.

> 'Nothing more eloquently illustrates the global workings of the ideology of nuclear universalism than the discursive production of post-bomb Hiroshima. In the years immediately following the end of the war, it was not self-evidently clear that as the site of the world's first nuclear destruction, Hiroshima would become a universal symbol of peace. By paying close attention to Hiroshima's transition from the A-bombed city to the so-called mecca of peace, we can see more clearly the necessarily unstable tie between two signs, 'Atom Bomb' and 'Peace', in the early postwar years.'
>
> Yoneyama (1999: 18)

Over the years, numerous peace and antinuclear movements, conferences, happenings, organizations, groups, institutes, foundations and such have been established in Hiroshima and also in Japan. Until 1963 the organization at the forefront of the national anti nuclear campaign was the Japanese Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs[276]. This movement against A- and H-Bombs was split at the political level and remains divided[277]. In the field of survivors and their health issues there were two important organizations to be recognized: the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC) founded to study atomic bomb diseases, causes of death, and to offer treatment to A-bomb victims and the Japan Confederation of A-bomb and H-bomb Sufferers Organizations (JSCO) which urged the Japanese government to enact a law for the relief of A- and H-bomb victims[278]. In this context a somewhat significant event was the 'Hiroshima Maidens affair' that helped to popularize the topic of survivors problems. The Hiroshima Maidens were a group of girls whose faces had been disfigured by keloids caused by the bombing. They

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[276] Yoneyama (1999: 21).

[277] Ōe (1995). In Hiroshima city it is represented by the Hiroshima Prefecture Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

[278] Ōe (1995: 14).

were taken to the US for plastic surgery.

In 1967 a bureau, called the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation Center, was established within the City of Hiroshima in order to communicate facts about the bombing and to contribute to the promotion of peace and international understanding and cooperation. It was renamed in 1976 and is still known as; the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation. In the 1980s it started a survivor's organization, the Atomic Bomb Witness Organization, and began shooting the first atomic bomb witness videos which have been included on the Peace Database that was launched in 1995. Since 2002 and 2006 the foundation has operated both the Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Affiliated with the Hiroshima City University, the Hiroshima Peace Institute was founded in 1998 to focus on contributions to nuclear abolition and the achievement of sustainable global peace through academic research.

In situ presentations
The city of Hiroshima builds and presents a culture of peace. When we think of the overall presentation of the city's past within the Hiroshima area, whether we visit the Peace Memorial Museum or the National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims or we have a look at the inscriptions on the various monuments and memorials or we read the various panels and boards dispersed all around the city, a great emphasis is placed on the warning against the existence of atom bombs and on the proclamation of peace. The main message of these presentations is saying 'let us learn from the mistakes of our common past and let's strive for peace in any situation'. The prominent role of this message has been underlined from the very beginning by the globally known slogan and movement, 'No more Hiroshimas', established at the end of the 1940s. In order to keep the rhetoric apolitical there is another important message present: 'the war was a tragedy and it does not make sense asking who was guilty'. Thanks to the use of a central commemorative story they are able to tell the story of a 'peace city'. The image of a peaceful city is proclaimed from the start and only after that is the picture of a city which has experienced an atomic bombing offered. The creation of such a city image started in the post-war period as discussed earlier.

Figure 14 Welcoming board to Hiroshima.

On a welcoming board to Hiroshima the city presents itself to newcomers. It uses two pictures: one is a happy little boy with flowers in the lower right corner and the other is a dove in the opposite corner. The dove obviously represents peace. If we take a closer look at its wing, we see it is in the shape of a heart and it is red. A red heart is a symbol of love. The little smiling boy symbolizes a young and happy life and the flowers in his hands underline a fresh, new beginning. All together the message tells us that there is a new peaceful life full of love in Hiroshima.

Figure 15 Former and current city logos on the official website of the Hiroshima municipality.

In previous years Hiroshima's municipality used a picture of the Genbaku Dome with a colourful rainbow in the background as a logo on the city's website. The rainbow is a symbol of peace, new beginnings, a promise of things getting better and enlightenment. In Buddhism there is a strong connection to the rainbow. People experience 'rainbow body' when having achieved the highest meditative state by surpassing their earthly ties. The rainbow body phenomenon typically happens at the time of death and represents ultimate oneness. The three blue wavy lines in the upper left corner is the city emblem which was established in 1896. The three stripes were originally found on the banner of the Hiroshima Prefecture and have been slightly curved to represent the rivers that flow through the city. This city emblem as well as the Genbaku Dome is still in use in a newer

146

version of the city logo in which the rainbow has been replaced by doves and trees have been added – symbols of peace and of living in harmony with nature.

In the awareness of a breaking historical event typical thinking falls into the categories of the 'time before' and the 'time after'. In the present day city a key figure in remembering the 'time before' is the Hiroshima castle. It refers to olden times, the origins of the town and a long history of Hiroshima as a prosperous castle town. Although the castle was destroyed by the atomic bombing, it was reconstructed in 1958. The reconstruction materialized society's relationship towards its heritage and can be taken as a spatial strategy leading to preserving an awareness of the 'time before'. On top of that, as the site was severely damaged by the explosion, it also preserves a legacy to the bombing which brought an end to this epoch. Therefore as a place of memory Hiroshima castle stands for both the 'time before' and the bombing, although the later one is less stressed. Yoneyama points out that military and imperial symbols also continue to exist on the castle grounds through the Hiroshima National Defence Shrine where the war dead are enshrined. She also suggests the manufacturing of romantic nostalgia for the castle is part of a new image for the city which makes use of history without recalling memories of the war and the bombing.

The presentation of the atom bombing and the 'time after' is largely done within the Memorial Park area via informative panels densely spread around the park (and around the city) and exposition panels at the Peace Memorial Museum, National Memorial Hall of the Victims of the Atom Bomb and at the Memorial Cathedral for World Peace outside of the park area. These presentation images are theoretically managed by the Hiroshima municipality or organizations that they have established. Another presentation source is the various printed promotional and informative materials it is possible to obtain at city information desks or in the park and at its different memorial sites. This material is produced by the municipality and its organizations, prefecture, Japanese tourist agencies, survivors associations and others. Guides and volunteers for 'peace walks' provide another presentation font. Many of the guides at memorial sites such as the museum or the memorial hall are volunteers[279]. This gives visitors a sense of direct personal connection with the site.

Right in the entrance hall of the Peace Memorial Museum is an inscription that says: 'this museum is presenting itself as a shrine of peace in the centre of the city'. There is no comment on the atom bombing to which memory a visitor can suppose this memorial

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[279] It should be said that in Japan it is very typical that people on pensions dedicate themselves to different types of volunteer work, usually for the local community. They volunteer at schools, hospitals, museums, for municipalities and so on.

museum is dedicated to. The museum presents an enormous quantity of detailed information. If the visitor wanted to go through all of it, he would have to spend a whole day in the museum whose total floor area makes up 10,000 m^2. In general the museum installations are visual and based mainly on photographs that tend to present the past from the perspective of the city's history. The remembering starts with the recounting of the town's origins, its development into a provincial castle town, then into an important military base and its important position during the two World Wars and then, as its consequence, the tragic atom bombing of the city.

Full context is given to the bombing, narrating it through the use of general facts and figures, involving a lot of quantitative data. The development of the atom bomb and the Manhattan project are thoroughly communicated and the world war II setting is explained including both the Japanese and American army strategies. A 'minute by minute' description and reconstruction of the event of the atom bombing is set. The consequences of the bombing are talked over and represented. In these sections many artefacts and reconstructed objects are exhibited as material witnesses in vivid scenes. Next it follows the presentation of the step by step, post-war and post-bomb reconstruction of the city into the 'peace city of Hiroshima'. This 'peace and anti-war' section is as big as the previous one.

The Hiroshima National Memorial Hall of the Victims of the Atom Bomb serves as a contemplative place. The central focus here is the Hall of Remembrance. Its walls show a circular black and white panorama (photo) of A-bombed Hiroshima at the time of the atomic bombing from ground zero and the fountain in the centre represents the moment the bomb was dropped. Visitors are asked to keep silent in order to quietly pay tribute to the A-bomb victims and to pray for peace. Adjoining rooms show the names and photographs of the victims on large screens and visitors can view data and images for themselves by using the museum's computers to search the memoirs of victims, videos and testimonies and photos of Hiroshima before and after the bombing. The setting of the place is factual yet very emotional. It intends to deliver and evoke the reality of the moment in a very simple, understandable and personal way. In order to deepen the understanding of the event, which is perceived as a human tragedy, the aim of the presentation is to get the visitor into the moment with its consequences and for them to experience it for themselves.

The database in the memorial hall is huge and many of the testimonies have been translated into many languages which are freely accessible to all visitors. Survivor's testimonies make up a large category of their own in interpreting Hiroshima. There is no such thing as a general survivor's view and many diverse ways of perceiving the bombing

are to be found. Some people from Hiroshima remained more or less indifferent about the ethics of using the bomb saying 'it was war and we had to expect it' and some were not[280]. Many felt hatred for the Americans and some have developed a victim complex which is supported by the intellectual milieu which has created the perception that ordinary Japanese people were passive victims of historical conditions[281]. Some held the Japanese state responsible[282], others blamed the Americans and someone blamed both the US government for dropping the atomic bombs and the Japanese government for starting the war[283].

Enormous quantities of survivor's testimonies have been registered to date. Many survivors waited to give their public testimony until retirement. The reason for this was the social prejudice and discrimination against survivors. A lack of data contributed to the suspicion that the effects of the exposure to radiation might be contagious and lead to hereditary problems or that it could affect work productivity. This led to discrimination against hibakusha when they sought employment or marriage partners[284].

Survivors who were engaged in giving testimonies that were bringing the past to the present were aware that the past could never be retrieved in its original form. They showed disappointment about the visual and written representations of the bombing such as films, novels, paintings, photographs or documentary films but at the same time they were confronted with a language disability when it came to the reconstruction of the event as they believed they really experienced it[285]. An attempt to overcome this language barrier can be seen in the activity of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation which collected over two thousand drawings from witnesses of the bombing in 1974 - 1975 which led to the pictorialization of memories.

Interestingly the 'two atom bomb laws'[286] which legislated medical and social welfare benefits for survivors influenced the narration of the atom bomb memories. In terms of this institutionalized medico-legal procedure damage was classified and calculated by the single standard of distance from the hypocentre. Accordingly, hibakusha accounts tended to incorporate this data which perhaps helped the survivors to translate the catastrophe

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[280] Hersey (1989: 89).

[281] Ōe (1999): 22 & Yoneyama (1999: 11).

[282] According to Ōe (1996: 9), in the A-bomb survivor's view, Japan's rapid modernization led to Japan's wars in Asia, which consequently caused the atomic bombings and thus they hold the Japanese state responsible.

[283] In the 1950s the Japan Confederation of A-bomb and H-bomb Sufferers Organizations (JSCO) raised the question of the responsibility of the US government for dropping the atomic bombs and the Japanese government for starting the Pacific War. See Ōe (1999: 15).

[284] Yoneyama (1999: 88).

[285] Yoneyama (1999: 89f).

[286] The 1957 Law Concerning Medical Care for Victims of the Atomic Bombs and the 1968 Law Concerning Special Measures for the Victims of the Atomic Bombs. See Yoneyama (1999: 93).

into measurable damages[287]. Another shift in hibakusha testimonial practices has been identified by Yoneyama as going from narrating the historical event of Hiroshima's bombing to the survivor's lives thereafter[288].

Yoneyama claimed that in the 1990s the survivors deplored the fact that the memories were being shared less and less over the years. In the same period of time the topic of hibakusha messages started to be reflected in annual peace declarations more and more and since 2010 individual survivor testimonies have been incorporated directly into the declaration texts. Survivors often engage in accompanying visitors to Hiroshima on memorial tours, also called 'peace walks', sharing their testimonies with them.

The popular interpretation of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima as a punishment or as a consequence for the Japanese starting the war were discussed earlier, however no such interpretation is explicitly written anywhere within the memorial area. Neither does such an interpretation exist in any of the promotional and informative material available in Hiroshima but subtle notions relating to this matter are present. On one of the museum displays it is suggested that the Japanese military headquarters had their share of guilt for bringing about the war which led to the atomic bombing. When searching the database of survivor's testimonies in the memorial hall, even more explicit notions pop up.

Among all the testimonies of the Hiroshima's victims, one is absolutely dominant, omnipresent, popular and known worldwide. It is the story of Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes described earlier. It is possible to see how functional it is to remember the past through a personal story. The kind of personal story which is simple and easy to imagine for everyone and thus very understandable and memorable. In the background of such a story there is a certain strategy for a general comprehending of a historical event with its observable aftermath.

As discussed previously, the Korean victims have been marginalized in the in situ presentations at different times and to varying degrees. There was no evidence of them at all in the space until 1970 when a separate memorial for the Korean victims was erected outside the memorial park area. Later, in 1999, the Korean Memorial was moved to within the territory of the park. The presence of a Korean minority essentially relates to colonial Japan which has been an unfavourable image in the overall presentation framework ever since, especially in the post-war times when the Japanese were rebuilding their identity as a peace nation.

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[287] Yoneyama (1999: 94).
[288] Yoneyama (1999: 107).

Also marginalized is the presentation of the city's only Catholic church, the former Jesuit Church dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption, which today is the Hiroshima Memorial Cathedral for World Peace. In order to get to know the story of this site you actually need to visit the church. The city website does not present it at all and there are perhaps just a few brochures where the church is mentioned or even indicated on the map. In some publications, which you can get in situ, mostly in the area of the memorial park, there are some mentions of the church to be found. However, this story is evidently of minor importance to locals and as such it did not get into the main interpretative frame and image of Hiroshima's past.

Nonetheless, the history of this church gained the attention of the world Christian community which started telling its story. As the atomic bomb exploded nearby at a distance of only eight city blocks from the church the survival of all four priests was interpreted as God's will. One of the priests explained on American TV how the priests had been saying their daily Rosary and living the Message of Fatima and how he felt he had received a protective shield from Our Lady of Fatima during the bombing[289]. After the bombing the grounds of the church and rectory served as a refuge for the survivors and later on as an orphanage. It was an initiative of Father Hugo M. Enomiya-Lassalle, who had experienced the bombing and who had the support of the Pope, the Catholic Church and funds from Europe, America and all over the world to aid in the (re)construction of a new church, the Hiroshima Memorial Cathedral for World Peace which was completed in 1954. The number of bricks used is said to roughly equal the number of the people who died in the bombing. This method of recording and somehow symbolically presenting the number of victims also appears in the case of the memorial hall where the panorama of the city in the Hall of Remembrance is made up of 140,000 tiles, the estimated number of people who had died by the end of 1945.

In a contrast to the 'not so famous' story of the Hiroshima church stands 'the famous' story of the Urakami Cathedral in Nagasaki which became one of the best known symbols of Nagasaki's atomic bombing. The cathedral in Nagasaki, though, was in a different position. With fourteen thousand parishioners it was the largest Christian Church in Asia at that time.

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[289] See [http://www.shrineofsaintjude.net], (retrieved 5/1/2016).

Figure 16 Remains of the Hiroshima Cathedral on the left and remains of the Nagasaki Cathedral on the right.
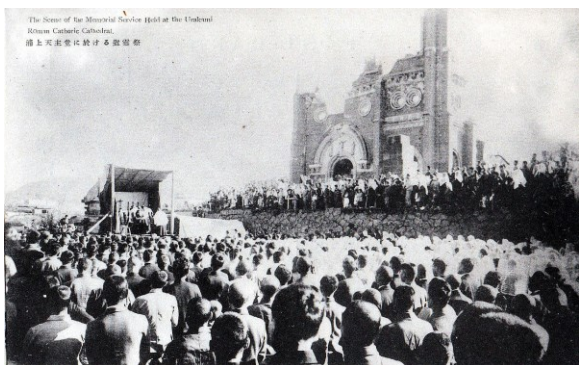

Figure 17 Memorial service at Urakami Cathedral on the left and the present day new Urakami Cathedral on the right.

