

PART SEVEN

Challenges in Conserving Archaeological Collections

Introduction

Jerry Podany

Archeological excavation is often compared to peeling an onion, since the progress of both activities is measured layer by distinct layer. But there is at least one significant difference that is relevant to the long-term responsibilities of those who dig the earth and penetrate the oceans for knowledge of the past. An onion is reduced in size and complexity as it is peeled, whereas an archeological site expands as the layers are progressively exposed. As the site is fully brought to light and recorded and as to some degree the context of each feature is both revealed and destroyed, the site and the volume of material finds become larger. The cumulative knowledge gained, new questions that surface, challenges that must be faced, and of course the responsibilities for its organization and care also expand in volume, depth, and complexity. This expansion includes the collections gathered and the records created. These are crucial resources for the future, since they serve as primary sources for understanding the past as well as the processes that were undertaken to expose it. Future interpretation depends on the survival of the material artifacts as records that will be reread. But this cannot happen if the text has been erased.

It has been argued that what gives relevance to an artifact is the context in which it is found; primarily this is seen to be “the site.” But what gives the site context? What provides the crucial evidence that enables us to determine what the site was, what happened there, who might have occupied it, and, of course, when? To a degree it is the artifacts that provide context to the site; hence their survival is crucial to a full understanding of it.

Archaeologists are increasingly called into partnerships to meet the obligation of providing long-term care for these heritage resources. And as archaeologists work in tandem with

preservation professionals, they support broader use of the archaeological record by a larger and more diverse audience. In this session four speakers were asked to consider the challenges faced in the conservation and preservation of archaeological collections. The word *collections* is being defined in the broadest manner possible, but clearly it is concerned directly with the material finds removed from the site and the records and archives created in the process of excavation. This is not meant to enhance the now out-of-date and increasingly tenuous divisions between movable and immovable but rather to bring attention to archaeological collections at a time when they are suffering neglect, even as concepts of site management are gaining ground.

The burden, if one can properly call it that, is large—and growing with each trench that is opened. Like some magical well, there seems to be an endless flow from the ground. We keep pumping but have made little progress in our methods of adequate storage, productive distribution, and full use of what has been recovered. All around the world one can find masses of excavated material in bags, boxes, and crates. The quantities in some instances become so large that they are described only by the weight of each container holding them. The material sits in conditions that encourage corrosion, degradation, and decay. Finds are often said to be “warehoused,” a word less than conducive to the idea of repeated and valued access. One is left to wonder if the local, state, or national regulations were the only motivation for the artifact’s retention and how, given such neglect, we could have become so short-sighted. And how, in light of the way collections are neglected, we could fail to recognize archaeology as an activity not of any given moment, or even of a series of defined seasons, but as an ongoing process, a never-ending

search for knowledge through discovery, interpretation, and rediscovery. While we may have accepted, or perhaps gotten used to, the fact that destruction is the price we pay for knowledge through excavation, it must be asked if we have done all we should to examine the price tag, to make sure that we are getting the best deal. Have we done all we can to lower the cost, to minimize the destruction?

The situation is the more critical given the incalculable value of archaeological collections. They form, as Terry Childs tells us, a “new frontier” for the archaeological research of the twenty-first century and beyond. It would be pure hubris to assume that only one interpretation of these finds is sufficient, or even correct. And it is inexcusable not to recognize that some percentage of these finds have enduring value for future scholars who will apply new knowledge and analytic tools to reconsider or expand previous conclusions.

Childs presents a number of plausible recommendations that will, if adopted, advance the cause of preservation and assure the long-term survival of archaeological resources. The call going out to archaeologists is to take a more proactive role in the promotion and care of existing collections. They are asked to be more vigilant in their recognition and support of the *full* value of the material they have brought to light. Kirstin Huld Sigurðardóttir reminds us, however, that what is not realized, what is not taught, cannot be valued. She sees the solution in education and the transfer of preservation concepts and conservation methodologies at every stage of the archaeologist’s training. At present such opportunities are rare in the academic world, and this must change.

Hande Kökten also emphasizes full and proper training, as well as ongoing support, for professional conservators rather than the disastrous “recipe book” approach undertaken by those who, although well meaning, are less than fully and professionally trained. But Kökten also rightly points out that it is not just a matter of academic opportunity, already rare enough, or the number of training programs for professional conservators, equally rare internationally. It is also a matter of support from national authorities and a more complete understanding of the nature of the conservation profession by those authorities and allied professions. This is particularly true with regard to the conservation of more neglected “movable” finds. Even when educational programs are in place, Kökten reminds us, the lack of legislative recognition of the conservation profession and insufficient budgetary support can dramatically stifle the preservation of heritage resources.

Kökten agrees with Childs and Huld Sigurðardóttir about the need to educate archaeologists but points to the

need for further education of conservation professionals as well. This new generation of field conservator, working hand in hand with informed archaeologists who themselves can make significant contributions to the effective stabilization of finds on site, will provide more in-depth knowledge of longer-term and more complex treatments. Such a team will be far more effective at establishing fully appropriate storage conditions and use guidelines. One would also hope that opportunities for conservators to work directly with archaeologists before as well as during excavations will increase, as will the commitment to conservation facilities and funding for collections stabilization beyond the excavation season’s time frame. It is only through such support that the resources already unearthed will find their full potential and serve a broader set of functions.

Archaeological collections have an increasingly diverse set of functions—as research tool, educational resource, and gateway to cultural identity. The cultural values placed on objects, and the interaction with those objects, by groups whose ancestry lays specific ownership claims, is continually being redefined and expanded. Jessica Johnson, Bruce Bernstein, and James Pepper Henry have shown how collections at the National Museum of the American Indian invite reinterpretation not only by future archaeologists but also by the many whose cultural ties lay claim to significant (and significantly different) interpretations born of a cultural continuum. The unique preservation challenges they face in meeting the needs of all the new shareholders are impressive. Balancing these justifiable needs with the overall desire to retain the physical integrity and analytic worth of the objects can be difficult, but use of the collections in this way allows us to look outside of constructed academic boundaries and find new perspectives, new knowledge, and new answers.

Accessibility requires careful management planning if preservation needs are to be effectively met. An excellent and relatively recent example of proper curation and management planning, leading to a more accessible and hence more valued archaeological archive, is the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre discussed by Hedley Swain. The archaeological records and finds held at the Centre are considered a crucial research and heritage asset that is put to use for both ongoing research and educational programming. As a result, the collections have what might be thought of as “self-generating value” and ongoing support as they become an integral part of cultural, scientific, and educational life.

In most instances reality presents our efforts with slim resources. It is through collaboration, creative thinking, and

long-term commitment to bring the appropriate value and support to our archaeological collections that we can achieve our goal of preserving these resources. It is also through the proactive lobbying of those who provide funding and who write legislation that preservation and use are achieved together.

It is an honor for the American Institute for the Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works (AIC) to collaborate with the World Archaeological Congress and the Getty Conservation Institute to coordinate this session, “Challenges in Conserving Archaeological Collections.” It is our hope that the discussions begun during the session and in this volume

will encourage archaeologists and conservators from many countries to engage in the dialogues so critical to the preservation of archaeological materials and records. Among the AIC membership are conservators who specialize in the treatment and preservation of archaeological sites and finds. There are also those who focus on collections care and those trained to undertake preservation in archives. Their work to preserve such material for future study and enjoyment is guided by and reflected in the concerns presented by the speakers at this session. And their ongoing willingness to partner with archaeologists is embodied in the AIC’s continual efforts at interdisciplinary outreach.

Archaeological Collections: Valuing and Managing an Emerging Frontier

S. Terry Childs

Abstract: *The artifacts, excavation records, photographs, laboratory notes, and increasing amounts of digital data are all that remain of an archaeological project and sometimes are the only existing record of a past culture. Instead of being highly valued, carefully cataloged, and properly stored for future research, interpretation, and heritage needs, many archaeological collections and associated records have not received the attention they deserve, especially by archaeologists. In fact, many collections around the world have never been washed or received preliminary analysis. Collections are often lost, or when their location is known, they are not properly preserved and stored. Nor are they readily accessible for use. This paper reviews the reasons for the poor state of archaeological collections in the United States to provide an example of the current situation in a country with a long history of archaeology, active cultural resources management programs, and good historic preservation laws. It then examines a few key issues that require more active involvement by archaeologists worldwide. Archaeological collections could be an emerging frontier for research, public education, and heritage use if individual archaeologists and the archaeological profession as a whole take more responsibility for the collections they create.*

Preservation and conservation—these two words are widely used among professional archaeologists but usually regarding archaeological sites, not the unique, permanent, and irreplaceable collections recovered from them. Once an archaeological site is excavated or destroyed by development or looting, collections of artifacts and the equally crucial associated documents become an irreplaceable record of the past. Without these, archaeologists cannot adequately conduct further research, interpret the past, or manage the resources in informed ways.

Archaeological collections, however, are in a state of crisis worldwide despite the recognition by some that they are the new frontier for research (de Groot and Stoepker 1997:299; Mabulla 1996:209). There is inadequate space to store them, inadequate funds to conserve and protect them over the long term, poor training opportunities, and inadequate professional staff to ensure their care, accessibility, and use (see Kibunja 1996; Mabulla 1996; Pearce 1990; Seeden 2000; Sullivan and Childs 2003).

The archaeological profession must take some degree of responsibility for this state of affairs. Archaeologists have learned to value their trowels and shovels more than the collections they create. They are outraged when objects are looted from sites but ignore the rampant loss of systematically collected objects and records in repositories. They have an ethical responsibility for the stewardship of their collections (Childs 2004), yet this tenet is only beginning to be actively discussed and supported (Barker 2003; Trimble and Marino 2003). Archaeologists must learn how the decisions made during project planning, budgeting, and fieldwork intimately relate to long-term collections care, accessibility, and use.

This paper begins with a brief summary of the current status of archaeological curation in the United States as a plausible example of global trends. It must be acknowledged, however, that many differences exist between countries based on how the archaeological discipline developed, including the influence of colonialism, who owns the movable objects of the past, and how heritage management legislation developed (Andah 1990; Ndoro and Pwiti 2000; Pearce 1990). The second section focuses on key responsibilities of archaeologists worldwide that affect the care and management of their collections. With improved professional education and

responsibility, well-preserved and conserved collections may become more viable products of our profession.

Synopsis of the Current State of Collections Management in the United States

Beginning in the late 1960s, several federal laws were enacted that forever influenced the future of American archaeology. Archaeological investigation (often called compliance work) was now required when development occurred on federal lands. This meant that the resulting collections began to accumulate at a rapid pace. A few archaeologists became alarmed by this unanticipated growth (Marquardt 1977; Marquardt, Montet-White, and Scholtz 1982), and several studies were conducted in the 1970s and 1980s to examine the status of the existing collections (Ford 1977; GAO 1987; Lindsay, Williams-Dean, and Haas 1979). They found inadequate care and visible deterioration of existing collections because of lack of professional staff, funding deficiencies, insufficient storage space, and poor protection against theft, fire, and other disasters. The collections were inaccessible for use as a result of poor or nonexistent inventories or catalogs. They noted, too, that many archaeologists took inadequate responsibility for the collections they generated.

The need for professional policy and standards for the curation of archaeological collections was a key recommendation of these studies. In 1990 the federal regulations "Curation of Federally Owned and Administered Archaeological Collections" (36 CFR 79) were finally promulgated. They were an important step toward improved collection care, particularly by acknowledging that it involves real costs. The regulations also assign responsibility for funding collection care to the federal agency on whose land the collection was recovered. In coordination with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA), it is now expected that each project research design identify a repository where the collections will be curated and that the related costs be covered in the budget.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was also enacted in 1990 (McKeown, Murphy, and Schansberg 1998) and influenced some positive actions to achieve better archaeological collections management (Sullivan and Childs 2003). In particular, repositories that had to comply with NAGPRA were required to summarize their collections since most did not know what they held. Also, each federal agency had to determine what it owned and where its collections were located.

The long-standing underfunding by archaeologists who "forgot" to budget for archaeological collection management in their grant applications and government agencies that inadequately funded compliance work has had profound impacts on collections today. Many collections are seriously degrading and have inadequate professional staffing to improve conditions. Unfortunately, there are also limited funding sources for the upgrading of existing collections and the repositories that care for them.

Furthermore, the costs of archaeological curation have been rising since the promulgation of 36 CFR 79 because these regulations mandate standards for the long-term management of and access to collections. These standards cover the curatorial services that are to be provided and the environmental and security conditions of the repository. Many non-federal institutions have adopted these standards and incurred significant costs to do so. As a result, more and more repositories charge fees for curating collections they do not own (Childs and Kinsey 2003), which increases the cost of archaeological projects. Increasing costs also are leading to more compliance projects, particularly surveys, that do not collect artifacts. This, in turn, may skew the archaeological record for future researchers.

Moreover, the lack of storage space for existing and incoming collections has caused a number of U.S. repositories to close their doors to new collections. With the current decrease in state and federal budgets, state museums and state university museums are becoming targets for serious reduction of basic functions and staff. Since many of these museums and repositories care for federal and state collections and provide excellent public education through exhibits, the collections that U.S. taxpayers support and visit are in jeopardy.

Fortunately, some positive things have happened in recent years. First, many states, tribes, and local governments have instituted policies for the care of archaeological collections, including funding responsibilities. Federal entities, such as the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Mandatory Center of Expertise in Archaeological Curation and Collections Management, have been established. The Army Corps of Engineers center helps to assess and rehabilitate existing collections and identify, upgrade, and support repositories that meet the standards in 36 CFR 79, among many other things (Marino 2004; Trimble and Meyers 1991). Several federal agencies have pooled their resources to build and support regional repositories, such as the Anasazi Heritage Center in Colorado, that excel in both collection care and public education. Here, and at other repositories across the United States, curated

materials are being brought to the attention of local people, including schoolchildren, Native Americans, and retired persons.

Managing Archaeological Collections: Some Critical Responsibilities

Archaeologists must take more responsibility for the collections they generate as more graduate students use these collections for research (Nelson and Shears 1996) and culture groups increasingly care about and value the preservation of and access to the materials of their past (see Ardouin 1997; Neller 2004). In the United States the public is demanding to know how their taxes are being spent on archaeology. This need for responsibility is especially poignant in the context of overcrowded repositories and inadequate long-term funding to support and professionally staff repositories worldwide. At a minimum, archaeologists must be stewards of the collections they create by designing, budgeting, and implementing field projects with the collections in mind. But first there is the issue of how to promote the value of collections for research, public outreach and interpretation, and heritage purposes. Both the profession as a whole and individual archaeologists must take active roles.

Valuing Archaeological Collections

Little effort has been expended on encouraging the archaeological profession to value its collections as much as the sites from which they are derived. If existing collections are not valued as a whole, they are not regularly accessed and used to advance archaeological theory and method. When collections are ignored, they often degrade. This downward spiral largely stems from woefully inadequate training in archaeological collections management and conservation for upcoming archaeologists and little attempt to value and use collections in coursework (Childs and Corcoran 2000; Longford 2004; Sullivan and Childs 2003). Also, there are very few reports on best practices for dealing with collections management and care to aid in the education process. Although the International Council of Museums and other organizations valiantly assist in educating professionals about curation and conservation worldwide, they simply cannot meet all the needs.

As a result, there is little professional impetus for accountability and for long-term interest in the research collections created largely by academics. In general, university-based archaeologists have not learned to deal with the long-term management of the collections they create when

they work anywhere in the world. They often split up collections by taking some or all from the location of origin for further study (Asombang 2000:26; Fatunsin 1997:70). When a collection is left fully or partially intact in the place of origin, the associated documentation rarely accompanies the objects to make them usable for future research. Few or no funds are budgeted for the next critical steps: cataloging, conservation, labeling, packing, and storage.

To alleviate these problems, the profession should

- encourage every graduate program to require a course on the management of collections from project planning through fieldwork and analysis to the repository;
- encourage research on existing collections, including thesis and dissertation work, and give out annual awards for the best research conducted;
- advocate for the need to rehabilitate and rehouse existing collections in order to increase their usability for research, education, and heritage activities;
- encourage use of the Internet to provide summaries of collections, object catalogs, and images of objects and documents for potential users (this is happening, although slowly because of the related costs and expertise required);
- promote the development of guidelines and best practices on such issues as budgeting for curation, the management of associated records, and field collection practices.

Individual archaeologists should promote the value and use of collections by

- teaching these issues at the undergraduate and graduate levels, including the need to maintain long-term value through proper conservation treatments;
- using collections in teaching, interpretive activities, and personal research (graduate research projects that use collections help students to learn about discoveries that can be made [Barker 2004]);
- depositing in the repository a complete set of associated records created during project planning, fieldwork, lab work, and report writing, together with the recovered artifacts;
- identifying and working with a repository or archive to curate an archaeologist's professional papers, photographs, and data (Silverman and Parezo 1995).

Managing the Growth of Collections

A field archaeologist's primary concerns before going to the field are to plan a research design or scope of work and obtain funding support for the work, whether for compliance or research. Often, archaeologists are not aware that key components of a research design directly affect the resulting collections over the long term. Collections growth is affected in particular; it has not been managed by the archaeological profession worldwide. There is little understanding of the quantity and range of collection types that currently exist in the United States, for example, or the condition they are in for research, interpretation, and heritage uses. All indications are that basic collection-level inventories are lacking worldwide. This deficiency jeopardizes the development of appropriate policies and best practices to improve collections care, obtain adequate space for storage and use of collections, and determine how best to handle the current outcry to deaccession collections.

To better manage the growth of collections, the profession should

- advocate for the development of a survey instrument and database to collect basic information on existing collections across a nation. Data should minimally include associated time period(s), current condition, ownership, primary material types, and storage location. The profession should help to obtain funding for the survey and then maintain it by collecting data about new collections. The resulting database should be made available on the Internet for widespread use.
- develop a policy on deaccessioning, “the process used to remove permanently an object from a museum’s collection” (Malaro 1985:138). There is a growing push to deaccession redundant objects and soil samples that occupy significant storage space in repositories, yet any action taken must be done responsibly to ensure future usability of what is curated (Childs 1999; Sonderman 2003).
- develop standards for field collecting to consider during project planning, including a collecting strategy and methods to sample redundant material types.
- encourage all funding organizations, whether governmental or nonprofit, to require that all applicants identify the repository where the resulting collection will be curated.

Individual archaeologists must help to manage collections growth by

- developing all research designs and scopes of work with the following in mind:
 - a collecting strategy based on the theoretical or compliance focus of the work, the phase of work (i.e., survey, testing, excavation), and, whenever possible, the long-term research plans for a region (Childs and Corcoran 2000; Sonderman 2004; Sullivan 1992).
 - when appropriate, a strategy to sample redundant and bulky object types, such as undecorated body sherds, fire-cracked rock, and shell, before they are accessioned in overcrowded, understaffed repositories (Sullivan and Childs 2003). Sampling requires careful typological sorting and analysis by a materials expert to determine appropriate sampling categories and sizes.
 - a formal curation agreement, which recognizes the obligations of the repository that will curate the objects and records of the collection owner, often represented by an archaeologist.
 - a project budget that covers the expenses of preparing the resulting collection for long-term curation, including appropriate containers, labels, cataloging, and conservation work, as well as any curation fees charged by the selected repository (Childs and Corcoran 2000; Sonderman 2004).
- identifying where all project collections are curated in project reports, articles, and books so that future researchers, educators, and heritage communities can find and use them.
- identifying the ownership of each collection created so that long-term responsibility for the collection is known. A collection is rarely owned by an individual archaeologist.

Understanding Curation Costs

Given the current need for funding support to help curb the archaeological collections crisis, it is crucial that archaeologists understand the costs involved in collections care. While fieldwork primarily involves onetime costs, except for some long-term artifact analysis, collections care involves costs “in perpetuity” (Woosley 1992). The many costs of curation revolve around five major items, which need to be shared by the archaeological and museum communities to ensure future

access and use: (1) initial processing of new collections, including necessary conservation, cataloging, labeling, boxing and storing of the objects and records, and inventorying; (2) periodic inspection of existing collections and any necessary rehabilitation, conservation, and inventorying; (3) creation or upkeep of repository space and appropriate facilities; (4) hiring, training, and retaining of professional staff; and (5) education of the public who use the collections, which should involve input from local communities with heritage interests or that are located near the originating excavations.

Many repositories around the world are full to the brim, have little means to expand both in terms of space and staff, have little support to make improvements, and have poorly trained staff (Kibunjia 1996; Mabulla 1996). Although the above costs are recognized, there are few funding sources to meet the needs. By the late 1970s, U.S. repositories and museums began to implement some solutions to these problems. Repositories began to charge curation fees for various services on collections they could not own, such as those from federal or state land. Usually it is a “onetime only” fee per standard box size to process and curate new collections, and the amount varies depending on local differences in salaries, cost of materials, land and building costs, and utilities (Childs and Kinsey 2003). Many repositories also have collection submission requirements that state exactly how a collection must be prepared before deposition. These solutions are beginning to have a positive effect on the long-term sustainability of many repositories and might be viable options in other parts of the world.

To better manage the costs of caring for and managing archaeological collections, the individual archaeologist must budget for and handle the initial processing of the collections he or she creates. The archaeological profession must

- advocate for a clear understanding of collection ownership in each country, so that it is known which institutions, such as university museums or government agencies, are accountable and financially responsible for existing and new collections.
- advocate for granting processes that focus on upgrading repositories to meet existing national standards, rehabilitating existing collections, and inventorying current collections by time period, condition, ownership, and so on.
- advocate for a system to accredit repositories that meet national standards for managing archaeological collections. Accreditation, perhaps similar to the

program of the American Association of Museums in the United States, would enable agencies, contractors, and researchers to make better decisions about the long-term care of new collections and to budget for standardized services. It also would enhance the professional credibility and visibility of each accredited repository.

- assist in the development of partnerships between appropriate organizations in a country to build or expand repositories for mutual benefit.

Conclusion

There is much to do to preserve and protect archaeological resources. The job is so big that every archaeologist needs to be involved—whether on the front line in a cultural resources management company, teaching ethical responsibilities in the classroom and the field, or overseeing collections in a repository. All of these efforts are equally necessary, valuable, and require coordination. Most important, all professionals are responsible for leading by example so that new generations of archaeologists learn appropriate attitudes, values, and practices for the stewardship of both sites and collections. Archaeological collections and the associated documentation are a growing frontier for researchers, public educators, and heritage communities if their growth and costs are well managed.

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Archaeological Archives in Britain and the Development of the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre

Hedley Swain

Abstract: Although the importance of records, finds, and archives from archaeological excavations is continually stressed in the literature, it is the norm in Britain and Europe for them to be underresourced, undervalued, and underused. The Museum of London, through the creation of the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC), is attempting to redefine the value of archives not just by emphasizing the importance of proper curation but also by linking it to access and research. The LAARC is already being used as a model of good practice in Europe and, we hope, will lead to a new approach to archaeology that places archives in a more holistic approach to the discipline.

As long ago as 1904 archaeologists in Britain were expressing concern about the ability of museums to store and curate the material from archaeological excavations. In that year Flinders Petrie (1904:134) suggested the provision of a national repository: "A square mile of land, within an hours journey from London, should be secured; and built over with uniform plain brickwork and cement galleries at a rate of 20,000 square feet a year, so providing 8 miles of galleries 50 feet wide in a century, with room yet for several centuries of expansion space."

Three elements of this description are worth noting: "within an hours journey from London" suggests the need for rapid access; "20,000 square feet a year" suggests a large mass of material; and "several centuries of expansion space" suggests that the rate of deposition will be continuous. These observations remain true for British and indeed European archaeology today. There is a lot of it, it keeps coming, and we believe that we should provide ready access to it.

Archaeological archives (the term normally used in England for the collective records and finds and associated reports and data from an excavation) should represent a

prime research and heritage asset; yet they have been underresourced and underused. For many years British museums have struggled to find the resources to properly store archives, never mind maximize their research and educational value. This situation has been made worse by the organization of archaeology in Britain today whereby the practitioners are primarily commercial organizations whose peripatetic activities are quite separate from the museums that are expected to curate archives (see, e.g., Merriman and Swain 1999).

In London in the past thirty years this situation has become acute. The unprecedented level of excavation in the historic urban core has resulted in the largest body of archaeological records and finds of its kind. This is an immense research resource, making London one of the best-understood historical cities in Europe (Museum of London Archaeology Service 2000). However, it has brought with it huge logistical problems for the Museum of London, which takes and cares for the archives from excavations.

The London Archive and Research Centre

In the last few years the Museum of London has attempted to embrace the need for an easily accessible and sustainable home for the material from previous London excavations. Since its foundation in 1976 the Museum of London has acted as the home for archaeology in the capital (Ross and Swain 2001; Sheppard 1991). The museum's field units, in their different incarnations, have carried out the vast majority of excavations in Greater London. The museum's main galleries tell London's story from prehistory to the twentieth century and draw heavily on archaeology, as have some of its recent temporary exhibitions such as *London Bodies* (Werner 1998),



FIGURE 1 The *London Bodies* exhibition, which used human skeletons from the archive. Courtesy of Museum of London

which used human skeletons to demonstrate how the appearance of Londoners has changed through the ages (fig. 1), and *High Street Londinium* (Hall and Swain 2000a), which focused on how excavations had helped to reconstruct the appearance of Roman Londinium. Behind the scenes the museum also cares for the archives from excavations in Greater London. It has long been realized that this material offers both great challenges in terms of its sheer quantity and an incredible untapped resource for research. In creating the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) the museum has tried to meet these challenges.

The LAARC was opened in February 2002; it is housed in the museum's Mortimer Wheeler House resource center, about two miles from the main museum building and its galleries. It shares the building with the offices of the museum's archaeology service and much of the museum's social and working history collections. A grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund (the U.K.'s national lottery) provided about 50 percent of the funding. Other funds came from central government, the Getty Grant Program, and many other organizations, archaeological societies, and individuals. Two new large storage areas have been created, as well as a visitor center and two

FIGURE 2 The interior of the LAARC. Only the proper curation of the vast resource of material from London excavations will unlock its research potential. Courtesy of Museum of London



study rooms (fig. 2). State-of-the-art roller storage has been installed, and computerized index and access systems (the latter available on the Internet) have been developed. The LAARC project, which included building and equipping the new spaces, designing the computer systems, and undertaking a minimum standards program on the archive, cost about £2.5 million. Funds for the six-person team that manages the LAARC are found from the museum's recurrent costs.

The core staff for the LAARC is adequate for day-to-day management and curation. Extra project funds are sought to undertake specific enhancement and research projects. These currently include a major project funded by the Wellcome Trust to produce an online database of the human skeletons held in the archive.

The London archive is by far the largest in Britain. It currently contains about 150,000 individual boxes of finds stored on 10,000 meters of shelving and includes finds and records from about 5,200 individual excavations from Greater London. And, of course, these figures are growing every year. Therefore, about twenty years' expansion space has been built into the plans. This will be achieved partly through current spare space but also by the rationalization of existing material. For example, a current program entails recording and then discarding some assemblages of mundane

and repetitive ceramic building materials from past excavations that would not have been retained under modern excavation methodologies.

The museum has set rigorous standards for the preparation of new archives resulting from excavations and expects the archives from all excavations in Greater London to be deposited in the LAARC. It has taken a while for the twenty or so archaeological contractors who regularly operate in London to become accustomed to this new, disciplined approach, but the will seems to be there, and material is now being deposited at an increased rate.

Meanwhile, the LAARC has also turned its attention to material that is already in its care. This material was generated over about one hundred years by many different archaeologists working for many different organizations. Currently, this material is not compatible and often not easily accessible. A huge effort is being made to bring all this material up to an acceptable level of care and accessibility, not only for its long-term well-being but also to encourage research.

Research has been spearheaded by the publication of a London archaeological research framework (McAdam et al. 2002) and a series of partnerships with London's archaeologists and universities. The international research potential of material held at the LAARC is also being recognized. The

FIGURE 3 A Roman School Box.

Material deaccessioned from the archive is used in these boxes that are delivered to London schools.
Courtesy of Museum of London



museum already has formal partnerships in place with La Trobe University in Melbourne to study eighteenth- and nineteenth-century assemblages and with Pennsylvania State University to study DNA from some of the skeletons held in the archive.

Another key part of the London archaeological community is its local societies; the museum is working with these groups to encourage research and use of the LAARC. Several societies were actively involved in the planning of the LAARC and donated funds for its creation. It is hoped that society projects either researching London's past or helping with collections management in the LAARC will allow local members to feel actively involved in London's archaeology—something that has been very difficult in the past ten years as more and

more archaeology has been funded commercially by developers. Under another initiative, the LAARC is hosting the Central London Young Archaeologists Club for children and teenagers.

The LAARC is not an alternative to the museum's galleries, and it is fully appreciated that archives may not be the best way to introduce the general public to archaeology. There are public weekend events at the LAARC, but its main value is as a foundation for other activities. The *London Bodies* exhibition would have been impossible without the museum's archive of human remains; other such projects will follow. The sorting and rationalization of material in the archive has also made possible the museum's Roman Boxes for Schools scheme, whereby unstratified material has been turned into

teaching collections (Hall and Swain 2000b) (fig. 3). Such material was also used in *The Dig*, a re-created excavation using real artifacts, which was the museum's summer family event in 2001 (Martin 2002).

The LAARC's philosophy is simple, but it calls on the archaeological community to refocus its priorities. Over thirty years we have become expert at excavating and recording archaeological material in the face of threats from development. But we have been not sufficiently used the results of excavation to further public knowledge and appreciation of the past. A vast unrealized resource has slowly accumulated. By its proper curation, we are now ready to put it to a variety of uses, led by research. It is hoped that the LAARC will develop as a strong foundation for archaeological activity in London and a model for similar endeavors elsewhere.

The Wider Challenge

The challenges posed by the curation of archaeological archives are not restricted to London. A number of reports and surveys have highlighted the plight of archaeological archives throughout Britain (Swain 1998). Archaeological digging units have been slow to transfer archives to museums, and museums in their turn have struggled to find the space and resources to care for them to acceptable standards. There has also been a poor record of dialogue between museums and archaeologists.

The initial success of the LAARC hides underlying contradictions in British archaeology that undermine much of the philosophical basis for archaeology. As archaeologists we have long learned that excavation is destruction and that it is imperative therefore that we properly preserve and "archive" our records and finds and publish the results. Developing from the idea of archiving is the concept that the archive should be a valuable research tool, allowing archaeologists to "test" the conclusions made—in the same way that a scientific experiment is valid only if it can be repeated—but also allowing new research by comparing the results from more than one dig or studying a different aspect of the archive.

Experience has shown that professional archaeologists, and the archaeological community in general, have been reluctant to archive material and to use archives as a valid research resource—obviously, by so doing undermining the original premise for preservation in the first place. There is a tendency in the profession to fall back on the argument that material must be preserved because it is part of our heritage

and is unique. This will not do. It is not justifiable to spend large amounts of money and resources preserving something just because it was dug up and is old. It must have a demonstrable value to society now and be valued as a resource for future research, display, and education.

In Britain much progress has been made in the past five years to recognize the poor state in which archives are being curated and the threats so posed to them. However, the profession still has some way to go in realizing that the material is of real value and to demonstrate this by using the archives, thus demonstrating the need for care. We hope that the LAARC can play an important part in this task by demonstrating how archives can be used once they are valued.

It is not enough simply to keep archives because they are a record of excavations. They must be put to use. Archives must be properly curated. If they are properly curated they can be used for research and as a foundation for other archaeological endeavors: display, education, management. It is only worth curating them if they are used in these ways.

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Working with Native Communities and the Collections of the National Museum of the American Indian: Theory and Practice

Jessica S. Johnson, Bruce Bernstein, and James Pepper Henry

Abstract: *The Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) takes the attitude that it is the steward, not the owner, of the collections entrusted to its care. This is codified in its mission statement. Therefore, a flexible approach is required to develop new methods that allow it to work collaboratively with NMAI's primary constituency, native peoples of the Western Hemisphere. This paper describes three areas (loans to native communities, conservation, and repatriation) in which the NMAI has been working to transform traditional museum practices to better support its mission.*

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) Act instituted the museum in 1989 and mandated its three sister facilities: the George Gustav Heye Center (GGHC) in the U.S. Custom House in New York City, which opened in 1994; the Cultural Resources Center (CRC) in Suitland, Maryland, which opened in 1999; and the National Mall Museum in Washington, D.C., which opened in 2004. Collections are housed in the purpose-built CRC in Suitland, just southeast of Washington, D.C. The CRC provides state-of-the-art resources and facilities for the proper conservation, protection, handling, cataloging, research, study, and use of the museum's collections, library holdings, and photo and paper archives. The CRC also serves as a hub for the museum's community services, educational outreach, technology and Web development, and information resources. The Mall museum and the GGHC serve as the exhibit facilities and the public face of the museum.

