
Introduction

Cultural Heritage Site Management

Heritage site management has been defined as “the way that those responsible [for the site] choose to use it, exploit it, or conserve it” (Pearson and Sullivan 1995, 7). As the interest in heritage and heritage sites has grown, special interests—such as hotels, restaurants, and tour guides—and ordinary people have come to anticipate benefits from these resources, and authorities must take this into consideration as they try to manage these expectations. Many heritage sites are appreciated for their cultural and educational benefits or serve as sources of local, national, or ethnic identity or pride; some are seen primarily as places of recreation; and others are expected to provide economic benefits for communities, regions, or nations. Sometimes the expectations of different groups can be incompatible, or misunderstandings about exceptions arise and produce serious conflicts. Authorities, however, seldom make these choices alone.

Authorities responsible for managing heritage sites also have limited financial and human resources. Although legal authority is granted to heritage authorities in some places to take or regulate privately owned or used property, the fact remains that when faced with strong opposition, there are normally clear limits to the existing political will or influence to take property or to provide the financial resources to acquire it. Therefore, heritage managers must choose carefully how they allocate limited funding, staff, and political influence to ensure that the most important heritage is managed and used in the best way. Such choices entail a tremendous amount of responsibility, for once heritage sites are destroyed or significantly degraded, through either active destruction or passive neglect, these losses may never be regained. In assessing the gravity of management decisions, heritage managers should keep in mind that their finality affects not only the present generation but also multiple ones.

The decisions made by a heritage manager should be informed by a clear understanding of why the place merits conservation and what its loss would imply for society. A manager must also know who has an interest in the conservation of the place and what their particular inter-

ests are. This knowledge will guide a manager in deciding where to allocate resources for conservation, how to target archaeological or historical investigations, and what aspects of a site should be interpreted for and presented to the public. This knowledge also helps site managers to articulate more clearly and justify more convincingly to others why a heritage place is important and why its conservation and management should be supported by the public.

Values and Significance

The types of knowledge cited above form the basis of a philosophy of heritage site management called “values-based management,” which is the management approach taught in this case study. Values-based management was defined in *Heritage Values in Site Management* as “the coordinated and structured operation of a heritage site with the primary purpose of protecting the significance of the place as defined by designation criteria, government authorities or other owners, experts..., and other citizens with legitimate interests in the place” (de la Torre 2005, 5).

Value and *significance* are terms that are often used interchangeably within cultural heritage practice and defined in a variety of ways. In this case study, *value* is used to mean positive characteristics that make the archaeological site of Jarash important to governing authorities and other stakeholders. The benefits that the site of Jarash has provided or may provide in the future are inextricably tied to these values, which might be social, scientific, spiritual, aesthetic, or economic. At the archaeological site of Jarash, certain values are protected by the Jordanian Law of Antiquities, namely the site’s scientific and aesthetic values. One might say that these are the site’s core heritage values. The economic value of the site as a tourist destination can be derived from the site’s heritage values. If Jarash’s heritage values were destroyed, then its attraction as a tourist destination would cease to exist as well.

The term *significance* is used to mean the overall importance of the archaeological site of Jarash. The site’s significance is determined by the totality of the values

Stakeholder	Values	Interests
Antiquities authority	<i>Scientific:</i> capability of site to answer additional research questions about the past. <i>Educational:</i> capability of site to teach students and other visitors about the past.	Protect and preserve the antiquities; contribute to archaeological knowledge; educate visitors and locals about Jarash.
Tour operator	<i>Economic:</i> capability of site to provide monetary benefits.	Enough sales of tours in order to pay expenses and generate a profit.

▲ Examples of the differences between the concepts of values and interests for two hypothetical stakeholders.

attributed to it and its importance in relation to other comparable sites.

Many sources of information may be utilized to elicit the values of a heritage site. Historical records and previous research results have been used the most often in the past, and they are generally consulted first. Experts on different aspects of heritage may also provide valuable input. Values-based management places great importance on the consultation of stakeholders to understand their values and interests. This is usually done by directly asking their opinions but also may be carried out by documenting their behavior with respect to the heritage.

Stakeholders

Stakeholders are individuals or groups who have an interest in, or value, an archaeological site or cultural heritage place. One level of stakeholders of cultural heritage includes what is known as the local community, which typically includes nearby residents, property owners and businesses, community organizations, ethnic groups, religious institutions, and local government authorities who may be directly affected by what happens at the site or who have traditional ties to the site. Beyond the local level, stakeholders may also include provincial or national government authorities, including those who are responsible for and manage the site, persons or groups from more distant locations in the same country, and interested international parties. In some instances, stakeholders may live a great distance from the site and have never visited it but still may value the place and take action if it is threatened. On any of these geographic scales, stakeholders also include professionals from various disciplines—archaeology, history, architecture, heritage conservation, religious studies, tourism studies, and so forth—who have studied the place and may offer expert opinions about it.

Stakeholders' interests are wide ranging, and their expectations may be contradictory and can lead to severe conflicts. However, sites often have a particular group of institutions or people who are considered to be the primary stakeholders. For example, for a site long recognized and protected for its archaeological importance, the primary stakeholders may be prominent archaeological research institutions. These institutions may have a privileged relationship with the site's managers and may be directly consulted before important management decisions are made. Other powerful interests may emerge, though, that challenge the primacy of a long-privileged stakeholder group. This is often the case when the economic benefits of tourism emerge, whether real or potential.

Interests

Whereas values are perceived attributes of a site or place, interests are stakeholders' underlying needs or wants that they hope to have fulfilled with respect to the site. Interests are often more specific and correspond to broader value categories. Interests can be tangible, such as discovering and passing on knowledge of the Roman era in ancient Jordan, increased tourism, or a livelihood, or they can be intangible, such as a voice in decision making. Attending to interests provides a more detailed picture of what factors should be considered in making management decisions that will satisfy stakeholders.

Jarash in the Past and Today

Jarash Today and Geographic Context

The remnants of the ancient city of Gerasa, the name given during the Roman period, are located in northern Jordan. They are approximately 50 kilometers (31 miles) north of Amman, the capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and are well connected by road to Amman

and other urban centers within the country. The territory that was the ancient city is today composed of a western half consisting of an archaeological park owned and protected by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities (DoA) and an eastern half covered by the modern city of Jarash.¹ The city today is the capital of the Jarash governorate and has a municipal population of approximately 58,000. Modern Jarash is involved mainly in agriculture and administration of the governorate.



▲ Aerial view overlooking the archaeological site of Jarash. In the foreground are the Cardo and the North Theater. The Temple of Artemis is at the upper right. Photo: Courtesy David Kennedy APAAME_19980516_DLK_SL24.22.



▲ Map of Jordan, identifying Jarash in the northern region. Courtesy of the Jordan Tourism Board.

Jarash is situated within the Mountain Heights Plateau, which separates the Jordan Valley from the flat eastern desert. The plateau extends through the entire length of the western part of Jordan and contains most of Jordan's largest population centers, including Amman. These highlands receive the highest levels of precipitation in the country, are more densely vegetated, and experience mild temperatures relative to other parts of the country. The area has a Mediterranean climate, with a relatively rainy season from November to April and dry weather for the remainder of the year.

A number of valleys containing intermittent streams, known in Arabic as *wadis*, cut through the Mountain Heights Plateau and generally flow into the Jordan River or the Dead Sea. The ancient city of Jarash straddles the Wadi Jarash, through which runs the stream called by the ancient Greeks the Chrysorhoas River

(meaning "golden river"). The presence of this stream was undoubtedly a key factor giving rise to the settlement, as it and numerous local springs provided a year-round water supply.

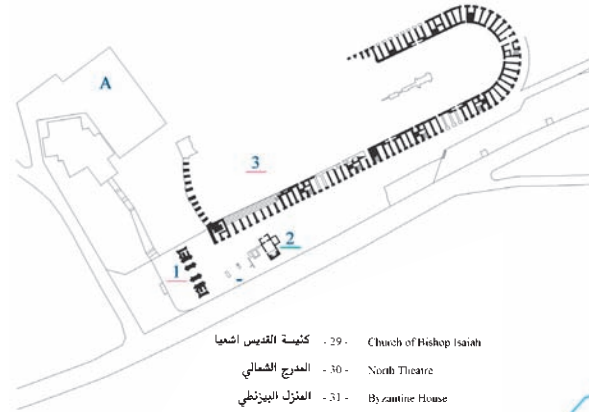
(continued on p. 8)

▼ Satellite image showing the path of the ancient city wall of Gerasa (solid line) and the archaeological park owned by the DoA (area left [west] of the yellow dashed line). The area of the ancient city to the east (right) of the dashed line is obscured by modern development. Photo: © 2008 DigitalGlobe, © Google.