Various sorts of printed material presenting Hiroshima are available in situ, such as pamphlets, brochures, publications et cetera predominantly targeting the legacy the bombing brought, the warning not to repeat it again and the need to maintain peace. Questions of whose responsibility it was or any kind of notions resembling a 'victim-victimizer' model are not in use. Though the question of, 'why the atomic bomb', is present. The Hiroshima Institute for Peace Education has published the results of its research in a brochure distributed at the museum entitled: 'Why was the atomic bomb dropped?'. It presents various theories stating the they are in a position of only considering them and that they are aware that the reasons remain unclear. The interpretations presented on this matter are: (1) to gain advantage over the Soviet Union, (2) to end the war quickly, (3) to experiment with the effects on human bodies, (4) to justify the billions spent on atomic bomb development[290]. The first two explanations are normally found in professional histories as well as in other informative material on Hiroshima as we have seen, on the contrary however, the last two interpretations are not present at all in these materials.

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[290] Why was the atomic bomb dropped? (2010: 22).

Commemorative practice: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony

One part of the overall in situ presentation and interpretation of the site's past is the commemorative practice of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony. Commemorative practices generally refer to events or figures that happened historically and existed. By every repetition of the commemorative practice those events or figures are being revised and revived. These practises are crafted as a means of providing coherence and stability of memory. They combine the personal memories of individuals with the connectedness achieved in shared events[291].

Hiroshima's memorial ceremony as a commemorative practice is of great importance and gets considerable response from around the world. The continuous annual tradition of Hiroshima's memorial ceremony and the huge numbers of attendees show us that the collective memory of Hiroshima is, to this day, still very alive and significant. According to Pascal Boyer, as long as the collective memory does not start to fade neither do the commemorative practices or the memorials[292].

The first commemorative activity held in Hiroshima was the Peace Restoration Festival of 1946. Due to the occupation, government agencies could not sponsor or get considerably involved in such a festival so it was a local community action. Seven thousand people gathered to pray for peace for the souls of the A-bomb victims and manifested for the restoration of world peace with the slogan, 'World peace begins from Hiroshima', on the banners[293]. At exactly 8.15am on 6th August, the time of the atom bombing of Hiroshima, sirens were sounded all over the city in order to pay a one minute tribute to the victims. The following year the Hiroshima Peace Festival Association was established by the city's mayor and it was decided that a Peace Festival would be held annually on August 6.

In 1947 a special wooden peace tower was built for this occasion in the area of the future memorial park. The ceremony started with a silent prayer after which a Peace Bell was rung. Then the mayor of Hiroshima read the first Peace Declaration addressed to the world. This format was adopted for the upcoming annual peace festivals arranged by the local municipality. It was organized as the Peace Festival until 1965 when the name was changed to, the Peace Memorial Ceremony[294]. Over the next few years the practice of praying for the abolition of nuclear weapons was integrated.

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[291] Bineham (2012: 4).
[292] Boyer (2009).
[293] Kosakai (2007: 20).
[294] For a brief period of time (1968-1975) this commemorative practice was named, the Ceremony to Pray for Peace.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park has provided a ritual space for this ceremony since 1952. As this commemorative activity is funded and organized by the municipality, the public space of the park serves the uses of political promotion, the peace movement and the movement for the abolishment of nuclear weapons.

The day of the Peace Memorial Ceremony is the most important one for the city that is commemorating and reviving its own past. There are some 50,000 local citizens and visitors, both national and international, as well as ambassadors and dignitaries from 70 countries around the world attending the ceremony which is transmitted worldwide[295].

The ceremony has its own prearranged agenda. The main part takes place in front of the Cenotaph for the Atomic Bomb Victims in the very centre of the memorial park. The ceremony starts at 8 a.m. and the official formal programme lasts for 45 minutes. After the opening ceremony any new names of victims of the atomic bombing are put into a register that is kept in the cenotaph. This is followed by the dedication of the register and flowers. At exactly 8:15, the time the atomic bomb was dropped, the Peace Bell is rung, sirens sound all over the city and a one minute long silent prayer is held. Then the mayor of Hiroshima issues a Peace Declaration to the world after which about one thousand doves are released. The commitment to peace continues with messages from distinguished guests like the Japanese prime minister or the secretary general of the United Nations. The ceremony ends with the Hiroshima Peace Song performed by a four to five hundred member chorus.

The content of the Peace Declaration has changed with the times. These modifications reflect a metamorphosis of the interpretative frame and the development of Hiroshima's rhetoric policy. Milestones in the history of peace declarations are: the first reference to the difficult situation of survivors in 1955; the first explicit call for banning A- and H-Bombs in 1958; the bringing out of the subject of peace education in 1971; accounts of A-bomb damage such as the problems of radiation exposure, hunger, poverty et cetera in the 1970s; the proposition to establish an international institute for research on peace in Hiroshima in 1982; the ever-progressing topic of 'hibakusha issues' (first use of the term 'hibakusha') in the 1990s; in 2004 when the gratitude for the hibakusha's contributions was finally expressed, and the necessity of documenting their messages and delivering them to the world was proclaimed which led to incorporating A-bomb testimonies directly into the declarations since 2011. The peace declarations also reflected on several geopolitical events: in 1965 a regret for the Vietnam War was expressed; in 1986 the

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[295] See 'Visit Hiroshima',
[http://visithiroshima.net/things_to_do/seasonal_events/summer/hiroshima_peace_memorial_ceremony_peace_message_lantern_floating_ceremony.html], (retrieved 14/2/2015).

Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident was mentioned; in 1991 disappointment over the Persian Gulf War was stated; in 2003 the declaration indirectly commented on the war in Iraq by criticizing the US for 'forcing its will on the world'; in 2011 and 2012 the Fukushima nuclear power accident was discussed; and in 2013 a call for nuclear disarmament in North Korea and Russia was announced.

Many ceremony attendees are dressed in anti-war and pro-peace T-shirts and many hold origami cranes as they are Hiroshima's symbol of peace. After the morning ceremony some people form groups that peacefully protest in the streets of Hiroshima. The Peace Message Lantern Floating Ceremony is held in the evening hours. It is less formal, without speeches and everyone is welcome to write messages of peace on small paper lanterns which are lit and set afloat down the river to honour and console the souls of the dead, passing directly in front of the A-bomb Dome. It is a very popular and impressive ritual as well as an ancient Buddhist practice known as the Lantern Ceremony which honours the dead.

Beazley states that the commemorative practice of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony, well-known at the global level, might have possibly helped the inclusion of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

> 'Nevertheless, the Festivals endured and achieved the first steps in securing the social construction of Hiroshima as a 'Mecca of World Peace' (Kosakai 1990). The peace festivals also probably helped secure the eventual inscription of the Dome on the World Heritage List as a symbol of hope for lasting peace, not only for the people of Japan, but for the entire world.'

Beazley (2010:50)

6 VILLA ROMANA DEL CASALE IN SICILY

The Villa Romana del Casale is near the city of Piazza Armerina, in the province of Enna in south-eastern Sicily, and represents the archaeological remains of a Roman country villa, which was constructed as the centre of a huge agricultural estate (*latifundium*) at the beginning of the 4th century AD. The villa contains the richest, largest, and most complex collection of Roman mosaics in the world. The galleries, courtyards, halls and thermal baths offer ancient mosaics of extraordinary quality and impact, perfectly preserved and enhanced by long-term conservation works. The mosaics make these the most famous archaeological remains of the Roman period in Sicily.

About 4,000 sq. m of multi-coloured mosaic flooring along with the wall mosaics make it possible to study Roman history. The mosaics vary in styles and narrative cycles, are both figurative and geometric and their themes are: mythology and Homeric poems, nature and scenes from the Roman aristocracy's quotidian lives (e.g. hunting, athletic competitions). Probably the most presented mosaic, which is also one of the central figures of remembering and the predominant symbol of the site, is the one informally called, 'the bikini girls'. It shows young women performing sports including weight-lifting, discus throwing, running and ball games.
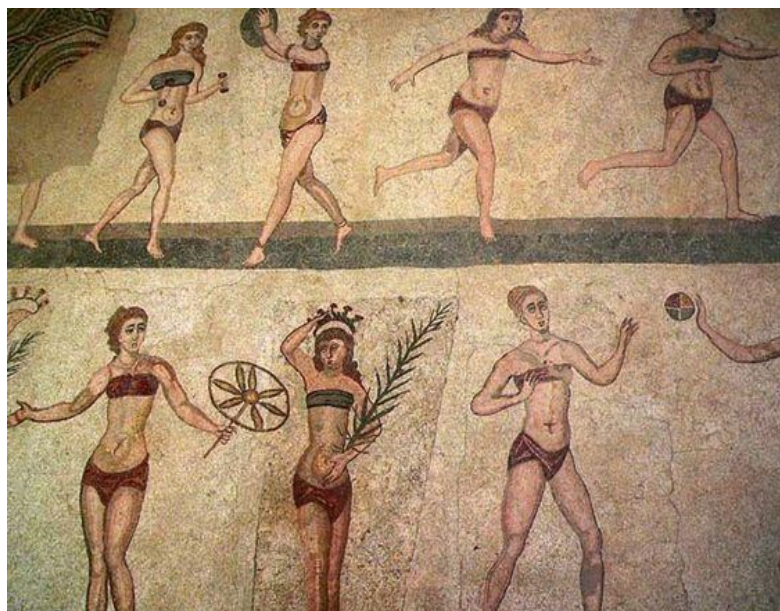

Figure 18 Mosaic of 'the bikini girls' in the Villa Romana del Casale.

What happened in the past at the site is not very well documented and only the manorial portions of the complex have been excavated. There is a lack of historical evidence in certain respects hence the academic historical frame contains a definite number of estimations. The archaeological heritage of the ancient Roman villa refers to, 'another world', a culture that does not exist anymore and as such has led to a low degree of identification with the site. Thus, seeing the heritage as a business opportunity is more likely to be evident. Approaches to presenting and interpreting the very distant past are present in this case.

6.1 Contexts

Sicily is three kilometres from continental Italy and one hundred and sixty kilometres from Africa. Sicily, both the largest region of Italy and the largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, separates the western from the oriental part of the Mediterranean area. Its central location and natural resources made it a crucial, strategic location, in large part due to its importance in Mediterranean trade routes. As such, Sicily has been a crossroads of cultures with the Oriental cultural element present. Immigrants and invaders have always been present in the history of the island, setting a multicultural horizon and making Sicily a binding element between Europe and Africa[296]. It is possible to see and speak about Sicily as its own part of the world with its own distinct language, history and culture.

Italians recognize three 'types' (individual parts) of Italy: the Mediterranean (southern Italy), the territorial (northern Italy) and insular (Sardinia and Sicily). Sicily became an official part of Italy in 1860 during the Italian Unification process and, after the establishment of the Italian Republic in 1946, Sicily was given the special status of an autonomous region which was extended to a 'special regions' autonomy by a constitutional reform in 2001[297]. Sicily has always had its own distinct culture and identity.

Sicily, as well as the whole of Italy, is one of the world's most popular tourist destinations. What attracts visitors is the sea, sightseeing, culinary arts, and the phenomenon of the 'Bella Italia' lifestyle. Popular images recall Sicily as the 'triple S' - sun, summer and sea. The Sicilian Regional Tourism office presents Sicily as an, 'island of light'. Regarding the

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[296] Salerno, M., Romeo, I. (2001: 27 and 42).

[297] Based on Article 14 and 17 of the Region's Special Statute and Constitutional Act no 3/2011 the Sicilian Regional Assembly has financial and accounting autonomy, it adopts its own budget and financial statements and has exclusive legislative competences for: agriculture and forestry, industry and trade, urban planning, public works, fishing and hunting, primary education and tourism. In the following areas the competences are shared: regional communications and transport, public health and safety, healthcare, secondary and higher education and social affairs.

cultural heritage, Sicily has more than 50% of the total national Italian heritage[298] within its territory.

Cultural, historical and geographical specifications

Over 2,500 years as a strategic crossroads of the western world has left Sicily with an unparalleled history and its own distinct culture. The large fertile island, a hub of the Mediterranean, has been at the heart of great civilizations. It was often controlled by external powers (Roman, Vandal, Ostrogoth, Byzantine and Islamic) but has also experienced periods of independence (the Greek period and Early Middle Ages as the Kingdom of Sicily) and personal unions (with the Spanish and Bourbon crowns).

The indigenous people of Sicily were tribes, some of which were related to Italic people and some to Iberian people. From the 11th century BC Phoenicians started their colonies in the north-western part of Sicily with Palermo as the central one and since the 8th century BC the south-eastern part of the island has been colonized by the Greeks who established city states that were a part of Magna Graecia with Syracuse as the most important one. The dividing line between the Phoenicians in the west and the Greeks in the east moved backwards and forwards frequently and their constant warfare motivated the intervention of the Romans in Sicily, which became a province of the Roman Republic, later Empire, and was important chiefly for its food supply. The Romans made little effort to Romanize the region which thus remained mainly Greek. In medieval times the island achieved a different creative blend of three different cultures and religions due to the presence of Byzantines, Muslims, Normans: Byzantine Christianity, Islam and Roman Christianity. In the 14th century a structural layout of *latifundium,* large feudal estates used for cereal cultivation and animal husbandry, were established and persisted until World War II. It was then ruled by the Aragon, Spanish and Bourbons via governors and viceroys until the establishment of Sicily by the state of Italy. During this period, a sense of the Sicilian people and nation emerged and the population was no longer divided between Greek, Arab and Latin people[299].

The Italian state, which unified the physically fragmented peninsula and islands, like Sicily, was formed in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was a case of a late-unifying state with much internal heterogeneity and the formation of the Italian national identity was a difficult and artificial process from the outset. According to John Agnew this tardiness had a number of causes, among the most significant was the existence of a strong municipal, city-state and regional-state governments[300]. The Italian Constitution of

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[298] Fontanazza, E. (1991: 9).
[299] Finley (2009).
[300] Agnew (1998: 217).

1946 was aware of the Sicilian specifics and self-perception therefore Sicily was given regional autonomy and institutional separation.

In modern history, the south of Italy, including Sicily, is largely seen as less industrialized, economically backward and as having problems with mafia related crime. The Sicilian mafia has manifested itself since the first half of the 19th century and is a result of the continuous and persistent crisis of the legitimacy of state institutions, the lack of a credible and effective system of public administration, a deficit in public ethics, the historic absence of a state, the continuity of the elites and from the absence of general interests and laws[301].

As a culturally defined region Sicily possesses its own identity and ethnic individuality. The cultural settings of Mediterranean Europe, the geographical condition of insular 'isolation' and the historical influence of an age long multicultural environment has influenced the Sicilian sense of identity and heritage. Sicily is a melting pot of different cultures and ethnicities, including the original Italic people, the Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Saracens, Normans, Swabians, Aragonese, Lombards, Spaniards, French and Albanians, each contributing to the island's cultural makeup. From this perspective Sicily is commonly divided into Oriental Sicily (north-western part of the island) and Occidental Sicily (south-eastern part of the island). Sicily is said to be one of earliest examples of a European pacific coexistence of profoundly different populations in terms of culture, language, religion, race or tradition whose legacy is still evident and distinguishable and has formed the Sicilian character. Santi Correnti debates that Sicilian society lacks an associative spirit[302]. Perhaps this could be the reason for a certain kind of indifference to the common heritage that can be seen in the locals.