George Gustav Heye, a wealthy New Yorker, assembled the original collections of NMAI in the early twentieth century. He started collecting in 1894, but it was not until 1922 that he opened his museum on 155th Street and Broadway in

New York. Following a period of extraordinary growth in the 1920s, the museum fell on financial hard times, which were exacerbated by Heye's death and increasing operating costs. The years of inadequate funding began to be corrected in 1990, when the Heye Museum was absorbed by the Smithsonian Institution.

The collection currently numbers approximately 800,000 objects from across the Western Hemisphere and encompasses archaeological, ethnographic, contemporary, and historic objects and archives. Heye himself collected and purchased extant collections of ethnographic and ancestral objects, but he also relied on his curators and other hired collectors. The archaeological holdings include the important Hawikku collection made between 1917 and 1923 by the museum-sponsored Hendricks-Hodge expedition and the large, well-documented C. B. Moore collection from the southeastern United States. Many of the archaeological objects were not collected systematically, but among them are spectacular Mexican stone sculptures and Mixtec turquoise mosaics and gold ornaments. Field notes, photographs, films, and other records are housed in the museum's archives.

NMAI acknowledges native cultures as its living, first-person voice. NMAI takes the attitude that it is the steward of the collections, not the owner; and its mission is to affirm to native communities and the non-native public the cultural achievements of the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere in collaboration with native cultures and to support the perpetuation of native culture and community.¹ The museum is actively working to develop procedures and policies that will preserve both the tangible and the intangible represented by the collections. Because of its mission, the uses of its archaeological collections are likely to be some-

what different from traditional archaeological repositories. Nonetheless, the collections of ancestral artifacts will no doubt also serve traditional archaeological uses such as research, as well as provide evidence of the history of the discipline. NMAI views the inclusion of native people in the recounting of and decision-making regarding their own ancestral past as a means to increase and broaden its understanding of native cultures.

NMAI acknowledges the diversity of cultures and the continuity of cultural knowledge among the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere by incorporating their traditional methodologies for the handling, documentation, care, and presentation of collections. NMAI is actively striving to find new approaches to the study and representation of the history, materials, and cultures of native peoples. Its challenge is to transform traditional institutional practices to better support its mission. This paper presents three examples where the museum is working to transform typical museum practices in ways that directly support its mission: loans to native communities, conservation treatment, and repatriation.

Zuni Loan

An illustration of why and how the museum supports both the tangible and the intangible heritage in collaboration with native communities is a loan of objects to Zuni Pueblo. Zuni representatives selected two hundred pieces that were returned to Zuni Pueblo to be exhibited and used by the Zuni. In August 2001 the A:shiwi A:wani Museum and Heritage Center at Zuni Pueblo in northern New Mexico opened the exhibition *Hawikku: Listening to Our Ancestors*.

The objects were returned to Zuni Pueblo because they had been excavated from Hawikku, a Zuni ancestral village, by the Hendricks-Hodge expedition. These excavations recovered more than twenty thousand objects, which were taken to the museum facilities in New York. Though extensive restoration and cleaning was done to the objects, they were never exhibited, and detailed site reports and analysis were never completed.² This circumstance made the pueblo venue the first exhibition of the Hawikku collections since their excavation some eighty years earlier. The exhibition was not what the archaeological community had anticipated but rather the Zuni people's own recounting about their contact with Europeans. Their first contact was with the Spanish in 1542 at Hawikku, the site where the Spanish would build a mission church and at which the Zuni, on three occasions, attempted to remove the

foreign presence from their village. They finally succeeded in 1679 and 1680, with the Spanish abandonment of the mission and the Pueblo Revolt. But relations between the Zuni and outsiders were never simple, as evidenced by the Zuni allowing a new Catholic mission church to be built in the eighteenth century in the consolidated village of Holana.

Hawikku was not to be a final resting place for the Zuni people's ancestors; instead it became, in the excavations of 1917–22, the focus of research and removal of burials and funerary objects by Heye Foundation archaeologists. It was this history the Zuni people recounted in their 2001 exhibition.

The first group of objects, about fifty pots, was loaned to the museum at Zuni Pueblo as a "handling collection" that could be used by students, potters, and others in the community. The standard loan document was altered slightly to acknowledge the potential risks involved in handling. Zuni potters and cultural experts took the lead in the pueblo, providing direction for the handling of the pottery. A second group of objects, mostly bone, stone, basketry, wood, and other nonpottery materials, was sent out at a later date to be used in the 2001 exhibition. Throughout the loan preparation, NMAI staff sought to acknowledge the Zuni people's descendant role as the best caretakers and interpreters of Zuni-made objects. To this end, Zuni representatives came to Washington, D.C., to direct the type and amount of conservation treatments for the objects to be returned to the village.

It should also be noted that the objects were received at the pueblo without the involvement of the museum or its staff. Rain fell the day the truck arrived; it was believed to be the blessing of the ancestors.

Since the original exhibition was mounted in 2001, the cultural center staff has modified and changed the exhibition several times. In addition, Zuni staff have continually sought advice from traditional Zuni knowledge bearers, recording their understanding and information about the objects for use in Zuni classrooms and tours. Clearly, on the return of the objects, the Zuni people have worked diligently to return the collection to a Zuni context. Although the people of Zuni Pueblo certainly understand the archaeological context of the collection (the pueblo has a successful and long-standing archaeological program), their success with the project derives from making Zuni interpretations more broadly known, without the usual overlay of academic interpretation. Zuni contexts thus take their place alongside other interpretations, increasing, diversifying, and improving understanding for all of us.

Conservation Consultations

The Zuni loan was an opportunity to expand the development of an approach to conservation treatment that is now becoming standard in the NMAI conservation laboratory. Like the museum as a whole, the conservation unit identifies its primary constituency as the native peoples of the Western Hemisphere whose communities hold the knowledge and expertise to properly determine how objects should be cared for and conserved. Conservation consultations are carried out directly with representatives of the community to identify appropriate treatments for the objects that will be used for exhibit (Johnson et al. 2004).

The practical aspects of these consultations are evolving. They have been done on an ad hoc basis for some time (Heald and Ash-Milby 1998). Preparation for the new Mall museum and support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation have given the museum the opportunity to develop a more standardized approach to the consultations and methodologies for documentation at the museum facility. To date, most consultations have been held at the CRC, but more recently they have also been carried out at or near the communities themselves.

This process has given the conservation staff the opportunity to evaluate many personal and professional assumptions about how and why treatments are carried out. With the guidance of curatorial and other staff, individuals have learned to be inclusive and to avoid taking the leading role in discussions. Conservators act as receivers of information; they are receptive to new and different approaches to the work. This shift in authority is essential for demonstrating the museum's commitment to the idea that the tribal consultants are the experts regarding the care of their cultural material. Often the consultants are elders, artists, and craftspeople or community or political leaders. The goal of this dialogue is to understand how the consultants want the objects to look when they are exhibited. Other consultations occur throughout the museum in all departments to guide many other NMAI programs.

Sometimes consultants ask the conservators to undertake treatments that the latter feel will cause damage in the long term. In addition, the conservators have been asked to make repairs that they do not have the skills to carry out. In such cases, the approach is to try to understand if the material proposed for cleaning or consolidating is really important or whether it is the appearance or the effect that matters. Alternative materials are suggested that may achieve the same effect. Continued discussion leads to solutions that are accept-

able to all. When the conservators feel they do not have the skills to execute the level of restoration that is requested, consultants have been asked to carry out the treatment while conservators document what is done.

For the Zuni loan, two consultations with Zuni community representatives were held at the CRC. In this case, the consultants were potters and tribal governmental representatives. Topics included how and if the objects should be cleaned, appropriate ways to mount objects to protect them from physical damage during shipping and handling, appropriate means to exhibit the objects at the pueblo, previous restoration that had been done and whether removal or repair was needed, how to stabilize fragile surfaces, and ways to stabilize a burnt wooden column from the mission church so it could safely travel and be mounted upright.

A great deal of information was shared by the consultants among themselves; most of this discussion was privileged and not accessible to NMAI staff. Nonetheless, as decisions were made, they were relayed—in English—to NMAI staff. Some decisions were explained further and a cultural context was provided; others were taken by NMAI *sui generis*.

When the exhibition opened at the pueblo, the Zuni governor, Malcolm Bowekaty, reminded people, “We have waited over eighty years to bring back the pots. . . . [That] these pots are finally home, we consider a blessing, that our ancestors are coming to bless us.” Jerome Zunie, a tribal archaeologist commented, “It’s a good history that we have, . . . and it’s a good thing these pieces return to Zuni.”

Repatriation Policies

The NMAI Act, which legislated the formation and development of the physical structures of the museum, also established provisions for the Smithsonian Institution to implement and facilitate the repatriation of specific kinds of objects and materials to tribes in the United States. This act predates the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which applies to other relevant institutions in the United States.

Through repatriation policies, NMAI is committed to the disposition, in accordance with the wishes of native peoples, of

- human remains of known individuals;
- human remains of individuals who can be identified by tribal or cultural affiliation with contemporary native American groups;

- funerary objects;
- objects of cultural patrimony;
- ceremonial and religious objects; and
- objects transferred to or acquired by the old Museum of the American Indian illegally or under circumstances that render invalid the museum's claim to them.

NMAI has voluntarily taken steps beyond the repatriation provisions of the NMAI Act, its subsequent 1996 amendment, and NAGPRA. As noted previously, the museum's mission embraces its special responsibility to protect, support, and enhance the development, maintenance, and perpetuation of native culture and communities throughout the Western Hemisphere. Where the provisions of NAGPRA are limited to federally recognized native governments, the NMAI has taken a broader approach to repatriation, acknowledging the spirit of the legislation and extending these provisions to all of its indigenous constituencies in North, Central, and South America. For example, NMAI repatriated objects to the Taino community of Caridad de los Indios in Cuba and to the Siksika First Nation in Canada.

Conclusion

Through repatriation consultations, exhibition collaborations, and other museum activities with native community members, museum staff members are made aware of general and specific cultural sensitivities associated with collections in the museum's possession. The museum understands it cannot foster trust and long-term collaborative relationships with its primary constituency if it does not recognize that these constituents have an inherent interest in the management, interpretation, and disposition of collections. Pursuit of understanding of the cultural contexts and perspectives of native community members leads to the concept that museum staff are the stewards of these collections and not the owners. With stewardship comes the responsibility and burden of managing collections in unconventional ways in accordance with the wishes and concerns of the affiliated native community.

This paper illustrates several ways staff who work directly with the archaeological collections are using the mission of NMAI to best serve its primary constituency. This is a constant struggle, which will evolve as the museum moves forward. Each project takes the museum closer to ways of developing policies and procedures that better support its mission.

There are a number of serious problems that are currently being addressed, such as pesticide contamination (e.g., arsenic, mercury, and para-dichlorobenzene) of the collections that are being repatriated (Johnson and Pepper Henry 2002) and the best means for the museum of record information gathered during consultations so that others in the institution who have not been present may also follow the wishes of the community. There is a lot yet to do. But with the help of native communities and individuals, the museum is finding its way.

Notes

- 1 NMAI Mission Statement: "The National Museum of the American Indian shall recognize and affirm to Native communities and the non-Native public the historical and contemporary culture and cultural achievements of the Natives of the Western Hemisphere by advancing—in consultation, collaboration, and cooperation with Natives—knowledge and understanding of Native cultures, including art, history, and language, and by recognizing the museum's special responsibility, through innovative public programming, research, and collections, to protect, support, and enhance the development, maintenance, and perpetuation of Native culture and community."
- 2 Frederick Hodge wrote several short papers (e.g., Hodge 1937), and Watson Smith, Richard Woodbury, and Nathalie Woodbury published *The Excavation of Hawikuh by Frederick Webb Hodge: Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition, 1917–1923*, in 1966.

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Challenges in Conserving Archaeological Collections

Kristín Huld Sigurðardóttir

Abstract: This paper offers a perspective different from that presented by Childs, who suggests that archaeologists are to blame for the inadequate storage of objects from archaeological sites and thus for their degradation. I suggest that there are other forces that are guiding the actions of archaeologists, such as archaeology programs offered by universities, which until recently have not been object oriented. I suggest further that there is inadequate training in how to treat objects from the time they are discovered until they are handed over to conservators or collections care managers. It is also necessary to take into account societal forces that influence which archaeology projects are undertaken and that therefore steer archaeologists toward fieldwork instead of objects studies.

When viewed together, the papers by Childs, Swain, and Johnson, Bernstein, and Pepper Henry suggest that in spite of some universal problems such as inadequate storage areas and lack of funding, we are all influenced by our different cultural approaches to archaeology. What some perceive as the cause of a problem, others do not.

Childs maintains that it is primarily archaeologists who are responsible for the fact that archaeological remains are degrading in our storage facilities. Or as she states, "The archaeological profession does not value its collections as much as the sites from which the collections derive." Storage facilities would improve and some conservation work would be carried out if archaeologists and archaeology students were to show more interest in studying the objects instead of putting their emphasis on fieldwork. This is a harsh generalization that needs a response. In defense of archaeologists, I want to focus on two main points: the education offered in the

discipline of archaeology and some of the forces that affect archaeological research.

Education in the Discipline of Archaeology

There is tremendous variation in the archaeology programs offered at universities and colleges around the world. However, the trend during the past few decades has been to favor socially or theoretically oriented courses at the expense of object-based courses. In some countries, students must hold a degree in archaeology at both the undergraduate and graduate level to call themselves archaeologists. Other countries offer archaeology as part of a one-year postgraduate program for which students do not need any previous education in the subject. As a result, the knowledge and ability of archaeologists varies greatly. Although many have a good fundamental knowledge of objects, some have gone through programs that do not include object-based courses. As a result, they look for research material that matches their interests and knowledge.

Object studies are an essential part of archaeology programs; no student of archaeology should be able to graduate without taking courses dealing with objects, starting with basic programs at the undergraduate level and moving on to in-depth programs at the graduate level. These should focus not only on styles, typology, and dating but also on various analytic methods. Training students in elementary chemistry, materials science, and the use of basic instruments such as the microscope ought to be part of all programs from the undergraduate level onward.

The generalization that the archaeological profession does not value its collections is thus unrealistic from my point

of view. The problem we are dealing with is not that archaeologists are not interested in the objects but that far too many lack the type of education and training needed to study the objects to any useful depth.

We must also take into consideration the archaeologists' professional environment, which itself might shift over time. Archaeologists may be working at an institution such as a museum where they are in proximity to an objects collection, at a university where the emphasis might be on theoretical studies, or in a freelance capacity so that they must compete for projects.

Forces That Affect Archaeological Research

The time has passed when archaeologists could decide without any restrictions what they wanted to excavate or research. There are many different forces affecting their work today. Two of these forces are addressed here: political and social.

Let me begin with a discussion of political forces. In most parts of the world, political decisions have both a direct and an indirect influence on the professional environment of the archaeologist, through antiquated legislation or various agreements and, more clearly, through funding. In some countries, the funds available for archaeological research are established by the state and thus are subject to political decisions. Although politicians have advisory groups of specialists who have some say about what to support, those groups are working along lines set by the politicians. The majority of projects that have been favored in recent years are those aimed at the information society and public awareness, which promote the uniqueness of local sites in various countries. Object studies are simply not a priority at present, and good storage areas are not considered important by most people. To effect change in the kinds of projects that receive financial support, archaeologists and conservators need to talk to their politicians and emphasize the objectives of those types of projects.

The problems caused by the complicated and weak, outdated legislation in both the United States and Britain have been discussed in this conference. In the United States, legislation varies from state to state. British archaeology is currently run on a free-market basis; in a way, it is controlled by property developers, as there is minimal legislative control and weak powers of enforcement.

By comparison, all five Scandinavian countries have relatively strong heritage legislation and strong powers of enforcement. The acts vary somewhat among the countries,

but there are common trends in legislation, the most important one being that all excavated objects are the property of the nation and there is a central authority that takes all major decisions regarding the objects and the sites. This authority decides in which museums the objects will be housed. Landowners do not own the objects found on their property, although they might get a reward for some finds such as gold or silver. In all five countries, there are strict regulations regarding excavation permits. In most of them, excavation authorization is limited to museums or universities connected to museums; however, this is not the case in Iceland and Sweden, where privately owned firms are in charge of archaeological excavations. But all excavators have to work according to regulations set by the central authorities. In Iceland, archaeologists have to finish all their work within a fixed time. All their archaeological archives, whether objects, original drawings, field notes, photographs, or diaries, must be handed over to the central agency within a year after the excavation has finished, and the objects must have received conservation treatment. Therefore, a prerequisite for being granted an excavation permit is a signed statement from a conservator who will treat excavated objects. Conservation costs are thus included in the budget plan submitted with the application for an excavation permit.

The needs and demands of society are among the main forces that steer archaeological research. Whether because of local planning or construction projects, archaeologists must be prepared to undertake many different projects each year. They must be ready to come at short notice to excavate and record as thoroughly as possible the cultural layers in question, often being allowed only a relatively short period to undertake the work, frequently in bad conditions. They are required to record as much information as possible before a road is built or a power plant is erected. It is thus societal pressures that far too often dictate the type of research the archaeologist undertakes. In far too many countries, developers do not understand the need for comprehensive research after the fieldwork is completed. They pay for the excavation needed but less willingly for the research required as a consequence of the excavation work or for conservation of the objects. As a result, objects are left in inadequate storage, without being conserved or thoroughly studied.

The need to thoroughly record an archaeological find in order to use the information for various purposes is one of the social forces guiding the work of the archaeologist. This is the case in Iceland, where, according to the Planning and Building

Act, the prerequisite for agreeing to a local planning proposal is that the area has been surveyed and all the archaeological sites mapped and GPS coordinated.

In connection with preparing for this paper, I conducted a short survey to determine whether conservation of objects in the field and collections care were offered to archaeology students by universities in England and Scandinavia. Twenty-two universities were contacted in Scandinavia and Britain. The questions were simple: Was field conservation or collections care offered at either or both the undergraduate and the postgraduate level, and were the subjects offered as a whole unit, or as a part of a unit; and were either or both of these subjects offered as a diploma course? The results were as follows:

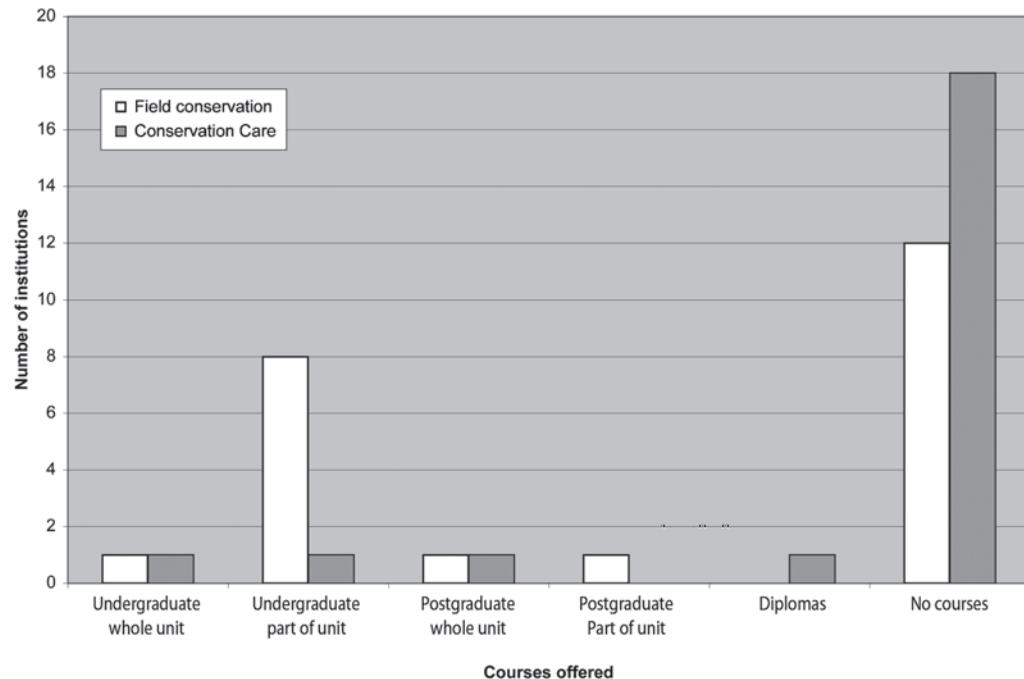
- Of the twenty-two universities, only four offered courses in collections care. Those were whole-unit courses at both the undergraduate and the postgraduate level, a part-unit course at the undergraduate level, and a diploma course (fig. 1).
- Eight universities offered some courses in field conservation of objects. In some cases, the same university offered some or all of the courses included in the survey. All eight universities included some teaching of field conservation in their undergraduate

program; only one offered a complete unit at the undergraduate level. Two of the universities offered field conservation as part of their postgraduate program, one as a whole unit and the other as part of a unit.

When extending the research a bit further to include eight universities from Australia and the United States, the result was even worse. Of the eight universities chosen, none offered courses in the above subjects.

Childs suggests in her paper that postgraduate students ought to be trained in collections care and field conservation. I would like to take her idea a little further and propose that field conservation of objects and the elements of preventive conservation be made obligatory subjects at the undergraduate level in all university archaeology programs, along with courses in object studies. Objects are among the main sources on which archaeologists base their interpretation of the sites. There is not much point in training students in good field techniques without teaching the proper handling and interpretation of objects. Imparting a thorough understanding of proper handling and of the various material groups from the very start of archaeology studies is essential to preserve the documentary value of the objects. It is thus not enough to offer postgraduate students courses in field conservation or

FIGURE 1 Courses offered in field conservation and collections care.



objects studies. How to handle objects, from the moment they are excavated until they are placed in an appropriate storage or display area, must be among the first subjects taught to the archaeology student.

It is therefore not the archaeologist who is to blame for the degradation of objects in storage but the professional who has the basic knowledge of the needs of the objects—that is, the conservator—who ought to be promoting the importance of the subject and working to get it included in the archaeology programs offered at universities and colleges worldwide. One cannot state, therefore, that the archaeological profession

does not value its collections as much as the sites from which the collections derive. It is the political and social forces and requirements of the world we are living in that determine what kind of research is undertaken. The courses available in the various archaeological programs greatly influence the research interests and abilities of archaeologists. Conservators ought to promote the importance of object studies, as well as training to enhance field conservation, preventive conservation, and collections care, as a part of all archaeology programs at the university level.

Archaeological Conservation in Turkey

Hande Kökten

Abstract: This paper describes the development of archaeological conservation as a field of study in Turkey, with special reference to the preservation of movable cultural property. Documents from various institutions concerned with archaeology (conservation laboratories, museums, excavations, foreign archaeology institutes, etc.) indicate that conservation has previously been a secondary interest for archaeologists. This has affected the development of both conservation centers and training programs, to the detriment of archaeological sites and collections. However, with the progress that has been made in modern archaeology and the use of scientific research methods provided by other disciplines, archaeologists and museum professionals have come to recognize the necessity and importance of archaeological conservation, which has contributed to the development of current preservation policies in Turkey.

Research into the development of archaeological conservation in Turkey and attempts to collect relevant information from different excavations have proven difficult because conservation applications related to movable cultural property have not been properly recorded. At the same time, projects dealing with the restoration of monuments and other immovable cultural property (i.e., mosaics, wall paintings) have been considered part of the archaeological or architectural research and therefore have been included as references in publications. The information gained during the research for this paper is not sufficiently extensive or detailed to put forward a clear conclusion about the influence of early excavations and foreign archaeological institutions¹ on the development of conservation policy and practice in Turkey. Therefore, this paper describes the general evolution of conservation at

archaeological excavations in the context of archaeological fieldwork and archaeological museums, as well as conservation training programs, and legal issues. A comparison of the development of archaeology and archaeological conservation in Turkey indicates that these fields have not yet been equally embraced by the authorities, in part because of a lack of knowledge about the aims, principles, theory, and methodology of conservation as a field of study. Instead, it was (and in many cases still is) recognized as a “craft” that could be applied by talented and enthusiastic archaeology students, trainees, and museum staff. Therefore, the need for trained conservation professionals—conservators and conservation technicians—has not been yet clearly acknowledged by excavators, museum specialists, or bureaucrats responsible for the management of the archaeological heritage. This neglect has affected both the structure and the evolution of archaeological conservation in Turkey, and only recently has preservation been acknowledged as a scientific field.

During the early years of archaeological research in Turkey, the conservation of objects was limited to basic cleaning treatments and restoration work at excavation sites and in museum workshops, undertaken by a combined team of foreign and local professionals who were not necessarily trained in conservation. There were cases in which small objects were taken abroad for conservation purposes and returned to Turkey after the treatments were completed.²

The first attempts at conservation practice in Turkey were of a rather primitive and nonscientific nature, although they were no doubt motivated by goodwill. Begun in 1937, the first “conservation workshop,” containing a chemical investigation laboratory, a sculpture workshop, and a fumigation

chamber, was established in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. From the early 1940s until the initiation of short-term training programs for the museum staff, attempts to protect art objects and archaeological finds were inconsistent and insufficient.³ In 1968 the Ministry of Culture initiated a scientific approach to the preservation of cultural property by running training programs for the museum staff at the Museum of Anatolian Civilization, and courses on in situ preservation of wall paintings were organized by ICCROM at Göreme Valley (Cappadocia). Finally, in 1984, the Central Conservation-Restoration Laboratory in İstanbul was founded as a research unit to deal with the conservation problems of collections in state museums (İzmirligil 1995). However, because of insufficient financial resources and the limited number of trained conservators, this institution was gradually turned into a laboratory where conservators provided conservation treatment for hundreds of objects in poor condition from almost any museum in the country. Thus, although the Central Laboratory still has an important role and function in the preservation of archaeological collections, its scope and facilities are far from adequate to meet the needs of state museums.

Legal Issues

The first code of laws (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) concerning the care of Turkey's cultural heritage went into effect in 1869; its purpose was to issue excavation permits for foreign archaeologists and prevent illicit trafficking of antiquities (Umar 1981). This legislation was expanded and revised in subsequent years; the most important development was the establishment of the Higher Committee of Monuments in 1951 (Akozan 1977). This committee was responsible for determining principles that would guide the preservation of historic monuments and sites in Turkey, as well as guide the oversight and supervision of restoration projects. The current legislation governing the care of cultural property was enacted in 1983⁴ and responds to the section concerning protective measures in the Recommendation Concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage by UNESCO, which states that "Member States should, as far as possible, take all necessary scientific, technical and administrative, legal and financial measures to ensure the protection of the cultural and natural heritage in their territories. Such measures should be determined in accordance with the legislation and organization of the State."⁵ However, it contained very little specific

reference to the conservation and restoration of movable cultural property. The articles from the code of laws quoted below concern the archaeologist specifically and the conservator indirectly. They serve here to illustrate the problems of conservation policy in Turkey.

In Part I, Article 3.a, "conservation" is defined as "treatments of preservation, maintenance, repair, restoration, and functional modification of immovable cultural and natural property, as well as preservation, maintenance, repair, and restoration of movable cultural property." As for the "administration and supervision" of cultural property, Article 24.a states, "Movable cultural and natural property is state property and will be kept and preserved by the state in museums. According to the principles described in the legislation, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism may control the registration and maintenance of these properties." Article 26 continues, "The establishment and improvement of museums to preserve natural and cultural property that are within the scope of this legislation are among the obligations of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism."

Article 41 states, "At the end of each excavation campaign, all excavated movable cultural and natural property will be transferred to a state museum that is designated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism." And finally, under the title "Preservation and Disposition of the Site," Article 45 states, "Excavation directors are responsible for the maintenance, repair and arrangement of the immovable cultural and natural property, as well as the maintenance and repair of the movable cultural property that is uncovered at the excavations." This article responds to the UNESCO recommendation on the preservation of archaeological remains: "The deed of concession should define the obligations of the excavator during and on completion of his work. The deed should, in particular, provide for guarding, maintenance and restoration of the site together with the conservation, during and on completion of his work, of objects and monuments uncovered. The deed should moreover indicate what help if any the excavator might expect from the conceding State in the discharge of his obligations should these prove too onerous."⁶ However, because there are few conservation professionals, this obligation cannot be fulfilled in most Turkish excavations. At the present time, either a great number of archaeological finds are transferred to local museums without receiving conservation treatment, or they are treated by archaeologists who use basic recipes for certain problems without exploring the reasons for the initial deterioration processes.

Conservation at Archaeological Excavations

As stated in the Turkish legislation, excavation directors are responsible for the conservation and maintenance of archaeological finds, including the small objects and materials remaining at archaeological sites (architectural and decorative elements, trench sections, etc.). In many instances, the issue of preservation has been solved by archaeologists themselves, using practical methods that can be described as neither permanent nor scientific. This is in part the result of a scholarly negligence that originates from the habit of self-reliance: when archaeology was a young and developing field in Turkey, Turkish archaeologists, as well as many of their colleagues abroad, had to be content with the knowledge and circumstances of their time. In many cases this meant being both creative and pragmatic, since conservation practice was not yet fully in the service of archaeology. With the passing years, in contrast to interdisciplinary approaches that are employed in the United Kingdom and the United States that require partnerships between archaeologists and conservators, Turkish professionals have insisted on their “conventional” methods of “restoring” objects. Because of these unprofessional attempts to restore objects without preserving them and the unfathomable resistance to establishing conservation practice in Turkey, not only has the development of preservation lagged behind, but many archaeological collections in museums and remains at archaeological sites have been adversely affected.

However, since many foreign archaeological expeditions in Turkey (i.e., Sardis, Kaman, Pergamon, Miletos, Sagalassos expeditions) consider conservation a major part of their field-work, they have started field laboratories for the treatment of movable cultural property, included conservators in their teams, and trained some of the Turkish team members in archaeological conservation, albeit at an elementary level. This approach had a positive influence on Turkish excavators, as it gave them an opportunity for comparison and helped them to realize the value of the partnership between archaeologists and conservators. An undesirable result of this development has been the unexpected and rather irrational misuse of the experience. Instead of establishing conservation programs based on proper training, archaeologists have preferred to use “conservation treatment recipes” for certain problems (i.e., the use of electrochemical cleaning methods for copper-alloy coins, cleaning of calcareous layers by soaking the object in acid solutions, gluing potsherds with industrial and often irreversible adhesives, etc.). The unavoidable result was certainly destructive, and when irreversible damage to archaeological

collections was discovered, archaeologists and art historians finally admitted the urgent need for conservation science and training programs in Turkey.

Unfortunately, the strategy of field conservation in Turkey is linked to the status of state museums, where conservation professionals and facilities do not exist. As a result, the treatments that are undertaken during excavation become the only treatments that the excavated objects receive. This strategy requires that all conservation work be completed in the field laboratory, which is contrary to the principles of preservation and minimal intervention. Equally distressing is the fact that this approach is valid only for ongoing excavations; there is no such opportunity for treatment at salvage digs.

Conservation in Archaeological Museums

As mentioned in Article 24.a, “movable cultural property is state property and will be kept and preserved by the state in museums.” This principle points us to a directive issued in 1983 for museums by the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums.⁷ According to this directive, museum objects (including the archaeological and ethnographic collections) in storage will be preserved properly and storage areas will be arranged to enable scientific research. “Museum specialists” are in charge of “collecting, excavating, classifying, and certifying objects”; their duties also include the “repair of exhibits, arrangement of storage areas, and preservation and mechanical cleaning of museum objects.” They are also in charge of observing the condition of the museum objects and reporting those that need treatment in the laboratory. However, the curricula of the programs from which museum specialists have graduated do not include active or preventive conservation techniques for museum objects. These circumstances are reminiscent of the situation mentioned in the United Kingdom Institute for Conservation (UKIC) report, published in 1974, which draws attention to “the unacceptably high proportion of conservation work in United Kingdom museums and art galleries then being carried out by curatorial and technical staff who had received no specific training to undertake it” (Cannon-Brookes 1994:47). Unfortunately, in spite of the establishment of conservation training programs in universities that provide education at different levels (two-year programs for conservation technicians and four-year diploma programs for conservators), the situation has not yet changed sufficiently in Turkey. For the most part, this lack of change is due to deficiencies in the legislation concerning the definition of conservation professionals and the lack of a

realistic financial management program for using this potential in museums.

With the exception of several regional museums, such as the Museum of Anatolian Civilization in Ankara, most Turkish museums have neither conservation laboratories nor workshops to perform treatments. This situation, as well as the delayed awareness of archaeological conservation in Turkey, has caused the following problems:

Nonprofessionals who have attempted to "restore" archaeological objects rather than to preserve them have caused damage to those objects.

There is a vast amount of excavated material in museums and field storage depots accumulated from long-standing archaeological projects and short-term salvage excavations. Museums and archaeological sites lack preventive conservation methods.

Conservation Training

Because archaeologists have responsibility for ensuring that the required conditions are met for the preservation of excavated material, both during and after excavation and both in the field and in the museum (where archaeologists are often assigned as museum specialists), conservation training should be considered at two levels: (1) preventive conservation training for archaeologists, art historians, and other professionals who participate in archaeological digs; and (2) conservation education for conservation technicians and conservators.