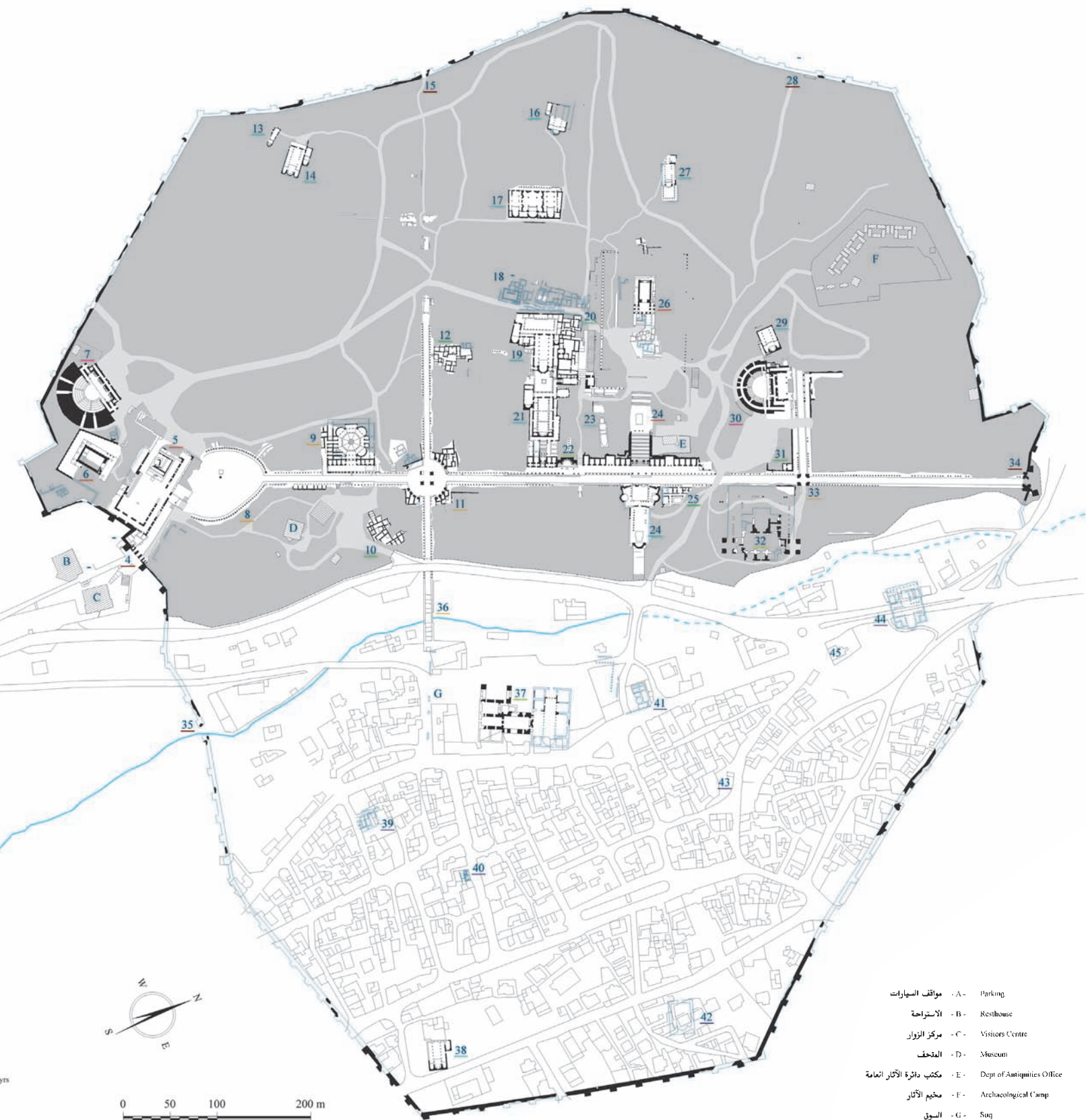


► Map of Jarash. The area in gray to the west is the archaeological site owned by the DoA and jointly managed with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. The area in white to the east is the modern city of Jarash, built over the eastern part of the ancient city, where private houses as well as other monuments, such as the East Baths and churches, were located. Wasfi Al-Tal Street and the Wadi Jarash divide the two sides. The entire area is bordered by the walls of the ancient city, which are still intact in areas on both sides of the valley. Note the central axis running north–south, starting at the south end from the Oval Plaza (8) to the North Gate (34). Hadrian's Arch (1) and the Hippodrome (3) are directly south of the South Gate (4) Map: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, © Institut Français du Proche-Orient (IFPO) and Jordanian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2000.

- | | | |
|---|--------|--|
| بوابة هدریان | - 1 - | Hadrian's Arch |
| كنيسة الأسقف ماريانوس | - 2 - | Chapel of Bishop Marianus |
| ميدان السباق | - 3 - | Hippodrome |
| البوابة الجنوبية | - 4 - | South Gate |
| معبد زيوس السفلي | - 5 - | Lower Sanctuary of Zeus |
| معبد زيوس العلوي | - 6 - | Upper Sanctuary of Zeus |
| المسرح الجنوبي | - 7 - | South Theatre |
| الساحة البيضاوية | - 8 - | Oval Piazza |
| السوق التجارية | - 9 - | Macellum |
| منزل بفرقة الزرقاء | - 10 - | House of "the Blues" |
| المصلى الجنوبية | - 11 - | South Tetrapylon |
| المنزل الأموي | - 12 - | Umayyad House |
| الكنيسة الجنائزية | - 13 - | Mortuary Chapel |
| كنيسة القديسين بطرس وبولس | - 14 - | Church of Sts Peter and Paul |
| البوابة الجنوبية-الغربية | - 15 - | South-West Gate |
| كنيسة الأسقف جانيسيوس | - 16 - | Church of Bishop Gensivius |
| كنائس القديسين كوسماس وداميانوس ويوحنا المعمدان وجورجوس | - 17 - | Churches of Sts Cosmas and Damianus, St John the Baptist and St George |
| المعبد C | - 18 - | "Temple C" |
| كنيسة القديس تهوردوروس | - 19 - | Church of St Theodore |
| منزل الكهنة وحمات بلوكوس | - 20 - | Clergy House and Baths of Phocas |
| الكاتدرائية | - 21 - | Cathedral |
| سبيل الحوريات | - 22 - | Nymphaeum |
| كنيسة أرتميس | - 23 - | Artemis Church |
| بوابة معبد أرتميس | - 24 - | Artemis Propylaea |
| المسجد والمدنية الرومانية | - 25 - | Mosque and Roman Villa |
| معبد أرتميس | - 26 - | Temple of Artemis |
| كنيسة الكنائس | - 27 - | Synagogue Church |
| البوابة الشمالية-الغربية | - 28 - | North-West Gate |



- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------|--|
| كنيسة القديس اشعيا | - 29 - | Church of Bishop Isaiah |
| المسرح الشمالي | - 30 - | North Theatre |
| المنزل البيزنطي | - 31 - | Byzantine House |
| الحمامات الغربية | - 32 - | West Baths |
| المصلى الشمالية | - 33 - | North Tetrapylon |
| البوابة الشمالية | - 34 - | North Gate |
| بوابة العياد | - 35 - | Water Gate |
| الجسر الجنوبي | - 36 - | South Bridge |
| الحمامات الشرقية | - 37 - | East Baths |
| كنيسة بروكوبوس | - 38 - | Procopius Church |
| الكنيسة والمنزل الروماني | - 39 - | Church and Roman House |
| المنزل البيزنطي | - 40 - | Byzantine House |
| الحمامات البيزنطية الصغيرة | - 41 - | Small Byzantine Baths |
| كنيسة الياس وماريا وسورج | - 42 - | Chapel of Elias, Maria and Sargis |
| منزل الفطيمات والشعراء | - 43 - | House of "the Muses and the Poets" |
| كنيسة الأنبياء، الرسل والشهداء | - 44 - | Church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs |
| عين الكروان | - 45 - | Spring |
| المدافن | - | Tombs |



- A - مواقف السيارات - Parking
- B - الأستراحة - Resthouse
- C - مركز الزوار - Visitors Centre
- D - المتحف - Museum
- E - مكتب دائرة الآثار العامة - Dept of Antiquities Office
- F - مخيم الآثار - Archaeological Camp
- G - السوق - Suq

History of the Ancient City of Gerasa

The history and archaeology of the ancient city of Gerasa have been relatively well documented, given the extent to which the site has been studied and excavated.² The earliest evidence of human settlement at Jarash goes back to the Neolithic Age (8500–4000 BCE). Archaeological evidence dated to the Bronze and Iron ages was also found within the city walls, indicating a continuity of habitation for several millennia.

Jarash as a formal city had its roots in the fourth century BCE. In 332 BCE, Alexander the Great conquered the region known as Syria, which included the northern part of Jordan, and began establishing colonies throughout the region, signaling the Hellenistic era in Jordan. Jarash was known to the Greeks as “Antioch on the Chrysorhoas.” It and other cities in the region founded by the Greeks became known as the Decapolis (the “ten cities” in Greek), each modeled after the Greek polis. The Decapolis probably was an association of cities grouped together because of their common culture, language, and proximity.³

Despite its Greek roots, historians generally associate the Decapolis with the period immediately after 63 BCE, when the Decapolis cities, including Gerasa, were thought to have flourished as a result of the peace and security posed by the Pax Romana. During this time, Jarash was strategically located at the crossroads of trade routes of prime importance within the empire that connected Rome and the Mediterranean basin with Arabia, India, China, and other areas of Asia. This brought great economic benefits to Jarash, as trade thrived with the Nabataean Kingdom, centered in Petra. In the middle of the first century CE, the city wall was constructed and was later strengthened and rebuilt on several occasions. The wall extended to 3,456 meters, enclosing an area of approximately 847,000 square meters on both sides of the river Chrysorhoas (Khoury 1986, 53). The river provided the city with a regular water supply, entering through the north side of the wall, running through the city center, and exiting on the south side through a water gate and into the az-Zarqa River. In 106 CE, the emperor Trajan annexed the wealthy Nabataean Kingdom and formed the province of Arabia. This brought even greater commercial wealth to Jarash, which enjoyed a burst of construction activity.

During its Roman period, the city was altered through the creation of an urban grid with colonnaded and paved streets and significant monuments, including immense temples, theaters, and public spaces, the most prominent being the Oval Plaza, adjacent to the Temple of Zeus. The area of the ancient city to the west of the Chrysorhoas River, which is the area preserved today, was the administrative, civic, commercial, and cultural center of this community, while the majority of its citizens lived on the east side of the river. To honor the visit of the emperor Hadrian in 129 CE, the citizens raised a monumental triumphal arch at the southern end of the city. Jarash’s prosperity reached a peak at the beginning of the third century, when it was given the status of Roman Colony (*Colonia Aurelia Antoniniana*). During this “golden age,” Jarash may have had a population of 20,000.

As the third century progressed, ocean shipping began to take over as the main transportation mode for commerce in the region. Prosperity in Jarash began to decline as its previously lucrative overland trade routes became less utilized.

After Constantine established Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire and transferred the capital of the empire from Rome to Constantinople (Byzantium), the Christian religion spread within the Levant region. By the middle of the fifth century, the safety and stability of the religion allowed it to flourish. This is reflected in the many churches built during this period at Jarash; remains of fifteen Christian sanctuaries have been discovered to date. Many churches were built of stones taken from pre-Christian temples.

Jarash was hit further by the Persian invasion of 614 CE. In 636 CE, Muslim armies defeated the forces of the Byzantine Empire at the battle of Yarmouk in the area of the Yarmouk River, near the modern border between Jordan and Syria, signaling the beginning of the Islamic period in the region. Evidence shows that Jarash conceded to Islamic leaders without damage being inflicted on the city. Social and economic life continued unabated. During the Umayyad period, a large mosque was built in the center of the city, and a significant domestic quarter was created to the north of the South Decumanos.

A series of massive earthquakes that struck the city over the years until 1927 damaged many of the monuments of Jarash beyond repair; others were completely destroyed. The most significant of these earthquakes was that of 749 CE, which coincided with the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the Abbasid. According to researchers, the transfer of the Caliphate cen-

ter from Damascus to Baghdad and the shifting of trade routes farther from Jarash are the main reasons for the abandonment of the city. Nevertheless, the city remained inhabited during the Abbasid and Mamluke periods. By 1122 William of Tyre, historian of the Crusader wars, reported that Jarash was in ruins and that the fortress built by the Atabey of Damascus had been destroyed.

History of Jarash as Heritage and Development of the Modern City

Over the past two centuries, Jarash has been transformed from an abandoned ruin to the focus of intensive archaeological investigation as well as conservation, restoration, and reconstruction, and has become the second most visited cultural tourist attraction in Jordan. These activities have been carried out by teams and individuals from many different countries pursuing a range of goals. Not surprisingly, differing philosophical approaches and methods have been used, reflecting the evolution of archaeological and heritage conservation and management practice over many decades. As the site has been transformed physically, the values attributed to it have evolved as well.