Mountains and hills with many great and active volcanoes, the Mediterranean Sea with crystal-clear water and many little islands scattered around the coast, fertile soil with olive groves, vineyards, orchards, fields and pastures and, in some places, a sunburnt and desolate inland make up the Sicilian landscape. It is an often-quoted example of man-made deforestation and its terrain is intensively cultivated. Mount Etna, the largest active volcano in Europe, is widely regarded as a cultural symbol and icon of Sicily. A huge variety of archaeological sites, including some of the most notable and best preserved temples and other structures of the Greek world are located in Sicily. In its territory there are also hundreds of castles and the Sicilian Baroque has a unique architectural identity. From the heritage point of view, Sicily is filled with numerous precious archaeological vestiges, three of which have been declared UNESCO World Heritage sites and the Sicilian Baroque

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[301]Alcaro (2000).
[302] Correnti (1972).

which is also on the WH List. Archaeological heritage[303] forms 38% of the total of Sicilian heritage, architectural heritage with 25 %, historical-artistic heritage with 22% and natural heritage represents 9%[304].

Heritage perception and institutional framework

In the practice of heritage conservation Italy is an eminent point of reference with a long-term tradition of publicly regulated preservation. Siena and Venice were the leading cities in introducing the first preservation laws in the 11th and 12th centuries and several examples from the 17th century reveal a preoccupation for protecting cultural heritage[305]. From the 18th century onward, a renewed interest in the study of the classics and the elevation of archaeology and science were present in the Italian community and so an interest in the protection of cultural heritage began to grow. Different governmental administrations in the matters of protecting cultural heritage had historically occurred in the states prior to the unification of Italy.

The first comprehensive legal provision specifically dedicated to cultural heritage in unified Italy was Law no.185 for the protection of monuments (*Tutela del patrimonio monumentale)* from 1902 called; the *Legge Nasi.* It brought forth concepts for the protection of monuments and archaeological findings, the pre-emptive right of the state in purchasing cultural heritage and an introduction of the ban on the export of cultural heritage. Shortly thereafter, in 1909, a new law on heritage preservation came into force (no. 364) known as; the *Legge Rosadi,* in which the objects to be protected were expanded from monuments to also include 'immovable and movable heritage' that bears 'historical, archaeological, artistic or paleontological' significance. In 1912 law no. 688 came into effect, again the objects of heritage protection were further extended to include villas and manors, parks and gardens which was the first move in the protection of landscapes.

A turning point in heritage preservation is represented in two laws that were enacted in 1939: no.1089, on the protection of objects of artistic and historical interest (*Tutela delle cose di interesse artistico e storico*) and no.1497, on the safeguarding of natural heritage (*Protezione delle bellezze naturali*). National heritage became divided into two categories, cultural and natural, and these laws gave the rudiments for further legislative practice that were used until 2004 when the recently reviewed law, no. 42, on cultural heritage and

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[303] Concerning the accessibility of the archaeological heritage: 46% is private, 21% is well, 8% very well and 21% poorly accessible. See Nucifora (2008:69).
[304] Nucifora (2008: 53).
[305] There are well-documented conservation projects of Raphael's frescoes in Rome from 1659 and 1702. They included preventive measures to stop water infiltration, to reduce the accumulation of dust and to limit copyist from staining the paintings with their oil-drenched tracing papers. See Lambert (2010).

landscape preservation (*Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio*) came into force. This recent applicable law united the preservation of heritage as a whole, the historical and artistic (cultural) along with the natural, enlarged the category of heritage to all public properties of collective interest and subordinated urban planning to the cultural/natural landscape. During the time between the two important legislative actions of 1939 and 2004, the Ministry for Cultural Assets and Environments (*Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali*) was established in 1974 and later, due to conflicts over the term 'environmental' with the Ministry of the Environment[306,] it was renamed, the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Activities and Tourism (*'MiBACT', Ministero per I beni e le attività culturali e del turismo*) in 1998. The uniqueness of the Italian practice of heritage preservation is the tradition of integral and territorial conservation which conceives, as a whole landscape, the urban and rural settlements, buildings, works of art such as paintings, manuscripts, museums, etc.

Today, in Italy, most cultural heritage matters are governed by the State and prevention and maintenance were legally inscribed in the 2004 Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape. As an autonomous region of Italy, Sicily has its own Department for Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity in charge of heritage preservation. However, there exists a certain bifurcation between the matter of heritage protection and heritage development because each of them is on the agendas of different departments – the subject matter of heritage protection is under the jurisdiction of the Department for Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity but the issue of heritage development and promotion lies in the hands of the Department of Tourism, Sport and Entertainment. According to Daniel Scarfi[307] there is a lack of agreement and collaboration among these two departments.

Joining UNESCO

Italy has been a member of UNESCO from its very beginnings but only ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1978, six years after its adoption. Since the 1980s Italy has seen a chance to catch the attention of foreign countries and attract tourists by becoming the number one country to possess the cultural heritage of all humankind. The metaphor, the 'oil of Italy', was adopted to describe Italian national cultural heritage, as it was seen primarily as an economic resource and a leading role in commerce and marketing was assigned to it[308]. Also, in Sicily, the subject of UNESCO heritage became very popular, especially during the years 1990 – 2006 mainly because it was related to regional development issues associated with the politics of the European Union which gave the possibility to draw on European Union structural funds. The slogan 'cultural tourism' was

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[306] Gargallo (2006).

[307] From an interview with Daniel Scarfi, the local conservation authority in Syracuse, from 3 October 2011.

[308] Nucifora (2008:11).

spread around Sicily and projects for new accommodation structures, tourist harbours and amusement parks were claimed, which brought a substantial confusion of models and scenarios[309]. 'Back in the 1990s the language of the Sicilian mayors was full of Europe and UNESCO but after 2006 these seemed to become closed topics with rather marginal importance and the focus was reorientated to the idea of the local level'[310]. Half of the Italian registrations on the WHL were made in the 1990s. Italy saw seventeen entries between 1996 and 1998.

Today, Italy is home to the greatest number of UNESCO WH sites which is fifty-one. The vast majority are cultural sites (47) of the archaeological and architectural types and are representatives of Antiquity, Romanic and the Renaissance styles typical for Italy. Seven of the total fifty-one Italian UNESCO World Heritage sites are to be found in Sicily, two of them natural and five cultural. The inscription of Sicilian sites started quite recently and not before 1997, even though the WH List has existed for the last twenty-five years. Two of the natural sites on the list are the volcanic Aeolian islands and Mount Etna, a volcano which has become the cultural symbol of Sicily. Among the inscribed cultural sites dominating the archaeological heritage are representatives of the Ancient Greeks: the Valle dei Tempi, Syracuse and the Necropolis of Pantalica and of the Ancient Romans: the Villa Romana del Casale. There are also two joint architectural inscriptions. These are representatives of the Sicilian late Baroque style and the Sicilian Arab-Norman style: the late Baroque towns of Val di Noto and Arab-Norman Palermo with their cathedral churches of Cefalù and Monreale. There are seven Italian inscriptions on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List among which two are Sicilian: the puppet theatre and the traditional agricultural practice of cultivating bush vines.

There are about forty properties (41) on the Tentative list of World Heritage sites which Italy might nominate in upcoming years. A quarter of them are natural sites and, for the time being, are significantly underrepresented types of heritage both on the Italian WHL and the general UNESCO WHL. There has also been an apparent shift towards cultural landscapes, industrial heritage and the representatives of prehistory among Italian nominations. Though, only on the Tentative list, they still present some of the typical and traditional heritage types already inscribed such as: monasteries, historic town centres or fortresses and citadels. From this set of proposed heritage two are to be found in Sicily and both are archaeological sites; Taormina, described as being of, 'remarkable public interest' and an illustrative archaeological, historical and architectural landscape and the islands of Mothia and Libleo, which are described as being a testimony to Phoenician-

[309] Nucifora (2008: 12).
[310] From an interview with Melania Nucifora, professor of modern history at the University to Catania (Sicily) from October 2012.

Punic civilization.

Recently, Italy's new policy, with regards to the UNESCO WHL, is to slow down and focus on preservation. This is mainly due to two factors: being forced by the circumstances of the new UNESCO World Heritage framework which prefers more balance between nations in relation to the number of records each country has and because of the long bureaucratic processes, ministerial (un)support, politics and diplomatic negotiations[311]. Therefore Italy has not put forward any candidates for the 2016 UNESCO WH shortlist commenting that; 'it was a diplomatic gift to other nations'[312].

According to UNESCO Operational Guidelines, property included on the WH List should be marked with the World Heritage Emblem. In Sicily, at several WH sites, the WH signs are missing. The photo below shows a street in the historical city centre of the WH site of Catania where the remains of an original stand, on which the UNESCO World Heritage indication sign once stood, is now being used as a rack for one of the local souvenirs shop's products.

Figure 19 Stand for a UNESCO signboard that is missing and used by a local souvenir shop. From the author's archive.

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[311] Stated by Franco Barnabè, the President of Italy's UNESCO Commission, in an interview for La Repubblica. See Talignani G., 'Se l'Italia perde colpi nella lista del Patrimonio UNESCO', La Repubblica 6 Jun 2016.
[312] Stated by Franco Barnabè, the President of Italy's UNESCO Commission, in an interview for La Repubblica. See Talignani G., 'Se l'Italia perde colpi nella lista del Patrimonio UNESCO', La Repubblica 6 Jun 2016.

This example illustrates the current local, Sicilian attitude towards heritage and UNESCO. Heritage is everywhere here, so much so that it is the normal state of affairs for which reason the need to point it out is not felt. And moreover, as is often heard, tourists will still come here with or without the UNESCO label. Perhaps it also says something about the possible lack of interest in public goods and associative attitudes – the regional operational programme for Sicily from 2007-2013 (*Programma Operativo Regionale Sicilia 2007-2013)* states low participation from the private sector in matters of conservation, development, restoration and management of cultural heritage. Thus, regarding the question of the accessibility of the heritage in Sicily, it is quite poor and proper markings and presentations are often missing.

6.2 The site

The Villa Romana del Casale site is situated in the hilly countryside of a semi-urban location, in the vicinity of the provincial town of Piazza Armerina in the central province of Enna. It is the only province in Sicily (out of 9) without a seacoast. It has a mountain climate and, with 170,000 inhabitants, it is the least populated province in Sicily. In the past the province's economy was partly based on the mines that have been changed into a monument of industrial heritage. In recent years growing tourist development in this area has been considered, though tourism is very much concentrated around the coast. With a population of about 22,000 Piazza Armerina is the province's second largest commune after the capital town of Enna.

Piazza Armerina is one of the so-called, 'Lombardic', communes of Sicily. The town developed during the Norman domination in Sicily, when the Lombards settled in the central and eastern parts of the island. The town offers a range of significant architecture dating from medieval times through the 18th century. The discovery and excavation of the well-preserved mosaics of the nearby Villa Romana del Casale has helped attract tourists. The town identifies itself with the Norman past rather than the Roman and except for the villa, which is actually outside the town area, there is no physical evidence of the Romans present within the space of the town.

It is the remembering of the Norman past that the town refers to most, as seen in the annual *Palio dei Normani* festival. This is a three day long, historical festival that the town has held in August every year since 1952. Its origins can be traced to the 17th and 18th centuries when the town organized a parade known as, the *Cavalcata* (the ride), on the occasion of the celebrations in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Today, it is seen as the

most important reconstruction of medieval history in the South of Italy with 600 presenters registered on the List of Immaterial Heritage of Sicily (*Eredità Immateriali della Regione Siciliana)*. The sleepy town of Piazza Armerina comes alive from the 12th to 14th of August with medieval pageants celebrating the Norman Count Roger's capture of the town from the Moors in 1087. During this favoured local attraction the town celebrates its history with people putting on historical costumes and pretending they are peasants, a fierce jousting tournament is held, and historical scenes are played out.

The villa itself, built in the Roman period, was damaged and perhaps destroyed by the Vandals and Visigoths after which only the outbuildings had remained in use during the Byzantine and Arab periods. In the 12th century a landslide covered the villa, the site was abandoned and the survivors moved to their current location of Piazza Armerina. The villa was then forgotten until the early 19th century when some pieces from the mosaics and some columns were found. The first official archaeological excavations were carried out later in that century and the first professional excavations were realized in the first half of the 20th century. The last major excavations took place in the 1950s and 1960s after which a cover was built over the mosaics.

In the period between 2007-2012 extensive restoration works were carried out with several objectives including the functional recovery and conservation of the whole archaeological complex including the mosaics and securing the site and developing the external area with parking, commercial space and villa services. During this time the villa was only partially open so that the average number of visitors, which normally was about 400,000[313] was reduced to numbers between 243,978 to 311,075[314]. However, the Villa Casale has consistently placed among the top places in the rankings of Italian historical-archaeological museums[315].

Reaching Piazza Armerina and the Villa is somewhat difficult. During the summer season there are buses operating between the town and the villa, but in the off season, which means most of the year, one has to walk three kilometres or get a taxi. This brings up the topic of the traditional tourism concept of all-inclusiveness practiced by the local tour operators who guide the tourist through the territory. In the case of the Villa Casale an organized bus tour from one of the major Sicilian cities stops in front of the site, you visit it as a group with a guide and have some free time for buying souvenirs etc., then you get back on the bus and go away. This is seen as limited and does not meet the needs of the

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[313] Since the 2000' the median number of visits to the Villa Casale was 414,000. In 1980' and 1990' it was 250,000. The site was put on the WHL in 1997. See: the strategic plan for the city 'Piano della performance 2012-2013-2014'.

[314] Official website of the site [http://www.villaromandelcasale.it], (retrieved 21/2/2017).

[315] See La rivista del turismo 2/2005.

'modern type' of self-organized tourists who represent a growing trend in recent tourism. Their approach to visiting places and sites is based on a deep understanding of the environment through the discovery of smaller places and exchanges with locals. Viewed in this perspective, the popularity of the villa and the city of Piazza Armerina could be due to their remoteness and is why they are a target destination for such kinds of travellers.

Nevertheless, one of the five major strategic areas of the town represents the use of cultural heritage. In 2011, having become aware of how the presence of the site of Villa Casale had driven the town's economy towards the promotion of the service industry, a system for Piazza Armerina's museums, SIMPA (*Sistema Museale di Piazza Armerina),* was established with the objective of increasing the attractiveness of the historical centre by extending the cultural offer for tourists in order to bring them there and not only to the villa. The slogan, '*città d'arte, capitale del centro della Sicilia*' (city of art, the capital of central Sicily), has appeared in the town's strategic plan document (*Piano della performance 2012-2013-2014)* in recent years. It is possible that the municipality might be reflecting the newer trends in tourism as discussed previously.

Archeological heritage

The overall popular complex picture of Sicily is made up of 54% archaeology, art and history, from which archaeology is in first place with 30% (Nucifora 2008: 53). Historical archaeological sites are physical evidence of the past and have the potential to contribute to the knowledge of our past by providing information that is unavailable from other sources. Some archaeological resources and relics are wholly below ground, others partially or entirely above the ground being either ruins or intact and still functioning. Archaeological sites have been a part of heritage and its display, since long before the use of the term 'heritage'. Archaeological sites, like all places of human activity, are made and constructed through time and despite their fragmentation, are creations that depend on the legibility and authenticity of their components for public meaning and appreciation[316].

The problem with the public's interpretation of archaeological sites is that the archaeological evidence is impersonal and difficult to understand as well as being fragmentary. According to Copeland (2006:84) a positivistic interpretation of archaeological heritage would emphasize locational and factual knowledge and would rely on guidance and audio-visual techniques, viewing visitors as consumers of knowledge and seeing interpretation as didactics. On the contrary, a constructivist approach of archaeological heritage interpretation based on the use of evidence would aim to encourage discourse by mediating the historic environment for the visitors whose own exploration would be highly valued. In the case of Villa Casale perhaps a mix

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[316] Matero (2008).

of these two interpretative strategies has been chosen, though with a predominance of the positivistic one.