Because of the absence of professional conservators and/or conservation technicians in field laboratories, excavators need to be equipped with all relevant information concerning lifting, packing, and storage techniques as well as to be made conscious of the importance of monitoring and maintenance of their sites. On the other hand, since all the excavated material is to become part of museum collections and its conservation treatment cannot be fully completed during the excavation campaign, museum specialists need comprehensive knowledge enabling them to apply preventive preservation methods to their collections.

Preventive conservation courses are being added to the curricula of archaeology, art history, and anthropology programs at the undergraduate level. Training in the restoration of immovable cultural property (architectural remains, historic towns, and monuments) was first started in 1972 at the Middle East Technical University (Ahunbay 1996; Yavuz 1994) as a graduate program in the architecture department. It was later followed by similar programs in various universities in

Turkey; training in the conservation of movable cultural property was not considered until 1989.

Meanwhile, conservation training programs in Turkey offered at the preundergraduate level by vocational schools do not appear to have uniform curriculum content due to differences in their objectives. The selection of courses by individual programs is based on the preservation needs of traditional architecture and monuments in different regions. This local quality complies with the main characteristics of two-year programs, which encourage cooperation between the conservation technician and the craftsman (Ülküçü 1999). In this way, the knowledge and experience of the local craftsman is shared, taught, and documented in a systematic manner by the conservation professional. As a result, information about different materials, production techniques, and aging processes will be available to future generations. However, the duration of these programs is inadequate to assure comprehensive training, since the students have to learn the theory of conservation as well as gain practical skills within a two-year period (Ersoy 2000).

Due to the small number of educated conservation faculty in Turkey, as well as the delayed awareness regarding the need to provide training in archaeological conservation and the conservation of movable cultural property, preundergraduate, undergraduate, and graduate programs are not as prevalent as the architectural restoration programs (Ersoy 1999).⁸ However, there is a growing need for archaeological conservators in the field and in museums, and archaeologists are beginning to realize that the assistance of a professional conservator during and after the excavation can make an important difference. And although it seems to be a very slow process, a new and more rational approach is being developed in Turkey that includes conservation at the professional level.

Conclusion

It is realistic to admit that in spite of the goodwill of archaeologists, conservation science in Turkey has not yet reached the level hoped for or needed. There is a great need for a clear and sincere conservation policy addressing both short- and long-term goals. There is no doubt that greater preventive conservation measures in archaeological excavations and museums will improve the condition of collections and enable archaeologists to gain more information from finds. Increasing the number of conservation training programs, as well as developing their content to respond to the variety of archaeological materials excavated, will foster the growth of a

well-prepared and experienced generation of conservation professionals who can cooperate with archaeologists in excavations and museums. We owe it to our future to make every effort to promote the conservation of Turkey's cultural heritage.

Notes

- 1 The British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara (est. 1948), Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut—İstanbul Abteilung (est. 1929), and Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes in İstanbul (est. 1930) are the three major institutions that undertook excavations in the early years of archaeological research in Turkey.
- 2 Jürgen Seeher, who directs the current excavations at Bogazkoy, states, "During the early years of the Bogazkoy excavation (Hattusas) most of the cuneiform tablets found prior to World War II were taken with the permission of the Turkish authorities to the Berlin Museum for professional conservation and study. Pottery was usually cleaned and restored at the site by specialists or in the Ankara Museum."
- 3 A report compiled by the Ministry of National Education in 1961 mentions that because of the damage caused by devastating environmental conditions at the Museum of Fine Arts in İstanbul and İzmir, the Committee of Fine Arts considered it necessary to send two members of the museum staff to Italy for conservation training and to establish "restoration workshops" in these museums.
- 4 Legislation for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Property of Turkey, Legislation No. 2863, T. C. Resmi Gazete, Sayı. 18113, 23.7.1983.
- 5 "Recommendation Concerning the Protection, at the National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage," V. Protective Measures, Article 18, General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, 17th session, 1972.
- 6 "Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations," General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, New Delhi, 9th session, 1956.
- 7 Müzeler İç Hizmet Yönetmeliği, Ankara, 1990.
- 8 The two-year preundergraduate conservation program of Ankara University, at Baskent Vocational School, has offered courses in the conservation of movable cultural property since 1990. The curriculum consists of the characteristics of historical and

archaeological organic and inorganic materials, manufacturing techniques of ethnographic and archaeological objects, their deterioration processes, and conservation of movable objects (archaeological objects in particular). Graduates of this program are qualified as conservation technicians.

The four-year undergraduate program of İstanbul University, in the Faculty of Literature, was established in 1993 and aims to provide training in the conservation and restoration of movable cultural property.

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PART EIGHT

Preserving the Cultural Heritage of Iraq and Afghanistan

Introduction

Claire L. Lyons

During an international congress at which the thematic banner of conservation formed a major component, it was inevitable that marquee events on archaeology and war took center stage. Warfare and its collateral effects are, of course, the ultimate worst-case scenario that preservationists confront. For many who are engaged in the recuperation and stewardship of the archaeological record, the Fifth World Archaeological Congress offered an opportune moment to discuss the intersections—or more accurately collisions—of archaeological and military interests. Still very much a matter of debate and dissension within the professions of archaeology and conservation, the topics ranged from eyewitness reportage of looting to practical interventions and legislative strategies.

The four years since WAC-4 in Cape Town have witnessed the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan and deepening conflicts over sites of historical and religious significance in other parts of the world. Jerusalem is an example but is not the only flashpoint of divisions that currently enmesh archaeologists and conservators in the Realpolitik of culture. Planning for WAC-5 coincided with the inexorable march toward a second war in Iraq. Its Washington, D.C., venue added a disturbing irony and urgency to the presentations. For these reasons, a number of symposia and plenary sessions were organized to discuss what had happened, what was being done in response, and what lessons might be learned for the future.

The following papers represent a cross section of those offered in three symposia on Afghanistan and one on Iraq, which joined plenary addresses, impromptu remarks, and council resolutions on the crisis. Only ten weeks before the congress, Baghdad had fallen to coalition forces and television broadcast images of museums looted, libraries burned, hospi-

tals ransacked, and the “cradle of civilization” despoiled by pillagers. Written and revised over the course of eighteen months, the essays represent a snapshot of tragic events, subsequent actions, and critical reactions in the wake of two equally chaotic but fundamentally different invasions. Although the situations continue to evolve, some remedial lessons may be taken in hindsight from these instructive accounts.

The picture painted by the contributors is not optimistic. Combined efforts to document and map heritage, train local staff, and draw up the sort of preventive and emergency plans that were advocated after the first Gulf war (Stanley-Price 1997) are laudable. The impulse to *do something* for countries under occupation, however, necessarily entails ethical dilemmas that walk a fine line between aid and collaboration: are we making things right, or just making things seem right? A palpable tension exists between the ideals of professional best practices and what can feasibly be accomplished under the mantle of coalition politics and military security. The tension and ambiguities that such concessions breed can be read between the lines that follow. They mirror larger questions posed by WAC members who attended these sessions and who challenged the premises of archaeologists’ and conservators’ participation in the scenarios of war on humanitarian grounds.

Potential dilemmas were not so apparent during the three panels on Afghanistan. Philip L. Kohl and Rita Wright assembled an impressive roster of distinguished specialists to address the intentional destruction of collections and monuments, which for the most part has been underreported once the shock of the Bamiyan Buddha’s demolition receded into memory. Candid accounts offered by Omara Khan Masoodi,

Abdul Wassey Ferooz, and Osmund Bopearachchi of the plight of museums, not to mention the virtual erasure of little-known sites, make it difficult to encompass the personal sacrifices that Afghan colleagues have endured, or to ignore their calls for assistance. Admirable projects to restore and rebuild have been initiated by individual conservators, international agencies, and sister museums, as described in papers by Christian Manhart and Jim Williams and Louise Haxthausen, all from UNESCO. It is clear, however, that even in Kabul the needs are overwhelming and security has yet to be extended to rural areas where narcotics and artifacts are now the main cash crops. Afghanistan is a paradigm of collateral damage, attributable to a chain of causes and effects that decades of war set into motion. Yet audiences on hand to hear their accounts at WAC were unaccountably sparse. Is the loss of history in a signally important region at the crossroads of East and West of less consequence than that suffered in Mesopotamia? Or, as Kohl and Wright underscore, is the problem a lack of political will and the failure of promised funding to materialize when attention shifted to Iraq?

Overflow audiences attended the Iraq session, which featured the perspectives of art law, conservation, cultural property, and Mesopotamian archaeology. The goal was to share information, particularly on the status of monuments outside the capital as of June 2003. Much has changed since those reports were aired. While the spotlight was on the museums in Baghdad, some of the most famous archaeological ruins, including Nineveh and Babylon, were in harm's way from organized looting for the antiquities market and the abusive construction of military installations. Patty Gerstenblith analyzes deficiencies in international conventions that fail to cover the responsibilities of occupying forces in circumstances like this. Gaps and loopholes undermine efforts to respond swiftly when archaeological heritage is threatened by conflict. Law has proven an effective disincentive to consumers of stolen cultural property. Legislation that aims to restrict the import of Iraqi antiquities into the United States and to amend the current legislation that implements the 1970 UNESCO Convention was introduced in Congress, to help authorities react more flexibly. However, it stalled under intense lobbying by representatives of the art market community. The bill that was finally passed (Emergency Protection for Iraqi Cultural Antiquities Act of 2004) represents a compromise that moves things forward but not as far as they need to go. The legislation does not cover countries that are not party to the 1970 UNESCO Convention, for example, Afghanistan, because it is not currently considered politically

expedient to acknowledge anything less than success in that country.

The issue of postconflict occupation and reconstruction and its deleterious effects on archaeological zones has recently come to the fore. Zainab Bahrani, an Iraqi American scholar who served for several months as archaeological adviser to the Iraqi Ministry of Culture, considers the physical and symbolic damage sustained at Babylon, by any account a site of global significance. Though apparently unscathed during hostilities or by wholesale looting, Babylon was selected as the location of a U.S. military installation. Construction plans excluded archaeologists and Iraqi officials on security grounds, and as a result the integrity of the site has been severely, perhaps irreversibly damaged. Bahrani sees the coalition's occupation of Iraq's historical fabric here and in other archaeological areas as a seizure of conceptual territory and a form of iconoclasm not so different from that perpetrated in the name of religion in Afghanistan.

These cases call out for action, but they also call into question the wisdom of embedding with the military. Is there a risk that archaeologists and conservators will be perceived as placing the rescue of monuments and artworks at a higher priority than safeguarding lives and basic human resources? In the situation of Afghanistan, as Kohl and Wright point out, heritage is a facet of human rights, and its destruction is inseparable from other sociopolitical problems. It constitutes a shared tradition and is therefore essential to long-term stability. Theirs is a valid concept, but it becomes murkier in the case of Iraq, which was viewed much less favorably from the outset and has worsened over time as reports of military mismanagement like that at Babylon circulate. The willingness of professional archaeologists and conservators to act as government advisers is viewed skeptically by some colleagues, who question why protest "limited itself to the broken china—and ignored the broken lives of the war's victims" (Ascherson 2003:65; see also Hamilakis 2003:104–11). Few of those who volunteer their efforts in postwar Afghanistan and Iraq, or for that matter in Lebanon or the Balkans, do so without genuine concern for people and their heritage. The following papers offer no easy answers. They point to the need voiced at the congress for a renewed engagement with the professional, political, and ethical aspects of fieldwork in the context of war. Independent archaeological and conservation organizations have a very important stake in the outcome. Doubtless, the opportunity to test convictions will present itself in the not too distant future.

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The Law as a Tool for Cultural Heritage Preservation: The Case of Iraq and Afghanistan

Patty Gerstenblith

Abstract: As the subject of cultural heritage has grown and expanded with the awareness of the need to preserve cultural heritage for the benefit of future generations, so the law that addresses the problems of preservation has grown. Law, both national and international, is the primary mechanism for controlling and shaping human behavior in order to maximize the public good. However, recent experiences of both intentional and unintentional damage, destruction, and other threats to the cultural heritage in Iraq and Afghanistan demonstrate the shortcomings of the national and international legal systems in their attempts to reduce and eliminate these losses. This paper examines some of these shortcomings and briefly proposes modifications to these legal regimes that would make the law more responsive to contemporary threats to cultural heritage and would impose mechanisms for providing more effective cultural heritage resource management and preservation.

Cultural Heritage in Time of War

It is perhaps ironic that, so far as we know, direct military action during the second Gulf War posed relatively little danger to the Iraqi cultural heritage. The conduct of war with respect to cultural heritage is now governed by the 1954 Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.¹ Among other provisions, it calls on nations that are party to the convention to avoid the targeting of cultural sites and monuments, except in cases of military necessity (Art. 4). The main drawback is that the primary partners in the coalition that led the invasion of Iraq, the United States and the United Kingdom, are not parties to

the convention (although the United Kingdom has since announced its intention to ratify it). The United States signed the convention in 1956 and President Bill Clinton transmitted it to the Senate for ratification in 1999, but it has been held hostage to domestic politics and the perception that it is not very important. Both the United States and the United Kingdom are party to the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, which have some provisions for the safeguarding of cultural property during war. These nations also recognize parts of the 1954 convention as customary international law. However, given the minimalist provisions of the earlier conventions and the failure to ratify the 1954 convention, major military powers such as the United States and the United Kingdom are able to pick and choose which parts of the 1954 convention they will follow and which parts they reject. This leads to considerable uncertainty as to the conduct of these nations during war and occupation. Whether the recent war in Iraq will serve as a catalyst or disincentive for ratification also remains to be seen.

Even if more nations were to become parties to the convention, this would not solve all of the difficulties, because the convention itself is inadequate in many respects. The 1954 convention was written in reaction to the massive cultural heritage displacement that occurred in Europe during World War II. The threats posed to cultural heritage during warfare have multiplied, and more needs to be considered than just intentional or collateral damage from the targeting of cultural sites. In 1999 the Second Protocol to the convention was drafted to respond to some of the issues that arose during the Balkan wars of the early 1990s. Recent experiences in Iraq demonstrate that still more changes are needed.

Cultural Heritage in the Aftermath of War and during Occupation

The Hague Convention addresses conduct during occupation, as well as during active warfare (Art. 5 and Second Protocol). However, there are many aspects of the occupation of Iraq that the convention fails to address, probably because this occupation is very different in character from the occupation of Europe by German forces during World War II. It is also not clear when some of the obligations, in particular the obligation to maintain peace and security, are triggered (Art. 4, par. 3). Much of the looting and destruction in the Baghdad cultural institutions occurred after the U.S. forces were in control of Baghdad, between approximately 8 and 20 April 2003, and before the coalition's occupation was formally recognized by the U.N. Security Council, on 22 May 2003 (UNSCR 1483).²

During the period of occupation and even after the end of formal occupation in June 2004, the U.S. military has engaged in conduct that has been harmful and even destructive to the cultural heritage of Iraq. One example is the building of a military base on the site of Babylon, which, according to Zainab Bahrani (see this volume), has damaged the ancient site located there (Curtis 2004). Other military actions taken in the attempt to defeat the insurgency and in the aftermath, particularly the clearing of buildings in the old city of Najaf, have reportedly harmed Iraq's cultural heritage. The U.S. military is engaging in the controlled detonation of ordnance in the immediate vicinity of the World Heritage Site of Hatra, which may be destabilizing the structures at the site (Crawford 2005), and is using the minaret of the ninth-century al-Mutawakkil mosque in Samarra (known as the Malwiya because of its spiral minaret) as a sniper position because it provides an excellent view of the surrounding area (Harris 2005). However, as there is no consistent method of monitoring these actions or assessing their effect, the nature and extent of any damage cannot be determined at this time.

The Hague Convention does not seem to envision the long-term occupation of territory. For example, the convention should require that a cultural heritage damage assessment be carried out under the auspices of either the national authorities or a nongovernmental organization, such as UNESCO, within a limited time following the cessation of hostilities. The convention needs to clarify that the occupying power has an obligation to prevent looting and vandalism of cultural sites and institutions not just by its own forces but also by the local population.

Article 1 of the First Protocol of the 1954 Hague Convention, written at the time of the main convention, regulates the disposition of movable cultural objects. It prohibits the removal of cultural objects from occupied territory and requires the return of any objects that are removed for safe-keeping at the end of the occupation. Unfortunately, this protocol has not received the same degree of international acceptance as has the main convention, and it is not clear whether the United States regards the First Protocol as part of customary international law.

The failure to accept the principles of the First Protocol is problematic in terms of the theft of antiquities for sale on the international market, which is discussed below. It is also problematic for other reasons. For example, an exhibition of Mesopotamian antiquities that would travel to Europe or the United States has been proposed several times during the occupation of Iraq (Weir 2004). While some laud the possibilities of such an exhibition to increase awareness of Mesopotamian culture and history and to perhaps raise funds for cultural heritage reconstruction, it is unclear whether trained professionals have had much involvement in the drafting of the plans. More significantly, the failure to involve Iraqis in these decisions exacerbates the concerns and suspicions of not only the Iraqis but also the professional archaeological and conservation communities, which have already been alarmed by events in Iraq.

Finally, the failure of the United States to acknowledge the First Protocol creates difficulties when the United States removes cultural materials from Iraq for purposes of emergency conservation, as it has done with a trove of Jewish manuscripts found waterlogged in the basement of the Iraqi security police headquarters (Myre 2003). While the removal for purposes of conservation seems justified under the Hague Convention and the First Protocol, both the general public and the heritage conservation community could more willingly countenance such removal and cooperate if there were confidence that the materials will be returned in due course.

Neither the various national nor international legal systems are able to provide adequate disincentives to the looting of cultural institutions, as occurred in Baghdad in April 2003. Some of the vandalism, especially the burning of manuscripts, books, and documentation, and looting, especially the taking of computers and other types of equipment, was either random or for the purpose of obtaining desired supplies by the local population. Other aspects of the looting, such as of the museums, were more likely targeted at supplying antiquities

and other cultural objects for sale on the international art market. The Hague Convention and its First Protocol are not directly relevant here, other than through the obligation to prevent looting and vandalism, because the prohibition on removal of cultural materials refers to removal by states and not by individuals.

The 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property is, however, more directly relevant to this circumstance (O'Keefe 2000).³ Article 7(b) of the convention calls on state parties to prevent the import of "cultural property stolen from a museum or a religious or secular public monument or similar institution . . . , provided that such property is documented as appertaining to the inventory of that institution," and to return any such material imported to the state party of origin. Many art-importing nations, including France, Italy, Australia, and Canada, have been parties to the UNESCO convention for many years; the United Kingdom, Japan, and Switzerland have joined more recently. The United States joined the convention in 1983 and implemented Article 7(b) through section 308 of the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act (CPIA).⁴ While this provision automatically prohibits importation of cultural materials stolen from the museums and libraries of Baghdad, the requirement that such material be documented can be a significant impediment when the documentation in the Baghdad institutions was so severely compromised (Russell 2003).

The reaction of the world community to the events in Baghdad demonstrates that it can respond quickly and effectively to cultural crises when the political will and sufficient public pressure, primarily through the media, are present. However, the uniqueness of the response to the Iraq situation and the total failure of the international community to respond to the equally devastating cultural crisis in Afghanistan demonstrate the overall ineffectiveness of the international legal system. Of greater efficacy in the case of Iraq, but again an unusual circumstance, were the sanctions on the import of Iraqi goods in place since 1990. Therefore, the import or dealing in such goods was already prohibited before the second Gulf War began. This circumstance applies neither to Afghanistan nor to most of the other nations of the world where looting and destruction of archaeological and other cultural sites is rampant.

On 22 May 2003 the U.N. Security Council called on U.N. members to prohibit the trade in illegally removed Iraqi cultural materials in Resolution 1483, paragraph 7. Of particu-

lar interest is the reaction of the British government, which, in response to UNSCR 1483, enacted an administrative prohibition on dealing in illegally removed Iraqi cultural materials.⁵ This prohibition criminalized such dealing and reversed the typical burden of proof in criminal cases by requiring that an individual handling such materials establish that he or she did not know or have reason to know that such materials were illegally removed. UNSCR 1483 and the British provision are broader than the 1970 UNESCO Convention because they apply not just to materials stolen from institutions but also to materials taken from any location in Iraq, including archaeological sites. Switzerland, which only recently ratified the UNESCO Convention and is, along with the United Kingdom and the United States, among the more significant market nations, enacted special provisions for prohibiting trade in illegally removed Iraqi cultural heritage materials.⁶

Like the U.S. action to maintain the prohibition on importation of Iraqi cultural materials through the system of sanctions that had been in place since 1990,⁷ the British action is administrative in nature. The British action will automatically terminate if UNSCR 1483, paragraph 7, is rescinded. Although helpful in the short term, these restrictions are not an effective deterrent to looting because they are not likely to last for an extended time. However, a recent study of the London market in Iraqi antiquities indicates that the market has dropped dramatically since 2003 (Brodie 2005). Based on our experiences of artworks stolen during World War II and other examples of looted cultural materials, we can conclude that some collectors, dealers, and middlemen in the art market are willing to hold stores of cultural materials or trade them privately out of the public eye for long periods, waiting for temporary import restrictions to expire and statutes of limitations to bar actions by true owners to recover their stolen cultural materials.

Looting of Undocumented Materials

Of even greater concern than the theft of objects and manuscripts from museums and libraries is the looting of undocumented artifacts from archaeological sites. When sites are looted and the context and associated materials of the artifacts are lost, their historical, cultural, and scientific information is irretrievably destroyed (Brodie, Doole, and Renfrew 2001). From the legal standpoint, it is also much more difficult to trace undocumented materials and recover them. This in turn means that there is greater incentive to loot such objects because they are relatively easy to sell on the international

market. Major museums in the United States and elsewhere are sometimes willing to purchase such undocumented artifacts because there is no direct evidence of their theft and it is less likely that the acquirer will lose the investment in the object. The looting of archaeological sites began early in the war in Iraq with the withdrawal of the Iraqi military, particularly in the south (Gibson 2004). The looting of sites in Afghanistan has gone on for many years, and the lack of centralized government control means there is little possibility of preventing it (Ferooz 2004).

Besides the U.N. Security Council resolution that deals exclusively with Iraq, the only international instrument to address this problem is the 1970 UNESCO Convention, which in Article 3 states that the import of illegally exported cultural property is illicit and in Article 9 calls on states parties to render assistance to other state parties in cases in which their "cultural patrimony is in jeopardy from pillage of archaeological or ethnological materials." The United States implements Article 9 through two sections of the CPIA, sections 303 and 304.⁸ However, the structure of the CPIA poses several obstacles to swift and effective action to prevent the import of undocumented artifacts into the United States. These obstacles include the following: the other nation must be a state party and must have diplomatic relations with the United States to present a request; the request must provide documentation that would support both a bilateral agreement with the United States (including, for example, that the nation is taking actions consistent with the convention to protect its cultural patrimony) and emergency action, which the United States can take in certain circumstances to impose import restrictions without the need to negotiate a bilateral agreement; the request must be reviewed by the Cultural Property Advisory Committee (CPAC), which recommends whether the statutory criteria for either (or both) an emergency action or a bilateral agreement are satisfied; the president must then determine whether the statutory criteria are met. During the years of the sanctions against Iraq, it was not possible for Iraq to bring an Article 9 request to the United States because the two countries did not have diplomatic relations. At the time of this writing, the lack of clear governing authority in Iraq, the security situation, and the difficulty of assembling the required materials continue to make such a request unlikely for some time. Afghanistan cannot bring such a request because it is not a party to the UNESCO Convention.

In May 2003 legislation was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives (H.R. 2009) that would have imposed an immediate import restriction on illegally removed

Iraqi cultural materials and would have amended the CPIA in several crucial respects.⁹ It would have allowed the president to impose import restrictions in emergency situations without need for a request from another country and without need for review from the CPAC. These amendments also would have extended the duration of bilateral agreements and emergency actions to ten years (rather than the current five) and would have allowed emergency actions to be renewed an unlimited number of times (rather than the current maximum of eight years). This bill met with overwhelming opposition through the lobbying efforts of lawyers representing the National Association of Dealers in Ancient, Oriental and Primitive Art and coin dealers and collectors, and this legislation died at the end of the 2004 congressional session.

In November 2004 Congress enacted different legislation (S. 671; H.R. 1047) as part of a miscellaneous trade bill.¹⁰ This legislation gives the president the authority to impose import restrictions under the CPIA without need for Iraq to bring a request to the United States and without need for review by the CPAC. The language of the bill largely tracks that of UNSCR 1483 and is the fulfillment by the United States of its obligations under that resolution. The main drawback of this legislation is that it does nothing to assist Afghanistan or to simplify the process for imposing import restrictions in case of emergencies in the future. This is a significant shortcoming in the legal protection that the United States could offer to assist in the reduction of looting of archaeological sites.

It is ironic that Switzerland, which has lagged behind the United States for many years in the effort to prevent the illicit trade in antiquities, is now taking significant steps in that direction. Switzerland joined the UNESCO Convention in October 2003 and has enacted legislation that will allow it to enter into bilateral agreements with other state parties.¹¹ The Swiss system will be much simpler than that used in the United States, and, once an agreement is in place, it will last for an indefinite period. This long duration is necessary in order to provide a sufficient disincentive to looters, middlemen, and dealers who would otherwise be willing to keep material for many years in the hope that, at some point in the future, it will be possible to sell them in the markets of Western countries.

Cultural Resource Management

Perhaps the most unusual threat to the cultural heritage of Iraq has arisen from the efforts that the United States is

undertaking to rebuild Iraq's infrastructure, which suffered both during the years of sanctions and during the war itself. There is no international instrument that imposes a direct obligation on occupying powers to avoid damage to cultural sites and monuments during construction projects. This demonstrates again the shortcomings of the Hague Convention, which is largely limited in its vision to the situation of World War II.

In many countries, including both Iraq and the United States, cultural resource management provisions contained in relevant statutes require that any area that will be affected by a project be surveyed and then efforts taken to mitigate damage to cultural resources located there. Mitigation may include relocating a project or carrying out salvage excavation before the project can proceed. While there are many differences in the details and such requirements are limited in the United States to government-funded projects and those located on government-owned or managed land, the principles are basically the same.

The occupation of Iraq presents an unusual circumstance in that it is not clear whether either Iraqi domestic law or U.S. law controls. U.S. domestic law (the National Historic Preservation Act)¹² requires the avoidance or mitigation of harm from federal undertakings in foreign countries at sites that are on the World Heritage List or on the country's equivalent of the National Register, which might cover as many as 3,500 to 5,000 sites in Iraq. The archaeological community has brought pressure to ensure that the U.S. construction contracts incorporate cultural heritage resource management principles, but the success of this pressure is not yet certain.

The silence of the Hague Convention on this point is puzzling, except for the fact that it was written in 1954 when concepts of cultural heritage resource management were relatively unknown. The provisions of the convention and even the Second Protocol that deal with this situation are frustratingly meager. The convention seems premised on the notion that the occupying power should do nothing to interfere with the cultural heritage of the occupied territory. Article 5, paragraph 2, requires that the occupying power take "the most necessary measures of preservation" to protect cultural property damaged by military operations and does not seem to envision the need to protect cultural property from other types of damage. Article 9 of the Second Protocol permits an occupying power to undertake archaeological excavation only "where this is strictly required to safeguard, record or preserve cultural property." This provision arguably permits the carrying out of survey and salvage work by an occupying power,

but it does not require it. Similarly, international norms and customary international law establish general principles for the protection of cultural property during occupation and require cooperation to the fullest extent feasible with the local national authorities in doing so. However, none of these instruments imposes a direct obligation on an occupying power to undertake survey and salvage work in an attempt to prevent or mitigate damage to cultural resources during the types of construction projects now being planned by the United States.

Modern principles and standards of cultural heritage resource management should be embodied in a new protocol to the Hague Convention that would directly impose these obligations on occupying powers. It should be a relatively uncontroversial provision, one that would attract many ratifying nations or one that would quickly be recognized as part of customary international law. Such an accepted norm of international law would avert difficulties when an occupying power is undertaking large-scale construction projects and has suspended many of its own domestic rules for the awarding of construction contracts, as the United States has done. Widespread acceptance would do much to assure protection for the world's cultural heritage if comparable situations were to arise in the future.

Conclusion

While the events in Iraq and Afghanistan have been dramatic and have caught the attention of the media and the public as few other comparable events have done in recent years, the experiences of these two nations serve as a microcosm of threats to heritage throughout the world. The impact of war on the cultural heritage of Iraq and Afghanistan demonstrate the shortcomings of both the international and domestic legal regimes to serve as a sufficient disincentive to both intentional and inadvertent harm to cultural heritage resources. The Hague Convention of 1954, written against the backdrop of Hitler's cultural destruction and intended to avert similar events in the future, can be seen today to be inadequate both to deal with looting carried out by individuals (rather than by nations) and to accord respect for cultural resources that is commensurate with our contemporary understanding of cultural heritage resource management and preservation. Domestic legal regimes, particularly that of the United States, need to be made more responsive to emergencies in cultural heritage protection that will likely result in the future from similar political, economic, and military upheavals.

Notes

- 1 Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, 14 May 1954, 249 U.N.T.S. 240. Available at http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php@URL_ID=8450&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.
- 2 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1483, 22 May 2003. Available at <http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/368/53/PDF/N0336853.pdf?OpenElement>.
- 3 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, 14 November 1970, 823 U.N.T.S. 231. Available at http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php?URL_ID=13039&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.
- 4 Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act, 19 U.S.C. §§ 2601–13.
- 5 United Kingdom Statutory Instrument 2003 No. 1519, sec. 8. Available at <http://www.hmso.gov.uk/si/si2003/20031519.htm>.
- 6 Swiss Ordinance on Economic Measures against the Republic of Iraq of 28 May 2003, SR 946.206. Available at www.kulturschweiz.admin.ch/arkgt/kgt/e/e/_kgt.htm.
- 7 Iraqi Sanctions Regulations: Some New Transactions, 31 C.F.R. 575.533(b)(4) (23 May 2003).
- 8 19 U.S.C. §§ 2602–3.
- 9 The Iraq Cultural Heritage Protection Act, H.R. 2009, 108 H.R. 2009 (2003). Text available at <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query>.
- 10 Emergency Protection for Iraqi Cultural Antiquities Act, S. 671, 108 S. 671 (2004). Text available at <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query>.
- 11 Federal Act on the International Transfer of Cultural Property. Available at www.kulturschweiz.admin.ch/arkgt/files/kgtg2_e/pdf.
- 12 National Historic Preservation Act, 16 U.S.C. §§ 470a–2 et seq.

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Babylon: A Case Study in the Military Occupation of an Archaeological Site

Zainab Bahrani

Abstract: This paper addresses the current occupation of Babylon and other archaeological sites in Iraq by U.S.-led military forces and its physical and psychological ramifications for the cultural heritage and people of Iraq. Not unlike the bombing of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban, a well-known and widely publicized case of religious iconoclasm, the occupation of cultural and historic sites in Iraq is another method of cultural warfare. Given concern with the lack of attention to this area of archaeological theory, this paper proposes a close study and analysis of the way in which occupation, demolition, and construction at ancient sites and historical urban centers have become instruments of war.

The Occupation of Babylon

Babylon, one of the most prominent and important cities in Mesopotamian history, has been seriously damaged as a result of war and occupation by U.S.-led coalition forces.¹ Before the 2003 air campaign in Iraq, archaeologists and scholars of Near Eastern antiquity were well aware of the possible dangers to Iraq's archaeological sites and spoke out publicly and with a united voice regarding the need to protect Iraq's museums, monuments, and heritage sites in the case of war.² What the scholarly community had not foreseen was that the greater part of the damage to cultural heritage would not occur as a result of the bombing campaign or early ground war against the Iraqi regime. Instead, it was to be the result of the subsequent occupation by the coalition forces. This series of events in Iraq ought to be heeded by the World Archaeological Congress, the scholarly community, conservationists, and heritage management professionals because it is an example of cultural destruction of a kind that is not often addressed in discussions

of the protection or treatment of cultural property during war. In particular, the Iraq war has brought to the fore significant issues regarding military use of the historic fabric of the enemy's land. If military conflict implies, at least in part, an aspect that is heavily territorial, then the historic environment as enemy terrain or the territory of conquest is a subject that needs to be addressed more directly by archaeological theory. In hostilities such as the 1990s Balkan wars and territorial conflicts in Palestine-Israel and Cyprus, the use of heritage sites in the formation of identities and territorial disputes has been addressed (Abu El-Haj 2001; Kohl and Fawcett 1995). However, these lessons have not been applied to the practices of the coalition forces in Iraq, either by the popular press and media or in academic writing. The conceptual territory of antiquity and the uses of the past in nineteenth-century imperialist discourse is an area that has been discussed specifically in my earlier work (Bahrani 1998, 2003). Here I address a similar semiotic use of the past, but in this case, it is not limited to a conceptual historic terrain. In the example of Babylon (as well as a number of other archaeological sites in Iraq), this symbolic use of the past has taken on a material reality in the physical occupation of antiquity, a reality that has extensively damaged the archaeological remains.

The destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban regime, as a form of direct iconoclasm, was met with international cries of outrage. Yet there has been relative silence in response to the destruction of standing monuments and heritage sites in Iraq. What are the factors that make one type of cultural destruction (iconoclasm of figural images) seem horrendous and unacceptable and another (destruction of nonfigural archaeological sites or standing monuments) more readily acceptable as part of the collateral damage of war?

Here I examine the case of Babylon, an ancient city whose fame is of legendary proportions, and consider its treatment as a result of armed conflict, as well as what ought to have been done to avert the extensive damage that has taken place. I also argue that the occupation and destruction of a legendary site such as Babylon can be read along the same theoretical lines as iconoclastic acts.

Through his renowned study, *The Power of Images*, David Freedberg has shown that acts of destruction we call iconoclasm reveal a belief in the power of the image rather than a disregard for it (Freedberg 1989). In response to the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas, he wrote convincingly that this was a perfect indication of the Taliban's fear of the power of these magnificent colossal images (Freedberg 2001). The occupation and consequent destruction of Babylon by coalition forces, it can be argued, reveals a similar ambivalence to that manifested in the destruction of more direct forms of pictorial iconoclasm. The destruction of the site takes place, not because of a disregard or lack of interest in Babylon or Mesopotamian antiquity, but precisely because Babylon is recognized by its military occupiers as a powerful sign of the occupied land. In the case of the 2003 Iraq war, Babylon as "sign" became a locus of the investment of military aggression as a form of display. That use of the site reveals an ambivalence not completely unlike that displayed by the Taliban's response to the Buddhas, in that the legendary city associated with decadence, despotism, and evil in the biblical Christian tradition was deliberately chosen as a military base, not despite the fact that it is Iraq's most famous, legendary heritage site, but because of its fame and mythical values. The occupation damages the site, seemingly without any respect or concern for its values as a historic site or as cultural property; yet this very same destructive occupation makes use of the efficacious and potent symbolic power of the site.

The bombing campaign of March and April 2003 did not directly hit any museums, religious buildings, or archaeological sites. It was only in the aftermath, during the occupation, that the destruction began. At first, the destruction was considered the result of activities of a mob of local people, even if some blame was initially placed on coalition forces for not guarding civil buildings. The looting of museums and libraries in spring 2003 was well publicized in the media, but it was only the beginning of a more general destruction that was about to take place. It soon became clear that there would be systematic occupation of heritage sites by the military; however, the extensive damage to cultural property that has occurred throughout Iraq since the fall of Baghdad has

remained mostly unrecorded and unrecognized because, unlike other recent conflicts such as that in the Balkans, there has been no survey of war damage by international observers or scholars. When the United Nations, the Red Cross, and other international aid organizations pulled out of Iraq in fall 2003 because of the worsening security situation, it spelled an end, in effect, also to international efforts to assist Iraq's museums, libraries, and cultural property in general.

The worst aspect of the cultural disaster is at archaeological sites. Iraq is referred to as Mesopotamia, the so-called cradle of civilization in traditional archaeological terminology. It comprises over ten thousand listed archaeological sites as well as hundreds of medieval and Ottoman Muslim, Christian, and Jewish monuments, making it one of the world's richest countries in terms of ancient heritage. While some looting has always gone on in countries rich in antiquities, the archaeological sites of Iraq are now being looted to an extent that was previously unimaginable anywhere. The looting supplies the appetites of a large international illicit trade in antiquities as many objects end up in places such as Geneva, London, Tokyo, and New York. The lack of border control under the occupation has only added to the ease with which the illegal trade in Mesopotamian artifacts functions, and there is now no real effort, either by coalition forces or by the interim government, to stop the plunder that is taking place.

The destruction of sites by looting is widely known to the world archaeological community. What is not well known is that the coalition military forces now occupy a number of important ancient Mesopotamian cities, Babylon being only the most famous example. The military occupation of archaeological sites is causing ongoing daily destruction of some of the most important heritage sites in Iraq. The structures built for the military camps are dug into the archaeological layers. Heavy equipment tramples across and destroys ancient remains. For example, helicopter flights have rattled the brick walls of Babylon to the point that at least two temple structures of the sixth century B.C.E. have collapsed (fig. 1). There has been no statement or response from UNESCO or any other cultural nongovernmental organization calling for a halt to this occupation of heritage sites or to their destruction by the military. The terms of the Geneva Convention and the Hague Convention, however, would make the occupation of such sites illegal under international law.

Babylon was first occupied by the U.S. Marine Corps in April 2003 (figs. 2, 3). The camp, known as Camp Alpha or "The Ruins" in military terminology, was ceded to the Polish military command in fall 2003. Much of the infrastructure of



FIGURE 1 Helicopter over Babylon. U.S. military helipad built into the site between the palace of Nebuchadnezzar and the Hellenistic Theater. Photo: Zainab Bahrani

this extensive camp, the headquarters of South Central Command, had been installed under U.S. command, for example, the bulldozing and paving of an area for a helicopter pad in the heart of the ancient site. But construction work continued throughout the ancient site under Polish command. Although the United States and Britain have not ratified the Hague Convention of 1954, Poland has signed and ratified it. Article 28 allows for the prosecution of those breaking the convention.

There was initially a tremendous international response to the looting of institutions in April 2003. International meetings were called and pledges were made to assist the museums and libraries of Iraq in restoring and renovating their collections. Plans to protect archaeological sites were discussed by a number of cultural NGOs in Europe and the United States, but few of the international pledges have come through, and international experts, conservators, archaeologists, and cultural organizations have been unwilling to risk going into Iraq. Therefore, meetings on Iraq have shifted, usu-



FIGURE 2 Soldiers in the reconstructed area of the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, sixth century B.C.E. Photo: Zainab Bahrani

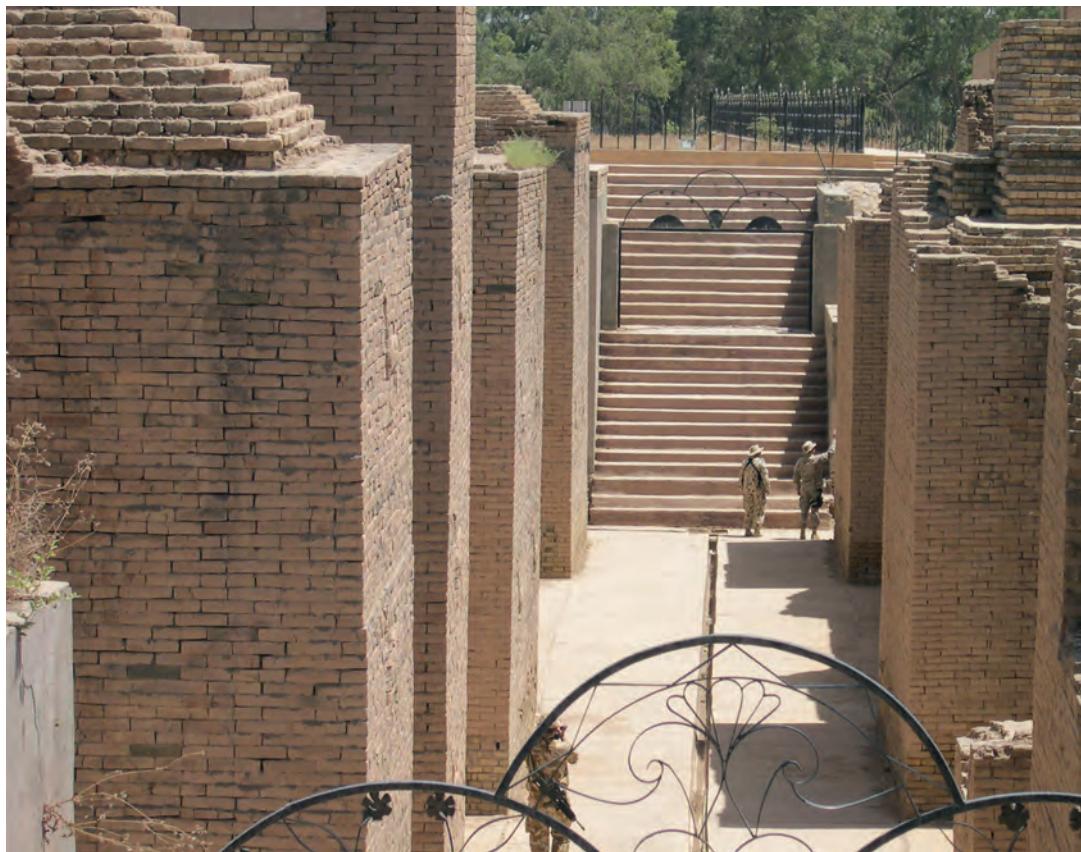


FIGURE 3 Soldiers in Babylon, at sixth-century B.C.E. remains of the Ishtar Gate. Photo: Zainab Bahrani

ally to Amman, where Iraqi scholars are then requested to travel out by land to meet with the international experts at this safer location. As a result, the world's archaeological and scholarly community has not seen the extent of destruction that has taken place in Iraq. Because places like Babylon are military camps and security is invoked as a reason for limiting access, the international press has had little to say about this. In Iraq itself, as a rule, archaeologists from the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage (SBAH) are not allowed onto sites that have been taken over as military camps. No permission is sought by the coalition forces before any construction work, movement of earth, or changes in the topography are made by the military. Although the Antiquities and Heritage Law of Iraq requires that any construction work at a heritage or archaeological site be authorized by the SBAH, this law has been ignored by the military, whose spokesmen have stated

that, for security purposes, all such laws are suspended during the war and the occupation.

Nature of the Site Before and After the Occupation

Although knowledge of Babylon had survived in the Western tradition through references in the Bible and by classical authors, its location was unknown. In the region of Iraq itself, however, the place always retained its name and was called Babil by the locals. Among the names for the grouping of mounds in the area, "Babil" was still in use locally during the Ottoman era. From 1811 to 1817 Claudio James Rich conducted early excavations at Babylon. Robert Koldewey, the German archaeologist, began extensive work there in 1899.

Excavation by Koldewey revealed a city of tremendous proportions. The southern citadel, the processional way, the Greek theater, and a number of temples and residential quarters were all unearthed, and Koldewey's team removed parts of the ancient glazed brick walls, including the Ishtar Gate, to take to Berlin. The ancient city encompassed about 900 hectares; it was the largest city in antiquity before imperial Rome. Babylon was considered a city of such vast proportions that nothing else could compare. According to Herodotus (*The Histories* 1.191), people in the inner city remained unaware when its outskirts were captured by Cyrus. Aristotle stated that because the city was so large, it took three days for news of the conquest to reach the center (*Politics* 3.1.12).

U.S. military reports, and even statements by representatives of UNESCO in the past year, indicate that there is a lack of awareness with regard to the extent of the site. Military reports and press accounts state that ancient Babylon is limited to the small area where reconstruction work took place under the previous regime. The military's public affairs office thus uses the argument that any damage to Babylon was already done by Saddam's regime and that by the time the U.S. Marines arrived at the site, little ancient heritage remained.

In the 1980s a team of Iraqi archaeologists, under orders from Saddam Hussein, reconstructed the lateral wall of the processional way near the palace, the Greek-Hellenistic theater, and parts of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar. Saddam Hussein also had a palace of his own built on the ancient riverbed, after bringing in earth from outside Babylon to form a large mound or artificial tell (no doubt as a mock ancient site) as a base for the palace. The reconstruction was loudly disapproved of by the world's archaeological and scholarly community because it was located in the ancient area. It was this project that notoriously included bricks inscribed with Saddam's own name in the reconstructed walls of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II.

Nevertheless, the damage that has occurred as a result of turning Babylon into the South Central headquarters of the multinational coalition force, the largest military camp in the area, is far more extensive than any damage that occurred as a result of the additions ordered by Saddam. The military camp has conducted projects that have required the bulldozing and compacting of earth across the site and in numerous areas. Sandbags and large barrel-like containers used for barricades have been filled with ancient earth from the site. Colossal concrete blocks have been positioned everywhere, compressing the layers below. Tanks and other heavy military vehicles drive across the ancient pavement of the processional way, destroy-

ing the surface. A large helicopter landing zone was constructed in the heart of the ancient site, between the palace and the Greek theater. This area was bulldozed and leveled, then paved with asphalt. Dozens of helicopters fly in and out of this area on a daily and hourly basis, over ancient palace and temple walls. The military also began construction of two more helicopter landing zones in Babylon, which were eventually turned into parking lots for large military vehicles and machinery.

When asked why the site of Babylon had been decided on as a military camp, no official was able to give an answer. The modern town of Hilla, where the coalition has another helicopter landing zone and which is close to Babylon, could have been used instead as a location for the camp. In April 2003 press reports stated that U.S. troops likened their entrance into Babylon to that of Alexander the Great and his troops in the fourth century B.C.E. Tanks drove along the ancient processional way and occupation ceremonies took place that were photographed and published by the media. This behavior suggests that the occupation of Babylon was a deliberate symbolic expression of power over Mesopotamia. The occupation of sites such as Babylon and the images of military force at the ancient ruins can be described as an aesthetic of occupation, a display of force that uses the sign of history and its control as a statement of victory.

International Response

Some form of international response by the world archaeological community can still take place, but for Babylon and other occupied archaeological sites in Iraq, there can be no solution now. The lack of response may in part be due to the fact that as a military base, Babylon has not been open to either scholars or journalists. As noted earlier, the military cites general security concerns as a reason for both the occupation of Babylon and prohibiting access to the site. Access to the site by archaeologists or by the SBAH director in charge, Maryam Omran Moussa, and her assistants, was considered unnecessary since the Polish troops had brought along their own military civil military cooperation (CIMIC) archaeologists. The U.S. military also has a section called CMO (civic military operations). These officers can be well intentioned, but they themselves were at times responsible for damage to Babylon, because they felt that they could take decisions on construction despite the Antiquities and Heritage Law or

requests from the SBAH representative that they do no work at the site.

There have been varied responses from the international academic community. Some intellectuals are reluctant to make statements about the destruction of cultural property in Iraq by the coalition while so many people are losing their lives in the violence of war. Other scholars state a desire to remain politically neutral in the conflict. Remarkably, the Archaeological Institute of America and the College Arts Association of the United States have been more critical and outspoken than have scholarly organizations that specialize in the Middle East. But the occupation of archaeological or heritage sites during war, as a practice or an act of war, still has to be addressed seriously in the archaeological literature. The use of archaeological sites, the deployment of modern architectural construction, and the demolition of older city centers in the name of modernization are well-known tools of colonial occupation. The issue has been discussed by numerous anthropologists, architectural historians, and architects (e.g., Abu El-Haj 2001; Segal and Weizman 2002). Archaeologists must also come to understand that the demolition and the reconstruction of ancient sites and older traditional city centers in the name of modernization and security are not purely aesthetic or historical issues. They are related directly to human rights because the manipulation and destruction of the historic and architectural fabric of the occupied land is an instrument of war.

Destruction of cultural property in armed conflict can take several forms. In "Cultural Warfare," John Yarwood points to four types of such destruction (Yarwood 1998). In the first case, damage is collateral in operations where an enemy occupies an area that includes historic monuments. In the second case, there is deliberate destruction of monuments with the intention of ethnic cleansing. The third type of damage occurs through looting, ultimately for connoisseurs who reside outside the occupied country. While a great deal of looting in Iraq fits into this third category, this form of damage and the illicit antiquities trade are more readily discussed by the archaeology profession. Instead, I am concerned here with the fourth type of cultural warfare: the deliberate destruction of the enemy's patrimony in situations in which, in Yarwood's (1998) terms, this assists neither military nor ethnic cleansing operations. Such destruction can be a result of an uncontrolled, unplanned attack, or often, a deliberately planned psychological operation (Yarwood 1998).

After two years of military occupation and martial law, the ancient heritage of Iraq can be classified as seriously

endangered. Whereas the extensive looting and damage to sites has been described in the press and in the world archaeological community as falling, more or less, into the category of collateral damage, it can be demonstrated that the occupation of iconic heritage sites such as Babylon are psychological operations of military occupation. That at least six heritage sites have been taken over as coalition military camps indicates that this is not a random choice but the preplanned and systematic use of heritage sites for military operations. It is a psychological operation of warfare because it appears to be a deliberate choice to occupy a famous and iconic site of local cultural mythology. Babylon's symbolic mythical value is not lost here; instead, it is incorporated into the process of the occupation, and its symbolic significance is subsumed in a display of power over this ancient terrain.

Perhaps what is needed now is a new protocol for the protection of cultural heritage during war and occupation. This protocol might underscore the fact that the use of a heritage site as a military base qualifies as a form of direct cultural destruction, directly related to other forms of cultural warfare and ethnic cleansing. Furthermore, since the current political situation has rendered UNESCO an ineffective voice for the protection of cultural heritage in Iraq (and perhaps elsewhere), a nonaligned cultural organization made up of archaeologists and conservationists could be called together, perhaps under the auspices of the World Archaeological Congress, to take on that responsibility. A survey of war damage ought to be conducted as soon as possible under this independent professional group. Finally, an academic study of the practices of the uses of the past and the systematic occupation of heritage sites by the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq could be the subject of future archaeological-theoretical studies on the relationship of archaeology and politics and, more generally, of ideological uses of the past.

Notes

¹ This essay is based on my own fieldwork, assessment, and documentation of the damage to Babylon under coalition occupation. The work was conducted jointly with Maryam Omran Moussa, director of the site of Babylon, on site, over the course of three months in summer 2004. Reports of this damage were made known by us to the Iraqi Ministry of Culture, to the U.S. Civil Military Affairs Office in Baghdad, to the U.S. Department of State, Office of Cultural Property, and to the British Embassy in Baghdad in July 2004. Requests and negotiations for the removal of the camp, and outlines for the correct procedures to accom-

plish the removal, were also made over the course of the summer in a joint effort by Dr. Moussa and me. As a result of these negotiations, the coalition authorities agreed to remove the camp by the end of 2004. In preparation for the final removal, John Curtis of the British Museum was called to Babylon for a three-day trip, 11–13 December 2004, as a witness and to verify reports of damage. The British Museum posted his eight-page preliminary report on damage to the site, “Report on Meeting at Babylon 11th–13th December 2004,” at www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/newsroom/current2005/Babylon_Report04.doc. It is important to note that the eight-page document does not cover all the damage but was intended as a list of the types of damage that have occurred.

A full account of the struggle for Babylon will appear at a later date, elsewhere. This essay presents some preliminary observations only. It is dedicated to Maryam Omran Moussa, with profound admiration.

² See <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~wolfo126/petition.html>.

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The National Museum and Archaeology in Afghanistan: Accomplishments and Current Needs

Abdul Wassey Ferooz and Omara Khan Masoodi

Abstract: This paper reviews the history of the Institute of Archaeology in Afghanistan and the recent history of the National Museum in Kabul. It suggests concrete steps that need to be taken to strengthen both these institutions and to preserve and promote Afghanistan's cultural and national heritage.

Archaeology in Afghanistan: History and Structure of Support and Current Needs

Throughout its history, Afghanistan has played an indispensable role in the growth and development of human culture and has functioned as a crossroads of civilization.¹ Afghanistan's ancient civilization and culture are also of special importance to the history of world religion. Studies of the pre- and proto-historical periods of Afghanistan from the Palaeolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze and Iron Ages up to the Greco-Bactrian, Kushan, Sassanian, and Hepthalite periods, as well as during Islamic times, testify to the fact that Afghanistan possesses a rich and greatly important past. Afghanistan has also been known as a meeting place of important civilizations of the East and West, and it has drawn the attention of scholars and researchers from around the world.

Officially, archaeological activities were initiated in the country in 1922, when the first contract was signed between the Afghan state and the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA). After World War II, in 1949–50, an American mission headed by Louis Dupree started prehistoric research in the south, at sites that included Deh Morasi and Dashti Nower. Later, archaeological activities were carried out by missions from Germany, Italy, Japan, Greece, Great Britain, India, and Russia, which also signed protocols, conducted

excavations, and surveyed different sites in Afghanistan up to 1978. As a result, hundreds of ancient sites were discovered and excavated, and numerous objects were unearthed.

With the establishment of the Institute of Archaeology in 1963, all archaeological activities were promoted and certain sites, such as Hada (Tepe Shutur, Tepe Tup-e Kalan), Tepe Marjan, and Kham-e Zargar, were independently excavated by Afghan experts. Among these outstanding sites are the Great Temple in Shotor Hada and the Buddhist Temple of Marjan Hill. As a result of political destabilization and lack of security, from 1978 to 1992 the only excavation carried out was at Tepe Marjan in Kabul, and the Institute of Archaeology concentrated its efforts on archaeological publications, dissertations, and articles.

From 1992 onward, after the government of Dr. Najibullah was toppled and the Mujahidin government was installed, chaos and irregularity took over the state system. Looting and vandalism began; the country lost its infrastructure, and all state departments experienced extreme difficulties. More than 70 percent of the objects in the National Museum collections and 100 percent of the objects deposited in the Archaeological Institute were plundered and exported to neighboring countries for sale. Clandestine excavations were conducted throughout the country, and through illicit traffic, historical objects found their way to international markets.

During the period of the Taliban, a majority of Afghanistan's cultural heritage, which was precious and unique, was demolished. Such remains as the colossal Buddha statues in Bamiyan and smaller images in the Kabul Museum were destroyed. Extremely difficult conditions and uncertain security, combined with day-to-day difficulties and budget

shortages, further hindered archaeological activities and caused a brain drain from Afghanistan.

Since the collapse of the Taliban regime and the establishment of the new government, it is hoped that, with the help and cooperation of friendly countries, the Institute can resume archaeological activities and research and start joint projects at important sites such as Bamiyan, Kabul, Kharwar, and Mes Ainak (in Logar province). To promote all facets of archaeology in Afghanistan, the following needs should be addressed:

- Training of staff in the fields of archaeology, architecture, conservation, photography, and management;
- Protection, preservation, and conservation and restoration of archaeological sites and monuments;
- Fostering of relations with foreign research institutions;
- Excavation of certain endangered sites;
- Exchanges of scholars and students from Afghanistan with other countries;
- Publication of scientific books, dissertations, and articles;
- Rebuilding and rehabilitation of the National Museum in Kabul;
- Provision of a new building for the Institute of Archaeology (to replace the one destroyed, which should become a monument to destruction);
- Nomination of important ancient and historical sites to the World Heritage List;
- Preparation of a national inventory of sites and monuments and archaeological maps;
- Ratification of the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention;
- Computerization of the archaeological archives;
- Enrichment of the National Institute of Archaeology library, the photographic laboratory, and modernization of the restoration laboratory; and
- Procurement of equipment for the various departments of the National Institute of Archaeology.

Last, it is hoped that world communities interested in Afghanistan's cultural heritage will contribute to these projects.

Overview of the National Museum: Events during the Past Two Decades

Situated at an important junction on the ancient Silk Roads, Afghanistan has been a crossroads of cultures since time immemorial. Its unique cultural heritage reflects a history that is marked by complex indigenous encounters with Achaemenid Persia, China, and Alexandrian Greece, as well as with Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam. The collections representing this rich and unique cultural heritage were displayed in various museums in the larger cities of Afghanistan, especially in the National Museum in Kabul.

King Habibullah (1901–19) brought together collections of wooden sculptures previously brought from Nuristan by his father, King Abdur Rahman, and carpets, silk and wool embroidery, metalwork, manuscripts with miniature paintings, and other luxury objects that had belonged to former royal families, to create the royal collection in his father's former palace pavilion at Bagh-e Bala. These collections were moved to the Kot-e Baghcha palace pavilion, located in the Arg (citadel), in 1925. In an effort to modernize Afghanistan and Kabul, King Habibullah's successor, Amanullah Khan, built the suburb of Darulaman, which included a European-style museum, installed in what had been the municipality building, just below his palace. In 1931 this museum was inaugurated by his successor, Nadir Khan, with the collections from the Kot-e Baghcha palace pavilion and enriched with the archaeological finds of the DAFA. Based on an agreement between the governments of Afghanistan and France, the excavation of archaeological sites was begun. The museum in Darulaman was twice renovated and enlarged, in the mid-1940s and in the mid-1970s. After the political complications that followed, during the period of Daoud and the Soviet occupation, the museum suffered from its location in this distant suburb, which was on the front line of much of the fighting. Nevertheless, the collections were preserved.

During the years that followed the collapse of the Soviet-backed government, the Kabul museum was directly in the theater of the looting and destruction that went on in Afghanistan. Until 1992 more than one hundred thousand objects belonging to periods ranging from prehistory to the twentieth century were conserved in the museum. Unfortunately, as a result of the civil war that raged in Kabul from 1992 to 1995, especially on the south side of the city where the National Museum is located, much was damaged. In May 1993 a heavy rocket crashed into the upper floor of the museum and set it on fire. In 1995, when the war intensified in the area,

the Ministry of Information and Culture decided to protect the remaining collections. The objects were registered, photographed, put in cases, and moved to the center of the city. This effort was undertaken by the personnel of the National Museum and of the Archaeological Institute with the financial support of the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH).

Efforts to account for the collections have shown that 70 percent of the objects were destroyed by fire, stolen, or plundered. Of the 30 percent of the original collections that remain, most are in need of repair.

An intensive traffic in cultural heritage objects has developed. The culmination of this traffic occurred during the occupation of the Taliban, who destroyed anything that resembled an animate figure and that could not be carried away for sale. In 2001 they smashed the sculptures of the National Museum collections. In March of the same year they also destroyed the colossal 38- to 55-meter-high Buddha statues at Bamiyan.

The often-quoted sign over the museum's entrance door reads, "A nation can stay alive when its culture stays alive," but the National Museum had become a ghost museum. Until 2003 the building was without windows or a roof. Objects stolen from the National Museum have shown up for sale on markets around the world. However, the museum staff's efforts to preserve the collections have been, and are today, exemplary; thanks to their perseverance, large numbers of objects, although many are damaged, are stored at the museum and in the Ministry of Information and Culture. Despite the destruction and the looting, the National Museum in Kabul today remains culturally rich and unique.

After the fall of the Taliban regime and the installation of the interim and transitional governments, plans were made to protect and reconstruct the culture of Afghanistan. These plans included the reconstruction of the National Museum building, the repair of the remains of the National Museum collections, the reactivation of the various departments of the museum, the establishment of an exact inventory of the collections of the National Museum and of the museums in the provinces, and the training of young professionals in the making of a database system for the museum. These are the tasks that the museum is painfully undertaking today.

International pledges were made to rebuild and rehabilitate the museum, but ten months after the fall of the Taliban regime and the establishment of a new government, no work had yet begun on the museum building. Collections remain stored in precarious situations, and the restoration of objects

had to begin in bombed-out rooms without water or electricity. As the pledges and promises had yet to give concrete results, UNESCO Kabul decided to prepare the museum for winter by providing electricity, water, and window panes. These repairs at least permitted the museum staff to continue to work during the deadly cold and protected some of the collections from the rigors of winter. The British Museum funded a new restoration department that includes a wet and a dry room. The restoration department was built with the support of the British International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The Greek government has given funds for the restoration of several rooms and the electrification of the museum; the U.S. government donated \$100,000 for structural repairs. The major problem that remained was the lack of a roof over the museum structure. Currently, SPACH is making a donation of \$40,000 to finish the roof. These funds are from the UNESCO Funds-in-Trust from the government of Italy. The Japanese government has given the photographic material necessary for the establishment of a new photographic department, and with the assistance of the National Federation of UNESCO Associations in Japan, a photographic exhibition was organized and the museum photographers trained. The photographic exhibition, *Work in Progress: The Rebirth of the Kabul Museum*, was the first exhibition in the museum for over twenty years and was intended to increase awareness of the problems facing the museum. Training has been undertaken by both the Italian and French governments. With the assistance of the Musée Guimet in Paris, several statues that had been smashed by the Taliban have been repaired, including the famous statue of Kanishka from Surkh Kotal. The restoration teams have also brought with them equipment and chemical treatment solutions. The French NGO Patrimoine sans frontières has donated additional materials for restoration.

The museum is in a dangerous area, and in fact, the area is no longer serviced by public transport, which is a tremendous burden on the museum staff. The isolation of the museum in the far suburb of Darulaman was one of the factors that contributed to its deteriorated state. If the museum had been in the city center, it would not have experienced so much looting, as the neighbors would have seen the looters and protected their cultural heritage. There has been a plan for more than two decades to build a new museum. However, the land that was allotted to the Ministry of Information and Culture for this purpose is situated near the Arg, which today is a no-man's land, occupied by the Ministry of Defense. This location is not suitable for a museum, as it is exposed to great

risks. A more appropriate site should be identified. In fact, the Ministry of Information and Culture owns the land adjacent to the National Archives. If a new museum were to be built here, it would become a museum complex, sharing a common restoration laboratory for manuscripts and other museum objects. During the past conflict, the National Archives did not suffer damage, as its site is protected from both missile fire and looting by the proximity of the mountains and the local population. However, the city zoning plan has classified this land for commercial use.

As the rehabilitation of the present museum has just begun, there can be no safe storage of cultural heritage objects, which are kept in various locations around Kabul and in the provinces. The Ministry of Information and Culture required the space that had been occupied on the ground level by the stored objects as work space for its staff. The storage situation in the Ministry is very precarious, as was demonstrated by the bomb that exploded in 2002 just across the street. Along with the perilous condition of the stored cultural heritage objects, there is an associated problem, that of not being able to take in objects from excavations. The minister of culture has said that today Afghanistan's number one problem in the cultural sector is illicit excavation and looting. Fortunately, many objects have been stopped from leaving the country, but where are they to be kept? If there were museum space to protect and restore these objects, scientific archaeological excavation could begin. At the same time this would help put to an end to much of the illicit excavation, as it has done in Iraq.

It is impossible to speak about the museum without mentioning the human factor. The National Museum in Kabul has one of the most dedicated staffs in the country. They have done their utmost, and the seemingly impossible, to save what could be saved of the museum collections. This dedication should be repaid, but in fact, because the museum is isolated in a far suburb of Kabul that lacks public transportation, the museum staff is in one of the most dangerous situations in the country. Also, until very recently, working in a building without electricity or water was excruciating, especially during the winter months. The museum staff is just beginning to receive

the benefits of training and up-to-date methods of inventory and restoration. For the past two decades, they have not been in contact with their colleagues around the world and have missed the exchange of ideas and methods that accompanies these contacts. If the museum is to continue to attract and retain such dedicated staff, training opportunities and exchange must be provided. Not only should short-term training be organized for the dedicated staff, but long-term training for the younger generation must be foreseen and organized, in the near future, to ensure the continuation of quality work in the museum.

Estimates of reconstruction and rehabilitation time for the Darulaman area range from ten to twenty years. In the meantime, the museum and its collections must be rehabilitated and exhibitions organized for the edification of the public. Education of the younger generation in Afghanistan, and those returning to Afghanistan, is of the highest importance to the country and to the future understanding of its unique cultural heritage, which has been shrouded by the last years of obscurantism.

Kabul today is in search of cultural direction. Attempts to create venues for popular culture have met with resistance from the conservative elements of society. One example, among others, is the musical concert that was planned for the Nauruz (New Year) celebration in the Olympic Stadium in 2002 but canceled at the last moment without explanation. Artists have not found exhibition facilities. There has been much discussion of the intangible cultural heritage of Afghanistan, but until now popular expressions of art and culture have not been encouraged. The ideal National Museum would become a place of study and artistic expression. There is a great need for a museum complex having archaeological, ethnological, and popular components.

Notes

¹ The first section of this paper was written by Dr. Ferooz, the second section by Dr. Masoodi.

Preserving the Cultural and National Heritage of Afghanistan

Philip L. Kohl and Rita Wright

If the culture of a nation dies, its soul dies with it. It's not enough to eat and clothe yourself. You have to have some sense of identity.

—NANCY H. DUPREE, Society for the Preservation
of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage

Abstract: This paper describes the various forms of destruction to which the rich archaeological remains of Afghanistan have been subjected over the past quarter century: they have been plundered for the antiquities market, obliterated by incessant fighting, and even deliberately demolished by governmental decrees. It suggests that many countries, including the United States, bear certain responsibilities for this destruction and urges greater financial support to protect the archaeological sites and architectural monuments of Afghanistan and to rebuild the national museum and research institutions devoted to the promotion of Afghanistan's unique pre-Islamic and Islamic pasts. It also discusses the recent reemergence of the looting of sites and the trading of antiquities on an unprecedented scale and urges international efforts to prevent these activities.