▼ View of the colonnaded Oval Plaza, early 20th century. The still-young modern city of Jarash is visible in the background. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-matpc-06966.



Period 1 (1806–1916): Ottoman Rule, Early Travelers, and Establishment of the Modern City

Between 1516 and 1918, the Ottoman Empire ruled the territory that is now Jordan. During that period, and specifically from the beginning of the nineteenth century, travelers and explorers began to visit Jarash on their journeys of exploration of southern Syria and the Holy Land. This period of exploration was indirectly ushered in by the invasion of the wealthy Ottoman province of Egypt by the French armies under Napoleon in 1798. French troops entered Palestine the following year. The British Empire saw France's entry into the region as a direct threat to its vital overland caravan route to India and the Far East through the Isthmus of Suez. Britain responded by allying with local Ottoman forces and defeating Napoleon's army in Palestine at the fortified coastal city of Acre. The French forces retreated from Palestine to Egypt, and British troops marched into Jerusalem. Although the area remained part of the Ottoman Empire, through these events the British Empire established a foothold in Palestine.

Published accounts of both British and French military exploits in the region sparked a new European interest in the exploration of the Holy Land. One manifestation of this interest was the creation in 1804 by wealthy individuals in London of the Palestine Association with the purpose of exploring the Holy Land. In 1806 the German scholar and traveler Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, under the patronage of the duke of Saxe-Gotha in Germany and

Tsar Alexander I of Russia, both of whom sought Oriental artifacts for their private collections, became one of the first Europeans since the Christian Crusades of the Middle Ages to explore and record the areas east of Lake Tiberias and along the Jordan River. As part of his travels, Seetzen identified the site of the ancient Decapolis city of Gerasa and is thus credited with its “rediscovery” to the western world. Seetzen, who was impressed by the architecture, provided a general description of the city and its monuments in his diary, noting the existence of public buildings, two well-preserved theaters, three temples, and a street with rows of columns. The diary was published in London in 1810. In 1812 the Swiss traveler John Lewis Burckhardt, under British patronage and with the intention of discovering a trade route from the north into Africa, visited Jarash. Like Seetzen, he was impressed by its architecture, particularly the Temple of Artemis (Burckhardt 1822). That same year Burckhardt “rediscovered” to the western world the magnificent ruins of the ancient city of Petra, south of the Dead Sea. However, it was not until James Silk Buckingham visited Jarash in 1816 that a more detailed description was provided of its monuments (Buckingham 1821).

By the 1840s, the growth in international interest in the Holy Land and the desire to observe firsthand sites mentioned in the Bible led to the establishment of a tourist industry there, with regular steamship service at the port of Jaffa. Tourism to the region continued to grow, as did tourism infrastructure and services. Visits to the site continued and in time became more scholarly, with the aim of accurately surveying and documenting the monuments. The Roman-era organizational plan of Jarash, its monuments, and the remains of the ancient city wall were identifiable to and continued to be documented by those early travelers and scholars.

By the 1870s, events in the Caucasus region east of the Black Sea would spark a chain of events having a lasting impact on the ruined city of Jarash. As the power of the Ottoman Empire waned, the armies of Russia pushed southward into Ottoman territories in the Caucasus with the aim of expanding the size of the Russian Empire and gaining access to the Black Sea and its warm water ports. Large numbers of Circassian refugees fled the region to Turkey.⁴ The Ottoman government responded by relocating many of these refugees to the Levant region. Several Circassian communities settled at locations in what is now Jordan, with one in 1878 inhabiting the site of the ancient city of Jarash. In Jarash the area on the east side of the river was chosen for settlement and



▲ Inhabitants (with cattle) of the still-young city of Jarash on the east side of the Wadi Jarash, early 20th century. In the background are the Temple of Artemis (left arrow) and the DoA offices (right arrow) on the west side of the wadi. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-matpc-05768.

the area to the west for agriculture. Although this settlement began as a small village, its growth over time into the capital of the governorate of Jarash has permanently altered the appearance of the desolate site, marked by partially buried ruins described by early travelers. As the extent of urban development on the east side of the wadi has grown over time, it has covered the part of the ancient city to the east of the Chrysorhoas. The location of the new city, on the one hand, and the richness of the archaeological remains on the opposite side of the Chrysorhoas, on the other hand, have been key factors in dictating that the part of the ancient city to the west of the Chrysorhoas has become the focus of archaeological investigation, legal protection, and tourist development. In more recent times, the urban encroachment of the modern city has extended to all sides of the site owned by the Jordanian DoA.

Period 2 (1917–45): The British Mandate and Excavation and Clearance of the Western City

The end of World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the early twentieth century ushered in a new period. In 1917 Ottoman rule was effectively ended when British and Arab troops seized control of the area. In 1922 the League of Nations approved the Mandate of Palestine to Great Britain, with the area east of the Jordan River known as Transjordan. This mandate incorporated the 1917 Balfour Declaration, which had promised parts of Palestine as a Jewish national home. In 1921 the Emirate of Transjordan was established, with the Hashemite Prince Abdullah I as emir, while Palestine remained under the British high commissioner. An important effect of this new political order was the establishment of systems for the legal protection and administration of archaeology in Transjordan. In 1923 the Department of Ancient Antiquities was established in Transjordan. Its offices were initially located at Jarash archaeological site, probably as a result of

recognizing its high archaeological value due to its potential for revealing and presenting archaeological remains. The establishment of a law for antiquities in Transjordan followed soon after that, in 1925.

The establishment of the British Mandate government also led to the sponsorship and encouragement of large-scale investigations by archaeological teams at Jarash, mainly by British and American academic institutions, with the first significant excavation and conservation work beginning in 1925. At the start of this period, archaeological work at the site focused primarily on uncovering, studying, and presenting Roman and Byzantine urban spaces, axial roads, and architectural remnants. Some of this work, such as clearing the path of the *Cardo* and the Oval Plaza, achieved those goals by removing extensive Islamic-era remains (Walmsley 2005). These efforts better revealed the ancient city's Roman grid plan and started to restore some of the magnificence

▼ Hadrian's Arch, early 20th century, before restoration.
Photo: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-matpc-06968.



of the monuments from those eras of interest. However, that work removed a significant amount of the tangible evidence of habitation of the city during the Islamic period, and neglected to comprehensively record those Islamic-era remnants. Other work during the first part of this period (1925–31) included restoration at the South Theater, repairs at the North Theater and at a vault in the court of the Temple of Zeus, and clearance at the Nymphaeum and the Propylaea of the Temple of Artemis (Kraeling 1938, 4–5).

Between 1928 and 1934, a joint team from Yale University and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem also carried out investigations focusing to a large extent on Christian remains, which led to uncovering the remains of eleven churches (Kraeling 1938, 6–7). The American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) took over from the British team in 1930. The work uncovered large areas of the site in addition to conducting studies on at least twenty monuments, site mapping, and the documentation and study of inscriptions and other artifacts (Kraeling 1938, 9–10). This included excavations carried out at the sanctuaries of Zeus and Artemis and the South Theater, and further clearing of the *Cardo* and of the foundations of more churches.

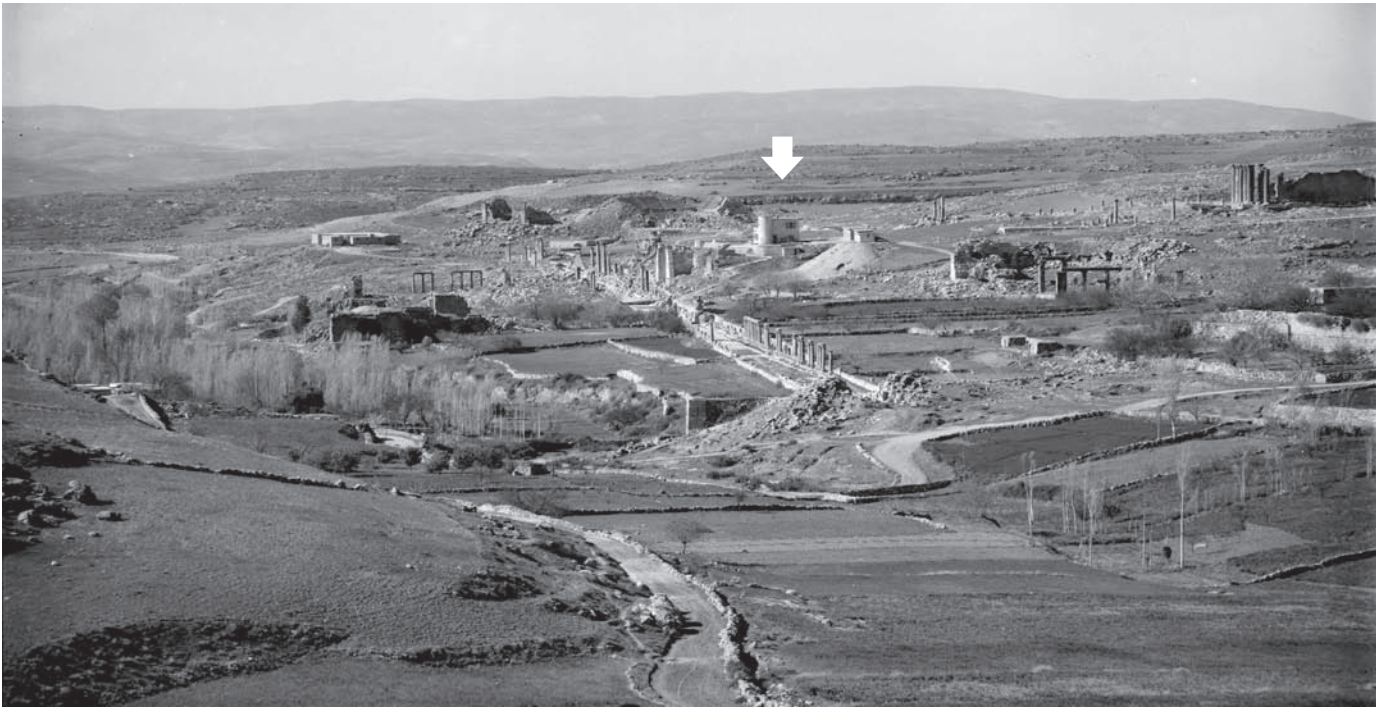
In 1939 Jarash was registered under law as a protected antiquities site, marking the beginning of the site’s legal protection. Only the portion of the site to the west of the Wadi Jarash was registered, not the part to the east occupied by the modern city. This land, within the ancient walls on the west side of the wadi, was gradually expropriated from private ownership by the government and placed under the administration of the DoA.