When dealing with archaeological sites one is often confronted with the preservation issues of surviving fabric that was usually originally designed and built for indoor spaces, like mosaics and mural paintings, which can not be presented in an open environment. Matero (2008) explains the practice of archaeology and conservation as oppositional: archaeology studies a site with the help of excavation which is a subtractive, destructive and irreversible process; conversely conservation secures physical fabric from loss and depletion believing the material possesses scientific and aesthetic information as well as the power to evoke memory and emotional reactions.

There is a variety of conservation techniques commonly applied to archaeological sites: structural stabilization, reconstruction, reburial, protective shelters and a whole range of fabric-based conservation methods from which each solution affects the way archaeological heritage is preserved, presented, experienced and interpreted. Regarding the Villa Casale, after its main excavation in 1929, which brought to light the nearly 4,000 sq meters of extraordinary floor mosaics in an outstanding state of preservation, the complex soon needed protection for those mosaics. In the late 1950s architect Minissi came up with a solution that became a milestone in the history of archaeological restoration[317]. He built a shelter, a transparent structure of plastic and glass, bringing together original contents and modern materials.

Figure 20 The shelter construction for protecting the mosaics.

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[317] Rizzi (2008).

After fifty years the condition of the mosaics and the shelter called for a total re-thinking of their conservation and presentation. From 2007 to 2012 extensive restoration works took place throughout the whole complex of the Villa Casale. Preservation and the visibility of the mosaics were the main aims of the project. Besides that, the intention was to re-integrate the architectural image without imitating the original and to minimize the intervention on the original masonry. Studies and simulations proved that without an opaque envelope it would be difficult to control microclimatic parameters which influence the condition of the mosaics (excess humidity) and the well-being of the visitors on sunny days. The newly developed scheme kept the Minissi project, such as the shelter suggesting the original volumes and catwalks for visitors set on the surviving wall heads to avoid walking on the mosaics, but changed the architectural skin[318]. According to Rizzi (2008) the 'absence of any external decoration and the constructed structure inside reveal the protective and functional museological nature of the intervention'.

Today, the Villa del Casale site is a part of and is entrusted to the Archaeological Park of the Villa Romana del Casale and the archaeological sites of Piazza Armerina and the surrounding municipalities (*Parco Archeologico della Villa Romana del Casale e delle aree archeologiche di Piazza Armerina e dei Comuni limitrofi*). To this day, only the manorial parts of the complex have been excavated, which presumably used to be the permanent or semi-permanent residence of the owner and functioned as the administrative centre of the latifundia. The exposed parts of the villa contain spaces that were clearly residential and those that had official purposes. The ancillary structures, such as the housing for the slaves, workshops and stables have either not been located or excavated yet.

The excavated and exhibited components of the archaeological heritage of the villa are: the entrance with vestibule and polygonal arcaded courtyard, the baths and latrines, the private apartments, the guest rooms, the public rooms, the basilica (Great Hall), the dining complex (Triclinium) with oval peristyle, the quadrangular peristyle and the corridor, decorated with floor mosaics and wall paintings. Regarding the decorations, in total there are: 4 marble aedicules with 3 marble statues, 58 columns, 14 capitals and 44 bases in marble, a great fountain, 4,103 sq m of mosaic flooring[319] and 2,748 m of

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[318] The new structure rests on the walls anchored to external bars fixed into the ground, it entails a ventilated roof and plastered panelling removed from its wall support has reappeared around the outer perimeter to protect it from the weather. Detailed step-by-step process descriptions are offered on the site's official website [http://www.villaromanadelcasale.it] or see Rizzi (2008).

[319] In total there are 120,000,000 mosaic tiles of the dimensions from 4 to 6 mm. Each square meter is composed of 36.000 mosaic tiles.

wall paintings.

The mosaics, which adorn almost every room of the villa, represent a remarkable exhibition of typical iconography from the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 4th centuries influenced by African models[320]. Among the subjects depicted in the mosaics there are different themes and types of scenes: realistic, mythological and genre scenes. The realistic scenes celebrate the figure of the *dominus* (landlord), which recall Rome and the shows at the Roman hippodrome and depict various hunting episodes. Among the mythological mosaics are found scenes of Hercules defeating the giants, Orpheus taming the forest animals and Arione taming the sea animals. The genre scenes portray the seasons, the fruit welcoming gifts, birds and fish, cupids fishing and gathering grapes, etc. The mosaic programme helps to better understand the functions of the various rooms in the villa, which are still uncertain, due to the almost total loss of furniture and furnishings.

At first glance the composition of the villa seems incoherent. Thanks to the observations of Salvatore Settis (1975) four constitutive nuclei can be recognized: the entrance area, the baths complex, the quadrangular peristyle with rooms gathered around it and the oval peristyle with dining complex. The particularity of the structure of the villa is also increased by the doubling of the peristyle.
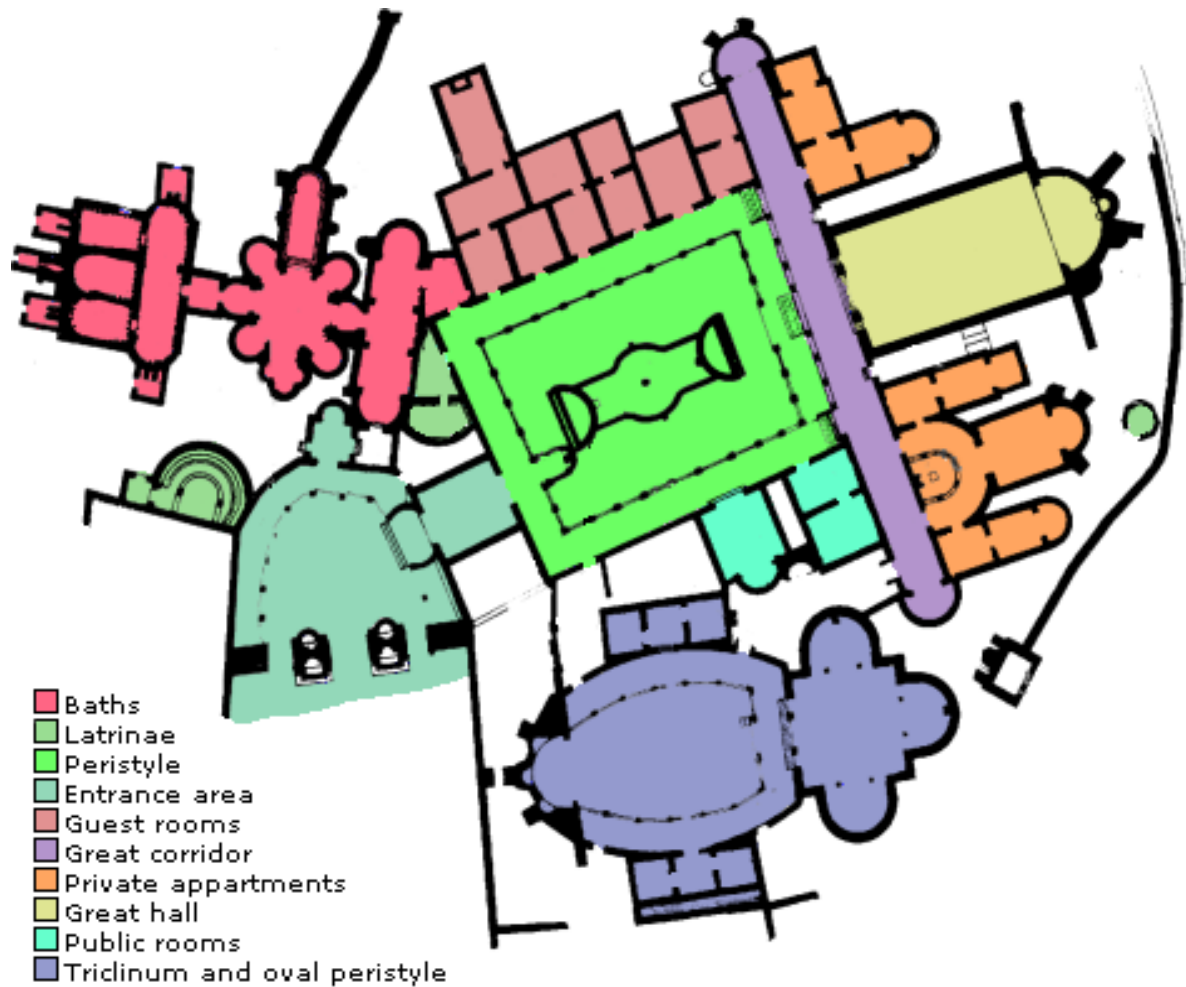
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[320] Barresi (2009: 61f).

Figure 21 Plan of the excavated areas of the Villa Romana del Casale.

The entrance area is structured like a monumental three-bay honorary arch within which are the gates which are decorated with two pairs of fountains inserted between the pillars on each side. From here one enters a polygonal arcaded courtyard from which a small apsidal room, the so-called, *aedicule of Venus*, is accessed and through which a passage room leads to the bath structures. From the courtyard one arrives to a quadrangular room and the vestibule, where guests were received and through which the central area of the great peristyle is accessed.

Figure 22 The courtyard of the entrance area.

The great quadrangular peristyle is the space around which all of the rooms in the villa are located. In its centre is a fountain with three basins and surrounding gardens. The mosaic pavement here, under the arcade, is decorated with a series of animal heads framed by laurel crowns while the walls along the main route preserve fresco fragments of armed figures in procession with large shields accompanying the visitor towards the reception hall. On the nearer side of the arcade by the entrance area, there is the *Sacellum of the Household Gods*, a small apsidal room probably dedicated to the cult of the home's protective deities.

Figure 23 The quadrangular main peristyle with a fountain in the center,
sacellum in the lower right hand corner and mosaic pavement.

The baths area is located on the west side of the central peristyle zone. It encompasses: an antechamber; the private entrance to the baths with a mosaic and the private

171

lavatory for the use of family members which is decorated with a mosaic pavement featuring a whirl of animals; a bi-apsidal hall probably functioning as a gymnasium, decorated with a representation of the *Circus Maximus with a quadriga race* known as a *frigadirium*; the large octagonal hall containing two pools for cold water baths and four *apoditeri*, small apsidal spaces, with benches for changing clothes, decorated with a mosaic of a marine procession; a massage room with a mosaic of an athlete receiving a massage; a *tepidarium*, the warm rooms with fragments of a mosaic of a torch race; a *caldaria* with tubs for hot baths; a *laconicum* for steam baths; and a large arcaded lavatory.

Figure 24 The baths area with tubs for hot baths.

A series of rooms gravitate around the central quadrangular peristyle. The rooms with geometric mosaics were dedicated to service functions like the kitchen. Then there are *hospitalia*, the guest rooms including dining rooms and bedrooms reserved for guests and decorated with genre scenes among which a dancing scene is significant. Two public rooms are located around the central peristyle both introduced by a pair of columns. One is called the 'small hunt room' after its noteworthy mosaic depicting a series of realistic and lively hunting scenes and was possibly used as a living room or a winter dining room. The other, the so-called *diaeta of Orpheus*, is an apsidal hall probably used as a summer dining room or a music room based on its mosaic featuring Orpheus playing the lyre. 'The Great Hunt' is the largest and conceivably the most recognized mosaic in the villa and is found in the long corridor in the antechamber of the basilica. It shows hunts conducted for the capture of animals to be exhibited in circus spectacles in Rome, covering the geographical map of the Roman Empire from the west to the east and populated with a wide range of animals.

172

Figure 25   The Great Hunt mosaic.

In addition to the central public quadrangular peristyle there is another private oval peristyle located in the private zone of the villa. It encompasses a semi-circular *nymphaeum*, a room containing a fountain with plants and sculpture serving as a place to rest. The oval peristyle constitutes an introduction to the great hall, the luxurious tri-apsidal *triclinum* (dining complex) with a mosaic programme which is dominated by a representation of Hercules during his twelve labours at its centre. Around the oval peristyle are six small rooms used for receiving guests or for service functions with mosaics scenes of harvesting grapes.

Figure 26 *Triclinium*, the dining complex with mosaics depicting Hercules during his twelve labours.

The master's quarters consist of two apartments on both sides of the basilica with all of the rooms decorated in diverse mosaic scenes. The basilica, located between the two apartments, is reached by walking through the long corridor of the Great Hunt. The basilica offers the richest decorations to be found in the villa as precious polychrome

173

marbles from all over the Mediterranean were used on the floor and walls. The archaeological findings suggest that the apse vault had been decorated with glass mosaics.

Figure 27 The basilica.

Inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List

Villa Casale was registered on the WH List as, 'Villa Romana del Casale', in 1997 on the basis of criteria (i), (ii) and (iii) as a 'site' and cultural heritage in terms of UNESCO heritage categories. Together with the Archaeological Area of Agrigento, which is a representative of Ancient Greece, the villa was the first Sicilian inscription on the Italian WHL. Both of these entries have introduced Sicilian archaeological heritage which is so symptomatic for Sicily. Furthermore, the Villa Casale was put on the List at a time when Sicily was looking for a way to economic recovery through tourism.

The official justification given by the State Party in the nomination file defines the villa as; 'unique structures that mirror, so completely, not only an antique lifestyle but also a complex economic system that constitutes a moment of union between different cultures in the Mediterranean basin (North African and Roman) that simply does not exist elsewhere'. An effort to focus on the uniqueness and exceptionality is evident. The stated description of the site follows this logic and speaks about (employing original expressions); the unparalleled scale and level of luxury of the Roman villa which would much better merit the title of 'palace' in the context of the Roman Empire and the 4000 sq. meters of

excavated floor mosaics of superlative quality being only a part of the full establishment. The disposition of the site is explained and is divided into four zones. Quoting the original Roman terminology: (1) the first zone consists of the monumental entrance which opens into a courtyard and adjoining baths complex; an oval exercise area (*palestra*) which gives access to an octagonal cold room (*frigidarium*), warm room (*tepidarium*) and three hot baths (*caldaria*); (2) within the next zone resides the main peristyle with a fountain and rooms opening out onto it and a small apsidal shrine; (3) the third zone involves a group of rooms around the quadrangular peristyle including a spacious dining room (*triclinium*) with apses; (4) the last zone includes the basilica, a large hall for receptions, a long corridor and small private rooms.

The mosaics are called the 'glory' of the villa, they date from the most advanced period of mosaic art and are most probably the work of artists from North Africa who used both the classical style and focused principally on mythological scenes with a realistic approach to scenes of contemporary life. Following a range of subjects the mosaics are of: mythology, hunting scenes, flora and fauna, domestic scenes and sporting activities. Three specific mosaics are showed in the nomination file; *The Labours of Hercules, The Great Hunting Scene* and the *'Bikini Girls'.* The hunting scene is said to be the most famous pavement mosaic of the villa covering 350 sq. m and presenting the capture of wild animals in Africa with the master and his assistants directing the activities. The popular 'Bikini Girls' or 'Girls in Bikinis' mosaic is given no specific name in the justification but rather is described as a mosaic where; 'young women wearing costumes remarkably similar to modern bikinis, are engaged in sports activities'.

The justification proposes for the inscription of the whole protected area, which extends to an unexcavated area of the more mundane parts of the villa, are that it indicates the responsible entities for its management and protection to be the Enna (province) division unit of the former Department for Cultural and Natural Heritage (nowadays the Department for Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity) and draws funds for maintenance, restoration and conservation from the Sicilian Regional Government and specifically states that 'there is no involvement from the national government'.