The Cultural, National, and Cold War Heritage of Afghanistan

Three consecutive sessions were presented at the Fifth World Archaeological Congress (WAC-5) titled "Preserving the Cultural and National Heritages of Afghanistan." This title was chosen to emphasize the complexity and diversity of Afghanistan's past, to acknowledge that its heritage and legacy from different periods are multiple, and to distinguish and highlight both its cultural and its national heritage. In the

context of contemporary Afghanistan, this last distinction is crucial. Today Afghanistan has an essentially 100 percent Islamic cultural heritage (i.e., its numerous different peoples almost exclusively profess Islam), but it also has a national heritage comprising all the remains from different periods and cultures that are found within its borders and, literally, in its earth. One wants to preserve both the cultural and the national heritage of Afghanistan and to never repeat the deliberate destruction of monuments deemed non-Islamic or culturally alien, such as was perpetrated by the Taliban. Given this recent history, the argument can be made that initial restoration and archaeological efforts should perhaps principally focus on the remains of Afghanistan's Islamic cultural heritage, such as the current UNESCO-sponsored projects to restore the Timurid mosques and minarets of Herat and the minaret of Jam nestled deep in the Hindu Kush (see, in this volume, Manhart; Williams and Haxthausen). As civic nationalism takes root, Afghans should be made aware and proud of the incredibly rich archaeological remains of all the periods and cultures interred in the Afghan soil.

Afghanistan also has the dubious distinction of sharing another heritage or legacy as one of the worst victims of the Cold War, the decades-long standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States to achieve global hegemony. Already poor and underdeveloped throughout the 1970s, Afghanistan

descended into a state of warfare and perpetual political instability as a consequence of the Soviet invasion in December 1979, a condition of fighting and insecurity that arguably has prevailed more or less continuously until the present. The tragedy that led to the rise of the Taliban and ultimately to the support it provided for Al-Qaeda was neither inevitable nor fortuitous. All sides must bear responsibility for the tragedy that unfolded and left Afghanistan so devastated. Equally, it is obvious that the entire world benefits from a secure, economically restored, and peaceful Afghanistan. There is no question that very basic needs must be met—security, subsistence, health, education, and the reconstruction of basic infrastructure—and that all must be provided as quickly as possible.

Given this scheme of things, what priority should be accorded the restoration and preservation of Afghanistan's cultural and national heritage? The question is impossible to answer definitively, though two basic points should be made. First, all the ongoing problems Afghanistan confronts today are interrelated. The resurgence in the looting and pillaging of sites, the ongoing rape of Afghanistan's pre-Islamic and Islamic archaeological monuments that has occurred during the past two years, is often ultimately orchestrated by entrenched warlords interested in maintaining their local control and resisting central authorities. Political stability and the pillage of archaeological sites are inversely related. The warlords would not engage in such activities if they were not profitable, nor would local peasants willingly dig up sites at

warlords' requests if they too were not financially benefiting, at least to some degree, from doing so (fig. 1). The profitability of looting, of course, depends directly on the nearly insatiable demands of the antiquities market, and it is the collectors in western Europe, Japan, and the United States that somehow must be stopped from purchasing Afghanistan's stolen antiquities. Archaeological materials are nonrenewable resources, and every time sites are plundered, information about the past is irrevocably lost.

Second, a country's cultural and national heritage is basic to a country's sense of self and, consequently again, to its security and stability. Despite all the centrifugal forces at work, Afghanistan has held together as a viable nation-state during the recent conflicts and chaos. A shared sense of history and pride in a collective past—both pre-Islamic and Islamic—potentially unites different ethnic groups on either side of the Hindu Kush. The restoration of a national museum and the preservation and legitimate excavation of archaeological sites promote this sense of a shared past and, thus, can be considered essential for the reconstruction of the country. Afghanistan has multiple priorities: roads, hospitals, and schools need to be built; at the same time, the different peoples of the country need to think of themselves as sharing a unique and rich historical tradition.

Reconstruction and Heritage

The protection and preservation of Afghanistan's heritage is part of a larger effort involving competing needs that include military and humanitarian efforts and reconstruction projects. The United States and other governments have appropriated significant funds for each of these, but the greatest attention has been to military and humanitarian needs, matters of basic security, counternarcotics programs, and relief and refugee assistance. Reconstruction projects, the category that presumably includes heritage concerns, have focused predominantly on basic infrastructure, such as road building.

Barnett Rubin (2003), in testimony to the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, stated that although significant programs have been undertaken, the progress of reconstruction has been "patchy and slow," and, as the statistics he cites demonstrate, this slowness is even more apparent for cultural projects. Rubin notes significant shortfalls in the overall funding for reconstruction promised and disbursed and for projects that include culture, heritage, and media; estimates of funding needs compared to disbursements make a poor showing. Figures from the World Bank,



FIGURE 1 Local villagers "excavating" the mound of Tepe Zargaran within the walled precinct of ancient Balkh. Note the armed "supervisor." Courtesy of Ronald Besenval, Director, Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA)

Deutsches Bank, and United Nations Development Program estimate that more than \$10 million were needed for a single year and \$20 million for two and a half years. When compared to figures from the Afghan Assistance Coordination Authority and the Donor Assistance Database,¹ only \$6.9 million, or roughly 69 percent, had been dispersed by the time of his report. These figures sharply contrast with funds for urban development and transportation, where 270 percent of the estimated needed expenses was disbursed for the first year.

Figures for funding specific to cultural heritage are hard to come by. Christian Manhart (this volume) lists the dollar amounts entrusted to the UNESCO Funds-in-Trust program for cultural projects in Afghanistan. Donor countries include Italy, Japan, Switzerland, and Germany, as well as private foundations, such as the Aga Khan Trust Foundation for Culture (AKTC). The specific restoration and conservation projects for which these funds have been allocated are discussed in more detail in his contribution. Other funding has come from the United States, Greece, the United Kingdom, and the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH). SPACH was established by Nancy Dupree and other volunteers and funded by private individuals and European governments. Direct exchanges with European museums, specifically directed to salvage excavations, rehabilitation of the National Museum in Kabul, and training programs there have been implemented by the Musée Guimet and the British Museum.

The United States has contributed significant funding for reconstruction efforts but very little to projects related to Afghanistan's cultural and national heritage. The two major U.S. funding initiatives for heritage projects abroad are the State Department, Office of Cultural Property, and USAID. In 2003 approximately \$1 million was allocated to the Office of Cultural Property, a sum that may increase in the future. Project funding is based on proposals submitted by U.S. ambassadors either in "partnership between the U.S. Embassy and the country's Ministry of Culture or local non-profit organization . . . [overseen] . . . by the Embassy's Public Affairs Section. . . . Organizations wishing to suggest projects for consideration may contact the Public Affairs Office at the American Embassy in the eligible countries" (U.S. Department of State, Cultural Property 2003a).

Three grants were awarded to Afghanistan through the Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation in 2003 and two from other State Department funds. Ambassador's Fund grants included \$33,310 to restore the seventeenth-century Mullah Mahmud Mosque in Kabul, a surviving example of

late Mughal vernacular architecture; \$25,000 for restoration of the tomb of Jamaludin Al-Afghani, a nineteenth-century Islamic reformer; and \$37,000 for repair, restoration, and rehabilitation of the Bagh-e-Babur Gardens. The Mogul emperor Babur was a descendant of Genghis Khan, and the sixteenth-century shrine and garden were dedicated to him. Other funds allocated through the State Department were \$14,000 for an inventory of the National Museum to reestablish an accurate record of cultural artifacts and \$100,000 for the rehabilitation of the main building of the museum (approved in May 2003) through basic structural repairs, including repair of the then-nonexistent roof. These figures may sound impressive—until one considers how much money in total is being directed toward reconstruction efforts in Iraq (tens of billions of dollars) vis-à-vis Afghanistan and how much is relatively available or allocated to the reconstruction of heritage and cultural patrimony in Iraq compared with Afghanistan. One example will suffice. In tacit admission of some responsibility for the looting of the Baghdad Museum and the pillaging of sites that ensued in the wake of the American-led Coalition of the Willing invasion of Iraq in spring 2003, the federally funded National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) announced a new program to support projects exclusively concerned with "recovering Iraq's past."² This program has a rolling deadline and has been receiving applications since August 2003; it expected to announce its initial round of grantees during late winter 2004. Nonprofit institutions (i.e., individual scholars associated with such institutions) may apply for research grants of up to \$100,000. Needless to say, no similar program has been established for Afghanistan. In other words, individual American scholars can receive grants to help recover Iraq's past as large as the single largest U.S. government grant to Afghanistan for this purpose in 2003. From this relative perspective, the two situations are totally incomparable.³

Falling out of Sight

Reconstruction efforts geared to Afghanistan's heritage have not stayed in the public eye. Since the fall of the Taliban, very little interest has been shown by the U.S. government, by the American public as a whole, or by the archaeological community. This lack of interest demonstrates a poor understanding of the relevance of cultural and national heritage in creating the civil society envisioned, or at least promised, in preparation for the invasion of Afghanistan. (See the epigraph at the beginning of this essay; a sign proclaiming essentially the same

message—"A nation stays alive when its culture stays alive"—has hung in front of the National Museum in Kabul.) Administration rhetoric and the public press took strong stands against the Taliban's destruction of its pre-Islamic artifacts and monuments, fueled by newspaper coverage of the Bamiyan statues. These events elicited a public and governmental outcry over their destruction, but this enthusiasm for Afghanistan's national and cultural heritages has all but disappeared from the government's and the popular media's agendas.

The relative lack of interest among archaeological colleagues is more perplexing. The international scholarly community and archeological professional organizations have been particularly restrained. One would expect the same type of active engagement in heritage issues as has been exhibited by the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) Government Affairs Committee and efforts of other professional groups and museums with respect to Iraq to have parallels in monitoring heritage issues in Afghanistan. At the Fifth World Archaeological Congress sessions on Afghanistan, it was disappointing to find that approximately thirty colleagues (in a large ballroom set up for 300+) stayed throughout the daylong seminar and perhaps twenty others wandered in and out. This number was in stark contrast to the 300 or more attending sessions on Iraq and voicing their loud, clear, and justifiable concerns.

In fact, attention to heritage issues in Iraq has dominated media coverage worldwide since April 2003 when news of the extensive looting of the Baghdad Museum first became known. This diversion has led to a shift in focus away from equally compelling heritage projects in Afghanistan. The SAA and the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) have closely and appropriately monitored legislation directed toward Iraq, some of which could have benefited Afghanistan as a "tag-on." The Senate bill that was adopted (see Gerstenblith, this volume) could have included protections for imported antiquities from nations like Afghanistan that were not party to the 1970 UNESCO Convention on Cultural Property, but unfortunately these provisions were not adopted because of opposition from the trading and collecting communities.

Steps toward a Future

When the United States went into Afghanistan to remove the Taliban government, there was the hope that the country would be restored to a certain level of stability with a new representative government. However, as is well known, pock-

ets of Taliban and Al-Qaeda sympathizers continue to undermine these efforts. The effectiveness of insurgent groups is partially due to the country's difficult terrain and its porous border with Pakistan. Antigovernment groups can move back and forth across the borders with relative ease. The Pakistani government and military have worked with the United States and coalition forces to eliminate these groups, but they have little power in remote tribal areas, making the situation difficult to secure.

This lack of security is inextricably linked to protecting and conserving Afghanistan's cultural heritage. As Omara Khan Masoodi points out in his contribution to this volume, the National Museum is located in a distant suburb of Kabul, a factor that may account for its current "forgotten" condition. He makes a persuasive argument for building a new structure closer to the center of Kabul, where a museum complex could serve as a cultural center for the city and where materials would be more secure. Whatever strategy is followed, the museum is a critical piece in restoring the country's heritage. Without a secure place in which to house objects, all current and any future collections are in jeopardy, since the museum is the country's major repository for archaeological and ethnographic collections. Its condition is more urgent, though—as we have emphasized—it is less in the public eye than the Baghdad Museum. It has neither a sound structure nor adequate storage space, not to mention sufficient numbers of trained personnel to ensure security. Masoodi's suggestion that the National Museum be located in a museum complex near the National Archives is sensible because it would provide a visible presence for the country's rich national and cultural heritage and promote public education on issues of stewardship and preservation.

An equally pressing problem is the pillaging and looting of archaeological sites. Here, there is a direct link between the military hazards and the country's cultural and national heritage. The looting in the country clearly is a critical problem. Sayeed Raheen, minister for culture and information in Kabul, stated, "[The looting of sites is the] worst of my country's problems. . . . For the criminals the profit margins are bigger than those of opium, and it's getting worse by the day" (cited in *Times [London]* 2002). In central Afghanistan a seventh-century city has been discovered at Kharwar, which, given its exceptional state of preservation, has been referred to—perhaps somewhat dramatically—as the Pompeii of Central Asia. Drug barons and warlords are currently excavating it. This theft at archaeological sites is yet another form of

destruction of the country's heritage, beyond issues related to the National Museum and its holdings. To illustrate this destruction of Afghanistan's archaeological sites, we show two photographs of the world-famous site of Ai Khanoum in northeastern Afghanistan, the easternmost Hellenistic city ever discovered and meticulously excavated by French archaeologists during the 1960s and 1970s. The first image shows some of the exposed monumental public architecture at Ai Khanoum during the original French excavations (fig. 2); the second image shows what the site looks like today, revealing a landscape that can only be described as lunar (fig. 3). Osmund Bopearachchi (this volume) has estimated that hundreds of ivory pieces, jewelry, intaglios, plaster medallions, and bronze items from Ai Khanoum have reached Pakistani bazaars and private collections.

As recent news reports have confirmed, the looting and pillaging of the country's heritage are to some degree funding the continued resistance to supporting a legitimate national government by filling the pockets of "warlords." The Hague Convention specifies that during an occupation, if national authorities are unable to safeguard and preserve the country's cultural property, necessary measures of preservation should be taken by occupying forces. Although the United States has not passed the enabling legislation that would make it a U.S. law, these considerations still ought to be reason enough for U.S. and coalition forces to take an active role in safeguarding Afghanistan's national and cultural property.

In his testimony to the House of Representatives, Rubin argued that as long as the reconstruction efforts are ignored, Afghanistan will remain a refuge for Al-Qaeda and other



FIGURE 2 The palace at Ai Khanoum as seen during the excavations of the French Archaeological Mission (DAFA). Courtesy of Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA)



FIGURE 3 The site of Ai Khanoum today after its near-total destruction. Courtesy of Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA)

militant groups. Abdul Wassey Ferooz put it another way. Looting, he said, is “another bead in the necklace.... To stop it, you must do the same things as to stop the drugs and other crime: strengthen the government, build up the police and the national army, [and] break the power of the warlords. Unfortunately we are still waiting for all these things” (*Guardian* 2003).

These considerations aside, there is much to be done in our own “homeland” to secure Afghanistan’s and the world’s cultural heritage. We cannot forget that the major benefactors of the illicit digging and theft of antiquities are the dealers and collectors, many of whom conduct their trade in the United States. Their complicity in fostering the commercialization of Afghanistan’s heritage deserves greater attention. For some collectors, stolen antiquities comprise substantial portions of their investment portfolios, acquired at the expense of the cultural patrimony of individual nations. Traffickers supply looted artifacts to dealers who establish their monetary value and distribute them to the principal consumers of antiquities, the collectors (Coe 1993). Implementation of existing laws and new ones that are being proposed and debated should be a top priority for the U.S. government and professional organizations, individual archaeologists, and local and national

officials who need to take a more active role in protesting the complicity of dealers and collectors in the pillaging of a country’s national and cultural heritages. Current conditions in Afghanistan are dire, but they can be turned around with appropriate attention, commitment, and support.

Postscript: On 24 May 2005, at a meeting in Washington, D.C., attended by President Hamid Karzai and other officials from the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the National Endowment for the Humanities announced an agency-wide initiative, “Rediscovering Afghanistan,” to promote research, education, and public programs on Afghanistan’s history and culture.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to Joan Gero, academic secretary for WAC-5, to the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) for their invitation to participate in the congress, and to Claire Lyons of the Getty Research Institute for organizing the subtheme, “Preserving the Cultural Heritage of Iraq and Afghanistan.” Generous support from both the GCI and the National Geographic Society made it possible for us to organize these sessions. Specifically, their support allowed us to bring Omara Khan Masoodi, director of the National Museum in Kabul, and Abdul Wassey Ferooz, director general of the National Institute of Archaeology of Afghanistan, to Washington, D.C., for the WAC-5 meetings. In addition to Masoodi and Ferooz, Jim Williams from UNESCO in Kabul, Osmund Bopearachchi, and Bertille Lyonnet of CNRS in Paris, Ute Franke-Vogt of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), and Nadia Tarzi of the Association for the Protection of Afghan Archaeology also received support and took part in our sessions. Other participants were Najim Azadzoi, Juliette van Krieken-Peters, Andrew Lawler, and Sanjyot Mehendale. Deborah Klimgburg-Salter and Frederick Hiebert also were invited to participate, though their contributions were received subsequently. We also wish to acknowledge here the helpful comments of William Fitzhugh of the Smithsonian Institution who kindly functioned as the discussant at the end of the three sessions. During their stay in Washington, D.C., Masoodi and Ferooz visited the Museum Support Center of the Smithsonian Institution and discussions began about possible future conservation assistance to the National Museum in Kabul by the Smithsonian. The interest and support of Natalie Firnhaber at the Smithsonian Support Center was especially appreciated. Participants in the Afghanistan symposium also visited the National Geographic Society headquarters in Washington, where Masoodi and Fer-

oozi and Bopearachchi made short presentations, illustrating the current conditions of Afghanistan's archaeological monuments and remains. Again considerable interest, including possible future assistance, was expressed during this meeting, and John Francis and John Hall of the Committee for Research and Exploration at the National Geographic Society, who organized these presentations, must also be warmly thanked for their support.

Notes

- 1 For information on DAD, see www.cic.nyu.edu/conflict/conflictproject4.html#Aid.
- 2 See www.neh.gov/grants/guidelines/iraq.html.
- 3 We confess that one of the principal reasons we decided to proceed with organizing the sessions on Afghanistan at WAC-5 was the lack of comparable attention and concern for Afghanistan relative to Iraq. Specifically, as the United States geared up in fall 2002 to invade Iraq, it became increasingly clear that Afghanistan's plight would soon be overshadowed. The cultural costs of waging war would still be apparent, but now the focus would turn to Iraq, and Afghanistan once again would be forgotten. It was also clear that there were many interesting parallels, as well as contrasts, between the destruction of Afghanistan's heritage and that of Iraq, particularly with the looting of the Baghdad National Museum in April 2003 and the subsequent extensive pillaging of Sumerian sites in southern Mesopotamia. Such comparisons and contrasts can be drawn from the essays collected in this volume.

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UNESCO's Mandate and Activities for the Rehabilitation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage

Christian Manhart

Abstract: UNESCO plays a major coordinating role in international activities directed to safeguarding Afghanistan's cultural heritage. In Bamiyan a major effort has been undertaken to consolidate the cliffs and niches where the statues once stood and to conserve remaining fragments. Other projects coordinated by UNESCO include preservation of mural paintings in the Buddhist caves and the rehabilitation of minarets in Jam and Herat. Efforts continue in Kabul to restore the National Museum and to provide training of museum staff. This paper chronicles the strong commitment by Afghan authorities to safeguarding their cultural heritage, the importance of cultural heritage in the reconstruction process, and the major role of UNESCO in these efforts.

UNESCO has responded to the challenge of rehabilitating Afghanistan's endangered cultural heritage, which has suffered irreversible damage and loss during the past two decades of war and civil unrest. The safeguarding of all aspects of cultural heritage in this country, both tangible and intangible, including museums, monuments, and archaeological sites and music, art, and traditional crafts, is of special significance for strengthening cultural identity and national integrity. Cultural heritage can become a mutual focal point for former adversaries, enabling them to rebuild ties, engage in dialogue, and work together to shape a common future. UNESCO's strategy is to assist in the reestablishment of links between the populations concerned and their cultural history so that they may develop a sense of common ownership of monuments that represent the cultural heritage of different segments of society. This strategy is linked directly to the nation-building process within the framework of the United Nations mandate and concerted international efforts to rehabilitate Afghanistan.

With reference to the U.N. secretary-general's dictum, "Our challenge is to help the Afghans help themselves," policies and activities for safeguarding Afghanistan's cultural heritage focus on training and capacity building. As the U.N. Program Secretariat for Culture, Youth, and Sports, UNESCO is entrusted by the Afghan government to coordinate all international efforts aimed at safeguarding and enhancing Afghanistan's cultural heritage. In this context, UNESCO organized several meetings in close cooperation with the Afghan Ministry of Information and Culture, notably the International Seminar on the Rehabilitation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage in Kabul, which was the first international seminar in Kabul after the fall of the Taliban regime.

In attendance were 107 specialists in Afghan cultural heritage and from donor countries and institutions. The seminar, chaired by H. E. Makhdoum Raheen, minister of information and culture of the Afghan government, offered presentations on the state of conservation of cultural sites, existing programs, and coordination of the first conservation measures. The amount of U.S. \$7 million was pledged for priority projects and allocated through bilateral agreements and UNESCO Funds-in-Trust projects. The need to ensure effective cooperation was emphasized. Bearing in mind the enormous need to conserve sites at immediate risk of collapse, it was clearly stated and approved by the Afghan government that the Bamiyan statues should not be reconstructed.

Following the Afghan authorities' request to UNESCO to coordinate all international efforts for the safeguarding of the country's cultural heritage, UNESCO established the International Coordination Committee for the Safeguarding of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (ICC) in October 2002. It includes Afghan experts, international specialists from the

most important donor countries, and organizations providing funds or scientific assistance. The first plenary session of the ICC was held in Paris in June 2003, chaired by H. E. Makhdoom Raheen, in the presence of His Highness Prince Mirwais. Seven representatives of the Afghan Ministry of Information and Culture and more than sixty international experts participated as members of the committee or as observers.

Concrete recommendations allowed the efficient coordination of actions at the highest international conservation standards. Key areas of concern were development of a long-term strategy, capacity building, implementation of the World Heritage Convention and Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, national inventories, documentation and rehabilitation of the National Museum in Kabul, and safeguarding of the sites of Bamiyan, Jam, and Herat. Several donors pledged additional funding for cultural projects in Afghanistan during and following the meeting.

Bamiyan

Following the collapse of the Taliban regime in December 2001, UNESCO sent a mission to Bamiyan to assess the condition of the site, cover the remaining large stone blocks, and provide protection from harsh winter conditions. In July 2002 another mission, organized with the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and directed by its president, Michael Petzet, was undertaken to prepare conservation measures.

A project preparation mission to Bamiyan composed of German, Italian, and Japanese experts was undertaken in late September 2002. The experts noted that over 80 percent of the mural paintings in the Buddhist caves dating from the sixth to the ninth century C.E. had disappeared, through neglect or looting. In one cave, experts found the thieves' tools and the remains of freshly removed paintings. Consequently, the Afghan Ministry of Information and Culture arranged protection with the local commander, who provided ten armed guards for permanent surveillance of the site. No further thefts have been noted since. Of additional concern were large cracks in and around the niches where the Buddha statues had been situated, which could lead to the collapse of parts of the niches and inner staircases. Experts carried out complementary measures and advised on appropriate actions. The Japanese Foreign Ministry approved a UNESCO Funds-in-Trust

grant for safeguarding the Bamiyan site with a total budget of U.S. \$1,815,967. ICOMOS financed the restoration of a Sunni mosque and another building, located in close proximity to the niche of the large Buddha.

A working group on the preservation of the Bamiyan site, comprising twenty-five Afghan and international experts, was jointly organized by UNESCO and ICOMOS in Munich in November 2002. The group recommended certain conservation measures and clearly reiterated that the statues should not be reconstructed. After delays caused by the Iraq war and resulting lack of security in the area, a three-week mission by the architect Mario Santana from Leuven University was undertaken in June 2003 for scientific documentation of the niches and the remaining fragments from the Buddhas.

Recommendations by the ICC in June 2003 included consolidation of the extremely fragile cliffs and niches, preservation of the mural paintings in the Buddhist caves, and preparation of an integrated master plan. A large scaffolding, donated by the German Messerschmidt Foundation, was transported to Afghanistan by the German army in August 2003. The Italian firm RODIO successfully implemented the first phase of the emergency consolidation of the cliffs and niches (fig. 1). In July, September, and October 2003, as well as in June–July 2004, specialists from the Japanese National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (NRICP) were fielded to Bamiyan to safeguard the mural paintings and prepare a master plan for the long-term preservation and management of the site. The NRICP submitted a preliminary master plan to UNESCO and the Afghan Ministry of Information and Culture in early 2005. It is expected to be finalized in close cooperation with the Afghan authorities by the end of 2005. Furthermore, a Japanese enterprise has prepared a topographic map of the valley and a 3-D model of the niches and the cliffs.

In December 2003 the second UNESCO/ICOMOS expert working group convened to evaluate the progress of consolidation, conservation, and archaeological activities. The twenty-five experts present notably appreciated the consolidation method and work of the Italian firm RODIO, which had recently succeeded in preventing the collapse of the upper eastern part of the Small Buddha niche. Recommendations for a 2004 work plan included final consolidation of the Small Buddha niche, conservation of the fragments of the two Buddha statues, preservation of the mural paintings, and coordination of the archaeological activities undertaken by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA) and the NRICP.



FIGURE 1 Mountain climbers repairing Small Buddha. Courtesy of P. Maxwell, UNAMA

A third expert working group meeting, organized by UNESCO and NRICP, was held in Tokyo in December 2004. Participants at the meeting expressed their deep appreciation for the activities already undertaken to consolidate the Buddhas' niches, preserve the statues' remains, protect the mural paintings, map the site, prepare the master plan, and train local personnel. For the first time, experts were able to use carbon-14 dating technology to ascertain the age of the two

Buddha statues, as well as of the mural paintings: the Small Buddha was shown to date from 507 C.E.; the Great Buddha, from 551; and the mural paintings, from between the late fifth and early ninth century C.E. The participants agreed on the need to pursue the activities undertaken during the first phase of the project, which focused on emergency measures, and emphasized that longer-term measures were urgently required to ensure the continued preservation of the site. The approval of the recommendations by the group marks the end of the successful two-year UNESCO-Japan project and determines the future goals of its second phase.

Jam and Herat

In March 2002 the architect Andrea Bruno and the structural engineer Marco Menegotto assessed the state of conservation of the Jam and Fifth Minarets, the Gowhar Shad, the Citadel, the Friday Mosque, and other monuments in Herat and drafted project documents for their conservation. Later, Bruno and a hydrologist carried out a mission to advise on the consolidation of the Jam Minaret's foundations, the stabilization of its overall structure, and the water flow of the two rivers. They recommended protective measures for the archaeological zone of Jam, which was threatened by illicit excavations. Although the dramatic high floods of April 2002 had damaged the gabions installed by UNESCO in 2000, these remained efficient in protecting the monument, which has perhaps survived only as a result of this measure. In June 2002 the Jam Minaret was inscribed as the first Afghan property on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

From mid-October to early November 2002 Mario Santana and Tarcis Stevens, also an architect from Leuven University, carried out detailed metric documentation of the five minarets of the Gowhar Shad Musalla in Herat and the Jam Minaret. A preliminary training session on the use of a surveying total station donated by UNESCO was conducted for Afghan experts.

In January 2003 an expert working group was held on the preservation of Jam and the monuments in Herat. Among the twenty-three participants were Minister of Information and Culture Raheen; Zahir Aziz, Afghanistan's ambassador to UNESCO; Omara Khan Masoodi, director of the National Museum in Kabul; and Abdul Wassey Ferooz, head of the Afghan Institute of Archaeology. The working group evaluated the present state of conservation of the site of Jam and the Fifth Minaret, the Gowhar Shad, the Citadel, the Friday Mosque, and other monuments in Herat and addressed the

FIGURE 2 Tiles workshop in mosque.

Courtesy of J. Sorosh, UNESCO



problem of illicit excavations. They compared conservation methods and emergency and long-term conservation and coordination proposals with reference to identified priorities. Recommendations were made, allowing the commencement of emergency activities in 2003.

In November 2002 Swiss authorities approved a UNESCO Funds-in-Trust project for emergency consolidation and restoration of the site of Jam, budgeted at U.S. \$138,000. Italian authorities granted U.S. \$800,000 through the UNESCO Funds-in-Trust for emergency consolidation and restoration of monuments in Herat and Jam. The first activities under these projects began in April 2003 with the construction of a project house in Jam, the clearing of the Jam riverbed, and the repair and reinforcement of the wooden and metal gabions damaged by floods in 2002.

From late July to mid-August 2003, Andrea Bruno, Giorgio Macchi, Mariachristina Pepe, and a representative of UNESCO began preliminary work on a geological soil investigation at the minarets and made recommendations for their long-term consolidation. The Fifth Minaret in Herat received temporary emergency stabilization by means of steel cables designed by Macchi. This intervention was successfully carried out by the Italian firm ALGA, under very difficult security and logistical conditions. The minaret is now secured and stabilized, though it is probably not resistant to serious earthquakes. Three archaeologists from the Italian Institute for Africa and the Orient (IsIAO), under a UNESCO contract,

carried out safeguarding excavations on the site of Jam in August 2003. Additional protective measures for the foundations of the Jam Minaret were undertaken in 2004; the geo-physical soil study and consolidation of the base of the minaret will be carried out in 2005.

In 2002 UNESCO, with the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH), revived the tile-making workshop in Herat (fig. 2). Sixty Afghan trainees are learning the production of traditional tiles. In December 2003 the German authorities approved a U.S. \$59,890 UNESCO Funds-in-Trust project for the retiling of the Gowhar Shad Mausoleum. The necessary tiles are being produced by the workshop in Herat.

National Museum of Kabul

Immediately after the collapse of the Taliban regime in December 2001, a UNESCO mission identified and gathered the remains of various statues and objects in the National Museum in Kabul to prepare for their restoration. In November 2002 UNESCO took emergency measures in preparation for winter. New windows were installed in several rooms on the ground and first floors, as well as a deep-water well with a pressure tank and plumbing to ensure water connection for the conservation laboratory. In addition, a large generator was donated to supply electricity. In 2003 UNESCO, through the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural

Heritage (SPACH), contributed U.S. \$42,500 to complete the museum roof.

In January 2003 the Greek government began restoration of the National Museum in fulfillment of its commitment, made in May 2002, to donate approximately U.S. \$750,000. UNESCO provided the Greek specialists with drawings and plans of the Kabul Museum that were produced by Andrea Bruno. The U.S. government contributed \$100,000 to this project. In addition, the British contingent of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) installed a new restoration laboratory composed of a wet and a dry room, funded by the British Museum. The French Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Documentaires sur l'Afghanistan (CEREDAF) donated conservation equipment and the newly created French DAFA, together with the Musée Guimet in Paris, carried out training courses for the museum's curators.

General Activities

In September 2002 UNESCO contracted with the French non-governmental organization Agence d'Aide à la Coopération Technique et au Développement (ACTED) for emergency repair of the protecting roof of the nine-dome Hadji Pyada mosque in Balkh—the oldest mosque in Afghanistan—to protect it from the harsh winter conditions.

Funding and other forms of assistance, exceeding the U.S. \$7 million pledged during the May 2002 seminar, have been given for cultural projects in Afghanistan. The UNESCO Funds-in-Trust program has been entrusted with the following amounts (in U.S. dollars) from donor countries:

- \$1,815,967 from the government of Japan for the conservation of Bamiyan;
- \$1,674,685 from the government of Italy for the monuments of Herat, Jam, and the National Museum, as well as the museums of Ghazni;

- \$138,000 from the Swiss government for Jam and \$250,000 for Bamiyan;
- \$59,890 from the German government for retiling the Gowhar Shad Mausoleum in Herat.

Bilateral contributions include

- \$5 million from the Aga Khan Trust for Culture for the restoration of the Babur Gardens and the Timur Shah Mausoleum in Kabul and the rehabilitation of traditional housing in Kabul, Herat, and other cities;
- \$850,000 from the government of Germany in 2002, through ICOMOS Germany and the German Archaeological Institute, for restoration of the Babur Gardens and training of Afghan archaeologists;
- \$750,000 earmarked by the Greek government and \$100,000 from the U.S. government for restoration of the National Museum building;
- DAFA: preventive excavations in Bactria and Aï Khanum;
- Musée Guimet: several training courses for the staff of the National Museum;
- British Museum: restoration of three rooms at the National Museum for the installation of a conservation laboratory.

Furthermore, \$400,000 under UNESCO's regular budget for the biennium 2002–3 and \$480,000 for the biennium 2004–5 have been utilized for the implementation of cultural activities in Afghanistan.

All UNESCO activities are being implemented in accordance with the recommendations of the ICC. It should also be emphasized that these cultural funds come from specific cultural budgets. As such, they are in no instance taken from humanitarian funds but constitute an addition to them.

Recovery from Cultural Disaster: Strategies, Funding, and Modalities of Action of International Cooperation in Afghanistan

Jim Williams and Louise Haxthausen

Abstract: This paper discusses the rehabilitation of Afghanistan's cultural heritage following the fall of the Taliban regime. It addresses the transitional government's commitment to the preservation and protection of this heritage, and its urgent need for resources to carry out that goal. The International Coordination Committee (ICC) has played a key role in mobilizing funding, providing policy recommendations to the Afghan authorities, and reviewing technical options for specific interventions to preserve and rehabilitate sites and monuments, among other forms of assistance. This paper addresses these programs and other specific projects, particularly the rehabilitation of the National Museum in Kabul, that are under way or being planned.