Period 3 (1946–present): National Independence and Development and Management for Tourism

As at the end of World War I, the close of World War II in 1945 led to profound changes in the international order of nations that would have a direct effect on the Middle East. With the United Kingdom virtually bankrupt and its domestic economy in shambles, in 1945 a pro-decolonization government was elected in England. In 1946 this shift enabled the Emirate of Transjordan to gain independence from British rule, resulting in the establishment of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. As archaeological investigation and excavations continued, the newfound national autonomy resulted in the expansion of work at the site to include more intensive development and promotion of tourism.



- ▲ The ruins of the Hippodrome, early 20th century. Hadrian’s Arch can be seen in the distance. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-matpc-05345.
- View of the archaeological site in the 1930s, showing signs of clearing and development. The modern building at center (see arrow) contains the new DoA offices. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-matpc-02743.
- View of the South Theater, ca. 1930s. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-matpc-04519.



In the early 1950s, work at the site began to focus on restoration and reconstruction to attract more visitors and on using the site for cultural activities. In 1953 restoration work began at the South Theater within the framework of a project to improve the site's facilities in preparation for establishment of the Jerash Festival of Drama and Music (Kirkbride 1960). In the late 1950s, the Amman-Irbid road was improved and rerouted from the crowded market street in town to the western side of the Wadi Jarash. This resulted in the destruction of several rock-cut tombs near Hadrian's Arch. The road's improvement also facilitated significant growth in the city, particularly since the late 1960s, and has led to overcrowding (Parapetti 1984, 11). In addition, however, it has allowed easier access to the archaeological site for tourists.

In the early 1960s, larger-scale restoration work began at the site. In 1962 and 1963, the Royal Engineering Forces assisted the DoA in re-erecting columns along the Cardo. In the late 1960s, work shifted from projects aimed at targeted restoration of specific monuments and development of specific infrastructural elements to sitewide planning. In 1968 a management plan was prepared for the archaeological site by a team consisting of specialists from the DoA, other Jordanian government institutions, and the United States National Park Service. The plan's main objective was to develop Jarash as a national park, focusing on improving both tourists' experience and the site's protection. It proposed development of a visitor center complex and parking area outside the city walls and near the South Gate. It also recommended a new resthouse facility near the visitor center to replace an existing one that was deemed to violate the integrity of the site. The plan additionally proposed development of a visitor circulation pattern in addition to an interpretation program at the visitor center, exhibits along the circulation route, updating of publications, and licensing of tour guides by the government, and precluded the development of a sound-and-light show, festivals, or pageants. Although the site has not been designated as a national park and the plan has not been systematically carried out, some of its recommendations were eventually implemented.

Between 1972 and 1975, restoration work at Hadrian's Arch and the South Theater was done under the supervision of the DoA. During the decade between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s, the site experienced a nexus of large-scale tourism and development-related activities. Between 1976 and 1981, the World Bank's First Tourism Development Project for Jordan financed the construction of a restaurant and visitor center within the archaeologi-



▲ Soldiers re-erecting columns along the Cardo. In the early 1960s, the Jordanian army's Royal Engineering Forces became involved in restoration work at the site. Photo: Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

cal site, upgraded a small site museum, preserved and restored major monuments, and improved trails, interpretive materials, and administrative facilities. In 1979 the Jordanian government initiated a five-year program for tourism development at Jarash and Petra aimed mainly at tourism promotion (Zayadine 1986). It included construction of the Jarash Rest House, a restaurant for tourists situated between the Hippodrome and the South Gate. Also during that period, a nighttime sound-and-light show was implemented that presented to visitors the history of Jarash using recorded sound, lighting, and other effects. In 1981 Queen Noor Al-Hussein inaugurated the first annual Jarash Festival of Culture and Arts. Every summer since, this festival has attracted large numbers of visitors, particularly from the Middle Eastern region, to cultural and artistic events at the site, including within the North and South theaters.

Major archaeological excavation work continued as well. Institutions carrying out this work went beyond the DoA and the British and American missions to include those of Jordanian universities as well as a number of other nations. In the 1970s, the DoA and the University of Jordan launched a large-scale project aimed at tracing the urban arrangement of the city and determining its stratigraphic history (Barghouti 1982). Beginning in 1977, an Italian mission began excavation and restoration work at and around the area of the Temple of Artemis. In 1981 the Jerash Project for Excavation and Restoration was launched, a long-term cooperative project involving a number of international archaeological teams aimed at uncovering and restoring the site's principal monuments. In addition to excavations undertaken by the DoA, the project has included an international team of archaeological missions from Italy, France, Great Britain, the United States, Poland, Spain, and Australia, with particular missions tending to focus on specific monuments. The results of the work of these missions have included anastylosis of the propylaeum of the sanctuary of the Temple of Artemis, archaeological and restoration works at the Temple of Zeus, archaeological investigations in the area of the South Decumanus and uncovering the Church of Bishop Marianos near Hadrian's Arch, excavation in an area west of the *Cardo* and south of the South Decumanus, excavation and initial conservation work at the North Theater and investigations at the North Tetracylon, and excavation and partial restoration of the Hippodrome. One result of this international pattern of activity has been the application of different approaches to monument restoration at different architectural sites.

The Jerash Project for Excavation and Restoration has continued to this day as a major activity under the DoA to further develop the site, restore significant monuments, and expose new monuments. This project continues to be responsible for the ongoing conservation and restoration of a number of monuments, including the Hippodrome, most standing columns, the North Theater (which now seats 3,000), the South Theater (which now seats 2,000), the North Gate, and the South Tetrakionon. Project participants have been involved in reconstruction of the Roman-era South Bridge, continue to supervise restoration work at the East Baths, and, in collaboration with the Madaba Mosaic School, have carried out conservation work on several mosaic floors. The project has further restored parts of the Hippodrome, making it possible for activities of the Roman Army and Chariot Experience to be held there.

At the Temple of Zeus, excavation and restoration work by a French mission has continued to this day, revealing the Hellenistic temple and restoring parts of the Roman remains. The desire to present the discovered remains from the Hellenistic temple led to the establishment of a museum with the assistance of the Louvre. This museum is located in the vault below the Temple of Zeus precinct.

The World Bank's Second Tourism Development Project for Jordan was carried out between 1997 and 2004 by the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MOTA) and included components in Jarash. The project development objectives included (1) creating conditions to increase sustainable and environmentally sound tourism and (2) increasing tourism-related employment and income generation potential. The project carried out a pilot program within the modern city that provided improvements to the plaza adjacent to the East Baths, rehabilitation of the old *souq*, or market, in the historic core, and construction of a new bus terminal with a commercial complex outside the city core to ease traffic (The World Bank 2005, 22).

In January 2007, the World Bank approved the Cultural Heritage Tourism and Urban Development Project for Jordan, also known as the Third Tourism Development Project, which aims to improve tourism development in five key historically and culturally important cities, including Jarash, and thereby create the conditions for local economic development. In Jarash the project is aimed specifically at developing infrastructure and tourist attractions within the modern city to attract more visitors from the archaeological site. This project is further restoring the Roman-era East Baths in the modern city, improving local infrastructure (roads, parking, etc.) to encourage more tourism, and providing incentives for new tourist-centered economic enterprises in areas near the site. The project, which is only in its inception at this writing, will be implemented by MOTA over an anticipated five-year time period.⁵

Period 4 (2000–present): Filling Gaps in Research

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, new research work began to move beyond the traditional topics of investigating and revealing Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Christian monuments to focus on filling gaps in the archaeological knowledge. This work has occurred while development of the archaeological site and modern city for tourism has continued. The research has included

investigation of the first city wall foundations, photographically recording the state of standing remains of the ancient wall (2001–3), and study of the feasibility of conservation and presentation of the city walls (CBRL 2004, 25–26).

Another focus of research has been aimed at discovering and excavating Islamic-era parts of the city. To date, this work has located and excavated parts of the Early Islamic town center to analyze cultural and economic changes resulting from the ascendancy of Islam in late antiquity (Walmsley 2005). One project excavated an early Umayyad mosque and its related buildings situated centrally within the site, while another revealed Umayyad remains in the area of the Hippodrome.

Other recent activities have focused on better understanding archaeology and developing tourism outside the ancient city walls. This has included restoration (2002) at Birktein, a Roman-era reservoir north of the ancient city. Research (2000 and since 2005) has also

focused on documenting and studying the area surrounding the city walls and has identified several features, including quarries, cisterns, rock-cut tombs, mausolea, and sarcophagi and other graves, as well as inscriptions.

Recent work within the DoA-owned archaeological site has included reconstruction of a vintage hydraulic saw in the area of the Temple of Artemis (2007) to interpret ancient techniques for cutting building stone.

▼ View of the remains of the East Baths (see arrow), which were built for public use during the Roman era and stand in the historic heart of the modern city today. A World Bank-funded project constructed a public plaza adjacent to this monument and the South Bridge (not shown). Photo: May Shaer, Department of Antiquities of Jordan.





▲ View of a section of the ancient city wall (see arrow), in front of modern buildings. The modern city contains some of the best-preserved sections of the ancient city wall, some of which lie under modern construction. Photo: David Myers, GCI.

Modern City of Jarash

When Circassian refugees first came to Jarash, they settled in the area surrounding the Roman-era East Baths. This is the area where the traditional souq, or market, is today and where a number of historic buildings remain. Descendants of the first Circassian inhabitants still live in the city today. The visible remnants of the Roman and Byzantine era within the modern city are few. In addition to the ruins of the East Baths complex, the most prominent remains include sections of the ancient Roman city walls and the sixth-century Church of Procopius. Archaeologists have also mapped vestiges of other Christian churches and chapels, a few ancient houses, and small Byzantine baths. Extensive archaeological deposits surely remain buried under modern development throughout the city.

As mentioned previously, the contemporary city is the capital of the governorate of Jarash as well as the primary urban center in the governorate. In 2004 the greater municipality had a population of just over 58,000 residents (The World Bank 2007, 38). The city is made up of people of many different origins and cultures and includes inhabitants and tribal groups in the governorate

and those of Damascene, Palestinian, Circassian, Armenian, Kurdish, and other origins. An official camp for Palestinian refugees was created adjacent to the city in 1968. Today it has a population of approximately 26,000. The city is home to two levels of governmental institutions: the governorate, which is headed by a governor, and the Jarash municipality, which is overseen by the head of the municipality as well as a city council.

Though the ancient walls of the Roman-era city of Gerasa encompass the archaeological site and much of the modern city, the current area of tourist visitation is limited to the DoA-owned site to the west of the Wadi Jarash, which is de facto separated from the modern city by a busy road, along with walls, gates, and fences in many places. Tourism facilities in the modern city are minimal, and organized tours do not visit the city; instead, they typically visit the archaeological site directly, stay a few hours, and then journey elsewhere. Archaeological remnants of ancient Jarash within the modern city have only recently started to be restored for tourism—namely the East Baths. Jarash offers only three lodging alternatives, two with two-star ratings and a third small, unclassified establishment. With Amman less than one hour's drive away, tourists do not typically spend the night in Jarash.