In regards to conservation, a very brief historical context is outlined which includes: major parts of the excavations made in the 1950s and other consecutive conservation work which is now acknowledged to have been inappropriate such as concrete slabs for supporting some of the mosaics which have been given as an example together with the steel and glass cover structure (shelter) that has created undesirable internal climatic conditions for the mosaics[321]. Recent reconstruction work (back in the 1990s, when the

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[321] Twenty years later, during the major renovation works of 2007-2012, though it was viewed differently

justification was formed) on the evacuation of rainwater from the site is mentioned and the revision of the access to the site by creating a new entrance through the monumental entrance of the villa itself in order to enable visitors to proceed in a logical sequence through the villa's separate elements.

In connection with the inappropriate conservation interventions, they bring up the question of authenticity, one of the central issues for the WH Committee. The authenticity of the site is termed as 'generally good', as far as the mosaics, (the top heritage value here) are concerned and where it is stated that: 'the interventions have been minimal'. It is accepted that 'the regrettable use of inappropriate materials, especially reinforced concrete may have affected the overall authenticity' but explained it was done so for the sake of better displaying the mosaics. Promptly, the justification adds that work that will remedy these effects on the authenticity is in progress or planned.

From the history of the site the following elements are mentioned in the nomination file (summarizing the original text): earlier rural settlements, probably a farm, on the site of the villa; the existence of baths in earlier phases suggesting it to be a residence of a rich tenant or the steward of a rich landowner; the discovery of two portraits dating from the Flavian period (late 1st century AD) perhaps representing members of the owner's family; stratigraphy of this earlier house providing a chronology from the 1st century to the end of the 3rd century AD which is the period when the traditional latifundia system using slave labour underwent significant changes; destruction of the earlier house by an earthquake in the first decade of the 4th century by which time it was possibly owned by Marcus Aurelius Maximinianus who came from the ranks of the Roman army, became a general and then was raised to the status of Augustus by Diocletian; after the violent death of Maximinianus in 310 it passed to his son Maxentius who died at the Battle of Milvian Bridge in Rome in 312; the new structure that arose on the ruins of the earlier country house was built between 310 and 340 on the orders of, if not of one of the Roman rulers, then of a rich and powerful landowner; it continued to be occupied until the Arab invasion of the 9th century though in a state of increasing degradation; perhaps the final act of destruction was the work of the Norman ruler of Sicily, William I the Bad, around 1154.

The narration ends at this point. The developments of the villa and its surroundings through the Middle Ages and further back in time as well as the history of the excavation works are omitted in the presentation given in the nomination file.

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and as described earlier, it was decided to keep the original shelter structure and modernize it in the sense of meliorating the conditions of the inner environment.

The ICOMOS evaluation report recognized the Villa del Casale as an example of one of the largest and most luxurious Roman villas. The site's uniqueness was acknowledged to lie in the artistic quality, wealth, extent, and invention of its mosaics. ICOMOS proposed to inscribe this property on the WH List on the basis of criteria (i), (ii), and (iii) that described the outstanding universal value in terms of: being an artistic or aesthetic achievement/masterpiece of creative genius, having influence on developments in arts/architecture/human settlements etc., and being unique/rare or of great antiquity.

In its evaluation report ICOMOS gave several serious recommendations for future actions concerning the conservation of the villa and its mosaics. As the main problem to be solved ICOMOS identified 'drainage' since the site had been exposed to flooding from the periodically occurring rainstorms in this region which possibly have had severe effects on the mosaics. The report appealed for action with the minimum of delay in implementing appropriate measures to generally avoid any kind of further damage caused by water. The shelter over the site was also documented as a source of problems as it was creating a greenhouse effect unpleasant both to the mosaics and the visitors. Moreover the aesthetic aspect was pointed out as well. Therefore, as priority number two, a study of alternative measures for protecting the mosaics was set. Current work to replace the reinforced concrete slabs supporting some of the mosaics was commented on in the sense that it should be intensified.

It is clear that developments in the conservation of the site was the key issue for ICOMOS and an area for potential conflict if not implemented in the near future.

6.3 Past interpretations

There is a conviction present that Sicily could live from tourism alone[322]. General awareness of the beautiful landscape and cultural heritage seem to have been seen as the only elements able to create development. Paradoxically, the opinion of the visiting tourists is that there is a certain lack of interest in public goods among the locals. There is a certain degree of carelessness present at some places of interest which is also manifested in the visitor's representations[323]. The lack of an adequate income from tourism and scarce services offered at sites of interest, usually aimed at encouraging a specific group of archaeological sites, are considered to be obstacles to the development of tourism[324].

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[322] Frazzica (2010: 151).
[323] Frazzica (2010: 154).
[324] Frazzica (2010: 158).

Analyzing the postcards and brochures offered at local information centres and souvenir shops all around Sicily[325], the most common categories of images in terms of frequency were those of architectural and archaeological heritage, natural beauty, folklore and tradition. Specifically the archaeological sites are: historical town centres, architectural monuments, UNESCO logos, the islands, beaches and the sea, Mount Etna, food and dishes, marionettes, mafia and carretto siciliano.

UNESCO's official presentation of the site
The brief introductory description set by UNESCO on the official WHL website sees the Villa del Casale as a symbol of the Roman exploitation of the countryside in the form of a large luxurious estate upon which the rural economy of the Western Empire was based and which gave to the world the finest mosaics in the world. Long and historical descriptions follow the presentation line of the nomination file. The words and the sequence of individual information are identical with only minor differences.

A summarizing description of the site appears at first to be: 'a supreme example of a luxury Roman villa, illustrating the predominant social and economic structure of its age with mosaics exceptional for their artistic value, invention and extent'. Then follows the historical part which speaks about: slender evidence of an earlier rural settlement, a residence, on the site where the late Roman villa was built; continuing with a brief bibliography of the two owners of the property, generals in the Roman army, Marcus Aurelius Maximinianus and his son Maxentinus who died in battle in 312 AD; continuing on to a new rich and powerful owner who built up the villa between 310 and 340 and about whom nothing more is said; the next period of time for the villa is when it was occupied until the Arab invasion of the 9th century; the historical discourse ends with the final act of destruction of the villa, being the work of the Norman ruler of Sicily, William I the Bad in 1155.

Afterwards, the description of the remaining archaeological heritage is included in the terms of the structure of the villa and recognition of the mosaics giving examples of the most famous ones. The excavated area of 4,000 sq. meters, being only a part of the full establishment, is explained as a structure consisting of four zones or groups of buildings: courtyard with bath; main peristyle with joined rooms; dining area with affiliated rooms and the long corridor area with basilica and a hall for receptions which is paved in marble. Regarding the mosaics, 'the glory of the villa': they are classified as the work of artists

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[325] Collected at major touristic spots: Acicastello, Acireale, Agrigento, Caltagirone, Caltanissetta, Catania, Cefalù, Enna, Marsala, Messina, Modica, Noto, Palermo, Piazza Armerina, Ragusa, Scicli, Segesta, Syracusa, Taormina, Trapani.

from North Africa; they have two masters or at least two different approaches were developed – the classical in the mythological scenes and the realistic in the scenes of contemporary life; they are of a wide range of subjects, such as mythology, hunting scenes, flora and fauna, domestic scenes and much more; the finest and most famous is stated to be the pavement mosaic of the long corridor depicting the capture of wild animals in Africa; and the other particularly well-known mosaic, in which women in costumes similar to modern bikinis are engaged in sporting activities, is shown in one of the private rooms.

Professional history frame

Scholars began to explore the history of the Villa del Casale based on historical evidence from around the site and other related materials since its first excavation at the beginning of the 19th century. The first professional excavations were held at the beginning of the the 20th century by Biagio Pace and Paolo Orsi and the major excavation campaign was led by Vinicio Gentili in the 1950s and early 1960s.

On the basis of archaeological finds[326] the first historical evidence of the site speaks about a countryside villa dating to between the first century and the second half of the third century AD on the slopes of Mount Mangone and is the earliest structure to be recognized on the site of the Villa del Casale. In Ancient Roman times, the term '*villa*' indicated a house situated outside the city walls and '*villa rustica*' (countryside villa), was a complex of rural property consisting of the land domain and the villa itself serving both as a residence of the landowner and as a farm management centre for a large agricultural estate called the *latifundium* by the ancient Romans. In modern archaeology the term *villa rustica* is regularly referred to as a 'Roman villa'. For the Roman empire Sicily was a key source of cereal supply, for which reason its agricultural exploitation had grown since the 1st century AD and led to the creation of large estates in Sicily, the villas rustica.

The property of the original villa rustica became an organizational centre during the renewal of agrarian policy after the foundation of Constantinople in 324. A large villa was built in the late Roman period, known as the *Filosofiana*. The hypothesis of dating the late Roman villa oscillate between the end of the 3rd and the end of the 4th centuries. Based on the style of the mosaics, art historian Bianchi Bandinelli (1984) dates the origins of the *Filosofiana* at between 320 and 360. On the other hand Gentili Gino (1999) proposes a date of between 290 and 312 believing that the villa was commissioned by emperor Massimiano or his son Massenzio. A series of earthquakes in Sicily, that happened between 362 and 365, might have affected the villa, damaging it and as a consequence

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[326] Among which are to be named the: ceramic works and coins from around 250-280 AD and the destruction of the layers located near the monumental entrance portal and the baths.

brought about renovations or perhaps its entire reconstruction and must be taken into account. Regarding the ownership of the late Roman villa, there have been undecided discussions. What most academics agree on is that the owner was a roman noble man, a person of high rank. Some, like Salvatore Settis[327], suggest that it might have been the emperor himself. The name of the villa, the *Filosofiana*, has led other scholars to think that the owner was a philosopher.

On the basis of the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*[328] it is known that the *Filosofiana*, despite being located on the Sicilian inland, was directly connected to maritime cities like Agrigento and Marsala, which were the fundamental ports for the African grain trade. This demonstrates the economic importance of the Villa del Casale and its great latifundium of *Filosofiana* during the late Roman Empire. It was a period of maximum development for the residence in which it was enriched with an impressive mosaic decorative programme, state rooms and a large public bath complex. The late Roman villa was transformed into a miniature city.

During the Byzantine period (5th and 6th centuries), as a result of historical processes[329] which changed the social and economic structure of the island, the late antique structure of the villa was adapted to defensive purposes which influenced the process of the abandonment of the villa. In later centuries, such as the Early Middle Ages, the villa was reoccupied and gained a new residential structure by transforming the rooms into functional space for agricultural and production activities. The new medieval, rural, fortified settlement that derived from this development took the name; *Palàtia*, *Blàtea* or *Iblâtasah*[330], and became, possibly, one of the most extensive and significant settlements of its kind in central-southern Sicily during the times of the Arab (10-11th centuries) and Norman (11-12th centuries) occupations.

The villa suffered a major collapse in the second half of the 12th century after it was destroyed in 1161 as a result of a revolt against Guglielmo il Malo. There was also a new fortified city, on the current site of Piazza Armerina, which was founded in 1163, and an intensive earthquake which occurred in 1169. A settlement in the form of a small group of houses, known by the name of *Casale,* had persisted in the area of the villa as further evidenced in the 15th century. The inland areas of the countryside, including the land around *Casale* were abandoned thanks to frequent flooding during the 17th century and

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[327] Salvatore Settis (1975: 993) tends to see some of the mosaics under the aspect of imperial propaganda, so he believes that the owner of the villa was an emperor.

[328] It is a road report and collection of itineraries of the Roman Empire including a geographic map from between the 1st and 4th centuries AD.

[329] Including the invasion of the Vandals or the Gothic War of 535-554.

[330] Described by Ibn Idris, the 12th century Arab geographer. See Pensabene (2010: 16).

the villa was submerged for a time.

The ruins of the villa began to draw the attention and the interest of scholars, travellers, antiquities dealers and excavators from the beginnings of the 19th century. Initial surveys were carried out by Sabatino del Muto in 1812 and by Luigi Pappalardo in 1881. The first professional excavation campaign was conducted in 1929 by archaeologist Paolo Orsi, who discovered the first mosaics. The professional excavation work continued under Giuseppe Cultrera from 1935 to 1939 and brought to light the area of the triclinio. The most complete project to unearth the site was undertaken by archaeologist Gino Vinicio Gentili in the 1950s and early 1960s which uncovered the whole noble part with mosaic floors. A few further localized excavations were also realized by Andrea Cardini in 1970s.

The exposed parts of the villa, and especially the mosaics needed to be protected. The winning architect in the competition to design the new coverings for the site, Franco Minissi, realized an innovative architectural solution between 1957 and 1967. He utilized iron uprights and trusses topped by sheets of plastic to cover the roof and enclose the perimeter walls in order to protect the mosaics. However, this solution generated specific microclimatic conditions and as a consequence serious damage to the mosaic flooring was caused. Further damage to some of the mosaics and frescoes was also caused by acts of vandalism in the 1990s.

In 1997 the site was recognized by UNESCO as a World Heritage site and added to the World Heritage List. In connection with ICOMOS, which gave some important recommendations regarding the conservation of the site, a recuperation and conservation project was launched in 2004 opening a debate over the problems faced by the villa. Intervention work[331] took place from 2007 to 2013 and concerned around 3,000 sq meters of mosaic in addition to numerous wall paintings. Minissi´s original idea of a shelter construction was reactivated and the material that had been used for conservation was substituted with others that were better suited. During these years excavations were also carried out in the area of the medieval settlement south of the villa under the direction of Patrizio Pensabene.

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[331] Attention was put on the durability of the intervention with regard to the elegance with which chosen materials age. The simplicity of maintenance as well as the physical impact on the existing structures were concerns. There was a need to avoid the overheating of covered environments and increases of relative humidity in order to prevent a greenhouse effect. In order to do so, air circulation was allowed and light was let through in a manner to achieve a penumbra.

In situ presentations

The pictures used to represent the villa are mostly whole mosaic scenes or parts of the mosaic elements together with scenery of the whole archeological site or some part of it. If there is enough space, as these are commonly used in combination: both the illustration of the archaeological site and the mosaic, the 'outer and the inner' image, are used. If only a single illustration is to be used, generally it would be of the mosaics. This makes sense because in the case of the Villa Romana del Casale the mosaics are what elevates the site.

As an illustrative visual accompaniment the guidebooks[332] usually depict a photo of the Bikini girls mosaic. Taking into account local pamphlets, postcards and so on, the mosaic scene of the 'Bikini girls' is the most presented image in the popular discourse, and thus one of the central figures of remembering. It depicts women in sportswear similar to bikinis, engaged in physical exercise and physical competitive practices. It seems to be something modern people are able to associate themselves to most easily, contrary to the mythological scenes of Ancient Rome for example. It is quite a paradoxical situation since the female physical competitive practises were a way to define one´s own unique social status and were considered typically aristocratic[333] in Ancient Roman times. Conversely, nowadays it is ascribed to the broader masses.

Figure 28 Official logo of the site of Villa Romana del Casale.

The official logo of the site consists of a stylized graphic design of a mosaic element and the full name of Villa Romana del Casale. The logo is easy to read, being an obvious symbol for which it stands and points to the mosaics as the central heritage value. This logo is found on the presentation materials made by the administrative authority of the site, which is the Regional Museum Service of the Villa Romana del Casale and Piazza Armerina (*Servizio museo regionale della Villa Romana del Casale a Piazza Armerina*). This

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[332] See Le Guide del Gabbiano (1997), Firenze; Le guide Mondadori, Sicilia (1998), Milano; Guida generale della Sicilia (1989), Palermo, 1989; Sicilia Michelin (1998), Ligugé.
[333] Pensabene (2009: 83).

institutional administrator operates the official website of the site[334], and gives in situ presentations on panels and in brochures. The website pages and brochures have headings in which, along with the logo of the villa, three other smaller logos are used. One is the official public flag of the autonomous region of Sicily, the others are the UNESCO logo together with the logo of the World Heritage List. Using the Sicilian flag as a representational symbol stresses the identity of the Sicilian heritage.