Rehabilitating the cultural heritage of Afghanistan is a central element in giving the Afghan people a sense of historical continuity and national unity. The transitional Afghan authorities have acknowledged this fact by committing themselves "to create an environment where the cultural heritage is preserved, protected and handed on to young generations of Afghans as a record of the rich experience and aspirations in their country, so as to foster cultural creativity in all its diversity."¹

What must Afghanistan do to make this commitment into reality? After twenty-three years of war, the cultural heritage of the state of Afghanistan has been described as a cultural disaster. Historic monuments were severely damaged, through deliberate destruction or progressive degradation. Archaeological sites and the National Museum in Kabul were massively looted. Cultural professionals were isolated from

international cooperation and exchanges that provide training and research opportunities to upgrade skills.

Currently, resources in the country to address these needs are virtually nonexistent. As H.E. Hamid Karzai stated at the Tokyo Conference in January 2002, "It is an almost unprecedented situation, where an administration has no immediate source of revenue. We will rapidly lose credibility if we cannot pay our staff or deliver services to the people. . . . We see it as essential that the pledges are promptly materialized." Since the Tokyo Conference, international aid has been channeled to Afghanistan, but pledges made there and at subsequent donor meetings for the reconstruction of Afghanistan are insufficient to address existing needs and painfully slow in coming into the country.

This lack of aid is equally true with regard to funding to preserve and promote Afghanistan's cultural heritage. The Ministry of Information and Culture of the Islamic Transitional State of Afghanistan is facing the overwhelming challenge of reviving a tradition of international cultural cooperation established in the early twentieth century. This cooperation took the form of numerous partnerships with scientific institutions from around the world. Notable results of this cooperation were interventions to protect Afghanistan's major cultural monuments and sites as well as a series of important archaeological discoveries that have fundamentally deepened knowledge of Afghanistan's history and culture. From 1979 on, as the security situation in the country progressively deteriorated, international cooperation in the area of culture became more and more limited and eventually, during the Taliban regime, essentially stopped.

Priorities and Modalities of Action

Slow progress in achieving tangible improvement in the overall situation of Afghanistan's cultural heritage makes it easy to lose sight of the substantial progress that has been made. Since the fall of the Taliban regime, strategies have been devised, coordinating mechanisms have been put in place, and funding has begun to reach the country to allow programs to move from assessment to genuine implementation.

At the seminars and commissions discussed in Christian Manhart's paper, dialogues were initiated, plans of action developed, and emergency measures designed. At the June 2003 meeting, specific problems were identified, such as the modification of the 1980 law on cultural heritage and the need to sign the two conventions concerning the illicit traffic of culture heritage.

The International Coordination Committee (ICC) serves as a forum to keep the attention of the international community focused on the importance of rehabilitating Afghanistan's cultural heritage and to mobilize funding. It also provides policy recommendations to the Afghan authorities on priority issues. At the same time, it reviews and validates technical options for specific interventions to preserve and rehabilitate sites and monuments. Finally, the ICC plays a critical role in providing strategic input to the program on culture, media, and sport contained in the annual National Development Budget (NDB), the overall framework for development aid in Afghanistan.²

In the area of culture, the NDB is an overall investment program for the rehabilitation of the country's public services. It concentrates on the preservation and protection of cultural and historic monuments and sites, the rehabilitation and modernization of public cultural institutions, and the establishment of an enabling environment for creativity and civil participation in cultural activities. The overall objective is to ensure that Afghans enjoy improved access to culture. For fiscal year 1382 (March 2003–March 2004), the following seven priority projects were identified:

- Rehabilitation of the National Museum
- Rehabilitation of the National Archives
- Rehabilitation of the Kabul Theater
- Emergency consolidation and conservation of cultural monuments and sites
- Rehabilitation of the Public Library
- Prevention of illicit excavations and traffic of cultural property
- Revival of traditional Afghan music

These projects, identified and monitored through a series of government-led consultations, seek to balance stakeholder participation and strong national ownership, with the government "in the driving seat" of the reform, as President Karzai put it.

The UNESCO Kabul office plays a facilitating role. When the Ministry of Finance established consultative groups as forums for a government-donor dialogue on NDB formulation and monitoring, the UNESCO Kabul office was requested to act as coordinator for the consultative group on culture, media, and sports. This is fundamentally a role of institutional capacity building in strategic programming and monitoring by the Ministry of Information and Culture, as the government has given individual ministries the responsibility to deliver their respective NDB programs. The Ministry of Information and Culture has the ultimate responsibility for delivering the NDB projects, whoever the implementing agency and/or donor may be.

Achievements and Lacunae

International cooperation in the field of culture is progressively reviving; however, given the magnitude of the needs, the general sentiment among Afghan authorities is one of frustration. First, the mobilization of the international community to safeguard the Bamiyan Buddhas against destruction had raised hopes of massive help once the Taliban regime fell. Second, much of the initial funding received has not yet generated visible changes, as much preparatory work—in particular, updated scientific documentation of monuments and sites—was needed before concrete rehabilitation activities could start.

The National Museum continues to be an urgent priority. Thanks to funding from Greece, the United Kingdom, the United States, UNESCO, and the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH), its physical rehabilitation has begun. Several of the statues from the Kushan period that were smashed to pieces by the Taliban have now been restored and are on display in the entrance hall of the museum.

But support to cultural institutions remains limited. The most striking example is that of the Kabul Theater. The theater is in the same stage of devastation that it was when the Taliban regime fell. More positive is the situation of Afghan Films, the Public Library, and the National Archives, where rehabilitation work is in progress.

A major challenge in reversing the tragic process of impoverishment of Afghanistan's cultural heritage is to stop

the continuous looting of archaeological sites and the illicit traffic of cultural property outside of the country. The Ministry of Information and Culture of Afghanistan estimates that ongoing looting and illicit traffic are of a magnitude comparable to that endured during the Taliban regime. The means available to counter looting remain excruciatingly limited, especially in provincial areas where the security situation remains volatile. In early 2004 the Ministry of Information and Culture requested the deployment of five hundred armed guards to the most exposed archaeological sites in the country, but resources have been insufficient to meet this demand. The reinitiation of scientific excavations is another strategy to counter looting that was adopted by the Ministry of Information and Culture with the support of international cooperation, in particular, Italy and France. Here again the lack of security at most archaeological sites has limited the opportunity for such interventions.

Meanwhile, the Afghan authorities are taking steps to ratify the two international instruments protecting cultural property against illicit traffic, the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects. With assistance from UNESCO,

the 1980 Law on Cultural Heritage is under review and being harmonized with the international standards stipulated in the two conventions. The ratification of these two international instruments will give Afghan authorities legal means to claim the restitution or return from abroad of its cultural property.

The demonstrated commitment of the Afghan authorities to safeguarding their cultural heritage as part of the reconstruction process has catalyzed an immediate revival of international cooperation in the field of culture. However, whether Afghanistan will recover from the cultural disaster it has experienced remains uncertain. This will depend, to a large extent, on the willingness of the international community to engage in long-term partnerships and capacity-building efforts.

Notes

¹ National Development Budget, Programme 1.5: Culture, Media and Sports. Full text is available at www.af, the website of the Islamic Transitional State of Afghanistan.

² Current figures on NDB funding are available at www.af, donor database.

Preserving Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage: What Is to Be Done?

Osmund Bopearachchi

Abstract: Over the past ten years countless antiquities, including statues, jewelry, bronze, faience, ivory carvings, and thousands of coins, have been discovered accidentally or as the result of clandestine digging. Planned destruction of archaeological sites and museums, illicit digging, and vandalism in pursuit of material gain have completely destroyed the sculptures and paintings of the region. Traces of a glorious past have disappeared forever. In the midst of the continuing human suffering in Afghanistan, it is impossible to suppress pain, despair, and above all anger at the destruction of the cultural heritage of a land that was one of the great meeting points of East and West. This paper argues that as the reconstruction effort begins in Afghanistan, there is the need for global custodians of cultural heritage to step in to assess the magnitude of the destruction thus far and to catalog the surviving elements that need to be preserved and restored on a priority basis.

The civilized world woke up from a long sleep to see clouds of smoke rising above the Buddha statues in Bamiyan. The threat so often dismissed as inconsequential had become a ghastly reality in early March 2001. It took the Taliban's destruction of the colossal statues of Buddha, which dated to the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., for the world to take an interest in a long forgotten and abandoned country. Spent artillery shells, lined up like sentries, stood at the base of the mountain alcove where the world's tallest Buddha statues once stood. The Buddha's outline and piles of rubble are all that remain today (fig. 1). Broken pieces of the statues and fragments of the beautiful paintings that once decorated the niches were briefly offered for sale in the Peshawar bazaar.

Although aesthetically the Bamiyan statues—the largest Buddhist statues in the world—are considered by art histori-

ans to constitute an experimental phase and thus are not the most beautiful works of art that Afghanistan, once the cradle of many civilizations, ever produced, their destruction is especially notable as an act of sheer barbarism. Unfortunately, this act marks neither the beginning nor the end of the long history of Afghanistan's cultural heritage in peril.

The destruction of the Afghan patrimony is no longer a problem that concerns only the Afghan people, who over the years have suffered the devastation of a civil war caused by both international policies and disputes between rival factions. When the Taliban came to power in 1996, the National Museum in Kabul had already been destroyed, and the ancient sites of Ai Khanoum, Hadda, Tepe Shotor, Bactres, and Tepe Marandjan, which had been explored by French and Afghan archaeologists, had already been ransacked (fig. 2). The pillaging took place before, during, and after the Taliban regime. And today, in fact, the destruction of ancient sites has reached its apogee.

In May 1993 the National Museum was destroyed by several rockets and subsequently looted. Explosives pulverized the roof, the top floor, and most of the building's doors and windows (fig. 3). The nearby Institute of Archaeology was also severely damaged. More than four thousand objects deposited in the storerooms of the museum were stolen. When the area was cut off by the fighting and the staff was unable to reach the suburb of Darulaman, where the museum is located, the looters took everything humanly possible. As Philippe Flan-drin aptly described it:

Three quarters of the collections that have been found were removed without any iconoclastic intent. The pillaging of the museum follows the same surgical rules as the looting of castles. It is carried out with method

and order, under the guidance of professional thieves who take care to salvage, along with the valuables, the corresponding catalogs and inventories that identify the stolen items. (2001:43; my translation)

Not a single coin is left in the cabinets where coins were stored. Apart from the specimen stored in the Royal Palace prior to the destruction of the museum, all the coins from the Kabul hoard, from the Kunduz hoard (627 Greco-Bactrian coins and their imitations), and from the excavation of Aï Khanoum were looted. Most of the artifacts stolen from the National Museum, which had originally been excavated in Herat, Bactra, Aï Khanoum, and Hadda, surfaced a few days later in the Peshawar bazaar and from there found their way to private collections. Among them are the invaluable ivory plaques excavated at Begram by French archaeologists in 1937. A month later, UNESCO and the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance to Afghanistan began reinforcing the building to prevent additional damage.

Thirty percent of the remaining artifacts were rescued by the museum authorities and were kept at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. The museum was partially restored and inaugurated in summer 2000 by the Taliban minister of cultural affairs. The large statues and especially the statue of Kanishka and the seventh-century Bodhisattva image from Tepe Marandjan, which looters could not move, were among the exhibits.

The destruction of the collections that had escaped the looting began long before the Buddhas were dynamited in early March 2001. Already, on 4 February, a line of cars had stopped in front the museum. Carrying hammers and axes, the minister of finance, the minister of culture with his adjunct, and the notorious Mollah Khari Faiz ur-Rahamn, who slapped the Bodhisattva in summer 2001, ordered that the storeroom be opened. According to a staff member who witnessed the scene, "As they entered the storeroom, they snarled in excitement and started to smash everything while chanting 'Allahu Akbar'" (Flandrin 2002:211). Throughout history, the destruction of a nation's cultural treasures has been the consequence of religious fanaticism, political ideology, or mere ignorance, yet never before had the madness reached such magnitude. On 22 March 2001, three weeks after decreeing that all the statues of Afghanistan should be destroyed, the Taliban briefly opened the National Museum to journalists, revealing a gloomy, near-empty labyrinth of rooms missing virtually all its treasures. The statue of Kanishka and the Bodhisattva image of Tepe Marandjan were reduced to tiny pieces. It turns out that in February the Taliban had started to

destroy even the artifacts stored for safekeeping at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

The head of Durga, exhumed in Tepe Sardar, escaped the wreckage thanks to the astonishing cleverness of Dr. Masoodi and his colleagues. They gave a collection of sixty copies of Greco-Buddhist statues, made before the war for use by archaeology students in Kabul, to the enraged Islamic students who arrived the following day to complete the destruction and who continued to ransack the storerooms of the Ministry of Culture and Information, where they found the coffers that had been brought there by Najibullah in



FIGURE 1 Destroyed colossal statue of Buddha at Bamiyan.
Photo: Osmund Bopearachchi

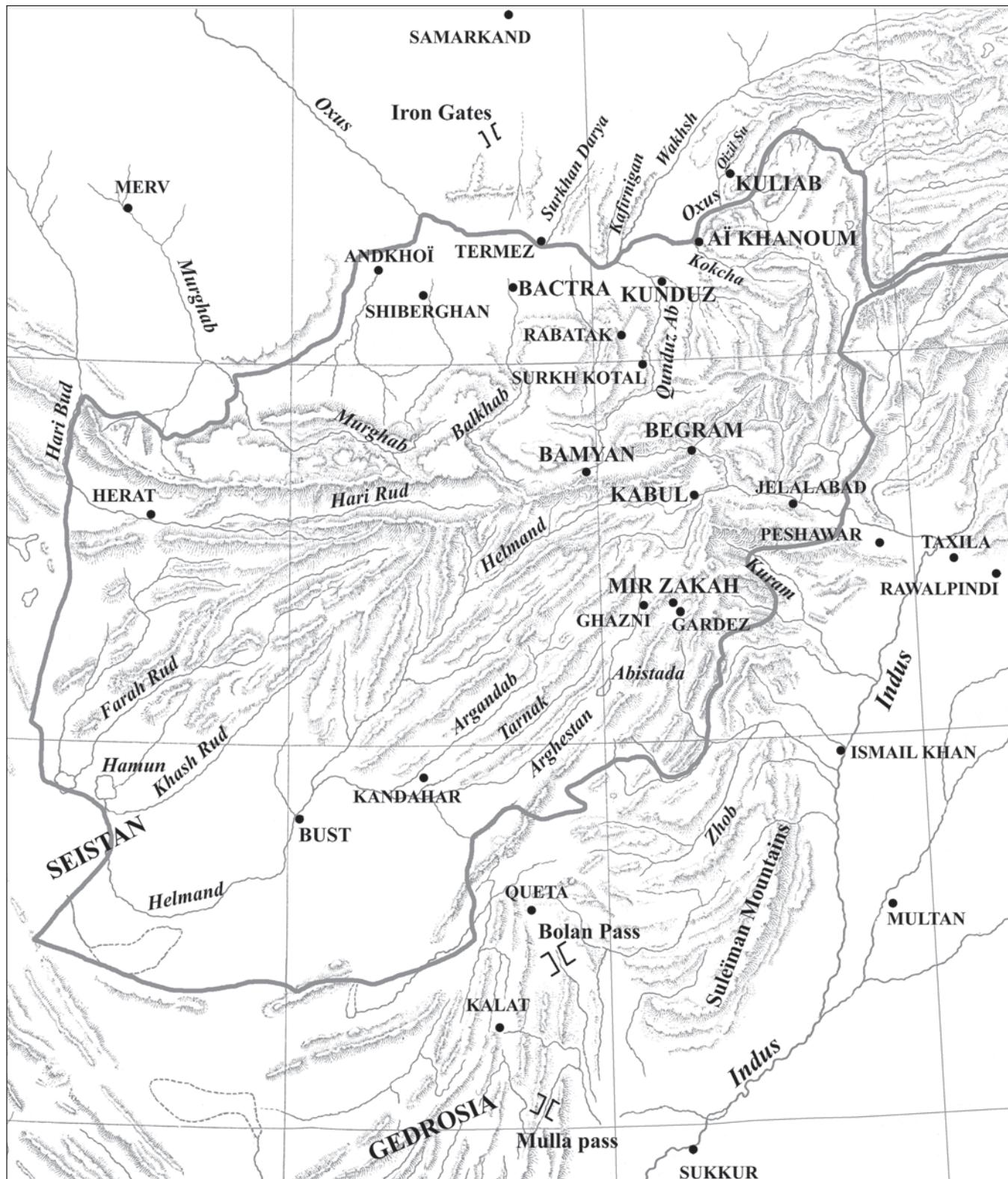


FIGURE 2 Ancient sites in Afghanistan. Drawing by François Ory



FIGURE 3 Destroyed National Museum in Kabul.

Photo: Osmund Bopearachchi

1989. If today the princely couple of Fundukistan and the sublime paintings of the Kakrak grottoes near Bamyan remain intact, it is thanks to the deadly game played against the Taliban by the curators of the museum, who deserve our sincere admiration.

Begram is one of the rare sites that still remains undisturbed—and this only because it is littered with land mines (fig. 4). All the statues left by the Afghan archaeologists of the excavations at Tepe Marandjan during the pro-Russian government were stolen by the villagers.

The Minari-i-Chakari, the Buddhist pillar, also called the Alexander pillar, dating to the first century C.E., was hit by a rocket and tumbled to the ground in March 1998. No one will see its eternal beauty again. The monastic complex of Hadda is situated in present Jalalabad, halfway along the road from Kabul to Gandhara. The ruins of this ancient site, with its Buddhist stupas and caves, were extensively excavated by the French archaeological delegation in Afghanistan under Barthoux. A large and well-preserved monastic complex near Hadda, at Tepe Shotor outside the northern edge of the plateau, was excavated between 1974 and 1979 by Afghan archaeologists. They were able to unearth a beautiful stupa complex decorated with magnificent stucco figures dating to the second century C.E. depicting the Naga king in the Fish Porch and a realistic figure of Heracles. Looters have by now systematically pillaged and destroyed Tepe Shotor. Huge statues that could not be removed were smashed, and small statues were taken to Pakistani bazaars for sale (see Tarzi 2001).

For the past ten years, the ancient site of Ai Khanoum has been the target of systematically planned illicit digs (see



FIGURE 4 Ancient site of Begram.

Photo: Osmund Bopearachchi

Bernard 2001; Bopearachchi 2001). One of the most significant contributions to an understanding of the Greek presence in Bactria was made through the Aï Khanoum excavations led by French archaeologists under Paul Bernard. This remarkable city, which bore the distinctive imprint of cultural currents from the days of Greek glory, no longer exists. The prospectors for treasure appear to have used the metal detectors that were originally brought into the country to detect Russian land mines for quite another purpose. Photographs taken by Hin Ichi Ono show the lunarlike appearance of the city (see Bernard 2001:figs. 3, 5, 6, 10, 13; see also Kohl and Wright, this volume, fig. 2). The lower city is completely devastated. The place where the big temple once stood is a crater. Some of the Corinthian and Doric capitals unearthed by the French archaeologists were taken away; they now serve as the base for the columns of a teahouse in a nearby village (see Bernard 2001:fig. 7).

It is in this unfortunate situation that one of the largest deposits of coins known in the history of currencies was discovered by chance sometime between 1992 and 1995, in Mir Zakah, located in Afghan territory in Pakhtia province, near the Pakistan border (Bopearachchi 2001, 2002). No one is able to relate exactly how the treasure was discovered; we only know that it was found at the bottom of a well. Clandestine Afghan excavators, at the price of disputes that cost several lives, found a true cave of Ali Baba. This coin deposit is calculated to contain more than four tons of minted metal—close to 550,000 coins, mostly silver and bronze, and 350 kilograms of gold pieces. During visits to bazaars in Peshawar, Pakistan, in February 1994, I was able to hurriedly examine six bags containing 300 kilograms of minted metal, that is, about 38,000 pieces from the treasure of Mir Zakah. The fairy tale built around the second deposit of Mir Zakah has now become an unending nightmare. According to some reliable sources, two and a half tons of coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit had been taken to Switzerland for sale.

Response to Illicit Trade

What stance should we adopt concerning antiquities unearthed accidentally or illicitly? We are obviously confronted with an extremely delicate problem. Should we or should we not make records of these items? An object of art, once removed from its archaeological context, loses more than half its historical value. If its origins are unknown, a work of art is a mere object without a soul. For this reason, I have struggled to learn, where possible, the origin of pieces

from clandestine excavations before they appear in sale catalogs. However, whether this work is done or not, it is impossible to divert them from their final destinations—sale catalogs, where they are listed with impunity. It is certain that these recent discoveries add much to our knowledge of the political and economic history of Bactria and India from the conquest of Alexander the Great to the end of the Kushan period. It is well known that the reconstruction of the history of the Greeks and their nomadic successors in Bactria and India depends mainly on numismatic, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence.

It is in this context and in the course of my research on the history of Greeks and their successors in Bactria and India that I concentrated my efforts to obtain the best information I could about coins and other significant antiquities and make records of them. The objects that I have seen personally in Pakistani bazaars do not represent one-tenth of the artifacts that have been dispersed in international art markets. Hundreds of ivory pieces, jewelry, intaglios, plaster medallions, and bronze items from northern Afghanistan have reached Pakistani bazaars and private collections.

Many ivory items were unearthed from the legal excavations of Aï Khanoum, especially in the palace treasury, which have already been documented by Claude Rapin (1992: pl. 118). To this list, illegal excavations have probably added the following items: hairpins, votive sculptures, and perhaps part of a sword case. Gold and silver jewelry similar to the pieces found in legal excavations have reached the market. They comprise rings, bracelets, pendants, and earrings. Hundreds of carnelian and agate cut stones, similar to those already published by Rapin (1992), were seen in the bazaars.

A faience head of a Greco-Bactrian king was found in June 1998 in unrecorded circumstances in the ancient Greek city of Aï Khanoum. It certainly belongs to an acrolithic statue. On close examination, it becomes obvious that the horizontally cut border at the bottom of the head was meant to fit into a wooden structure. The fragments of the cult statue found in the *cella* of the main temple of Aï Khanoum and the faience head, also from Aï Khanoum, are the only examples of acroliths that have so far been found in Bactria.

The discovery of hundreds of manuscripts written in Greek (see Bernard and Rapin 1994), Bactrian, Prakrit, and Aramaic have revolutionized our understanding of the socio-economic and political history of ancient Bactria. A notable discovery in recent years was scrolls written in Aramaic dating to the fourth century B.C.E. According to a reliable source, they were found accidentally by a villager who took refuge in

a cave one winter night. Feeling cold, he unknowingly started to burn scrolls and parchments of ancient manuscripts that he found in the vicinity. Only on awakening in the morning did he realize that he had burned more than 75 percent of the documents. The remaining ones give precious information about the socioeconomic history and practices of cults during the Achaemenid period. It is fortunate that at least these documents have been saved and scholars have an opportunity to study them.

As regards the vandalized National Museum, I share the view that a new museum should be constructed in a central location. At least 30 percent of the former collections, which had miraculously escaped the looting and destruction, are now kept safely in two places. The 20,000 objects in gold and silver, which had been excavated from the six tombs of Tillya-Tepe, had been kept at the Central Bank and have now reappeared. The statue of Kanishka and the Bodhisattva image from Tepe Marandjan, which were reduced to pieces by the Taliban, have been restored by the conservators of the Musée Guimet in Paris. The conservators of the National Museum have made studious efforts to restore little by little the remaining 2,748 statues destroyed by the Taliban (fig. 5).

Some individuals abroad acquired objects stolen from the National Museum without knowing their origins, and

some of them are willing to return the items to the museum. In June 2003 I learned that the third-millennium B.C.E. silver vase from the Fullol hoard, which had been exhibited in the Museum, had entered a private collection in London. At our request the private collector agreed to return the piece to UNESCO. Today it is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Lattes under the custody of UNESCO. The time has come to encourage private collectors and dealers who keep these stolen objects knowingly or unknowingly to return them to UNESCO.

There are also benefactors who took the initiative to buy items as they appeared on the art market with the intention of returning them to Afghanistan. Hirayama, for example, purchased the famous marble foot belonging to the cult statue of the main temple, excavated by French archaeologists in the 1970s from Aï Khanoum. He also has in his possession paintings from the Kakrak valley. The Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH) also purchased some statues of the National Museum. All of these items will be returned to Afghanistan one day. Only UNESCO and the international community can determine when the restitution should take place. Various items were bought by collectors with the intention of selling them at a higher price. It is impossible to make any money from well-publicized stolen

FIGURE 5 The conservators of the National Museum restoring artifacts destroyed by the Taliban. Photo: Osmund Bopearachchi



property. These collectors have a moral obligation to take a courageous step and return them to UNESCO. The road will be long and painstaking.

Response to Illicit Excavation

Finally, what is to be done regarding the illicit digging? As a period of reconstruction begins in Afghanistan, it is time to reflect on Afghanistan's vulnerable legacy. The looting of ancient sites, including Aï Khanoum, Bactres, and Hadda, is still taking place. There is a tremendous need for global custodians of cultural heritage to step in to assess the magnitude of the destruction thus far and to catalog the surviving elements that need to be preserved and restored on a priority basis. It is depressing to admit that in spite of efforts by the present Afghan minister of cultural affairs, illicit digging has reached its apogee. There are two types of illicit digging in Afghanistan. The first is done by well-organized diggers supported by powerful men whose ultimate goal is to furnish the international market with antiquities. Only competent authorities, conscious of their cultural heritage, can put an end to this practice. The present government understandably has many other priorities. Peace in Afghanistan remains very fragile, as the ongoing violence reminds us. The second type of illicit pillaging of sites is more innocent. This plunder is done by villagers hoping to find a few pieces of gold to nourish their families. The world owes its profoundest sympathies to the Afghan people, who were chased from one frontier to another and who have suffered the vicissitudes of civil war, famine, and drought. They have been the hapless victims of political ideologies, which reduce the human condition to a position subordinate to international economic interests. But in promoting the cynical game of Realpolitik in Afghanistan, humankind itself has lost part of its collective cultural heritage. That is a loss for which the entire world bears collective responsibility. The struggle against the destruction of Afghanistan's cultural heritage is intrinsically linked to the political and economic stability of the country.

Today Afghanistan needs food, doctors, and schools to fight famine, disease, and ignorance. Perhaps we should leave the Buddha statues as they now are to show how far religious fanaticism, ignorance, and intolerance can go. We will not permit the forces of evil to destroy human dignity. We cannot save or restore what has been destroyed, but we can fight to preserve what remains. We will not allow political and economic interests to defile the sovereignty of the Afghan

state. The cultural heritage of all humanity is at stake, not solely that of an often-forgotten and abandoned country.

Acknowledgments

My contribution to this volume is based in part on the UNESCO reports and those of Carla Grissmann, consultant for the Society for the Conservation of the Afghan Cultural Heritage, and Nancy Dupree; on books and articles by Emmanuel de Roux, Roland Pierre Paringaux, Pierre Centlivres, Philippe Flandrin, and Andrew Lawler; and on a trip I made to Afghanistan in summer 2002.

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PART NINE

Archaeology and Conservation in China Today: Meeting the Challenges of Rapid Development

Introduction

Neville Agnew

The wealth of China's cultural heritage is astounding but not unexpected, given the antiquity, size, and diversity of the country. Its civilization has been unbroken for five thousand years, and its large, inventive population has created a vast archaeological heritage.

With China's rapid emergence as an economic and world power since the late 1970s, aggressive development has been occurring. Almost daily, important archaeological finds are made, often as a result of major infrastructure projects. And, with the increase in wealth and disposable income, internal tourism is on the rise. These factors, combined with greater regional autonomy, create new and powerful threats to add to the traditional ones of deterioration and decay.

The panel organized by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of China (SACH) and the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) discusses Chinese archaeology and conservation in this climate of rapid development and economic growth from a number of perspectives: existing relevant laws and regulations and their application and, sometimes, lack of enforcement; the management of archaeology and cultural heritage conservation; urban development and rescue archaeology; the discovery of sites and their conservation; and the lack of well-trained personnel to conserve and manage archaeological sites and materials.

China's transition into the mainstream of international thinking and practice in heritage conservation through initiatives such as the development of professional guidelines for the management and conservation of heritage sites is recognized here. The policy for archaeological research is discussed in order that the international community may better understand conditions in China today regarding the implementation of archaeology and the practice of conservation.

It seemed appropriate, given the GCI's conservation work in China and its long collaboration with SACH, to include a Chinese delegation in the theme of integrating conservation and archaeology, particularly since there appears not to have been a substantial presence from China at previous World Archaeological Congresses, or much opportunity at conferences, given the language barrier, for sustained interaction with the international archaeological and conservation community. Eight delegates from a variety of geographic regions in China, from government policy makers to site managers, planners, and an academic, participated in the congress. Prior translation of the papers into English and simultaneous translation during the sessions enhanced communication. Six of the eight papers presented are included in this volume.

Yang Zhijun's paper reviews the legal and policy aspects governing the four hundred thousand sites and twelve million artifacts in state-owned museums. He points out that the 1982 Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics was revised in 2002 and that China has signed all the international treaties concerned with heritage. His paper provides a concise overview of the structure of the legal and heritage administration system and differentiates the hierarchy of laws, regulations, rules, and measures, the last two being quite specific, for example, *Rules for the Work of Field Archeology* issued by the Ministry of Culture on 10 May 1984.

A void has existed in China between the legal system and professional practice in heritage conservation and management until recently, when China ICOMOS (with SACH approval) issued the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (the *China Principles*). Yang Zhijun points out that this bridge will, in time, be seen as a milestone.

Of particular interest in Yang's paper is the open acknowledgment of serious problems in China's heritage protection: pressure from development for rescue excavation and the infractions of developers; the vast national tourism industry, with the stress it puts on sites; and illicit dealing in antiquities. These and other problems precipitated the 2002 revision of the law, the main elements of which are reviewed in his paper.

Guan Qiang discusses in greater detail some of the problems in a fast developing country, which, as he says, looks "like a vast construction site," and pose a challenge to the work of both archaeological excavation and the protection of cultural heritage. He touches on the archaeological rescue activities as a consequence of the much-debated Three Gorges Dam project and claims that a clear picture of the original culture in the Three Gorges area has been obtained as a result. Guan does not skirt the difficult issues that are being faced because of these capital construction projects and points out the conflicts and stresses they can create, particularly under-funding of rescue and preservation activities and inadequate personnel and professionals in preservation work.

Guan proposes a number of measures to address these problems. These include stricter enforcement of the law, utilization of methodological guidelines such as the *China Principles*, and better and more comprehensive planning. One senses that this is an uphill struggle: as Guan points out, there are ten universities in China with archaeological institutes, but over half the graduates currently go on to work in other occupations, presumably better-paid ones. Among the measures proposed by Guan is the encouragement of a higher standard of multidisciplinary research, such as the introduction of methods and technologies including dating, DNA sequencing, palaeoclimate studies, and computer simulations to enhance and revitalize archaeological investigation and promote more rigorous standards of preservation. Finally, Guan points out that there is more openness on the part of authorities in China to international collaboration and exchange. There is a great potential still to be tapped in partnership with foreign countries and professionals, and SACH endorses and promotes cooperation of this kind.

Chen Tongbin describes the significant challenges faced in the conservation of large-scale archaeological sites, such as Liangzhu. She identifies urbanization as the main destructive factor and seeks to balance the needs of the inhabitants to earn a livelihood and the need to find ways to protect the heritage resource. Her approach is that of a regional planner: to reassess land use, redirect transportation networks to avoid

key preservation zones, freeze certain construction projects, and move industrial and mining firms out of the region, as well as relocate and financially compensate a large portion of the population. As she implies, these are hard decisions to make; they must balance the legitimate needs and concerns of the local inhabitants with those of a very significant site in the history of Chinese civilization. Furthermore, funding has not yet been secured for the integration of this large-scale conservation planning with the Hangzhou City (within which Liangzhu falls) socioeconomic development plan. Two further issues are of interest here. One is Chen's observation that conservation of excavated artifacts from the site cannot move forward at this time because of these macro-scale preservation plans. The other is that the local inhabitants are clearly ambivalent: they feel threatened by the archaeological park because it will undoubtedly have an impact on their personal economic situations but believe it may bring income from tourism. It will be interesting to track the evolution of this enormously complicated and large-scale initiative.

Wu Xiaohong discusses the graduate program in conservation science that was established in the Archaeology Department at Peking University in 1995. She also mentions programs in conservation science at other universities and their importance in training conservation professionals. A deficiency, she points out, is that these programs emphasize the technological aspects of conservation, and this compromises the ability of graduates to deal with the complexities of archaeological site conservation. Her critique of conservation practice in China with regard to archaeological excavation projects is a familiar one in other parts of the world: that is, conservation is not routinely included in the planning or execution of an archaeological excavation project, and certainly not with site management. As she states, conservation is usually thought of as an exclusively off-site, postexcavation activity, concerned with technical problems or remedial treatment.