(continued on p. 20)

Jarash Timeline

332 BCE

Alexander the Great conquers Syria and begins to establish colonies throughout the region, signaling the Hellenistic era in Jordan, which would effectively last until 63 BCE.

63 BCE–106 CE

Decapolis period.

64 BCE

The armies of Roman emperor Pompey capture Syria and create the new Roman province of Syria, which includes all of the Decapolis cities (Khoury 1986, 7).

106 CE

Roman emperor Trajan annexes the Nabataean Kingdom and revises the political organization of the empire's eastern frontier by creating the new province of Arabia (*Provincia Arabia*). As a result, the Decapolis cities are divided between the provinces of Syria and Arabia.

129

Roman emperor Hadrian visits Gerasa.

614–630

Persian forces occupy Gerasa.

635

Muslim forces occupy the city. A year later Islamic armies defeat the forces of the Byzantine Empire at the battle of Yarmouk in the area of the Yarmouk River, the modern border between Jordan and Syria.

749

A series of earthquakes gravely damages the city and accelerates its decline.

1122

Christian Crusader King Baldwin III further destroys the remnants of Gerasa (Aubin 1997, 219).

1247

A significant earthquake further damages the architectural ruins.

1516

Ottoman rule is established over the area known today as Jordan.

1806

German scholar and traveler Ulrich Jasper Seetzen visits Jarash. His diary describing the ruins there as well as at other former cities of the Decapolis is published in London in 1810.

1812

Swiss traveler John Lewis Burckhardt briefly visits Jarash. His diary describing the visit is published in 1822 (Burckhardt 1822).

1816

English traveler James Silk Buckingham visits Jarash, preparing the most detailed description to date of each monument (Buckingham 1821).

1867

A team from the Palestine Exploration Fund and the U.K. Royal Engineers, led by Lieutenant Charles Warren, surveys a number of ancient sites east of the Jordan River, including Jarash, and produces some of the earliest photographs of the site (Warren 1869).

1878

The Ottoman government settles a group of Circassian immigrants at Jarash on the east side of the Chrysorhoas River and within the extent of the ancient city. The community at this locale expands over time to become the present city of Jarash.

1891–1902

Gottlieb Schumacher explores Jarash in relation to his work with the Deutscher Palästinaverein and the Palestine Exploration Fund, and publishes his work in Germany (Kraeling 1938, 2).

1902

A German mission led by O. Puschtein conducts an extensive study along with some soundings (Kraeling 1938, 2).

1917

British and Arab troops seize control of the area now known as Jordan from Ottoman troops during World War I, in effect ending Ottoman rule.

1921

The Emirate of Transjordan is established.

1922

The League of Nations approves the Palestine Mandate to Great Britain.

1923

The Department of Ancient Antiquities is established, the offices of which are located at Jarash archaeological site. Before 1923, antiquities were under the supervision of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine and Transjordan under the British Mandate.

1925

The first law concerned with antiquities is established.

1925–31

An Anglo-American team, led by George Horsfield and sponsored by the British Mandatory Government, carries out the first significant excavation of the site (Aubin 1997, 215).

1928–34

Yale University and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem carry out investigations, including excavations, at the site, with a significant focus on excavation and clearing of Christian churches.⁶

1935

A new law concerning antiquities is issued and published in the *Official Gazette* no. 486, replacing the law of 1925.

1939

The government of Jordan registers the area of Jarash west of the Chrysorhoas River as an archaeological site, providing for its legal protection.

1968

The U.S. National Park Service carries out detailed planning studies for both Jarash and Petra.

1976–81

The World Bank implements the First Tourism Development Project for Jordan.

1979–83

The Jordanian government carries out a five-year program for the development of Jarash as well as Petra for tourism (Zayadine 1986, 8).

1981

Queen Noor inaugurates the first annual Jarash Festival of Culture and Arts. The festival has been an annual event held at the site since that time.

1981

The Jerash Project for Excavation and Restoration is established and continues to function today.

1984

Jordan nominates the site of Jarash to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee for listing.

1985

The Jarash Archaeological Museum is established.

Following assessment of the site by an ICOMOS mission, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee defers inscription of the site “pending receipt of information on the exact boundaries of the proposed site, a management plan and assurances regarding the restoration policy, which should be compatible with universally accepted standards.”

1986

The UNESCO World Heritage Committee commissions another ICOMOS assessment of the situation at the site with respect to its potential World Heritage inscription. Based on the resulting report, the World Heritage Committee subsequently “recommended inscription of this site of undeniable universal value, but emphasized the seriousness of the dangers threatening it. It endorsed the conclusions of the consultant sent by the Committee in 1986, and urged the adoption of [a number of] measures for the protection of this site.”

1993

The Jordanian government submits documentation to the World Heritage Center in response to the requirements for inscription expressed by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in 1986.

1994

An ICOMOS mission assesses the situation at the site at the request of the World Heritage Committee.

1995

In July the World Heritage Committee refers the nomination of Jarash “to the State Party until such times as assurances can be given on” the establishment of a buffer zone, effective cooperation between the DoA and the Ministry of Tourism, with participation of the Municipality of Jarash and the Jarash Festival Committee, for the management of the site and the removal of all permanent structures associated with the Jarash Festival. In December the committee defers the nomination because the requested information had not been received from the State Party.

1997–2004

The World Bank implements the Second Tourism Development Project for Jordan, which includes components in Jarash as well as the Jordanian heritage sites of Petra, Karak, and the city of Madaba.

2001–3

The Jerash City Walls Project, under the auspices of the Center for British Research in the Levant (CBRL), investigates the first city wall foundations and photographically records the preservation of standing remains of the ancient wall.

2002–present

The Islamic Jarash Project, a collaboration between the University of Copenhagen and the DoA, investigates the early Islamic period of the site.

2004

Jordan submits the site of Jarash to the World Heritage Center to be placed on the World Heritage Tentative List.

2007

The World Bank approves the creation of the Cultural Heritage Tourism and Urban Development Project for Jordan, which includes objectives to improve tourism development in the modern city of Jarash.

Archaeological Site of Jarash Today

Tourism in Jordan and Jarash

Tourism is vital to the national economy of Jordan, being the country's largest export sector, its second largest private sector employer, and its second highest producer of foreign exchange. According to the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, the tourism sector contributes more than US\$800 million to Jordan's economy and accounts for about 10 percent of the kingdom's gross domestic product (GDP).

Within this national context, Jarash is currently the second most visited cultural heritage site in Jordan and plays an important part in the country's National Tourism Strategy. The site is a significant draw for foreign tourists generally and for visitors from Jordan and the Middle East, particularly during the Jarash Festival of Culture and Arts, in July and August. During the summer months, the relatively moderate climate of the Jarash area and the attractive natural setting of the area, such as at the nearby forested Dibeen nature reserve, attract tourists from warmer parts of Jordan as well as from other parts of the Middle East, particularly the Persian Gulf region.

However, tourism in Jordan and to Jarash has been subject to significant fluctuations due to ongoing political conflicts and instability in the region. During the past decade, the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict, which intensified with the beginning of the Second Intifada in September 2000; the terror attacks in the United States of

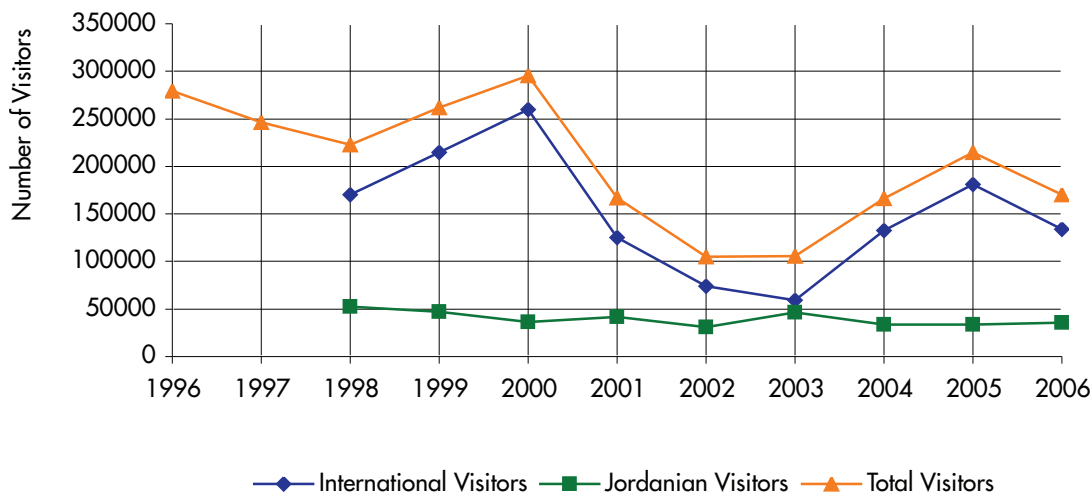
2001; the subsequent attacks in Spain and England; the Iraq War, which has continued since March 2003; and other conflicts in the Middle East have had significant negative impacts on tourism to the region.

Annual visitation to the archaeological site shown in the figure below reveals large fluctuations reflecting the events of regional unrest and international terrorism. Visitation peaked at nearly 300,000 visitors in 2000. By 2003 the number of visitors to Jarash had dropped to under 106,600. In 2005 the total number of visitors was 214,550, consisting of 181,000 foreigners and 33,550 Jordanians. In 2006 the total number of visitors dipped to around 170,000.

Looking ahead, Jordan's National Tourism Strategy for the years 2004 to 2010 calls for doubling the kingdom's tourism economy by 2010 through government facilitation and investment in partnership with the private sector. The strategy aims to bring about the following results by 2010 (Jordan Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities 2004, iii):

- Increase tourism receipts from (in Jordanian dinars [JD]) JD570 million in 2003 to JD1.3 billion (US\$1.84 billion).
- Increase tourism-supported jobs from 40,791 in 2003 to 91,719, an increase of over 51,000 jobs.
- Achieve taxation yield to the government of more than JD455 million (US\$637 million).

Given the importance of Jarash as a tourist draw within Jordan, attracting more tourists to the site will no doubt continue to be a focus of national tourism efforts.



Tourist visitation, 1996–2006

▲ Visitation to Jarash, 1996–2006. Source: Jordan Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities: 2006 statistics were preliminary at the time they were provided.



▲ A reenactor portrays a Roman soldier, part of the Roman Army and Chariot Experience at the Hippodrome. Photo: The Jerash Heritage Co., Ltd.