Figure 29 Flag of the region of Sicily.

In 2012, the entry ticket for the Villa Romana did not give any kind of information whatsoever related to the villa specifically. It did not even say what site the ticket was valid for and the UNESCO logo was missing. The only information provided was the ticket number, the price, the heading of the Department for Cultural Heritage and Sicilian Identity (upper left hand corner) and its division unit, the Sicilian museums, galleries and archaeological areas (lower left hand corner). Also used were images of the Sicilian flag and an antique sculpture of a torso which does not concretely relate to the villa. It is evident that the ticket is a general ticket template made for Sicilian culture heritage sites. In this manner the site, in its official presentation, from the perspective of a regional level, lacks uniqueness and does not fully use the UNESCO logo as a trademark and desirable marketing brand.

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[334] Called 'Villa Romana del Casale'. See [http://www.villaromanadelcasale.cz].

Figure 30 Entry ticket to Villa Romana del Casale from January 2012.

In the same year, there was only one brochure presenting the villa that was accessible in common distribution at the site or at the Piazza Armerina information center. Several brochures and guidebooks were available for purchase at the entrance office to the villa or at tourist stands in front of it. These presentation materials were largely photographic with present-day images of the archaeological site, the mosaics, floor plan layouts and accompanying descriptive texts primarily containing factual information such as names, dates, titles, historical events, architectural parameters and so on. Pretty much the same pattern applies to both the presentations given on the panels at the site and those on the official website. Even though a lot of information is presented, in some of these cases, e.g. on the website, information as such is not an interpretation. Therefore there is little interpretation present at the site.

There is a hint of interpretation that can be sensed regarding the unverified owner of the villa. The in situ brochures and panels and the official website favour the ownership of a member of the Roman senatorial aristocracy or a Roman governor but also refer to the possibility that the villa might had been ´built and expanded on directly by imperial commissions´, referring to it as a ´theory of some scholars´. Why not mention something that sounds ´more important´, something that could help promote the underlying uniqueness and high value of the site?

The official website also has certain limits: it seems outdated and confusing; the information is poorly traceable; it does not have a united graphic form; the photo gallery only offers very small images; navigation through the pages is difficult; there are links to blank pages with missing information. It is also very limited when it comes to languages other than Italian. Only scarce information regarding the history of the villa is available in

184

English. Other information important for visitors, like the opening hours or how to arrive, is completely missing in English.

The information presented on the website involves voluminous 'step by step' historical accounts, chronologically ordered and full of 'classical information' such as dates, names, places. There are also various legal documents regarding the heritage status, regulations, renovations and excavation projects and campaigns. The website also provides some statistics concerning the number of visits. Few academic articles on the villa are available to download and it is the same for the two printable brochures offered in English, French and Italian.

The official presentation material created under the authority of the Regional Museum Service of the Villa Romana del Casale and the Piazza Armerina sets the introduction of the villa within the context of the whole territory as 'the villa and the territory of the five senses: the scent of the forest, the taste of the products from the earth, the echo from history, the vision of the mosaics, the feel of the Mediterranean culture'. The official website for presenting the villa is actually a joint website connected to other sites in its vicinity, like the *Palazzo Trigona* in Piazza Armerina, the archaeological park of the *Villa Romana del Casale e Palazzo Trigona della Floresta e di San Cono* and many others that are incorporated on the different route itineraries. Theoretically, these sites can greatly benefit from the joint presentation but perhaps the villa would lose a bit of its uniqueness by having other sites on its side or by being part of a larger context.

One would expect towns such as Piazza Armerina to make great use of the World Heritage status of the Villa Romana which is located within its territory but the promotion of the villa made by the municipality is rather poor. On the official website of the town, the Villa Casale does not have its own link and is presented as just one of the many tourist attractions and heritage sites in the town on the toolbar menu. The question is what has caused this attitude: the fact that the administrator of the site is not the municipality; the distance of 5 km or, for example, the villa's own historical development with its few historic links to the town.

As regards to the way the town is branded, Piazza Armerina uses the logo of the association of Italian World Heritage, the *Associazione Beni Italiani Patrimonio Mondiale UNESCO,* for its identification with the Villa Casale. The association was established in 1997 by several Italian municipalities with UNESCO World Heritage status in order to pursue joint promotions. From this perspective a category of Italian World Heritage had been formed. In a way it is contradictory to use two different status adjectives like, the 'world' and 'Italian' for the same brand at the same time.

Figure 31 Logo of the association for Italian World Heritage.

The town of Piazza Armerina, together with the villa, make up part of the Tourist district of the South East, inc. (*Distretto turistico Sud Est s.c.r.l.*), more commonly known as the SudEst, which consists of sixteen municipalities, including the main heritage and tourism sites of eastern Sicily. Ten of these have been listed on the WHL and include the late baroque towns of the Val di Noto (Noto, Palazzolo Acreide, Ragusa, Modica, Scicli, Catania, Caltagirone, Militello in Val di Catania), Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica and the Villa Romana del Casale in Piazza Armerina. The SudEst tourist district also contains three candidate sites recognized by the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage for UNESCO recognition; Acireale, Ispica and Mazzarino. Three other towns; Cassaro, Ferla and Sortino are also being considered.

Figure 32 Logo of the SudEst tourist association.

The association was established in 2012 with the aim of improving the attractiveness of the territory to tourists by stimulating cooperation between public bodies, companies and individuals in the area and by leading integrated tourism development. SudEst also encourages joint promotion and an overall unified image of the cultural heritage of the South East of Sicily both on the national and the international levels. Due to its short existence, direct results or impacts from SudEst activities are not covered in this thesis. Perhaps it is for this reason that the participation of Piazza Armerina and the villa in the SudEst is not presented on either of the Piazza Armerina or Villa Romana del Casale websites nor in the printed information material, brochures or on in situ panels.

Overall, the poor presentation of information on the Villa Romana also applies to several other important Sicilian cultural heritage sites including the ones with UNESCO World Heritage status[335]. Two types of exceptions to this pattern were noted. One was the town of Noto which was a part of the UNESCO World Heritage inscription of the *Late Baroque Towns of the Val di Noto*. Noto is a small town, roughly the same size as Piazza Armerina, with a very visible identification with its cultural heritage and especially with UNESCO, whose logo is seen in many places like the numerous information panels all around the town, in brochures for free distribution at a well-equipped information center and even at the municipal house. The example of Noto says that it is possible, even for a smaller and less known site, to use the UNESCO logo in its presentation and on its websites.

The other exception, in the context of local Sicilian heritage presentation practices, would be the Benedictine monastery of San Nicolo in Catania which is a UNESCO World Heritage site[336]. The monastery hosts the Department of Humanities for the University of Catania and its administration is bound to the university environment. It is curated by an association called, *Officine Culturali.* Perhaps this influences the differences in the quality of the promotion and presentation of this heritage site. The official website of the site is fully bilingual in English, a lot of printed presentation material is offered for free at the information centre which is opened all year regardless of the season, staff speak English and offer regular guided tours every day.

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[335] It concerns, for example Syracuse, Pantalica, Agrigento and Catania.

[336] It is a late baroque monument and one of the biggest Benedictine monasteries in Europe. The construction of the building started in 1500 and has continued until today. It is an example of the architectonical integration of different styles through different epochs. The monastery makes up a part of the *Late Baroque Towns of the Val di Noto* UNESCO inscription.

7 CONCLUCIONS

In this thesis heritage, including UNESCO World Heritage, can generally be seen as a medium of communication, a means of transmitting ideas, values and knowledge that includes the material, the intangible and the virtual. In particular, the selected heritage sites were taken into account to be producers of the past and are a contemporary means and way of using the past. These sites, like any other object, have multiple meanings. Through exercising the diversity approach UNESCO underscores this line. The wide range of inscribed sites shows not only the diversity of heritage but also the multiplicity of their reception.

7.1 Comparative analysis

The three case studies of the three different UNESCO World Heritage sites chosen for this thesis show spatial, temporal, categorical and cultural variety and mutability. One site is located in the Czech Republic, one in Japan, and the last one is in Sicily; three different countries and cultures with their own distinct heritage settings. There are three variant placements for the heritage sites: one is the historical centre of a town, the second is located in the very centre of a big city and the last one lies in the outskirts of a small town. The case studies present three miscellaneous heritage types: the first one is a group of architectural monuments, the second one is a single monument in torso state which represents the intangible form of heritage, and the last one is an archeological site. The three sites present different historical periods and pasts: one brings the medieval and rather distant past, the second takes in recent modern history, and the last one recalls a very distant past from ancient times. Their interpretation and presentation settings also vary.

These heterogeneous cases were chosen deliberately, each being very different from the others, in order to track the variables and to provide insight into the largest possible number of aspects of diversity which form the basis of the World Heritage entity. Different cultural settings, geographical locations, heritage categories, historical periods, remembering modes, presentation and interpretation perspectives were therefore desirable.

Heritage type

Architectural-intangible-archaeological

The average number of inscribed properties on the World Heritage List for an individual state is six. All the countries discussed in this thesis are well above this number for World Heritage sites: the Czech Republic with twelve, Japan with twenty and Italy [337]with a record number of fifty-one. It is the number one country in terms of the number of inscriptions from among all member states.

The two European countries, the Czech Republic and Italy, possess a very small amount of natural heritage on the WHL compared to Japan. In both the Czech Republic and Italy, natural sites make up about 8% of the inscriptions. However, in Japan, natural heritage forms about 21% of the list. These figures speak in favour of the idea that the Japanese have a stronger relationship to natural heritage due to their sentiment for nature which stems from the traditional Shinto religion and cultural thoughts.

The situation is also similar in terms of intangible heritage. Considering the amount of intangible heritage inscribed on the UNESCO List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, there is a significant disbalance among the selected countries. Compared to the seven Italian and five Czech inscriptions Japan stands out significantly with its twenty-one. These ratios refer to the emphasis the Japanese place on the immaterial and spiritual aspects of heritage. Both cases show how and in what manner cultural settings can influence the type of proposed and inscribed heritage of individual state parties.

This logic, together with the influence of diverse historical developments and natural conditions, also applies to architectural heritage. This has traditionally been one of the most significant, acknowledged and appreciated heritage types in European countries. The material evidence and the value of age, together with a mix of artistic and technical achievements reflected in the 'old architecture', characterizes European heritage practices and preferences in local cultural settings. From this perspective, the older, the more technically advanced and the more artistically spectacular the architectural site is, the better. This is exactly what the Kutná Hora site is about.

'Old architecture' is the most inscribed type of heritage on the WHL in European countries. Looking at the three case studies, the composition of the list of inscribed World Heritage sites in the Czech Republic favors architectural heritage with 92%, while Italy has 62% and Japan has 40%. Italy's lower percentage is due to the fact that it has a significant proportion of archaeological heritage sites, 21%, inscribed on the WHL. The archaeological type of heritage, which can actually be regarded as a form of architecture, and the

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[337] Sicily has seven inscriptions.

perception of archaeological values also results from particular historical conditions bound to specific cultural environments. As the hub of ancient civilizations, the Mediterranean area, including Sicily and Italy, comprise a distinctive volume of archaeological sites given that historical development in this area and natural conditions enabled their preservation. Over time, their continued appreciation led to their protection, restoration and presentation.

The classic Greek and Roman architecture, today the archaeological heritage, is used as a symbol for the UNESCO logo. Regardless of the eventual intended messages, such a reference to the cultural efforts of the Greek and Roman civilizations served as a draft for the future orientation of UNESCO's agenda. It offered a possibility to relate to UNESCO's objectives through archaeological heritage, which broadly perceived the relics and heritage of the past to be common to everyone. The temple of Ancient architecture used in the UNESCO logo is considered exclusively to be a European symbol and as such the UNESCO logo is Eurocentric rather than 'United Nations-centric'.

Geographical and cultural settings
East,Central European-Asian-Mediterranean
The introduction parts of the case studies aims to put World Heritage into the context of the particular conditions that are affected by cultural, historical and geographical specifications tied to a concrete place. It was done with the intention of being able to observe and point out how different geographical and cultural settings can influence local heritage agendas and practices as well as the ways of presenting and interpreting the World Heritage site.

It is clear that geographical and cultural settings play a significant role and can lead to differences in heritage perception and in the defining of heritage values. As a consequence they cause diverse heritage practice and preservation issues. The genuine Japanese concept of intangible heritage and the perception of intangible heritage values has already been mentioned several times. The source of such attitudes can be associated with the local Shinto and Buddhism cosmology and the belief in the transience of all phenomena and the material uncertainty inherent in all things. It would also be possible to link it with the geographical conditions of Japan where, due to the earthquake activity and natural resources, traditional building constructions were made of wood and did not last for long. On the other hand, in the cases of the Czech Republic and Sicily, the geographical circumstances made it possible to build from stone and allowed for the preservation of such sites which thus became heritage and which are appraised on the values of age and material authenticity.

Also, dissimilar histories can impact the overall local heritage discourse and creates a variant range of preserved heritage categories. As a hub of ancient civilizations Sicily has a lot of preserved evidence and hereby naturally possesses a considerable collection of archaeological heritage.

From this point of view, UNESCO and the World Heritage concept act as an external impulse. Some sites are aware of their own significance without it, like Hiroshima. There is obvious and clearly distinguishable evidence of local traditions in heritage preservation and practices. However, some sites have become recognized as cultural heritage only because of external incentives from the side of UNESCO (like intangible cultural heritage) which have inspired local communities to realize and identify any new possibilities the sites may have.

Location and visiting pattern
Town-city-outskirts, short-long-quick
The physical setting of a World Heritage site is another variable feature that can affect, influence and have impact on a site. In Kutná Hora the World Heritage site is discontinuous. One part is bound to the urban landscape and spread out in the historical town centre. Another part consists of two farther monuments, once located near the town, which today are located in a suburban area of the town. In the case of Hiroshima, the World Heritage site is represented by a very specific and vast area which has been transformed into a commemorative park in the very center of a big city. The World Heritage site of the Villa Romana del Casale is a secluded archeological park located in the distant outskirts of a small town.

The physical location determines the range of functions that are bound to a site. In Kutná Hora the site is in the historical centre which is linked to a greater variety of uses such as sightseeing, tourism, cultural events (visiting galleries, theatre, music halls, festivals), eating out, amusements, meetings and conferences. While in Hiroshima, although the World Heritage site is also situated in the city centre, the specific conditions of creating a memorial area and the physical appearance of the park limits its commemoration functions. In the case of the Villa Romana the physical absence of substance other than the archaeological site and the missing interconnectedness with an inhabited fabric leads to it having the single function of being a tourist venue.

The interconnectedness of a heritage site to an urban environment (or populated area) can be a considerable factor in being able to relate to a site. This can positively work against the emptying of meaning and for attracting tourists which raises revenues associated with tourism. In the case of the Villa Romana, locals may drive by on occasion

191

but they almost never go to the villa and visit. It is evident that identification with the site is missing and the presentation of the site is somewhat lukewarm.

On the contrary, in Hiroshima everyone who moves around the city whether for shopping, work, leisure etc. passes directly by or through the site on a regular basis. The locals actually see the site and, for them, it literally exists in their everyday lives. The connection with the site is strong as is demonstrated by the large number of interest groups and institutions related to the heritage site and the attendance at the Peace Memorial Ceremony. Historic town centres represent a specific urban fabric that can be incorporated into the life of a city to varying degrees. Usually the bigger an urban area is, the less everyday life functions (work, shopping, school) the historic centre has and the more it serves tourism and leisure. As a consequence the more complicated the processes of local identification becomes.