Being well aware of the need for conservators to understand archaeology more deeply, and certainly for archaeologists to be cognizant of their obligation to the site and the artifacts they excavate, Wu Xiaohong urges a more integrated approach to conservation in the academic arena and in the practice of field archaeology.

Yuan Jiarong, like Chen Tongbin, is concerned with an early site, specifically, an archaeological rescue project in the Liyie River basin, Hunan province. The project led to a sensation in academic circles in China because of the large number of bamboo and wooden slips found, containing writing from the Qin dynasty (221–206 B.C.E.). Yuan brings forth in detail

problems referred to in the paper by Guan Qiang, in which pressure from development tends to override rescue archaeology. As he points out, Article 31 of the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics stipulates that the expense and workforce needed for rescue excavation must be included in the investment and work plans of the construction companies. Apparently a disregard for this legal requirement led to damage to the site, despite the budget requirements for the excavation and protection of the sites in the Liyie Basin having been submitted to the authority in charge of construction in a timely manner. This submission was ignored, and construction proceeded until it was stopped by the Hunan Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics.

Yuan points out that funding for archaeological excavation is a core issue in all these controversies. The law clearly stipulates one thing, but construction entities try to postpone compliance with all kinds of excuses, especially when the schedule for construction is urgent. As he states, bulldozers remain on the scene to put pressure on archaeological work until the funding issue is finally resolved. He urges that change be brought to the current situation. The reader infers from this that many sites must be lost to development because they are either small or do not attract attention through the discovery of major archaeological finds and are out of the oversight of a vigilant provincial or local archaeology and heritage authority.

Wang Jingchen's paper discusses two sites in Liaoning province in northeastern China: the very early and important Niuheliang site and the Qin dynasty site of Jiangnushi, a coastal site associated with the imperial visits of the First Emperor to that region of China.

As with the other sites discussed by the panel, Niuheliang and Jiangnushi are enormous in size. The former is concerned with the Hongshan culture, and Wang discusses the methods that are being used to endeavor to protect particularly the earth and mud sculpture remnants in a severe climate. Notably, his organization has reburied the so-called Goddess Temple as a protective measure. By contrast, at Jiangnushi, where most of the material excavated is earthen, and because of the extraordinarily large size of the site, he and his staff so far have been unable to develop an effective and comprehensive conservation approach but have undertaken interesting interpretive aspects by marking surface features after reburying exposed structures. As Wang notes, this is experimental to some degree, and he has used plantings of different kinds—grasses, trees, and other shallow-rooted plants—to outline the now-buried features. This, together with nonoriginal colored sand, is being tried as interpretive and presentation techniques.

The papers presented in this panel provide insights into the complexities of preserving archaeological heritage in the face of rapid development and economic growth. They point to the magnitude of the challenges facing authorities and cultural heritage professionals in China in their attempts to safeguard this vast legacy for future generations. It is hoped that the publication of these presentations, together with the participation of the Chinese delegates at WAC-5, will underscore the important initiatives that are under way in this country and will pave the way for further dialogue and collaboration with the international community.

China's Legal Framework for the Protection of Its Material Cultural Heritage

Yang Zhijun

Abstract: China has a rich and extensive cultural heritage spanning five thousand years. This paper describes the legal framework that had been established to protect the material cultural heritage, ranging from international treaties to domestic legislation enacted at different levels of government. It outlines the main distinctive features of the recently revised Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics and lists other relevant legislation that complements this law.

China is a unitary multinational state with a five-thousand-year history of civilization. It is extremely rich in material cultural heritage (immovable and movable cultural relics) aboveground, underground, and underwater. There are approximately four hundred thousand sites at which immovable cultural relics have been found, and approximately twelve million cultural artifacts have been collected in state-owned museums. To protect these items of humankind's cultural heritage, China has now established a legal framework for their protection that is well suited to the conditions of the country. This framework has developed through decades of effort and exploration since the founding of the People's Republic of China. A brief outline of this legal system is presented below.

1 Legislation at various levels in accordance with the functions and powers of the different levels of government.

Under the constitution, basic laws, special laws, and international conventions are promulgated for approval by the National People's Congress, by its Standing Committee, or by the State Council.

The National People's Congress passed the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in December 1982. Article 22 of the constitution stipulates that it is the state's

responsibility to protect famous scenic places, ancient sites, precious cultural relics, and other important historic and cultural heritage. Under this article, the National People's Congress established the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics in 1982 and revised it in 2002.

To date, China has signed all international treaties regarding the conservation of world heritage, including Conservation of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in November 1985); Prevention of Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (by the State Council in September 1989); UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (by the State Council in March 1997); and Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (by the State Council in 2000).

Administrative laws and regulations, which are normative documents, formulated or promulgated by the State Council or administrative organizations at the national level, are the following:

- Provisional Regulations on the Administration of Areas of Scenic and Historical Interest (State Council, 7 June 1985);
- Notice of the State Council Concerning Further Improvement of the Work on Cultural Relics (24 November 1987);
- Regulations of the People's Republic of China on the Administration of the Protection of Underwater Cultural Relics (State Council, 24 October 1989);

- Measures of the People's Republic of China for the Administration of Foreign-related Issues in Archaeology (adopted by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and approved by the State Council on 22 February 1991);
- Detailed Rules for the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics (adopted by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and approved by the State Council on 30 April 1992);
- Detailed Ordinances for the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics (Premier of the State Council, Wen Jiabao, 13 May 2003);
- Enforcement and Improvement of the Cultural Relics Work (State Council, 30 March 1997); and
- Enforcement of Protection and Management of Cultural Relics during the Development of the Western Region (State Council, 31 August 2000).

Local regulations are normative documents formulated, deliberated, and promulgated by the standing committees of people's congresses of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government in accordance with state laws and adapted to the actual conditions of the localities. In accordance with the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics, all the provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, and autonomous regions have formulated and promulgated corresponding local regulations.

Administrative rules are formulated and promulgated by central state administrative organizations and local state administrative organizations. These have a certain legal force, but they are positioned below laws, administrative laws and regulations, and local regulations. They are easily implemented as they have clear aims and are relatively detailed and concrete:

- Rules on the Work of Field Archaeology (trial implementation) (Ministry of Culture, 10 May 1984);
- Measures for the Administration of Museum Collections (Ministry of Culture, 19 June 1986);
- Measures for the Administration of Projects for the Protection of Cultural Relics (Ministry of Culture, 17 March 2003);

- Measures for Investigation, Design, and Resource Management of a Conservation Intervention Project and Measures for Quality Control of the Conservation Intervention Project (trial implementation) (State Administration of Cultural Heritage, 11 June 2003);
- Notice of the People's Government of Henan Province Concerning the Improvement of the Work of Protecting Cultural Relics in Economic Development Zones (14 December 1992);
- Measures of Beijing Municipality for the Administration of the Protection of the Site of the Fossils of Peking Man in Zhoukoudian (People's Government of Beijing Municipality, 1 February 1989); and
- *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (China ICOMOS, October 2000).

Special mention must be made of the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (the *China Principles*), which were the result of three years of work, begun in 1997, by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of China, the Getty Conservation Institute in the United States, and the Australian Heritage Commission. The *China Principles*, which combine successful Chinese conservation experiences with advanced international conservation concepts and practices, including the Burra Charter, have been successful guidelines for conservation practitioners in China. Although the *China Principles* were formulated recently, they have received a great deal of attention from the international conservation field and in time will be acknowledged as a milestone.

- 2 *The newly revised Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics.*
It has been twenty years since the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics was established. The policy of reform and opening to the outside world has taken root in the hearts of the people. The national economy has achieved sustained development at a supernormal rate, and the level of people's material, spiritual, and cultural life has been raised significantly, offering a great opportunity for the conservation of physical cultural heritage but also great challenges. The challenges arise from several factors:

- Large-scale capital construction projects have greatly increased. Some planning departments and construc-

tion entities, without asking for permission from cultural relics departments, have initiated construction projects that cause damage to relics, especially those that are underground. Archaeologists are under pressure to conduct rescue excavation. It is no longer news that archaeologists must compete with bulldozers in order to rescue cultural relics. It is a very serious matter when legal entities violate the law.

- The process of urbanization and infrastructure construction has been accelerated. Many Chinese cities embody several hundreds or thousands of years of history. Many people think that modernization consists of high-rise buildings and widened streets. Consequently, some cities have torn down buildings that exhibited local characteristics and/or ethnic style. Some cities have replaced their entire historic precincts with modern buildings.
- The tourist industry is thriving. To promote tourism, some sites are treated merely as moneymaking ventures. The number of visitors far exceeds the capacity of sites. Some protected places have implemented restoration measures but changed the status of the cultural sites or made the old places like new. Some sites, managed by tourism companies, whose interest is primarily the pursuit of profit, have been damaged.
- The market for cultural relics is brisk. Relics stores and auction businesses for antiquities are booming. Some business owners conduct under-the-table deals using their legal businesses. Some sell excavated artifacts illegally.
- The fever for collecting cultural material has intensified as even companies, entities, and private collectors are involved in relics collection. The sources and channels of traffic in relics have not been identified.
- Illicit excavation, theft, speculative buying and selling, and smuggling of cultural relics are rampant.

The nation's economy needs to be developed, city infrastructures need to be improved, and people's standard of living needs to be raised, but material culture cannot be sacrificed for these purposes, even though not all problems can be prevented during society's progression from a planned economy to a market economy. In the face of these new conditions and situations, in order to deal with the relationships among productive construction, urban devel-

opment, tourism, personal productivity and living standards, and cultural relics conservation, one needs to make adjustments, restrictions, and standardizations within the legal framework. This was the reason for the recent revisions to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics.

The work of revising the Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics started in 1996. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress passed these revisions on 25 October 2002. During this period, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, the Legislative Office of the State Council, the Education, Science, and Culture Committee, and the Legislative Committee of the National Congress conducted consultations and investigations. Experts from all fields were invited to attend some twenty meetings for discussions and evaluations focusing on improving management, standardizing the circulation of relics, and enforcing the policing power of cultural relics administrations.

The revised Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics expands the original law from eight chapters and thirty-three articles to eighty articles, covering many areas. The revisions are precise, specific, and visionary. The most significant revisions cover some aspects of immovable cultural relics:

- The policy of "focusing on protection, giving first place to rescue, achieving reasonable utilization and improving management" of cultural relics has been upgraded to a law.
- Governments at all levels are responsible for the protection of cultural relics in the areas under their jurisdiction. Protection of cultural relics shall be incorporated into the plan of economic and social development and the necessary financial resources should be included in the government budget. The conservation plan for each cultural site should be incorporated in the urban or rural development plan. Capital construction, development of tourism, and so on, shall not cause damage to cultural relics.
- The revision clearly defines the nature of ownership of cultural relics. State ownership of immovable cultural relics shall not be altered owing to any change in ownership of the land on which they are located, nor shall it be transferred, mortgaged, or operated as enterprise assets.

- Measures for strengthening the administration of the protection of cultural relics include the following:
 - Sites not yet determined as protected shall be registered and announced to the public, and measures shall be formulated for their protection.
 - Immovable cultural relics that have been completely destroyed shall not be rebuilt on the original sites.
 - Conservation plans should be specially formulated for registered historically and culturally famous cities, historical precincts, villages, or towns.
 - Repair of protected cultural sites for moving or rebuilding purposes shall be undertaken by entities certified to do the projects.
 - Legal liabilities are revised and administrative powers of law enforcement strengthened in regard to cultural relics and specific, clearly defined acts which are in violation of the law on the protection of cultural relics. Departments for administering cultural relics have the power to order corrections or to impose economic or administrative penalties.
- 3 *Mutual complementarity with other relevant laws and regulations of the State.*

China's constitution stipulates that protection of cultural relics is the common duty of the nation, society, and every citizen. From the legislative point of view, the laws for the

protection of cultural relics are relatively complete. Among the other relevant laws and regulations are laws on mineral resources, customs, city planning, environmental protection, and the protection of military facilities that clearly stipulate the protection of cultural relics. Criminal law stipulates that violation of the Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics is a crime and may carry specific punishment. In reality, however, it is not an easy matter to effectively enforce the laws and regulations regarding the protection of cultural relics. In recent years, the frequency of violations has increased. Some local governments wish to improve the appearance of cities and the living conditions of their residents but lack the money; therefore, often, it is the investors who control urban real estate developments. Many cases have occurred in which governors or mayors have neglected cultural relics protection in favor of engineering projects. It is very difficult to deal with issues related to the damage or destruction of cultural relics.

At present, the situation cannot be completely controlled. Nonetheless, protection of the national cultural heritage is the obligation of every citizen. Laws and regulations are needed to protect cultural relics tenaciously, though the burden is heavy and the road is long.

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Archaeology, Cultural Heritage Protection, and Capital Construction in China

Guan Qiang

Abstract: *China has an unparalleled legacy of cultural and historic sites, which span a continuous time frame from one million years ago to the present. Rescue archaeology is very much in evidence as the pace of capital construction in China today is a major factor driving archaeological fieldwork. An especially successful example is the work undertaken in conjunction with the Three Gorges Dam project. This paper outlines the difficulties in conducting archaeological excavations and preservation efforts during capital construction projects and proposes strategies for dealing with these challenges.*

China is an important part of the world where humans have lived and flourished for millennia. Archaeological findings indicate an abundance of cultural and historic sites within China's boundaries. The fossil and archaeological record of human remains and activities from one million years ago to the present is continuous. The main areas of distribution of remains are concentrated along the basins of the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers; deposits can be found as far north as the basins of the Heilongjiang and the Liao Rivers and as far south as the Lancang and Pearl Rivers. Therefore, as many scholars have stated, all of China is a huge site of cultural relics, and this judgment, in the author's opinion, is by no means an exaggeration. The scale of Chinese cultural and historical sites is extremely rare in the world in terms of distribution, eras, and abundance. These sites are valuable legacies belonging to the Chinese nation and to humankind as a whole.

The major branches of Chinese archaeological study are fieldwork, underwater archaeology, and remote sensing from the air, among others. Archaeological fieldwork can be subdivided into proactive archaeology (for scientific research) and that undertaken in the course of capital construction and for

rescue purposes. Work in recent years has been mostly proactive and has been carried out by various foreign colleagues. Archaeological fieldwork can be implemented only with the approval of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of the People's Republic of China and in accordance with the law.

China, it is well known, is a developing country. With its fast-growing economy, it has the appearance of a vast construction site; and these construction activities result in more changes to cities and rural areas with each passing day. This development poses a great challenge to the work of archaeological excavation and the protection of the cultural legacy.

In China, archaeological work is normally a consequence of large-scale construction projects. For many years, archaeological work and protection of cultural relics have occurred in tandem with capital construction; thus this has been one of the main tasks of Chinese archaeologists. In this respect, remarkable results have been achieved that have captured the world's attention. For example, for the archaeological work and relics protection in conjunction with the Three Gorges Dam project, the Chinese government has invested several hundred million yuan (RMB) and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of the People's Republic of China has organized some one hundred teams to do the archaeological excavation and protection work at 1,087 sites in the area above- and belowground. Prior to June 2003 when the water level in the reservoir reached a height of 135 meters, excavation and protection work on 531 underground and 302 above-ground sites was affected, and some 60,000 artifacts were unearthed. Thus a clear picture of the original culture in the Three Gorges area has been obtained, and for the most part, the sequence of prehistoric cultural development in the reservoir area has been mapped. In the meantime, a number of

significant historic and cultural resources have been identified for sustainable economic development in the reservoir area. Other contributions in this volume address urban archaeological work in Liye in Hunan province, Liangzhu culture in Zhejiang province, and Jiangnushi and Niuheliang ruins in Liaoning. Most of these are projects of archaeological and cultural protection undertaken in coordination with capital construction.

Of course, there have been difficulties and problems while conducting archaeological excavations and preservation work during capital construction. They are mainly as follows:

- Archaeological and cultural departments are not able to participate prior to the filing for approval of the construction project; they play a reactive role after construction has begun.
- There exists an inherent conflict between the discovery and protection of important ruins and the implementation of the construction project, so some ruins and possible traces cannot be protected.
- The timing and funding needed for archaeological and cultural protection work cannot be sufficiently guaranteed when they depend on the capital construction schedule. Importantly, some academic questions cannot be resolved within this time frame.
- Some large-scale cultural ruins and sites are seriously threatened with each passing day by construction in cities and rural areas and the development of the tourism industry.

The reasons for the problems incurred are mainly as follows:

- Some persons are not sufficiently mindful of the law, nor is enforcement always adequate.
- The speed of economic development tends to overwhelm the process of evaluation of heritage sites by government officials.
- As a developing country, China does not have enough economic strength, and development takes priority.
- Existing personnel specialized in archaeological and cultural protection work in China do not have sufficient knowledge of cultural ruins and sites; hence, their knowledge and professionalism must be enhanced.
- Because of the shortage of professionals in archaeological and cultural protection work, they rush here

and there like a fire brigade, endeavoring to cope with the work.

The above-mentioned difficulties, problems, experiences, and lessons no doubt occur in other countries and regions of the world, but they are handled and solved in different ways; therefore, the outcomes are different.

Facing the challenges of rapid economic development, the archaeological and cultural relics protection fields are adopting the strategies listed below. There is a need to shift from the passive mode and take the initiative, focusing on protection of important sites and objects of cultural heritage that belong to humanity as a whole. Specifically, we must

- establish a more comprehensive and operational system of laws and regulations and a team to strictly enforce the law for protection of cultural relics. The Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics, revised in 2002, stipulates that when conducting a large-scale capital construction project, the entity in charge should report beforehand to the administration of cultural relics at the provincial government level and carry out an investigation and survey by archaeological organizations within the construction area where cultural relics may exist. If relics are found, the provincial administration should, in consultation with the construction unit, work out measures for protection of the relics in compliance with the requirements stipulated by law. When important finds are discovered, a timely report must be submitted to the State Administration of Cultural Heritage for action. The construction entity should include funds for archaeological work in the project budget in the event that an archaeological investigation, survey, and excavation are needed. Regulation of construction activities in the protection area and the buffer zone must be imposed. In particular, legal penalties should be specified in detail in cases in which cultural relics are not protected, with some rights of punishment authorized to the cultural relics administrative department. This will strengthen the administrative function of the department for the protection of cultural relics and make the execution of the law more effective. On this basis, a specialized contingent for the execution of cultural heritage protection laws must be set up or strengthened in every region, thus changing completely the

current situation in which there is a law to abide by but nobody to enforce it.

- establish comprehensive principles and guidelines, and an evaluation system, for the conservation of cultural relics and historic sites. The *China Principles* were promulgated as professional guidelines. These will further help to regulate many activities for the protection of cultural relics.
- strengthen the protection and interpretation of cultural ruins. In November 2000 the State Administration of Cultural Heritage put forward the “Tenth Five-Year Plan” for Protection of Large-Scale Cultural Ruins.” It is hoped that under this plan, not only will the protection of several hundred important cultural sites be possible, but through cooperation between construction projects and archaeological investigation, survey, and excavation, the location of the ruins will be made clear and the area to be protected—where construction must be controlled—will be further defined. Moreover, it is required that all regions develop master plans for the protection of sites of importance. In the meantime, archeologists are encouraged to complete archaeological reports expeditiously and disseminate the findings. The State Administration of Cultural Heritage will publish annual newsletters on findings of important cultural relics to enhance awareness among government officials and the Chinese people about the importance of protecting and interpreting the cultural heritage. By doing so, it is hoped that the construction of a number of parks for protected sites (National Parks for Cultural Sites) can be completed before the year 2015 and attempts be made to solve existing difficulties and problems. So far, the compilation of most master plans for protection work has been started and some plans have been completed. When these are approved by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage they will be published for implementation by the local government. For instance, protection is under way of large sites such as the Mausoleum of the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty, the Yangling Mausoleum for Emperor Jing of the Western Han Dynasty in Shaanxi, Yuanmingyuan Garden in Beijing, and some other important ruins in Guangzhou and Chengdu. Protection includes many important elements such as assessment, environment, usage, engineering work,

management, classification, and estimation. It also addresses a great number of scientific and technical problems in the areas of archaeology, history, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, and museology as well as physicoecology, new technology, and the application of new materials. Therefore, the work of protecting these important ruins has become more scientific and operational, thus promoting overall improvement in the protection of cultural ruins in China.

- train high-quality personnel for archaeological work. According to initial statistics based on a general survey, it has been preliminarily determined that there are some 400,000 registered places and sites with a valuable cultural legacy, of which more than 100,000 are ruins and tombs from ancient times. The number of those yet to be discovered plus recently found sites resulting from capital construction may be even greater. Effective protection of so many cultural sites depends to a large extent on the establishment of a group of high-quality personnel. At present there are only several tens of thousands of people engaged in the work of archaeological excavation, cultural protection, and museology in China. Obviously this is insufficient to handle the great amount of work, especially since less than one-third are specialists in cultural protection and archaeology. In China, there are more than ten universities with archaeological (cultural relics protection and museology) departments, but over half of the graduates every year have gone to work in other occupations. Therefore, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage has developed a strategy to cultivate the needed professionals, for example, by actively organizing and assisting all these universities in training professionals. In addition, it encourages all science and technology organizations to retrain personnel in specialized subjects that support research in the preservation of cultural relics.
- further encourage multidisciplinary and comprehensive research and protection of cultural relics and historic sites. Archaeological work in China today is carried out mainly in conjunction with capital construction according to an accelerating schedule, with a short time frame and inadequate funding; to a great extent, this has restricted the application of multidisciplinary science and technology research.

Nevertheless, archaeological workers everywhere increasingly are introducing methods and technologies from the natural sciences in order to acquire comprehensive information. These include dating techniques, DNA sequencing for research in ethnology, remote-sensing techniques, computer simulation, and research on palaeoenvironmental settings, paleogeography, and paleoclimate. Much research and testing has been undertaken with regard to archaeological sites and ruins, such as the protection of earthen ruins and in situ protection of large wooden structures and ancient mines. Good results have been achieved in all these areas. Great attention has also been paid to the study of excavated artifacts, such as lacquered woodenware, silk fabrics, ivories, and stone. Notwithstanding, there is still much to be done in relation to multidisciplinary study and the implementation of effective protection of excavated cultural heritage.

- expand exchanges with foreign countries. By 1990 the State Administration of Cultural Heritage had

published the “Administrative Regulations of the People’s Republic of China on Archaeological Work Involving Foreign Countries,” which regulate archaeological and research activities by foreigners, thereby giving foreign archaeologists and cultural relic protectionists more opportunity to take part in investigation, excavation, and protection of cultural remains. Since the 1990s Chinese organizations for archaeological and cultural preservation have been engaged in relatively extensive cooperation of this kind with the United States, Japan, and Europe, and they have achieved outstanding results. For example, the project of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage in cooperation with the Getty Conservation Institute on the protection of the Mogao Grottoes at Dunhuang in Gansu has proven a model of success. At present there is still great development potential to be tapped by China in partnering with foreign countries. The State Administration of Cultural Heritage will make efforts to continuously support and promote cooperation of this kind.

Planning for Conservation of China's Prehistoric Sites: The Liangzhu Site Case Study

Chen Tongbin

Abstract: This paper focuses on the general status of conservation planning for prehistoric archaeological sites in China, taking the Liangzhu archaeological site as a typical case study. The site is an important one for Chinese archaeological study of the Neolithic period in the downstream region of the Yangtze River. The cultural remains and ruins, scattered over an area of 60 square kilometers, are located primarily in the developed areas south of the Yangtze River, which in 2001 were incorporated in the Hangzhou urban area. There has been dynamic development of urban and town construction and industrial growth in the area, and the protection of the site has a direct bearing on the lifestyle and production activities of the local people, as well as on the city's socioeconomic development plan. In preservation planning for protection of the Liangzhu site, a host of policies have been devised in response to specific issues in compliance with the Law on Cultural Relics and employing the guidelines of the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (the China Principles). These policies take into account the local socioeconomic development plan in order to preserve the authenticity and integrity of the remains and ruins. This paper also lists several critical issues still in need of solution.

Overview of Prehistoric Site Preservation Planning in China

Status of Site Preservation

China's economy is in a state of robust development that has been accompanied by unprecedented nationwide urbanization since the 1990s. This is endangering a great number of archaeological sites, in some cases to the point of destruction. In the absence of effective protective measures, unforeseeable consequences could result within the next ten years. Hence the

urgency to develop policies and plans to ensure the preservation of all the archaeological sites.

Professional and Legal Framework for Preservation Planning

In accordance with Article 9 of the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (the *China Principles*, issued by China ICOMOS with the approval of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage), there are six steps prescribed for the preservation of cultural relics: (1) investigation; (2) research and assessment; (3) implementation of the four legal prerequisites; (4) determination of objectives and preparation of the conservation master plan; (5) implementation of the master plan; and (6) periodic review of the master plan and action plans. The preservation plan constitutes the backbone of protection, and it constitutes a statutory document for the implementation of protection measures for each site in China.

In view of the nonrenewable nature of heritage sites, planning for their preservation should be given priority in China's current development plans for economic construction:

- Preservation plans should precede the tourism development plan and become its raison d'être.
- Development plans should be the basis for preservation planning for famous historical and cultural cities.
- Development plans should be incorporated as an essential part of the planning system for urban and town development and overall urban plans.
- The central role of planning in the protection procedure as prescribed in the *China Principles* is clearly defined. However, it has not been given the attention

and support it deserves in China's prevailing system of laws and regulations.

Challenges in the Protection of Ancient Sites

Twenty-two and a half percent of the 1,271 national-priority protected sites in China, that is, 286 sites, are archaeological sites, of which 103 are prehistoric. These sites are much larger in scale than many other sites in terms of the area of land they occupy. The long history of Chinese civilization and the many sites scattered over the vast expanse of territory pose varied challenges, both human and natural, to planning for their protection.

Human destructive factors include large-scale urban and rural economic construction projects, development for tourism, high population density, and extensive farming. Natural destructive factors are erosion resulting from loss of vegetation, erosion from wind and rain, weathering, and freeze-thawing.

Basic Concepts for Preservation Planning

Compliance

- Law of the People's Republic of China on the Preservation of Cultural Relics
- Law of the People's Republic of China on Urban Planning
- *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*

Basic Criterion

- The principle of keeping cultural relics in their original state must be adhered to.

Preservation Objectives

- To keep the remains and ruins and their surroundings authentic, intact, and undisrupted

Basic Tasks

- To identify sites for preservation and determine their boundaries
- To demarcate protection zones and devise rules for management
- To work out protection measures
- To develop specific subplans for interpretation, use, management, and maintenance
- To formulate plans for periodic implementation and cost estimates.

Planning efforts in recent years for the preservation of Chengtoushan, Niuheliang, Dadiwan, Qianjianglongwan, and Liangzhu prehistoric archaeological sites and other ancient sites originating from other historic periods, in compliance with the Laws and Principles, have identified protection zones, devised management rules, worked out protection measures, and developed specific plans for interpretation, use, and management with a view to keeping the sites authentic and intact. Of these cases, the Liangzhu site is of particular concern because of its strong potential for economic development.

Overview of the Liangzhu Site

Description of the Site

Liangzhu is one of the most significant sites in the Yangtze River basin for archaeological study from the late Neolithic period. The remains date to around 3,000 to 2,000 years B.C.E. Liangzhu encompasses more than 130 sites discovered so far and covers an area of 60 square kilometers within which two administrative towns, Liangzhu and Pingyao, are located. The remains include a large-scale man-made terrace, architectural structures, dwelling places, a graveyard, altars, and massive construction projects. The archaeological finds are largely fine jade artwork, coupled with ceramics, stone, bone, and lacquerware.

Geographic and Climatic Conditions

The site is located inside the Yuhang district of Hangzhou municipality, Zhejiang province. This is an economically developed region of China's southeastern seaboard. It is in a contiguous area between hilly land in western Zhejiang province and the Hangjia Lake flatland. The remains are scattered in the river valley plain at an elevation of 3 to 8 meters above sea level. They are close to the low hilly land in the west and north and connect with the waterway plain in the east and south. Hence the terrain is level and open. The site is within the southern fringe of the northern subtropical monsoon region.

Significance

Liangzhu is typical of the initial period of China's civilization and is therefore an extremely important archaeological site. In terms of its large scale and advanced culture, it bears witness to five thousand years of Chinese civilization. The finest collection of jade utensils for ritual purposes so far has been excavated from Liangzhu; they are without match worldwide from the same period. Many achievements of the Liangzhu

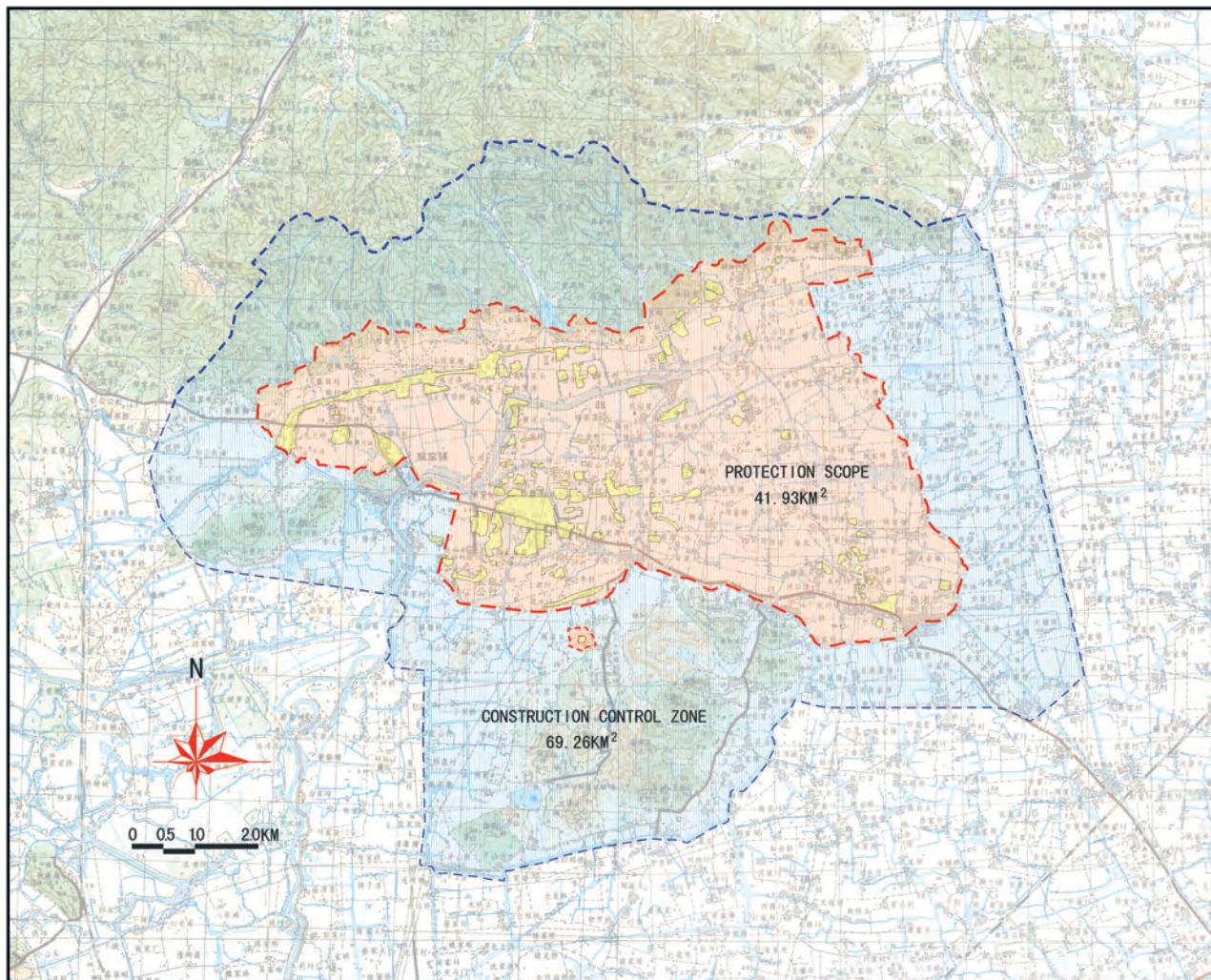


FIGURE 1 Zone division inside the Liangzhu site. Courtesy of Architectural History Research Institute, Beijing

culture were later inherited and developed in the Shang and Zhou dynasty cultures. Therefore, the site has played an important role in the development and evolution of Chinese civilization.

Case Relevance

Protection of the Liangzhu site has a direct bearing on the productive activities and lifestyle of the local inhabitants as well as the socioeconomic plan of Hangzhou city. Similar cases in China are the ancient Chang'an city site of the Han dynasty, the Qinshihuang Mausoleum, and other large archaeological sites that cover scores of square kilometers located on

the outskirts of cities. Hence, in a country such as China where economic development is in full swing, protection of Liangzhu is of great importance.