A Visit to Jarash

Most tourists to Jarash come as part of organized half-day tours, some including lunch at the Rest House. As the map of Jarash on pages 6–7 shows, it is a long, linear site. The current procedure for tours is to disembark in a parking lot (“A” on map) at the southern end of the site, walk through a recently built adjacent handicraft center, and purchase tickets at a booth at the far end of this center. Admission to the site, which includes the archaeological museum, costs JD8 for all foreign visitors (one-half dinar for Jordanian residents). Summer hours are 7:30 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.; winter hours are 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Local tour guides are available for an additional fee. Tours are available in Arabic, English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

From the ticket booth, visitors proceed north through or past Hadrian’s Arch (“1” on map) and past the partially restored Hippodrome (“3” on map). The Hippodrome hosts the Roman Army and Chariot Experience (RACE). RACE produces a historic reenactment of Roman Legion tactics, chariot races, and mock gladiator battles, presented in a one-and-a-half-hour show daily (except Tuesdays), and twice per day on Saturdays and Sundays. There is a separate admission for RACE: JD15 for foreign adults, JD5 for Jordanian adults, and JD2 for children.

After passing the Hippodrome, visitors continue north to the visitor center (“C” on map). This complex houses interpretive panels about the site’s history and significance, an interpretive model of the site showing major monuments, and informational brochures in a number of languages. Restroom facilities are located to the rear of the visitor center complex. Also near the visitor center is the Jarash Rest House (“B” on map), the only restaurant on site that serves visitors.

Beyond the visitor center is the official entrance to the site, where visitors must produce their tickets in order to enter. Once they have entered, visitors can walk north up and back along the main colonnaded street, walking up to see the primary monuments, or they can follow a dirt path to the west from either the North or South Theater, thereby seeing several key sites not accessible from the main path, including several churches, one with exposed mosaics. The South Theater (“7” on map) is the site of performances by a band of local musicians, all former members of the Jordanian army band. The band members, who play bagpipes and drums, perform when tourists enter the theater in exchange for tips.

The Jarash Archaeological Museum (“D” on map), the main site museum, is located on a hill midway through the site, away from the monuments. It displays objects from the site representing periods ranging from the Stone Age through the Mamluke period. A second museum is located in the vault below the Temple of Zeus (“5” on map) and interprets the Hellenistic period temple. It was created with the assistance of the Louvre, and its interpretive panels are written in French and Arabic. Whatever their route through the site, visitors must exit in the same location where they entered, providing an opportunity to stop for lunch at the site’s Rest House, and to walk through the handicraft market on their way back to the parking area.

Major Monuments of Jarash

The locations of all monuments are indicated on the map of Jarash (see pp. 6–7).

City Walls

Roman Gerasa was surrounded by a defensive wall that can be traced all around the ancient city. The earliest remains are dated to the middle of the first century CE. The wall witnessed several phases of rebuilding in subsequent periods, such as can be found near the South Gate, dated to the fourth century.

Hadrian’s Arch

To honor the visit of the Roman emperor Hadrian in 129 CE, the citizens of ancient Gerasa raised a monumental triumphal arch outside the city walls to the south of the South Gate.

Hippodrome

The Hippodrome is immediately north of Hadrian’s Arch. The oval-shaped arena, which may have had the



▲ Hadrian's Arch today. The triumphal arch was constructed to honor the visit of the emperor Hadrian in 129 CE. Compare this photo to the historic view on page 11 to see the extent to which the monument has been restored. Photo: David Myers, GCI.

▼ View of the oval-shaped arena known as the Hippodrome. The Hippodrome was excavated between 1984 and 1996. It has since been restored and seats up to 600. It is used to host RACE. Photo: David Myers, GCI.

capacity to seat as many as 15,000 spectators, was apparently the sporting and entertainment center of Roman Gerasa and the site of chariot races and sporting contests. Scholars, however, do not know when it was built or whether it was ever completed or even used.

The Oval Plaza

Named for its shape, the Oval Plaza connects the courtyard in front of the Temple of Zeus with the *Cardo*. It is 90 meters in length and 80 meters in width, colonnaded, and paved with stone blocks. Drainage channels flowed into the main sewage system under the pavement of the plaza.

South Theater

The original construction of the South Theater began at around the end of the first century CE and was completed at the beginning of the second century CE. It has a capacity of 3,000 and is oriented in such a way that the sun does not shine directly in the eyes of the seated audience, except for very short periods.

The Cardo

The *Cardo* is the main axis that connects and brings together all features of the city. It is a colonnaded street





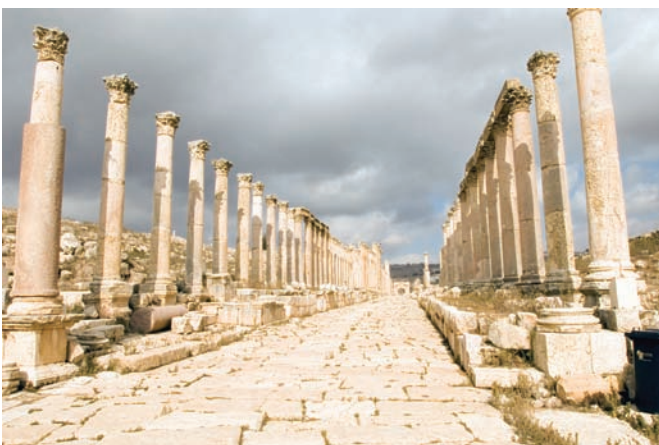
▲ View of the South Theater, one of two Roman theaters at Jarash that have been restored and are used for performances during the Jarash Festival. Compare this photo to the historic view on page 13 to see the extent to which the monument has been restored. Photo: David Myers, GCI.

about 800 meters long that was built in the first century CE, with a renovation in the second century that included widening it and replacing some of the Ionic capitals with Corinthian capitals. As part of the underground sewage system, a long drain runs under the *Cardo*, continuing under the Oval Plaza and draining outside the site to the south of it.

▼ The *Cardo* is the colonnaded street that marks the north-south axis of the ancient city. Photo: David Myers, GCI.

Agora

Located along the western side of the *Cardo* between the Oval Plaza and the South Decumanus, the *Agora* was the city's commercial center. It is adjacent to the South Tetrakionion and the Umayyad Mosque, and is bordered along its northern and southern sides by two streets that feed into the *Cardo*. The word *agora*, found carved into one of the columns at the entrance from the *Cardo*, has helped researchers identify its function.



Cathedral

The cathedral is reached from the *Cardo* through the Cathedral Gateway, which is thought to be a fourth-century CE rebuilding of the entrance to the Temple of



▲ Front view of the Temple of Artemis, the second major temple from the Greco-Roman period. An Italian mission has worked on the conservation, restoration, and interpretation of the site since the 1980s. Photo: Rand Eppich, GCI.



▲ The North Gate, under restoration by the DoA's Jerash Project for Excavation and Restoration. The visitor entrance to the site may be moved to this location. Photo: May Shaer, Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

Dionysus. The cathedral itself is believed to have been built on the site of the second-century CE Temple of Dionysus, while the staircase leading to it also appears to be a fourth-century CE reconstruction of the original Roman staircase.

Temple of Artemis

Dedicated to Artemis, the patron goddess of ancient Gerasa, this temple is probably dated to the second century CE. It is part of a very large complex consisting of the surrounding temenos, an altar, and its surrounding terrace. This complex is accessed from the Cardo through a propylaeum and a gateway to a monumental staircase leading to the altar terrace and the temenos.

Temple of Zeus

The Temple of Zeus is located at the top of the hill overlooking the Oval Plaza. From that plaza, a staircase leads up to three terraces forming the entire temple complex. The temenos is the largest of these three, measuring about 50 by 100 meters, and has the remains of an earlier sanctuary of the Hellenistic period. A staircase leads up to a second terrace and finally to the podium on which the temple of the second century CE was built, known as the Temple of Zeus.

East Baths

The East Baths are located on the east side of the river Chrysorhoas and were probably built sometime during the second century CE. Originally, this structure probably

consisted of four large rooms. The remains that appear today include niches and piers joined by a large arch.

North Theater

The North Theater was built in two phases, the first in 164–65 CE, when it served either as a small theater or as a meeting place for the city council. It was enlarged during 222–35 CE with the addition of eight rows of seats, increasing its capacity from about 800 to 1,600.

North Gate

Located at the north end of the Cardo, the North Gate is dated to 115 CE, at the time of Trajan. It seems that there used to be an earlier gate close by. The North Gate has awkward angles, probably to allow the alignment of its north side with the road from the north and its south side with the Cardo.

West Baths

The West Baths are located along a terrace east of the Cardo and close to the North Tetrapylon, with a plan similar to that of a typical Roman bath. The baths consist of changing rooms, a cold room, a hot room, and a dry area, and probably date to the second century CE.

Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian

The Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian is one of three churches that are adjacent to one another and share a common atrium (the other two being the Church of St. John



▲ View of the elaborate mosaic floor of the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian, one of more than a dozen Byzantine-era churches that have been excavated at the site. Photo: David Myers, GCI.

the Baptist and the Church of St. George). It has elaborate mosaic flooring with an inscription dedicating it to Saints Cosmas and Damian and dating it to 533 CE, during the reign of Bishop Paul. The mosaic floor has depictions of birds and animals, donors, and its warden, Theodore, and his wife, Georgia.

Umayyad Mosques

Two Umayyad mosques have been located in Jarash. Excavations are currently taking place at the larger mosque, which is located near the South Tetrakionion, between the Cardo and the Decumanus. The smaller mosque is located in the northern part of the site and built within the atrium of a Roman house. Its mihrab, located along the south wall, is a reused Roman niche.

Umayyad House

The Umayyad House is an excavated complex located to the west of the Cardo. Its original construction dates to 660 CE and consists of at least ten rooms along the eastern and western sides of a courtyard. There is evidence of the

▼ Remains of an Umayyad-era mosque. These ruins attest to the fact that habitation of the city continued during the Islamic era. Photo: May Shaer, Department of Antiquities of Jordan.



reuse of foundations from earlier periods, and rebuilding and remodeling of the house took place apparently during the eighth century CE.

Notes

1. The official name for the site used by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities as well as that of the modern city is *Jarash*, which is the official spelling according to the transliteration system used by Jordan's Royal Geographic Center for Arabic place-names. This is the spelling used throughout this case study. The spelling *Jerash* is also commonly used for both the archaeological site, including in archaeological literature, and the modern city. This difference in spelling is due to differences in transliteration from the Arabic name.
2. For historical overviews of Jarash, see Kraeling 1938, Khouri 1986, and Aubin 1997.
3. According to other sources, there may have been as many as eighteen or nineteen Greco-Roman cities counted as part of the Decapolis. For example, Abila is often cited as belonging to the group.
4. Circassians are non-Arab Muslims from the northern Caucasus.
5. Specific proposals of this project, including the Jerash City Revitalization Program subcomponent, are described in detail in activity 4 (pp. 43–58).
6. The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem was involved in this project until 1930. A primary result of this work is the publication *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*, edited by Carl H. Kraeling (New Haven, Conn.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938).