The common objective of local policies is to keep visitors in town as long as possible since it generates higher incomes. Generally, the larger the surrounding environment is the greater activity it creates which is likely to also concern the heritage sites. It is easier to keep the visitors longer if there are other attractive options for them or the site alone is big enough to offer a variety of amusements or the heritage site is so big that it requires a greater amount of time for its exploration. The case of the Villa Romana shows how complicated it can be when favourable circumstances are missing. The archeological park is six kilometers from a small town, which does not offer much to visitors. Given the inland position the sea, which is usually a popular destination in a visit to Sicily, is not relevant. The logical consequence is that the visits have shrunk to just the few hours necessary to visit the modest sized archeological site.

The awareness of other sites of interest in the vicinity is another physical circumstance that helps to make tourists want to stay longer. This could be the reason Kutná Hora also pays attention to the presentations and promotions of other sites of interest in the surroundings of the town. Nevertheless, tourists usually do not stay overnight in Kutná Hora rather they come for a quick half-day or a one-day visit. The situation is different in Hiroshima where visitors ordinarily stay for a longer time, at least one or two days. The heritage site alone is so extensive and remarkable that visitors spend more time on its exploration. There are also two more agents that support this direction. One is the urban substance of a big city which offers various other possibilities, activities or programmes to attend. The other is the presence of another UNESCO World Heritage site in the neighbourhood, the Itsukushima Shinto shrine which is thirty kilometres from Hiroshima.

Historic time, remembered past and the purpose of remembering
Medieval-modern-ancient, idealized-discussed-distant, educative-message-tourism

The three heritage sites in the case studies refer to three different historical periods. The World Heritage of Kutná Hora recalls the medieval past, Hiroshima the modern history and the Villa Romana the ancient times. The older the historical period of a site is, the more likely it is that the heritage is less documented and remembered and that the attitudes towards the site will be more reserved. This could also imply that the more recent the past is, the more experienced it is since it is easier to make a connection with it and to feel like a part of it. The case studies indicated that the more distant the past is, the less emotional involvement and attachment there is, which is reflected by the total popularity, importance and significance of a site.

Archaeological heritage, as the least approachable type of heritage, show signs of difficulties in understanding sites since it is problematic to find associations with the site and therefore these can easily be missing. This is the case of the Villa Romana del Casale. The documentation of past happenings has substantial limits and several information gaps such as the previously discussed ownership of the villa. The site was abandoned for a long time and the discontinuity of settlement resulted in poor attachment and weak identification. Thus the heritage of the Villa Romana became indirectly remembered, presented and is perceived largely as a tourist opportunity.

The remembered past attached to a particular heritage site is not always a positive and unconflicted one. In Hiroshima the past the site evokes is still vivid, complicated and discussed, being a modern day political issue. Different groups of people remember in divergent ways. Survivors reveal different stories and visitors arrive with various pre-understandings. The official structures focus on giving an unbiased, integrated presentation and interpretation framework. Among the case studies in this thesis, the Hiroshima heritage site has the highest number of visitors and indicates that people are interested in experiencing recent history, in particular the momentous events of the 20th century, and one of the major episodes in recent world history.

Memorial parks are places dedicated to memory and remembering. The way people acknowledge and experience this type of heritage site is through empathy and by being exposed to local 'memento mori' which are clear messages by their very nature. In addition to that, in Hiroshima, the stated desirable purpose of remembering is the proclamation and promotion of peace.

In Kutná Hora the medieval past gives the impression of being close enough that connections can still be made to it. People can relate to it, and at the same time it is

distant enough to be viewed as unproblematized and thus, from a certain point of view, idealized. The way visitors consume this kind of heritage site is by observing the material evidence and by absorbing the presented information on when, where, who, what, how and why the artefacts they see came into being. Through the acquired understanding of these artefacts/material evidence visitors are supposed to learn what the lives of people were like in the past. The life-sized scenes from everyday life in the past, tableaux or historical parades, like the Royal Silvering of Kutná Hora, support the educative approach. The purpose of remembering here is somewhat like a history lesson.

7.2 Strategies for presenting and interpreting the past

One of the possible ways to maintain a collective awareness of the past in a society is by using various spatial strategies. The spatial strategy practice aims at presenting and interpreting the past via heritage and encompasses a variety of actions like: the preservation of monuments and sites (seen in all three case studies); the reconstruction of perished buildings and sites (seen in Kuntá Hora and at the Villa Romana); leaving debris in their authentic torso states (seen in Hiroshima); the erection of memorials (seen in Hiroshima); urban planning (seen in Hiroshima); the setting up of signboards and information panels (seen in all the three cases). The three case studies in this thesis represent three individual spatial strategies that relate to the ways of presenting and interpreting the past and can be seen from an intercultural perspective.

In the matter of presentation, all three case studies show the effort of the World Heritage sites to present themselves as unique and original places on their own in order to clearly distinguish their own pasts. The notion of uniqueness makes up one of the central points of the presentations such as, 'the largest', 'the oldest', 'the highest', 'the first to' etc. In general, 'the most' actually reflects this urge for uniqueness and helps to distinguish a particular site, making it exceptional and thus more likely to be unforgettable.

Following this pattern, the Villa Romana is presented as having, 'the largest excavated mosaic area' and Hiroshima as, 'the first city to experience an atomic bombing'. In the case of Kutná Hora, it was 'the richest town in medieval times'. However, this notion of Kutná Hora's uniqueness makes more sense in the context and framework of the Czech Republic as it was also 'the second most important' town after Prague. When included in the world perspective, Kutná Hora would be 'one of the most' (one of 'the most well-preserved' medieval cities, having one of 'the most beautiful' Gothic cathedrals) but not 'the only'. It is obvious that some UNESCO sites can not offer notions of uniqueness in the

context of the whole set of World Heritage sites and that their notions of uniqueness are valid rather at the national or regional levels.

The common rationale of a heritage presentation, focuses on what it special, unique and particular about a site. It draws attention to and stresses the differences rather than the similarities. On this point the presentation model can seemingly appear to be inconsistent with the WHL and UNESCO's unifying tendencies. To overcome this methodological disbalance UNESCO adopted the 'unity in diversity' formula and the concept of 'cultural diversity as the common heritage of humanity' in the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001.

In order to catch a visitor's attention and support the process of remembering, sites are developing presentations where a certain peculiarity, unusual true stories or stunning numbers are pointed out. One of the central narratives in Hiroshima, the story of Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes, is true, simple, comprehensible and imaginable, allowing personal involvement which goes hand in hand with the identification that encourages remembering. The information about the 4,000 sq. m of mosaics in the Villa Romana gives us a number and makes an impression. It is something concrete and conceivable and as such is more likely to enter into the record. In Kutná Hora the ossuary in Sedlec is something very uncommon, a rarity and is what draws a lot of the visitor's attention. Even though the ossuary is not directly linked to the medieval past, silver mining or the Gothic architecture of the town its image is used in presentation materials of the site as one of the central points of remembering.

A frequent pattern in presenting and interpreting a site is the 'before & after' schema, especially when it concerns historical development. A breaking point or series of breaking points are usually defined as an event or a period perceived as 'the most significant' or 'the most desireable' to remember. In Kutná Hora such a breaking point was the depletion of the mining deposits. Until then the site had experienced a golden age and was one of the richest cities in the country. After that it gradually declined becoming one of the less important small provincial towns. In Hiroshima the breaking point has an exact time: the 6th of August 8:15 a.m. The museum exhibition and many other presentation materials in situ are divided into sections of; 'before the bombing' and 'after the bombing'. Before the bombing life in the city was like any other, after the bombing nothing could ever be the same again.

In the case of Villa Romana there are two main breaking points presented. The first one is the abandonment of the villa and the other is its archaeological discovery. Before the abandonment the villa was one of the most splendid and important Roman residences on

the island, after the abandonment it was totally forgotten and fell into ruin. Chronologically speaking the second breaking point is given by the nature of the location as an archaeological site. Before the excavations there was not much physical evidence of the villa, afterwards one of the largest mosaic areas in the world had been uncovered.

The interpretation of a site can be carried out in different ways and can also be missing. At the Villa Romana there is a lot of factual information presented but very little interpretation. Presenting information as such is not an interpretation. Not only in this specific case of the Villa Romana del Casale but also in cases of archaeological heritage in general as there is more space for different variables in interpretations. The more distant the past is, the less is normally known thus there is more space for hypothesis, imagination and different interpretations. Perhaps because various options are possible or because of the scarce information and difficulty in reading archaeological materia, presenting a single, consistent interpretation could lead to losing credit which would open a space for visitors to investigate the site on their own.

In the presentation of Kutná Hora interpretation is often present and represents the site from the point of view of the daily life in the medieval mining town. In practice this means the existence, functions, appearance and other features of the architectural heritage are explained as a result of the mining activity as well as the medieval royal town culture and community. This is also possibly why the guides lead tours in historical miner costumes and why the city holds the costume parade during which people are expected to experience the life of the medieval townsfolk. The museum also has exhibitions that recreate life-sized scenes from the town's medieval daily life.

In the case of Hiroshima interpretation is at hand throughout the presentation. Although various interpretations could be considered and presented, it is possible to identify one main line, which pictures Hiroshima as a city of peace and explains the circumstances and contributory factors leading to it representing itself as such. As to the interpretation patterns, the results from these three case studies suggest that even if more possible interpretations of past events related to the site are possible they are either only highlighted one at a time or none of them is integrated into the presentation framework. As seen in Hiroshima the used interpretation can also change over time. Since the late 1940's the prevailing interpretive structure has been the one of memento mori represented by the slogan 'No more Hiroshimas'.

Creating memoryscape

Remembering, presenting and interpreting the past can lead to creating a memoryscape which can be considered as a specific type of spatial strategy. Particular sites, objects and pictures are given importance and made into symbols that convey the past which is thus becoming localized. These sites, objects and pictures gain various intensities of importance. It is possible to compare it to a hierarchical structure where one or a few sites, objects or pictures represent central symbols which have stronger intensity and significance than the sublevels of other sites grouped around them and are used with objects and pictures that symbolize a lower order. There is usually one or a few central phenomena from which the other remembering figures stem. Such spatial practices structure the conditions of social life. In this way, to some extent, social memory is spatially constituted. This structuring can lead to musealization of sites, the presence of tourists and to various commemorative practices.

Leaving a heritage site or a monument in a torso state is not such an uncommon practice when creating a memoryscape. The act of leaving the debris in situ bears a message and creates a memory of the overall story with its apparent ending, which would not exist or be as strong if it had been done another way. Behind these acts stands either a lack of interest in or a need to mark an end to the story with which the site is associated. The element of discontinuity forms the core of this spatial practice. This strategy appears as a naturally occurring outcome of historical processes when it comes to archaeological sites that mostly refer to bygone ancient civilizations with few direct links to contemporary society. In those cases it is more likely that the reason for leaving the site in a torso state is the lack of interest and the fact that it is an established practice valid for archaeological heritage. A different situation applies to the A-bomb Dome in Hiroshima and possibly, in general, to other war monuments which have been left in a torso state. In these cases this spatial strategy manifests a need to disassociate and to draw a line marking it as a completed past.

An interesting thing that can be observed in the case of Hiroshima, is an effort to record and embody meaningful numbers in space and in a symbolic way. For example, the number of victims of the atomic bombing corresponds with the number of tiles used at the Memorial Hall and with the number of bricks used in the Peace Cathedral.

Commemorative practice

The presentation and interpretation strategies of UNESCO World Heritage sites and heritage sites differ in general but certain methods seem to be used repeatedly among which is the sphere of commemorative practice. Commemoration in general is a significant feature of the past and is interwoven with manifold aspects in present day

197

societies such as; the sense of the past, religious tradition, political ideology, social structures or the forming of collective identity. Commemoration separates the special from the ordinary. Acts of commemoration are about retaining memory, or committing to memory, events, developments and people from the past. When these are marked, meaning is assigned to an event, occurrence, or lives of individuals or groups that are important for the presentation and interpretation framework to which society can relate.

The spectrum of activities relating to commemorative practice is wide and includes: memorial services, marches, parades, festivals, storytelling, archives and so on. Some of the commemorative activities are original or one of a kind, some have been copied or modified and others are of a general nature. The success of such practices depends on various factors. One thing that seems to affect success is when the commemorative practice addresses both the locals, the visitors and the tourists who attend. This idea is confirmed by both the Royal Silvering in Kutná Hora and the Peace Ceremony in Hiroshima. On one hand, commemoration can be an enjoyable experience that opens up historical events in a way that makes a personal impact and/or can perform the function of entertainment, which is the case of the Royal Silvering in Kutná Hora. On the other hand, commemoration can also be many-sided, difficult, divisive or painful as seen in Hiroshima.

Developing catchwords

History is a very strong component in the presentation of a site. It tends to be cumulative and to include everything. But the presentations and interpretations are selective, they highlight just one or only a few aspects and for this purpose a few catchwords are developed. These catchwords are used repeatedly and are intended to evoke, express and represent the overall story of whichever past is associated with the site. The catchwords are there to integrate the whole site with its past into a single frame. In Kutná Hora these catchwords are: 'medieval town' and 'silver mining'. The catchwords in Hiroshima are: 'atom bombing' and 'peace'. In the case of the Villa Romana they are: 'mosaics' and 'Roman villa'.

7.3 UNESCO impact

UNESCO claims to provide leadership and guidance across the world in the search for international agreements and cooperations. In doing so it has produced the World Heritage concept, which can be seen as a kind of common project focused on the future. As the present time is often thought to be an epoch that lacks projects for the future, this could be a contributory factor towards the inclination of the World Heritage idea. Through

World Heritage inscriptions UNESCO brings in multiple ways of knowing, explaining and of being in the world by relating to one own's past. The World Heritage List combines individual commemorative narratives into one, big, master commemorative narrative of the whole of the human past. Here again the cultural diversity approach and the 'unity in diversity' motto are to be pointed out. The World Heritage List brings together a collection of local memories from all over the world. It gives space to how people remember and how they construct the past through memory and remembering and not only through academic history.

In some aspects World Heritage is a political issue. As the selection process of heritage sites for the World Heritage List is driven by the diplomatic negotiations of member state delegations and by a country's political influence, World Heritage is a subject for politicization. Political interests play a role here and are one of the shaping factors in decision making activities concerning heritage as global public goods.

Top-down & bottom-up organization of presentation and interpretation
As far as the presentation of sites as a UNESCO World Heritage concern, it seems there is no such thing as any kind of prearranged sample outline that sites are required to follow. There is no uniform concept that says how to present or interpret a site and its past. From UNESCO's side, local and national entities are not tied to some set of predetermined standards or forms in the matter of any given presentation and interpretation. The sites themselves, with different combinations of local and national involvement, choose and create their own ways of presenting and interpreting individually. This means that the presentation of World Heritage sites, except for on the UNESCO World Heritage website, is not unified and the UNESCO approach for diversity can also be applicable in these respects. The question of presentation and interpretation is foisted onto the local and national levels and UNESCO seems not to interfere in these matters.

Relating to the presentation and interpretation of World Heritage sites produced on the official website of UNESCO on the World Heritage List, it does have a uniform appearance and there is a template page for every site that can be filled in with information. It is similar to a database system, like a card catalogue where every site has its own file including all the associated relevant and attainable information. The presentation system seems transparent in terms of approachable documentation related to the inscription process and subsequent acts. It makes available: nomination files, advisory body evaluations, reports regarding the state of conservation and mission reports. It also demonstrates assistance where relevant such as the elaboration of strategies, trainings, conservation works, financial requests and the total amount of funding that has been approved. The interpretations are based on defining, in a short and simple way, what

aspects make a specific heritage site stand out from the whole complex set of heritage sites.

The List is ordered by: country, region, year of inscription and property name. This order suggests a three level perspective of place classification: national (order by country), cultural (order by region) and global (order by name). Each site has its own template page with differing content and contained topics. Integrated elements for every site page presentation include the introductory data table such as: name, position coordinates, date of inscription, selection criteria, size of the property and of the buffer zone, reference number and a photo gallery.