Challenges in the Preservation of the Liangzhu Site

The site is located in the developed area south of the Yangtze River and northwest of Hangzhou city. This area became part of urban Hangzhou in 2001; it borders the urban area of Hangzhou, and its center is only 23 kilometers from downtown Hangzhou. Given the lack of land for urban develop-

ment, it is an ideal location for construction. There are about 30,300 inhabitants on the site, scattered in four townships and twenty-seven villages. The average population density is 739 persons per square kilometer. Urban construction and industrial development within the area have experienced dynamic growth—more than 200 percent since 2000 (these data are based only on the number of investment projects)—and its periphery is attracting the attention of Hangzhou real estate developers.

Urbanization: The Main Destructive Factor

Archaeological sites such as Liangzhu are destroyed by earth moving, house building, road construction, pipe laying, and other large-scale urbanization activities. Certain agricultural activities, such as fish farming and deep plowing, also pose a considerable threat.

The population problem is a distinctive feature of China, hence the production activities and lifestyle of the inhabitants in the area put tremendous pressure on protection efforts. The desire to speed urbanization is of importance to the local economy, but at the same time it is a factor that hinders protection efforts. Therefore, the question of how to balance the needs of the inhabitants with the need to protect the large Liangzhu site figures high on the local agenda. Other challenges such as conservation treatments for cultural relics and site management will have to be addressed at a later time.

Policy Considerations regarding Protection of the Site as a Whole and Urbanization

Presentation of the authenticity of the site involves primarily interpretation, which pertains to academic and technical concerns but has little to do with the day-to-day concerns of site inhabitants. Nevertheless, efforts to keep the site intact must be closely linked to the interests of the local people.

Protection planning for Liangzhu follows the relevant laws and the *China Principles* and involves a spate of policy measures targeted at specific problems while also taking into account local socioeconomic development plans.

Essential Preservation Measures

To control urbanization within the site, it is necessary to

- put on hold transportation system development by intercepting the town and township trunk roads where they cut across the key preservation zone so as

to regulate the transportation network inside the zone;

- halt industrial construction by prohibiting new industrial projects and moving out 117 industrial and mining firms;
- place restrictions on construction activities in farmers' dwellings by means of three methods, moving, scaling down, or levying heavy taxes;
- bring agricultural activities under control by limiting tilling and planting;
- introduce ecologically sound measures aimed at retaining water bodies and maintaining the man-made wetland environment;
- reduce population density by phased moving of 806 households (10,000–20,000 persons) out of the area;
- concentrate the amount of land for construction and prepare havens for those staying behind, and keep the preservation zone tidy and clean;
- change the way the land is used by reducing by over 400 percent the amount of land approved for construction so as to have a larger proportion of land for preservation, agriculture, forest, and even barren land.

To intensify the urbanization process in areas bordering on the site, the following steps need to be taken.

- Streamline the traffic system. Main trunk roads should be planned for towns and townships bordering on the site so as to gradually do away with the heavy transit traffic and improve the traffic situation outside the zone.
- Adjust the economic structure by setting up a consolidated industrial zone and a farm-products processing base, thus enabling relocation of industrial and mining firms and the employment of farmworkers on labor-intensive projects.
- Speed up urbanization by resettling those uprooted from the zone in newly planned towns and townships.

Basic Preservation Measures

- Set up multilevel preservation zones
- Develop prioritized management plans
- Fine-tune the traffic system
- Work out a specific population control plan

- Formulate dwelling quarters control plans
- Change the way the land is used
- Incorporate all this in the overall local socio-economic development plans (fig. 1).

Existing Problems

Criteria Governing the Census of People Remaining

Ascertaining the number of people residing inside the preservation area is one of the crucial problems of the overall plan, as it is closely related to the effectiveness of the preservation effort and to the amount of funding to be invested in preservation. At this point China has no specific indicators available for acceptable population density within an archaeological area such as Lianzhu. What is taken as the parameter for reference in preservation planning for Pingyao and Liangzhu is the value of the average population density, namely, 257 to 430 persons per square kilometer. This figure is multiplied by the area of the total preservation zone—41.93 square kilometers—to derive a population ceiling. The base result is 10,800 to 18,000 persons.

The data are obtained by calculating the status of the current capacity of the area; however, this falls far short of an ideal criterion.

Earmarked Funding

The Phase I relocation plan involves 2,894 persons, or 806 households. Moving and resettlement costs are 160 million yuan (200,000 yuan on average per household). The overall size of the industries and mines to be relocated involve 16.5 thousand square miles, and the moving expenses total 333.2 million yuan (800 yuan on average per sq. m). Together, the cost is approximately 500 million yuan (493.2 million RMB, or U.S. \$60 million).

This amount has to be raised from various sources. Funding sources and structures are yet to be explored, as is the availability of such a large sum for preservation.

Management

Many large-scale archaeological sites are located on the outskirts of cities and involve several administrative zones (cross-village, cross-county, and even cross-province and cross-municipality). How to establish effective site management organizations under the existing administrative system, what kinds of functions they are expected to perform, and how efficient they will be are all questions that need to be addressed in the implementation of the preservation plan, especially when this entails moving a large number of people and controlling land use.

Special Economic Policies

Measures in large-scale archaeological site preservation planning will necessarily entail compensation for relocation of people, population limits on site, and restrictions on agriculture—measures that have implications for the life and gainful activities of the local people. There is clearly a need for special economic policies. The question and challenge today concerns the need for special policies for site preservation under the prevailing government policy on the dismantling of housing and resettlement.

Interest of Local People

Local inhabitants have mixed feelings about preservation of the site. On the one hand, they hope that the park built there will bring them income from tourism; on the other hand, they are worried about the economic loss and restriction caused by the relocation and limited agricultural use. Therefore, they are as skeptical as they are expectant and await the details of special government policy and the availability of funding to implement the plan.

Conservation during Excavation: The Current Situation in China

Wu Xiaohong

Abstract: *China's rapid economic development and concomitant development projects have affected archaeological excavation and conservation in both positive and negative ways. The increase in the number of projects provides a large amount of research material and opportunities for archaeologists and conservators; however, it also reveals the lack of experienced and qualified personnel. Current excavation and conservation techniques and research cannot cope with the problems generated by the large number of emergency excavations. Media reporting has improved and promoted conservation awareness among the general public; however, the media sometimes misrepresent the role of heritage conservation, which provokes negative responses. The attitude and degree of concern of local government also affects the quality of on-site excavation and conservation. By their very nature, excavation and conservation are in opposition. But the information embodied in the materiality of objects and sites derives from the combination of archaeological excavation and conservation. This paper argues that archaeologists and conservators should be specially trained in the examination and conservation of archaeological objects and sites during and after excavation. And whereas current training programs emphasize technological solutions in conservation, there is a need to broaden these programs to include management and decision making.*

In the past few decades China's developing economy has generated many infrastructure construction and urban development projects. A large number of emergency excavations have resulted. Some 70 percent of all archaeological projects have been initiated under these circumstances. These have affected archaeological excavation and conservation in both positive and negative ways. Because large numbers of ancient sites have been and continue to be discovered during construction

and urban development, funds should be available for excavation and conservation. Currently, about 90 percent of excavation funds in all of China come from such projects. It should become possible with such funds to apply advanced scientific methods to many aspects of research and conservation work in situ. However, local governments significantly affect the quality of on-site excavation and conservation since they often control the distribution and use of funding.

The prevalence of such projects provides a large amount of research material and opportunities for archaeologists and conservators, but this also results in damage to ancient sites and remains because of a lack of experienced and qualified personnel on the project team. The situation on site has become critical.

Excavations resulting from development projects are put forward hurriedly, with little time to organize qualified and experienced experts from different fields to devise an integrated plan. In addition, the current state of excavation and conservation techniques and research cannot cope with the range of problems generated by the large number of emergency excavations, for example, the recovery of fragile deteriorated silk and the prevention of color fading on the surface of unearthed relics, which is caused by environmental changes.

Emergency excavations are undertaken at many ancient sites and cemeteries that the government may choose to expropriate. If the sites are of such importance and need to be preserved in situ to minimize damage, the construction plan may need to be changed, and this may bring disastrous economic losses. Who has the responsibility to bring such pressure to bear and how should cultural values, benefits, and stakeholder interests be balanced?

The increase in media reporting about excavation and conservation has improved and promoted conservation awareness among the general public; however, sometimes the role of heritage conservation is misrepresented, provoking negative responses.

Excavation and conservation are fundamentally in conflict. Excavation, as a physical process, is a reversal of depositional and formation processes because it exposes the stratum, objects, and the site. This kind of subtractive process is both destructive and irreversible. The cultural deposit and the history it embodies are destroyed, and the physical and chemical equilibrium of the site, established in the process of cultural deposit formation, is disrupted. The objective of conservation, in contrast, is to preserve cultural relics from loss and depletion by preventive and remedial means. Conservation applies every possible managerial and technical method to prevent or postpone the degeneration of the physical fabric.

From the perspective of the value of the information embodied in the materiality of objects and sites, archaeological excavation and conservation should be joined together. Conserving objects and sites preserves the cultural values possessed by the physical fabric. It is well presented in the conservation principle, "Keep the historic condition." This principle emphasizes the integrity and authenticity of remains, including the purity and unity of materiality and of the cultural information related to past human existence. Archaeologists study the cultural information embodied in the materiality of the site and objects to discern the thoughts and experiences of ancient peoples. Archaeological excavation makes it possible for us in the present to touch the past. Excavation is not only a physical method by which the archaeologists study a site but also an important process for estimating the value of the site and remains. Conservation aims to preserve the physical fabric and thereby the values it embodies.

The unity of the materiality and the cultural information of relics requires that conservators and archaeologists carry out research and documentation, including recording every kind of evidence during and after excavation, to safeguard all the information about the cultural beliefs, values, materials, and techniques that are embodied in the site as an aggregate record of human activity over the passage of time. In fact, conservation in China is not routinely involved in the planning, execution, or examination of the archaeological excavation project, or even in site management. Conservation is usually thought of as an exclusively off-site, postexcavation activity concerned with technical problems or remedial treatment. Few archaeological excavation projects have included

conservation as an important component from the beginning, despite the fact that excavation without a professional conservator can result in irreversible damage, such as the destruction of lacquer, silk, ivory, pigment, and plant remains. On the other hand, conservators are often reluctant to be involved in the cultural context of a site. Lacking the relevant cultural information, they may treat the objects or sites with improper interventions, such as the application of a nonreversible chemical reagent that may contaminate the surface and jeopardize important information, or they may neglect the context of the objects in the site, such as the placement of the wares and traces on the surface of artifacts.

Conservation during excavation requires that conservators understand archaeology more deeply. It is a complex, systematic undertaking involving many disciplines and many communities. It is not the sole responsibility of one professional group to make decisions. Conservation and archaeology should be completely united during excavation. Both disciplines have to study the physical evidence of the site and its contents, and the background and history of the deposits associated with human activities. The cultural context should be the basic common element that unites every method and discipline in order to preserve the site and its contents in a harmonious way.

There is a well-established system in China whereby every province and city has its own archaeology and cultural heritage institutes, but there is no national one. Most of the professional personnel are well-educated archaeologists, but there are few full-time conservators, and the conservators working in museums lack excavation experience. Therefore, archaeologists in the provincial and municipal institutes have become a major force for conservation during excavation and have become the cultural resource managers. There is an urgent need to train archaeologists in the principles of conservation and scientific method, as well as to adjust the deployment of human resources within archaeology and cultural heritage institutes by employing more conservators.

In fact, conservation training and education programs have been available at institutes and universities in China for the past twenty years, but most of these focus on conservation technology. The first academic training program in conservation science in China started at Fudan University in Shanghai in the 1980s as a two-year graduate program. It was organized by the Department of Physics, and all faculty members were professional physicists. Because the program lacked financial support and was considered inappropriate to the work of the department by the university's evaluation system, it ended

after a few years. The first undergraduate student program was established at the Department of History (now the School of Archaeology and Museology) in XiBei (North-West) University in Xi'an in the early 1990s. All of the faculty have science backgrounds. The basic courses of this program are chemistry, and the emphasis is on technical conservation of objects. The students are divided into groups that focus on different technologies, but not every student has the chance to practice all of them. Currently there are twenty students on average who graduate from this program each year. Many work in museums and institutes of archaeology and culture heritage. The graduate program in conservation science was established in the Department of Archaeology at Peking University in 1995. It emphasizes materials science in conservation and the preservation of materials. In 1999, supported by cooperation between China's State Administration of Cultural Heritage and Peking University, the School of Archaeology and Museology came into existence, based in the Department of Archaeology. Undergraduate programs in conservation and

ancient architecture were added to the curriculum. Other universities, such as Qinghua, Beijing Technological University, and Xi'an Jiao Tong University, also have programs in conservation science. These programs have an important role in training conservation personnel. However, almost all such programs emphasize the technological aspects. It is impossible for their graduates to manage complex systematic projects of archaeological site conservation.

A dearth of experts in the conservation of archaeological sites will continue to be a serious problem in China in the coming decades if professional conservation training and education are not undertaken as soon as possible.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the Getty Conservation Institute for inviting me to attend the Fifth World Archaeological Congress and to the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage for their financial support.

Heritage Protection in the Liyie Basin, Hunan Province, the People's Republic of China

Yuan Jiarong

Abstract: Archaeologists from the Hunan Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology successfully conducted a rescue archaeology project in the Liyie River basin in 2002 that led to the discovery of the ancient city of Liyie (300 B.C.E.) and some thirty-six thousand bamboo and wood slips containing writings from the Qin dynasty (221 B.C.E.–206 B.C.E.). The discovery caused a sensation in academic circles in China. The site and findings are now securely protected by the policies of the government of the People's Republic of China.

The Rescue Archaeology Project at Wangmipo Hydroelectric Power Station

This project was launched after the onset of construction of the Wangmipo Dam located at the middle stream of the You River in Baojing County, Xianxi Tujia clan and Miao clan Autonomous Region. The power station project budget is 2 billion RMB, which is not a large-scale project. However, as one of the western region development projects, it is important in promoting the economy of Hunan province. The dam project was inaugurated on 18 August 2000 and was completed in 2004.

The You River is one of the largest tributaries of the Yuan River. It originates on the border between the Yunnan-Guizhou plateau and the Wuling Mountains in western Hubei province. The area is hilly, and the altitude is more than 800 meters. Lack of transportation creates an economic disadvantage. Because of the region's remoteness, archaeology has long been neglected, although it was generally held that an archaeological discovery here would be beyond expectations.

According to the People's Republic of China's law on the protection of cultural relics, "before carrying out a large-scale

capital construction project, the construction entities shall first report to the department for cultural administration of a province, an autonomous region, or a municipality directly under the central government for organizing an archaeological excavation team to conduct exploration and investigation at places where such relics may be buried underground within the area designated for the project." Hunan provincial archaeologists complied with their responsibility to contact the authority in charge of construction and began an archaeological survey during May and June 1997 in the area to be submerged. Some seventy-nine archaeological sites and ancient cemeteries were discovered, ranging from the Paleolithic to Neolithic periods and from the Shan and Zhou dynasties, the Warring States period, and the Qin and Han dynasties to the Song and Yuan dynasties. The Liyie basin site has the richest cultural remains and the most important concentration of sites in the region.

In conformity with Article 31 of the laws of the People's Republic of China on the protection of cultural relics, "the expenses and workforce needed for prospecting for cultural relics and archaeological excavations, which have to be carried out because of capital construction or construction for productive purposes, shall be included in the investment and labor plans of the construction entities or reported to the planning departments at higher levels for proper arrangement." Once the archaeological survey was completed, the budget for the excavation and protection of the archaeological sites in Liyie basin was submitted to the authority in charge of construction, but no reply was received for a considerable period. The situation became urgent when, in March 2002, partial destruction of the archaeological site occurred during the construction of the flood prevention dam at Liyie. In com-

pliance with the law, a notice was issued by the Hunan Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology to stop construction where the archaeological sites were located. The regional government exceeded its authority in allowing work to proceed. After many rounds of negotiations with the regional government and the authorities in charge of construction, agreement was reached. Under the principle "rescue comes first, preservation is the priority," in April 2002 archaeological excavations were begun in the area to be submerged with a focus on the ancient city site of Liyie. In June some thirty-six thousand pieces of bamboo and wooden slips containing writing were unearthed from ancient well No. 1. A proposal was put forward to the governments on the in situ preservation of the entire archaeological site. After many rounds of discussions and negotiations with the construction authorities, a plan for protecting the sites was finalized. The site was listed as a Provincial Priority Protected Site in September 2002 and as a National Priority Protected Site in November 2002.

The rescue archaeology project at Wangmipo Dam entailed a series of operations, including acquiring information about the construction project, budgeting, excavation, and preservation. There were obstacles to be overcome at almost every turn, from initial negotiations to the final settlement. The disputes centered on issues of budgeting and differing approaches concerning economic development versus heritage preservation.

China is a developing country, and economic development is a national priority. Developers and even some government officials view development as more important than the protection and preservation of cultural heritage. They feel the urgency to construct and are reluctant to acknowledge the nonrenewable nature of the treasures underground. They do not communicate with and even refuse to cooperate with heritage preservation authorities responsible for archaeological excavation, and they emphasize the superiority and urgency of their development projects. Therefore, the cultural relics and archeological entities that negotiate with the construction companies or conduct protection work at the construction sites are always subjected to difficulties and resistance. In the current circumstances, there is a long way to go before conservation awareness can be promoted effectively to the general public.

Funding for archaeological excavation and preservation of cultural remains is a core issue in all controversies. The law clearly stipulates that funding for archaeological digs must be included in the overall budget of the construction project, as

is also the case internationally. However, the construction entities often are not willing to provide the funds for archaeological excavation in a timely matter and try to postpone compliance with all kinds of excuses. Delays or the unavailability of funding for survey and excavation work add to the threat of destruction, especially when the construction schedule is stringent. The authorities in charge of the project often are not willing to provide funding for archaeology in a timely manner mainly because the planning department either did not budget for site conservation as a necessary and specific item or did not budget sufficient funds. Funding for archaeological fieldwork is therefore distributed from the "unpredictable" line item in the budget. Bulldozers remain on the scene to put pressure on archaeological work until the day the funding issue is finally resolved. Much needs to be done to bring about a change in the current situation.

Issues of Heritage Preservation and Development in the Liyie Basin

The Wangmipo hydroelectric power station archaeological work was mainly concentrated in the Liyie basin. The town of Liyie is located at the northwestern border of Hunan province; since ancient times it has been an important river port on the upper stream of the You River. It is a crossroad to Sichuan, Guizhou, and Chongqing. The basin includes Liyie township on the left riverbank and Qingshiuping, in Baojing county, on the right riverbank.

A levee was proposed to protect the important historic town of Liyie as part of the Wangmipo hydroelectric project. It was designed to be built east and south of town and to cross the ancient town of Liyie, which dates from the Warring States period to the Han dynasty. Soil for the levee was to be taken from two ancient cemeteries: Maicha cemetery from the Warring States period (300 B.C.E.) and Dabang cemetery from the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 100). A cemetery from the Western Han Dynasty (200 B.C.E.–A.D. 100) at Qingshiuping was proposed as the housing project site for the people removed from the area that was to be submerged. Rescue archaeology digs were conducted in the above three cemeteries.

Usually, to make sure that construction can progress normally, there are two general objectives when undertaking a rescue archaeology project. One is to excavate the site and ensure careful preservation of the finds. The other is to acquire as much archaeological data as possible for research purposes. The three cemeteries mentioned above have been dealt with in this manner. The exposure of the ancient city site

of Liyie created a departure from the normal routine of rescue archaeology.

The ancient city site of Liyie is located on the grounds of Liyie's present-day primary school. The east part of the site was eroded away by the river. The site covers an area of 25,200 square meters—210 meters long and 120 meters wide. Some 2,000 square meters of the site have been excavated. So far excavation has uncovered the remains of city walls, a moat, roads, dwellings, and wells, in addition to the bamboo and wood slips. The city was of military importance during the Warring States period. The excavation of the site and the discovery of the bamboo and wooden slips with their writing greatly increased knowledge and understanding of the Qin dynasty, which represents a turning point in Chinese history. The significance of the discovery is far-reaching.

This find led to the proposal that the whole city site should be preserved. The proposal meant that the levee should be shifted closer to the You River, a revision to the design of the levee that would increase the budget significantly. The authorities in charge of the Wangmipo project vigorously opposed this change, but the sensational find itself silenced the opposition. Some thirty scholars from across China gathered in Changsha city, the capital of Hunan province, to celebrate the find as the first great archaeological discovery in China in the twenty-first century. High-ranking officials from the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of China came to Changsha and Liyie to inspect the finds and the archaeological site. Through many rounds of inspections and discussions with heritage and archaeological authorities, the Hunan provincial government approved the proposal and ordered the provincial department of construction to rework the design of the Wangmipo project. The primary school will be removed so that the site can be preserved, developed, and used in the future. Funding for archaeological fieldwork was ordered to be in place soon to ensure the smooth progress of the archaeological dig. State leaders also expressed their concerns on the issues of protection and preservation of the ancient city site of Liyie and endorsed the proposal.

Many rounds of discussions were required to reach a final settlement. The levee is to be constructed closer to the You River to ensure the preservation and protection of the entire site. The inner side of the levee base will be about sixteen meters from the No. 1 well. Seven designs for the levee were developed and evaluated, and a design with a 16-meter-deep retaining wall was selected to be built to protect the ancient city.

On 6 September 2002 the Hunan provincial government listed the ancient city site at Liyie as an important provincial cultural heritage site and made a special application to the State Council to list the city as a nationally important site requiring protection. The application was successful, and the ancient city became fifth on the list of nationally protected sites by the State Council on 22 November 2002.

Preservation and Development of the Ancient City Site of Liyie

Tourism plays an important role in China's economic development. Cultural heritage sites are the columns that support the mansion of the tourism industry. The discovery and preservation of ancient Liyie serves as a timely catalyst for the economic development of the region.

There are three ancient city sites buried around the town of Liyie, each associated with a cemetery from that period.

- The site belonging to the Warring States period and the Qin dynasty at Liyie (300 B.C.E.) is located to the east of the town along the left bank of the You river, and its associated Maicha cemetery is located 1 kilometer to the north of the town.
 - The site from the Western Han dynasty at the village of Weijiazhai (200 B.C.E.–100 C.E.) is located at the upper stream of the ancient city of Liyie across the You River in Baojing county, and the associated cemetery, Qingshuiping, is located on a hill to the southeast about 1 kilometer from the village.
 - The site belonging to the Eastern Han dynasty at Daban (100–300 C.E.) is situated 3 kilometers to the southwest of ancient Liyie township on the left bank of the You River. Its associated cemetery is located to the east and north of the city site at Daban.
- According to a preliminary investigation, this cemetery also has some four hundred ancient Ming dynasty graves.

The above sites and their associated cemeteries are unique; they reflect social and political changes over a six-hundred-year period in the valley of the You River. A practical preservation plan and good development of the sites will surely help to promote tourism and the local economy.

The issues concerning the preservation of the city sites at Liyie have drawn much attention from the central and provincial governments. The Hunan provincial government has given high priority to the preservation of the cultural heritage found at the town of Liyie and has put it high on the agenda of provincial social and economic development, with an emphasis on culturally oriented tourism. The local government has undertaken to revise the planning for the township at Liyie in order to promote mountain tourism and alleviate the poverty that has long been a regional issue.

Longshan county government has the responsibility for implementing the preservation and development plans. This includes a special administration set up to take charge of the plan. Regulations and measures concerning the preservation of the ancient city site at Liyie, Longshan county, were issued; relevant authorities have been consulted to work out a practical heritage preservation plan and a master plan for Liyie township, as well as the removal of the Liyie primary school.

Under the pressure of development and use of heritage, preservation efforts directed at the town of Liyie are facing

new and growing challenges. There are two approaches concerning the preservation of heritage: “full usage of the heritage” and “reasonable usage of the heritage.” The former emphasizes the pursuit of profit and views heritage as a commodity. Heritage sites are often under the threat of devastation as a result. The latter insists that the preservation of heritage is the priority and that all tourism development should be based on careful assessment. It is possible to achieve a balance between heritage preservation and economic development. The successful preservation of the heritage at Liyie depends on which approach is adopted. Excavations of the ancient city site at Liyie will continue for research purposes. The dig will be long term and systematic. The results will be on display if preservation requirements can be implemented, so that the general public can learn about its past.

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I wish to thank the Getty Conservation Institute for enabling me to participate in the Fifth World Archaeology Congress.

The Conservation and Presentation of Large-Scale Archaeological Sites in Liaoning, China

Wang Jingchen

Abstract: The prehistoric Niuheliang and Qin dynasty Jiangnushi archaeological sites in Liaoning province have important historic, artistic, and scientific value. They comprise an outstanding combination of social, architectural, and natural scenic elements. Relevant measures have been adopted to protect these cultural heritage sites appropriate to their characteristics and conservation needs. The conservation approach applied to the sites was based on selected, proven technology and materials, integrating chemical conservation, environmental treatment, and archaeological work with exhibition display. Emphasis was placed on conserving the archaeological excavation while also preserving the surroundings. Social, economic, and tourism development needs are met through the exhibition of five thousand years of Chinese civilization revealed at the sites, thereby also raising public awareness of the importance of conserving cultural heritage.

In Liaoning, research has played a significant role in Chinese archaeology. This is not only because the province is located at the crossroads of central China, northeastern China, and the northeastern Asia region, which created a hub for cultural dissemination and exchange, but also because important sites in Liaoning province demonstrate a complete archaeological sequence with clear and unique characteristics. Two such sites are Niuheliang Hongshan Culture (near the city of Chaoyang), a large ceremonial architectural group comprising an altar, a temple, and tombs, and the Emperor Qin's Jieshi palace site located in Suizhong county on Bohai Bay. Respectively, these sites provide proof of a five-thousand-year-old culture and two thousand years of a unified empire.

The size of the Niuheliang and Jiangnushi sites is immense. With their grand scale and contents, they possess

important historic, artistic, and scientific values and represent the outstanding integration of social architecture and natural landscapes. The challenge today is to conserve them and make the best use of their social function.

General Situation of the Sites

The Niuheliang Hongshan Culture Site

This site is located in the west of Liaoning province, at the junction of Lingyuan and Jianping counties. Some twenty Hongshan culture sites have been discovered in the area. In the Niuheliang No. 1 section, with Nushenmiao (the Goddess Temple) at the center, many stone tombs were built along the slope of the surrounding hills, forming a complex of sites about 10 kilometers from east to west and 5 kilometers from south to north, covering a total area of 50 square kilometers. The main structures are the stone tombs, Nushenmiao, and the altar (fig. 1). The significance of the Niuheliang site in terms of human sociology is that it demonstrates a social complexity and religious evolution that existed long before that of other known Chinese prehistoric cultures. Its altar, temple, stone tombs, and excavated artifacts indicate a hierarchical society.

The Jiangnushi Site

The Jiangnushi site is located in the southern coastal area of Suizhong county. It is a large Qin dynasty, ethnic Han architectural complex with a monumental plaza at its center, with Zhi Miao Bay and the Heishantou site on the east and west sides. It covers the subareas of Wazidi, Zhou Jianan Mountain, and Dajinsitun, among others. This large architectural site is well preserved and has been systematically excavated. Histori-

FIGURE 1 Ritual structure at Niuheliang Hongshan culture site, No. 1 section. Photo: Wang Jingchen



cal literature confirms the geographic location, particularly since excavation results established that it possessed the characteristics of an imperial palace. It was most likely the temporary palace for the first Qin emperor when he toured the eastern region.

Conservation of the Relics Sites

To preserve these two precious cultural heritage sites, measures have been adopted that focus simultaneously on excavation and conservation of the sites and their surroundings. The Liaoning Provincial Cultural Relics and Archaeology Research Institute has established field stations at both sites and carries out general management and conservation work. So as to meet socioeconomic and tourism development needs, exhibit five thousand years of civilization and history, and promote public awareness, the intention is to display these two sites while at the same time conserving them. The implications of this have been explored, and a few trial methods have been implemented.

The principles of conservation were to select proven technologies and reliable materials and combine chemical

conservation with environmental treatment while integrating the archaeological and exhibition work. The main components of the Niuheliang site are stone architecture, including soil and mud sculptural remnants, all of which require complex conservation interventions. Although Jiangnushi is a simple earthen material site, so far it has not been possible to provide an effective and comprehensive conservation approach because of the extremely large area it covers.

Rammed Earth Protection

Jiangnushi comprises a large remnant rammed earth structure as its main architectural component (fig. 2). Erosion from rainwater has had a severe impact as the site faces the ocean and is exposed to high humidity and salt. All of these conditions pose challenges for conservation. Consequently, after excavation, the safest conservation method—backfilling the exposed features—was adopted.

At Niuheliang the main threats facing the earthen burial mounds are soil slumping and freeze-thaw deterioration. The Liaoning Provincial Cultural Relics and Archaeology Research Institute is collaborating with the China National Institute for Cultural Property, Beijing University, and the Conservation

FIGURE 2 Archaeological excavations at the Jiangnushi site. Photo: Wang Jingchen



Institute of the Dunhuang Academy to carry out experimental preservation on the No. 2 section of Niuheliang. Comparisons of various protective materials were made through comprehensive on-site and laboratory tests. It was decided to use a non-aqueous-based silicone resin reinforcement (251M) as the penetrating consolidant for the main body and potassium silicate solution with clay as the crack filler.

Stone Conservation

The No. 2 site of Niuheliang was selected for experimental conservation. The approach is to carry out preservation mainly of exposed structures and secondarily to rebury or shelter the more important relics. Portions of the stone tombs have been seriously damaged by natural causes such as temperature fluctuations, freeze-thaw, wind, and rain erosion. Reinforcement of foundations, securing of surface rocks, and stabilization of stone tombs have been done. Through experimentation, an epoxy was chosen as the adhesive for the stone.

Foundations

The stone tombs have completely settled, thus eliminating the need to reinforce large foundation areas, in accordance with common practice and architectural regulations. Furthermore, as archaeological excavation had weakened the foundations of the tombs, they were partially refilled to stabilize them. For

the exposed soil and stone portions, spreading grass species with wide-spreading roots were planted to prevent structural damage due to soil loss from water erosion.

Walls

Environmental tidying up of the stone tomb walls was undertaken to show the outlines of individual tombs. Partially collapsed stone walls were restored based on scientific evidence, and during the restoration, attention was paid to the original structure by replacing the stones in their correct positions.

Reburial

The main tomb and a typical stone tomb were stabilized and restored and the openings covered for protection and display. The rest of the tombs were backfilled for protection.

Earthen Sculpture

The Nushenmiao (or Goddess Temple) has been reburied and a simple protective shelter built over it. The threats faced were that the walls of the pit had lost support through excavation, resulting in instability; and due to freezing, cracks developed in the walls, resulting in surface exfoliation. Mud sculptures were deteriorating for similar reasons. Colored motifs were fading due to exposure to the air, and parts of the low-fired colored motif clay wares were gradually breaking up.

In order to protect the Nushenmiao and its excavated artifacts, there is an urgent need to adopt the following measures for both the archaeological excavation and exhibition:

- Construction of a building for protection, excavation, and exhibition. The building, covering some 500 square meters, would require services such as lighting, temperature, and humidity control.
- Carry out research and testing to solve the adhesive, consolidation, and fading problems of the mud sculpture.

Archaeological Site Display

The principles in this case should include display of the site's overall relationship to its surroundings and the actual artifact locations. The display should make available the academic research results. All displays should be implemented without damage to the site and its surroundings.

Having been designated as an experimental site display project of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, the Jiangnushi site has made much progress. Through consultation with specialists, it was decided that the display should

include a surface outline of the restoration, the current state of conservation, and the status of the restoration in relation to the site's original condition. Due to limitations of protection techniques and research ability, the last phase has not been carried out as yet.

The outline of the site is marked by the use of different kinds of plants to show the different functions of the various architectural structures. The No. 4 section of the southwest corner of Jieshi Palace was chosen for this purpose. The surface was marked out with grasses, surrounded by cypress trees and short Dutch chrysanthemum plants to represent the width of the wall base. There are two gaps left at the southern and northern main gates; the central lane is covered with nonoriginal red sand. Three different types of plantings are used to represent different types of relics. This approach protects the site and its surroundings while maintaining its cultural ambience (fig. 3).

With support from the State Administration of Cultural Heritage a 1:1 representation of the Heishantou site (part of Jiangnushi) was made in order to display the outline of the original foundations. The result, after evaluation, has been quite satisfactory (fig. 4).

FIGURE 3 Using the marking method to restore the outline of the No. 4 section of Jieshi Palace. Photo: Wang Jingchen



FIGURE 4 The recovery of the Heishantou site. Photo: Wang Jingchen



Conclusion

Protection of large-scale archaeological sites is an extremely complicated and systematic engineering process that requires iterative reasoning and technical experiments, large capital input, and proven technology. However, current ability lags behind these ambitions. Therefore, international support and assistance is requested from foundations and specialists in heritage conservation.

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