The Management Context

The management of heritage sites in Jordan is multilayered, involving a range of laws, policies, government agencies, nongovernmental institutions, and the private sector.

Legal Framework and Governing Authorities

The Jordanian Law of Antiquities is the nation's primary law governing archaeological heritage (see appendix 1, p. 59). This statute identifies the Department of Antiquities (DoA) as the national authority responsible for the protection, excavation, restoration, conservation, presentation, and management of antiquities in Jordan. It also gives the DoA the responsibility to promote awareness of archaeology, including through educational activities. In addition, it provides for a national register of all archaeological sites, and that the ownership of immovable antiquities is solely vested in the national government.

Department of Antiquities

The principal policy objective of the DoA is the protection of antiquities, preferring conservation measures that do not require physical intervention to the remains as the first choice where possible. The secondary policy objective is for the presentation of antiquities, including research, survey, excavation, and site management.

The DoA's protection-related responsibilities include enforcing national laws prohibiting illicit excavations and the trading, exporting, and importing of antiquities. The department employs a large number of site guards across the country to protect sites, including at Jarash. In the area of presentation, the DoA is responsible for preparing and placing interpretive signs at sites for visitors, as well as curating and exhibiting antiquities objects through its museums. The DoA also oversees all archaeological research missions in Jordan.

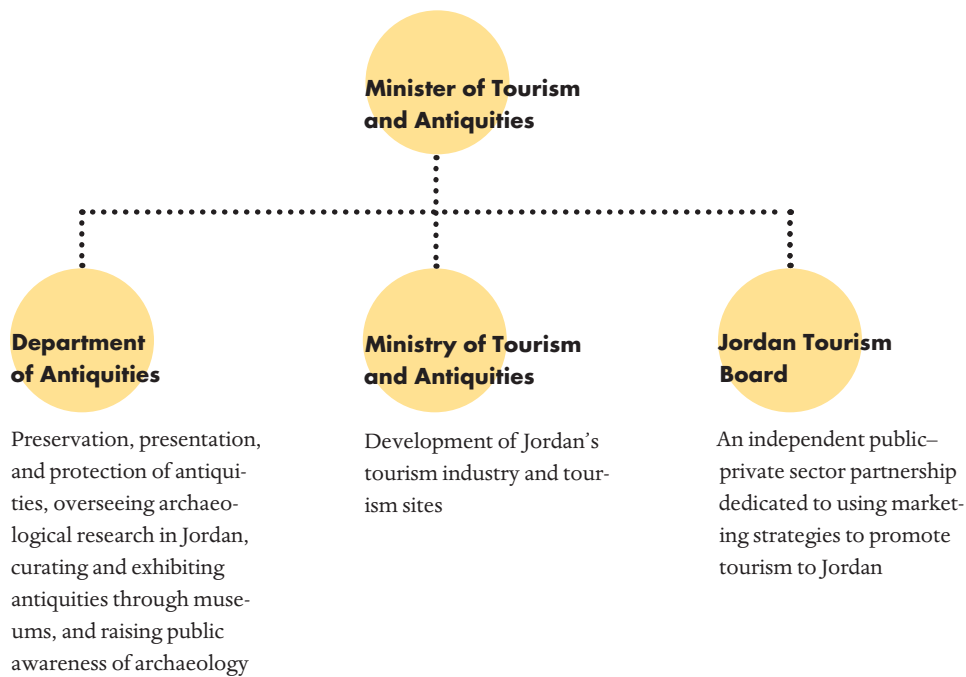
The DoA's "Instructions for Holding Activities at Archaeological Sites" regulates activities held at archaeological sites in order to fulfill the department's site protection and presentation mandates. These instructions provide the administrative mechanism for organizing events and activities at archaeological sites. They also

outline what is allowed at the sites, such as the use of temporary structures, the use of vehicles on site, the maximum number of participants in an activity at certain sites, and site cleanliness.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funded the Tourism Development Project (Siyaha), a three-year (2005–8) initiative to help Jordan implement its National Tourism Strategy. Supported by that project, the DoA launched the Strategy for the Management of the Archaeological Heritage in 2007, which states that tourism site management must take place only following a DoA-approved site management plan, and that the DoA will develop guidelines and conditions for the sustainable use of archaeological sites for tourism purposes.

In terms of the DoA's administrative structure, the department is managed by a director-general who is directly linked to the minister of tourism and antiquities. The minister also oversees the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MOTA) and the Jordan Tourism Board, an independent public-private sector partnership charged with promoting tourism to Jordan. These three bodies operate separately from one another. For example, although the DoA is under the minister of tourism and antiquities, it is not under MOTA. The minister is a key figure in decision making concerning tourism and archaeology on a national scale as well as specifically regarding the site of Jarash.

The DoA's headquarters are in Amman, and it has twelve major offices around the country—representing each of Jordan's twelve governorates—and eight subsidiary offices. The department's office for the governorate of Jarash is located at Jarash archaeological site, and approximately sixty-five DoA personnel are based at the site. An inspector who is also an archaeologist supervises all DoA personnel in the governorate, including at the site of Jarash. Other DoA staff within the governorate are currently composed of two other archaeologists, one museum curator, seven ticket sellers, six personnel who check tickets at the entrance gate, fourteen guards, ten custodial staff, and a few administrative personnel. The Jerash Project for Excavation and Restoration, based at Jarash archaeological site, also has administrative staff, approximately fifty workers, and six vehicle drivers under the management of the project's supervisor.



▲ Flowchart showing the administrative structure and primary responsibilities of the three agencies reporting to the minister of tourism and antiquities.

The DoA owns Jarash archaeological site. The DoA office at Jarash is charged with enforcing the Law of Antiquities at the site as well as in the rest of the governorate. It also enforces the DoA's "Instructions for Holding Activities at Archaeological Sites." Generally, any activities undertaken within the DoA-owned site should be carried out with permission of the DoA.

DoA staff at Jarash are involved in raising public awareness through outreach to schools and through the site museum. The museum curator has developed a number of educational programs for local schoolchildren grades 1 through 10, with a goal of getting their parents interested in the site. During the months of April and May, the DoA hosts two school groups per week at the site. It is currently developing new programs for families and working with the Ministry of Education to enhance school curricula on antiquities and the archaeological site of Jarash.

Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities

MOTA is responsible for the development and promotion of publicly owned tourism sites. It also oversees regulation of the tourism sector, encouraging tourism-related investment, preparing studies and research for tourism development and growth, and enhancing the country's tourism workforce.

MOTA is based in Amman and has offices at most major tourism sites. The director of tourism for Jarash

governorate, a MOTA employee, has an office at the visitor center on the site of Jarash. This individual coordinates MOTA's responsibilities with respect to tourism at the site, including concessions, tour guides, the visitor center, parking, and health and safety issues.

Moreover, MOTA has been instrumental in the development of the tourism services infrastructure at Jarash, such as parking for vehicles and the handicraft center. In the city of Jarash, MOTA also plays a key role in the World Bank's current Third Tourism Development Project. It is active in developing the project's proposals and is the lead institution in the project's implementation. For example, MOTA and the municipality of Jarash have identified five or six traditional houses in the city for possible conversion to bed-and-breakfast inns, and will be working with the municipality to rehabilitate them.

Regional and Local Authorities

At the regional level, the archaeological site is located within Jarash governorate, one of twelve governorates of Jordan, and its capital is the modern city of Jarash. The governorate is under the direction of a governor who is appointed at the national level, and includes several directorates, or departments. The responsibilities of the government of the governorate include infrastructure, public health, economic development, and safety, including the security of tourists. The governor is therefore a key figure

in the management of Jarash archaeological site, as he oversees the site's security. This role includes involvement in determining visitor access to the site and coordination of all levels of site security, including personnel from the tourist police, the governorate's directorate of police, and other kinds of security personnel.

The governor is also concerned with many challenges regarding the infrastructure to accommodate tourists, including the improvement of roads, upgrading water and sewer systems, supplying electricity, and building new hotels. The governor is also concerned about the economic well-being of the modern city and the governorate as a whole, and is keenly aware of the as yet unfulfilled opportunity of the Jarash heritage site in benefiting the region. The governorate has been involved with the World Bank projects to improve those sectors.

The governorate's directorate of education also has an interest in the heritage site, particularly focusing on the ways the site can engage Jordanians by connecting them to their heritage. The directorate has pushed for enhanced educational activities in the field of antiquities, and actively participates in the activities of the recently formed nongovernmental organization the Jordan Heritage Development Society (p. 31) in promoting its aim of training teachers on the history and importance of Jarash archaeological site.

Locally, the site is situated within Jarash municipality, which is under the leadership of the head of the municipality and a city council, who are all locally elected and oversee various municipal departments. Like the physical separation of the archaeological site from the modern city, the two are also clearly separated in terms of administrative authority. The DoA and MOTA oversee the archaeological site and associated tourist facilities, respectively, while the municipality has authority over the modern city, which surrounds the site on all sides. The municipal government plays an important role in regulating and approving land use within the municipality. As mentioned previously, it is also directly involved with the World Bank's Third Tourism Development Project and its plans for development of tourism infrastructure in the city. The governmental leadership of the municipality sees the heritage and value of Jarash as encompassing both the ancient site and the modern city, given the many monuments buried within the modern city and the potential benefits to be gained from tourist influx to the area.

Both the governor and municipal leaders have an interest in seeing increased tourism to the site and a better connection between the site and the city to produce more

local economic benefits. They also believe that more effectively connecting the site with the city will bring cultural benefits that will allow international visitors to learn of the friendly and hospitable nature of Jordanians, and the local people to learn about and from the cultures of the visitors, including learning foreign languages. In addition, they believe that local interaction with foreign tourists can moderate tourist perspectives about Arabs as well as temper local views of foreigners.

Stakeholders

Jarash Festival of Culture and Arts

The Jarash Festival of Culture and Arts, inaugurated in 1981 under the patronage of Queen Noor Al-Hussein, is a government-sanctioned and -organized event held annually at the archaeological site for three weeks at the end of July and beginning of August. The festival is managed by a committee that resides in Amman, and is headed by a director who is also currently secretary-general of the Ministry of Culture. Over time, the festival has become one of the most important tourist attractions in the country, drawing up to 225,000 visitors each year. This internationally attended event includes performances of music, dance, folklore, theater, and ballet as well as craft exhibitions and cultural forums, with artists from Jordan participating as well as those from other countries of the Arab world and beyond. The entire site, with its theaters, temples, plazas, and forums, is opened up for the festivities. There are seven venues, which represent the different arts. Temporary structures are set up each year prior to the festival in order to accommodate the specific activities and performances that take place. A few of these structures remain on site year round. Many local and regional businesses also use the event to show and sell their products. Some local authorities and stakeholders have mentioned in interviews their appreciation of the cultural value of the Jarash Festival, which brings high-level cultural events to a local, national, and international audience.