Descriptions are usually short and limited to a few paragraphs. Not all of them are complemented by a brief synopsis of the outstanding universal value, integrity or authenticity, nor by a justification of inscription or protection and management requirements. Activities, news, events, video, media and indicator designed sections have only been completed in a few cases. The use of languages other than English is also interesting due to their variety and choices. The default language is English but the introductory descriptions offer translations in other languages such as: French, Chinese, Russian, Spanish, Japanese, Arabic and Dutch. A pattern for which language combinations are being used for each case (site) is untraceable.

Since the World Heritage Centre claims to support local community based policies, local community led interpretations are encouraged. In this matter the state intervenes depending on the extent to which the local community will be involved in the presentation and interpretation matters for each individual country and its political and institutional heritage practices. In the three cases in this thesis it has been a combination of both the local heritage institutional authority and the municipality.

The heritage institutional authority is always present if the site has been claimed as a national heritage. In UNESCO World Heritage cases, the site is also typically a national heritage. The amount of input from the municipality depends on various factors among which are: the pursued policy; the orientation towards tourism, the role the site plays in the current identification process; proactive involvement of local community and the existence of leaders and interest groups focused on topics related to the heritage; the personal predispositions and preferences of the municipal representatives; the presence and intentions of investors and others.

In summary, the three case studies show that both approaches, the top-down (coming from UNESCO or state) as well as the bottom-up (coming from the local community)

creation of presentations and interpretations, usually operate together but a predominance of one or the other side can occur and can also change over time. At the Villa Romana the prevailing source of presentation and interpretation is the state via the local heritage institutional body. In Hiroshima it is the municipality, local interest groups and institutions established both by the municipality (e.g. peace museum, peace foundation, peace institute) and the state (memorial hall). The situation in Kutná Hora is something in between and supremacy is difficult to identify as both the municipality, with local heritage agents, and the state institutional heritage bodies are of similar intensity and scope in their involvement.

Creating a World Heritage category

Through the World Heritage concept UNESCO aspires to have the evidence of the past viewed as a record of all humankind, rather than as national or individual accomplishments. In accordance with Atle Omland (2006: 250f), the outcome of this thesis indicates that UNESCO is creating a meta-heritage that represents human cultures across time and seeks to construct a meta-narrative of the unity of human culture in a fragmented postmodern era. By doing so it is establishing a new heritage category, World Heritage, which is valid for all countries.

At the national level the creation of a World Heritage category could possibly bring some unintentional consequences which seems paradoxical. In some cases it has established a new category of national heritage such as, 'National World Heritage' and 'UNESCO National Heritage', which gives the impression of being a contradiction in terms as in the cases of 'UNESCO Czech Heritage' and 'Italian UNESCO World Heritage Sites'. It is interesting to see how the intention of establishing a transnational identity has turned out to boost national identity and to impact and create feelings of patriotism. It raises the question of how much the inscription of a national heritage site on the World Heritage List effects the special, new status of one site over other national heritage sites and which comes from the recognition of the world public and the turnaround in the perception of the site when ascribing it a new global identity.

UNESCO and the World Heritage Centre function as opinion makers in heritage discourse and as such contribute to shaping national heritage practices. It is possible to see this, for example, in how the states are expanding their perceptions of heritage in the direction of incorporating and giving attention to new heritage categories such as the industrial, intangible, technological, agricultural or modern. The question is to what extent is this due to the efforts of the state to get its heritage sites on the WHL? Inasmuch as UNESCO policy prefers the inscriptions of 'unrepresented heritage' (industrial, cultural landscapes, cultural routes, technological, agricultural, military, modern, etc.) in order to

better reflect the full spectrum, the state parties search for these types of sites in their territories and recognize them as such in order to be able to put them on their tentative lists to be submitted for nomination for inscription on the WHL.

UNESCO regulations regarding World Heritage status influence local heritage management practices and interfere with urban planning and development. Some cities claim the building restrictions that they are bound to in order to maintain their World Heritage status are unsustainable and stand in the way of local development and thus are considered unreasonable. In the case of Dresden, which was removed from the WHL in 2009, they showed that even at the cost of losing its World Heritage status, some cities are forced to prioritize urban development.

The World Heritage designation is not intended as a marketing device, but it can be seen in that way. From a touristic perspective, the World Heritage status acts as an international top brand, sites are also, perhaps, seen as a collectable set. From this point of view many see UNESCO as a trademark and there is a frequent claim that an inscription on the WHL generally increases the numbers of visitors and the amounts they spend at the site. Based on given statistical data the visitor rates at Kutná Hora, Hiroshima and Villa Romana all went up after their designations. But the question is whether the numbers would not have grown anyway and whether it is possible to efficiently evaluate the impact of the inscriptions in this sense. It should be taken into account that the World Heritage designation is only one of many factors influencing visitation and expenditure at particular sites and that attempting to tease out its particular contribution is complicated and perhaps dubious.

It is obvious that the World Heritage designation can initiate a large amount of activities, phenomena and consequences, such as the aforementioned higher visitor numbers as well as the development of marketing and promotion strategies, a focus on tourism, the emptying of city centres, increased self-awareness and self-esteem, higher income from tourism, museumization of the site, changes in infrastructure, changes in price levels, specific urban planning and development and many others. But this is by no means certain to happen and again it is difficult to prove direct linkages and justify the impact of the designation itself.

In conclusion, the thesis has brought some partial results and insights. However, the research had its limits and its shortcomings which prevent a holistic understanding of UNESCO's World Heritage. Further research at more sites in other countries, developing countries in particular, would be favourable for its continuation.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1   UNESCO World Heritage selection criteria (valid 1978-2004)

Cultural properties were recognized when a monument, group of buildings or site met one or more of the following criteria of outstanding universal value:

i.   *represent a unique artistic or aesthetic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius*

ii.   *have exerted considerable influence over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental sculpture, garden and landscape design, related arts, town planning or human settlements*

iii.   *be unique, extremely rare, or of great antiquity*

iv.   *be among the most characteristic examples of a type of structure, the type representing an important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological or industrial development*

v.   *be a characteristic example of a significant style of architecture, method of construction or form of town planning or traditional human settlement that is fragile by nature or has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible sociocultural or economic change*

vi.   *be most importantly associated with ideas or beliefs, with events or with persons, of outstanding historical importance or significance*

and when they met the **test of authenticity** *in design, materials, workmanship and setting; authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions, over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical values*

and had an **adequate protection and management system** to ensure its safeguarding.

Appendix 2   UNESCO World Heritage new selection criteria (valid since 2005)

Cultural and natural properties are recognized when they meet one or more of the following criteria of **outstanding universal value**:

i.   *represent a masterpiece of human creative genius*

ii.   *exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design*

iii.   *bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared*

iv.   *be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history*

v.   *be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change*

vi.   *be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance*

vii.   *contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance*

viii.   *be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant ongoing geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features*

ix.   *be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, freshwater, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals*

x.   *contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation.*

These criteria were formerly presented as two separate sets of criteria: criteria (i)-(vi) for cultural heritage and (i)-(iv) for natural heritage. The 6th extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee decided to merge the ten criteria.

To be deemed of outstanding universal value, a property must also meet:

the **conditions of integrity** which is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes

and/or **authenticity** (the Nara Document on Authenticity provides a practical basis for examining the authenticity of properties nominated under criteria (i) to (vi))

and must have an **adequate protection and management system** to ensure its safeguarding.

Appendix 3   UNESCO World Heritage sites in the Czech Republic (12)
(with their official full titles by year)

Year	Official full title	Category
1992	Historic Centre of Prague	cultural
	Historic Centre of Český Krumlov	cultural
	Historic Centre of Telč	cultural
1994	Pilgrimage Church of St John of Nepomuk at Zelená Hora	cultural
1995	Kutná Hora: Historical Town Centre with the Church of	
	St Barbara and the Cathedral of Our Lady at Sedlec	cultural
1996	Lednice-Valtice Cultural Landscape	cultural
1998	Holašovice Historical Village Reservation	cultural
	Gardens and Castle at Kroměříž	cultural
1999	Litomyšl Castle	cultural
2000	Holy Trinity Column in Olomouc	cultural
2001	Tugendhat Villa in Brno	cultural
2003	Jewish Quarter and St Procopius' Basilica in Třebíč	cultural

Appendix 4   UNESCO World Heritage sites in Japan (20)
(with their official full titles by year)

Year	Official full title	Category
1993	Buddhist Monuments in the Horyu-ji Area	cultural
	Himeji-jo	cultural
	Shirakami-Sanchi	*natural*
	Yakushima	*natural*
1994	Historic Monuments of ancient Kyoto	
	(Kyoto, Uji, and Otsu Cities)	cultural
1995	Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama	cultural
1996	Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome)	cultural
	Itsukushima Shinto Shrine	cultural
1998	Historic Monuments of Ancient Nara	cultural
1999	Shrines and Temples of Nikko	cultural
2000	Gusuku Sites and Related Properties of	
	the Kingdom of the Ryukyu	cultural
2004	Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range	cultural
2005	Shiretoko	*natural*
2007	Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine and its Cultural Landscape	cultural
2011	Hiraizumi – Temples, Gardens and Archeological Sites	
	Representing the Buddhist Pure Land	cultural
	Ogasawara Islands	*natural*
2013	Fujisan, sacred place and source of artistic inspiration	cultural
2014	Tomioka Silk Mill and Related Sites	cultural
2015	Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution:	
	Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding and Coal Mining	cultural
2016	The Architectural Work of the Le Corbusier,	
	an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement	cultural

Appendix 5   UNESCO World Heritage sites in Sicily (7)
              (with their official full titles by year)

Year	Official full title	Category
1997	Archeological Area of Agrigento	cultural
	Villa Romana del Casale	cultural
2000	Isole Eolie (Aeolian islands)	*natural*
2002	Late Baroque Towns of the Val di Noto (South-Eastern Sicily)	cultural
2005	Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pentalica	cultural
2013	Mount Ethna	*natural*
2015	Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Cefalú and Monreale	cultural

Appendix 6   UNESCO World Heritage sites in Italy (51)
(with their official full titles by year)

Year	Official full title	Category
1979	Rock Drawings in Valcamonica	cultural
1980	Church and Dominican Convent of Santa Mariadelle Grazie with 'The Last Supper' by Leonardo da Vinci	cultural
	Historic Centre of Rome, the Properties of the Holy See in that City Enjoying Extraterritorial Rights and San Paolo Fuori le Mura	cultural
1982	Historic Centre of Florence	cultural
1987	Piazza del Duomo, Pisa	cultural
	Venice and its Lagoon	cultural
1990	Historic Centre of San Gimignano	cultural
1993	The Sassi and the Park of the Rupestrian Churches of Matera	cultural
1994	City of Vicenza and the Palladian Villas of the Veneto	cultural
1995	Crespi d'Adda	cultural
	Ferrara, the City of the Renaissance, and its Po Delta	cultural
	Historic Centre of Naples	cultural
	Historic Centre of Sienna	cultural
1996	Castel del Monte	cultural
	Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna	cultural
	Historic Centre of the City of Pienza	cultural
	The Trulli of Alberobello	cultural
1997	18th Century Royal Palace at Caserta with the Park, the Aqueduct of Vanvitelli, and the San Leucio Complex	cultural
	Archeological Area of Agrigento	cultural
	Archeological Areas of Pompei, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata	cultural
	Botanical Garden (Orto Botanico), Padua	cultural
	Cathedral, Torre Civica and Piazza Grande, Modena	cultural
	Costiera Amalfitana	cultural
	Portovenere, Cinque Terre, and the Islands (Palmaria, Tino and Tinetto)	cultural
	Residences of the Royal House of Savoy	cultural
	Su Nuraxi di Barumini	cultural
	Villa Romana del Casale	cultural
1998	Archeological Area and the Patriarchal Basilica of Aquileia	cultural
	Cilento and Vallo di Diano National Park with The Archeological sites of Paestrum and Velia, and the Certosa di Padula	cultural
	Historic Centre of Urbino	cultural
1999	Villa Adriana, Tivoli	cultural
2000	Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and Other Franciscan Sites	cultural

	City of Verona	cultural
	Isole Eolie (Aeolian Islands)	*natural*
2001	Villa d'Este, Tivoli	cultural
2002	Late Baroque Towns of the Val di Noto (South-Eastern Sicily)	cultural
2003	Monte San Giorgio	*natural*
	Sacri Monti of Piedmont and Lombardy	cultural
2004	Etruscan Necropolises of Cerveteri and Tarquinia	cultural
	Val d'Orcia	cultural
2005	Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pentalica	cultural
2006	Genoa: Le Starde Nuove and the system of the Palazzi dei Rolli	cultural
2008	Mantua and Sabbioneta	cultural
	Rhaetian Railway in the Albula/Bernina Landscapes	cultural
2009	The Dolomites	*natural*
2011	Langobards in Italy. Places of the power (568-774 A.D.)	cultural
	Prehistoric Pile dwellings around the Alps	cultural
2013	Medici Villas and Gardens in Tuscany	cultural
	Mount Ethna	*natural*
2014	Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato	cultural
2015	Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Cefalú and Monreale	cultural

Appendix 7   List of figures

Figure 1   UNESCO emblem. Online [http://www.logodatabases.com],
                (retrieved 12/1/2016).

Figure 2   UNESCO World Heritage emblem.
                Oline [http://whc.unesco.org/en/emblem/], (retrieved 14/1/2016).

Figure 3   UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage emblem. Online
                [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:UNESCO-ICH-blue.svg],
                (retrieved 9/2/2016).

Figure 4   Department store Prior from the socialist era built in the middle of the
                historical central town square in Jihlava. From the author's archive.

Figure 5   View of the town Kutná Hora with the two dominants of the Cathedral of
                St Barbara on the left and the Church of St Jacob on the right.
                From the author's archive.

Figure 6   Ground plan of the historical town centre and a map of its most prominent
                monuments. Online [http://www.zmizelakutnahora.cz], (retrieved 2/5/2015).

Figure 7   The Cathedral of Our Lady inscribed on the WHL and the neighbouring
                Phillip Morris tobacco factory in Sedlec. From the author's archive.

Figure 8   Official logo of Kutná Hora on the left. On the right a detail of a decorative
                element of a Gothic building from which the logo was developed.
                Online [http://www.kutnahora.cz/], (retrieved 6/4/2015).

Figure 9   Preserved fresco from the Cathedral of St Barbara featuring the stamping of
                silver coins. From the author's archive.

Figure 10 Historical parade of the Royal Silvering of Kutná Hora.
                 From the author's archive.

Figure 11 Atom-bomb Dome, the symbol of Hiroshima. Online
                 [http://www.richard-seaman.com/Travel/Japan/Hiroshima/AtomicDome/],
                 (retrieved 6/1/2016).

Figure 12 A sign for tokyō. Online
                 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_Property_(Japan)],
                 (retrieved 27/1/2016).

Figure 25   The Great Hunt mosaic. From the author's archive.

Figure 26   *Triclinium*, the dining complex with mosaics depicting Hercules during his twelve labours. From the author's archive.

Figure 27   The basilica. From the author's archive.

Figure 28   Official logo of the site of Villa Romana del Casale. Online [http://www.villaromanadelcasale.it/], (retrieved 13/12/2016).

Figure 29   Flag of the region of Sicily. Online [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sicily], (retrieved 26/12/2016).

Figure 30   Entry ticket to Villa Romana del Casale from January 2012. From the author's archive.

Figure 31   Logo of the association for Italian World Heritage. Online [http://www.sitiunesco.it/?page_id=3159], (retrieved 28/1/2017).

Figure 32   Logo of the SudEst tourist association. Online [http://www.distrettoturisticosudest.it/], (retrieved 13/2/2017).