Academic Archaeological Missions

Numerous missions have conducted investigations and restorations at the site of Jarash and in its environs since the early twentieth century, and some have worked to improve the site's presentation for visitors. These missions have come from many nations, including Jordan, the United Kingdom, the United States, Italy, France, Poland, Spain, Australia, and Denmark. A limited number of



▲ Scene from the Jarash Festival of Culture and Arts. This annual three-week event of artistic and cultural performances has become popular with visitors from the Middle Eastern region. It has raised concerns about impacts on the site and some festival structures remaining on site. Photo: Courtesy of Jarash Festival of Culture and Arts.

institutions continue to work at the site today. Missions currently working at Jarash include the Italian Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino, which has worked at the Temple of Artemis since the late 1970s; the Institut Français du Proche-Orient, which has been working at the Temple of Zeus since 1982; the Jarash Archaeological Studies Centre, in association with the University of Sydney; and the University of Copenhagen’s Islamic Jarash Project, which has been in place since 2002.

These missions must obtain permission from the DoA to carry out their work in Jordan, and must pay fees of 10 percent of their project budgets to the DoA. The fees go into a special fund to pay for publishing research results and some restoration work.

The missions’ main interest in the site is in its potential to provide valuable information about past civilizations in this part of the world. Much of the ancient city is yet to be excavated, both in the area of the archaeological site and particularly under the modern city. Some of these institutions are interested in promoting the application of international principles for the restoration of the site, especially the principles of “reversibility”—restoration work that can be undone without damaging the original material—and “no conjectural restoration”—restoration work that stops when there is no more solid or scientific evidence to support it, or, in other words, when “guessing” begins. Some also have an interest in improving the site presentation for visitors and better integrating the site with the modern city.

Interested Nongovernmental Organizations

In addition to the governmental bodies involved in decision making for Jarash, a number of other nonprofit nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have an interest in the management of the site.

In 2001 the Housing and Urban Development Corporation—a governmental body that is concerned with housing policies, providing housing units and urban development of underprivileged areas—organized a series of workshops and roundtables titled “Cultural Tourism Development of Jarash.” The aim of these workshops was to prepare recommendations to protect, develop, and sustain the cultural heritage of the city of Jarash. After many discussions, an action plan was adopted and it was agreed that the creation of an NGO would be the best way to implement it.

Based on this finding, the Jordan Heritage Development Society (JHD) was created in 2005, with Sharifa Nofa Bint Nasser as president and based in the city of Jarash. The JHD is focused on cultural heritage at a national level but has a particular focus on heritage in Jarash. In Jarash the NGO is focused particularly on raising public awareness about the importance of the local heritage, how to protect it, and how to benefit socioeconomically from it. To help raise awareness, it has established clubs in local schools known as Friends of the Jordan Heritage Development Society. It has also helped train local schoolteachers in how to understand and appreciate the local heritage, how that heritage fits within the nation’s heritage, and how it should be taught to schoolchildren. The JHD has also collaborated with the Jarash governorate to identify heritage buildings in the governorate, and has been active in preventing the demolition of heritage buildings in the modern city of Jarash and in promoting public events in the East Baths plaza.

Another local NGO involved in heritage matters is the Jarash Jabal Al-Atmat Cultural Forum, which was created in 1998. It provides an institutional framework for people who work in culture in the city of Jarash. It focuses on literature and archaeology and organizes seminars, lectures, poetry recitals, and various cultural activities for youth. It has an interest in the preservation of both the existing archaeological site and the archaeological remains that are in the modern city, and would like to see the integration of the two parts. It also has an interest in seeing that a single authority manages the site and in promoting the inclusion of the local community as a part of the life of the site.

To the northwest of the city of Jarash is the Dibeen Forest Reserve Nature Park, which is managed by the Royal Society for the Conservation of Nature (RSCN), an NGO created to protect and preserve natural sites in Jordan. There are three basic principles that guide the RSCN’s activities: (1) maintaining biodiversity and wildlife, (2) promoting the values and culture of the local community, and (3) using ecotourism for local community benefits. During the past three years, the Dibeen reserve has worked closely with the local community to develop local crafts, offer employment to manage various aspects of the forests, and market the region as a tourism destination. Today the nature reserve has twenty-one employees, all local people; the forests have been cleaned up, particularly of garbage left by visitors who come to picnic during the weekends; and local crafts (textiles, ceramic replicas, and embroidery) are being sold through thirty-two Wild Jordan shops across the country. As Dibeen is a draw for tourists from the Gulf states and local Jordanians, there is a possibility that management decisions in Jarash might impact Dibeen, and vice versa.

Local Businesses

A number of local businesses have a direct stake in tourism at the site of Jarash. These generally may be divided between those located at the site and those that have concessions located outside the site. Among those at the site, the first businesses that visitors ordinarily see are those located at the site of the handicraft market. Visitors are purposefully routed through the handicraft market before entering the site in order to encourage them to purchase goods. This market contains thirty-five to forty vendor stalls selling imported and locally produced crafts, including glass, jewelry, ceramics, mosaics, rugs, and other souvenirs. These vendors rent shops at the handicraft market from MOTA, to whom they pay a fixed monthly rent. The proprietors of the handicraft market have a vested interest in the current visitor circulation situation, as most visitors must both enter and exit the site by walking through the market.

The Hippodrome hosts the Roman Army and Chariot Experience (RACE), operated by Jerash Heritage Co., Ltd., a private company. Reenactors, mostly former members of the Jordanian army, number between fifty and seventy, making RACE a significant local employer. RACE leases the Hippodrome and adjacent areas from the Ministry of Finance through an agreement with MOTA. RACE constructed an adjacent stable to house the horses used in the chariot races.

Also within the site is the Jarash Rest House, which holds a privileged position as the only restaurant within the site that serves visitors. It is strategically located next to the visitor center. The Rest House is owned by the Social Security Department and leased to a private proprietor. The clientele are mostly Europeans brought by tour operators. The Rest House employs around thirty persons in the high season and seventeen in the low season. Many of its employees are migrant workers from Egypt.

Most local businesses located outside the site that have a stake in its tourism are restaurants. Restaurants that serve tourists are generally located on Wasfi Al-Tal Street, the road running along the eastern site boundary, or along the road leading into and out of the city. Most local businesses interviewed voiced a strong interest in seeing increased tourism at Jarash—including more total tourists and a longer visit time for the tourists who do come—as a means of increasing the economic value of the site.

Local Residents

Most interviewees agreed that the historical, aesthetic, educational, and scientific values of Jarash are its primary importance. Many view the site with a sense of pride, noting that it is the most complete Roman-era city outside of Italy, that its plan and buildings are incredibly well preserved, and that it provides a sense of the grandeur of the architecture and culture of that time. Some people also spoke of its national importance, clarifying that it was not a “Roman” city built and occupied by foreigners but rather a city of Arab origin built in the style and time of the Roman Empire, with some leadership from the Romans but primarily built and inhabited by local peoples. This important distinction heightened the value of the site’s national and pan-national history, a source of pride for the people of Jordan who are ethnically connected to the site’s ancient residents. Others saw its national importance in the pride of stewardship of this treasure of all humanity. Many interviewees were excited by the site’s educational value through its capacity to teach locals and visitors about the ancient world. A few residents also mentioned the religious importance of the site, particularly in the diversity of the site’s ancient religious structures.

Regionally and locally, the site is valued for its economic potential, but most interviewees agreed that few of the economic benefits are being realized by local residents. The site is responsible for the employment of over a hundred local people either directly or indirectly through site staff, the restaurant, handicraft shops, RACE, and other

concessions on or near the site. However, it is not considered by the rest of the local population—and most others interviewed—to currently yield the economic benefit for them that it should. Like local businesses, most other stakeholders voiced a strong interest in seeing increased tourism at Jarash as a means of increasing the economic benefits flowing from the site.

Jarash and the World Heritage List

The site of Jarash was nominated by the Jordanian government to the World Heritage Committee for listing in 1984. The World Heritage Committee deferred the nomination in 1985 due to three factors: (1) lack of information on the exact boundary of the proposed World Heritage Site; (2) lack of a site management plan;¹ and (3) uncertainty that the site’s restoration policy would conform to internationally accepted standards. After the Jordanian government submitted further information, and after a visit to the site by a representative of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), an advisory body to UNESCO, the World Heritage Committee in 1986 again deferred the nomination pending (1) the expansion of the site’s buffer zone;² (2) the Jordanian authorities taking account of archaeological remnants under the modern city; and (3) the immediate cessation of “unscientific anastylosis” taking place at the site, which was noted as being contrary to the internationally accepted restoration principles of the Venice Charter.³ The committee noted that “the adoption of the first two of these measures would however be sufficient for the purposes of inscription of this site at the 10th meeting of the Committee.”

In October 1993, the Jordanian government submitted documentation to the World Heritage Center in response to the requirements for inscription expressed by the World Heritage Committee in 1986. An ICOMOS mission assessed the situation at the site at the request of the World Heritage Committee. In its 1995 report, ICOMOS noted that some of the anastylosis is “fully in accordance with the precepts of the Venice Charter” and that the previous “unscientific anastylosis” had ended some years earlier. Concerning the site’s authenticity, the report considers the site’s “overall” authenticity as being high. Nevertheless, it was recommended that the nomination be referred back to the government of Jordan (1) until it could provide assurances about the establishment of an adequate buffer zone “of at least 50m, but preferably 100m to the north, west and south of the site within which no construction of any kind would be permitted”; (2) until there was effective coordination between the DoA and MOTA, with the participation of the municipality and the Jarash Festival Committee for the future management of the site; and (3) until the per-

manent structures from the Jarash Festival were removed and an agreement was reached about restricted periods for the erection and dismantling of such structures during the festival.

The World Heritage Committee reiterated these recommendations in referring the nomination back to the government of Jordan. As mentioned later in this case study, although the purchase of land by the DoA to create a protective buffer zone is not an easy task and requires substantial budget allocation, the DoA nevertheless has managed to acquire such plots of land to the south, to the west, and, to some extent, to the east of the site.

In 2004 Jordan submitted the site of Jarash to the World Heritage Center for inclusion on the World Heritage Tentative List, with the submission titled “Jerash Archaeological City (Ancient Meeting Place of East and West).”⁴ Jordan presently has a total of thirteen sites on its Tentative List.

Notes

1. Section 108 of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2005)* states the following with regard to management requirements of World Heritage Sites: “Each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means.” This topic is addressed more broadly in sections 108–18.
2. Sections 103–7 of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2005)* state buffer zone requirements of World Heritage properties.
3. Anastylis is the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts of a monument or site and is a form of reconstruction (Venice Charter, Article 15).
4. The World Heritage Tentative List is an inventory of those properties that each State Party intends to consider for nomination during the following years. Today nominations to the World Heritage List will not be considered unless the nominated property has already been included on the State Party’s Tentative List.