PROTECTING THE PROTECTED:
WORLD HERITAGE SITES AND COLLECTIONS;
DEFINING, RECOGNISING AND PROTECTING
OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE IN ITS ENTIRETY

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Leicester

by

Samantha Fabry

School of Museum Studies

University of Leicester

February

2020

Abstract

Protecting the protected: World Heritage Sites and collections; defining, recognising and protecting Outstanding Universal Value in its entirety

Samantha Fabry

World Heritage protection has been subject to social influences and therefore displays differences in philosophical thought and variations in perspectives which have been built over many decades. The way that we perceive the world and create value around immoveable and moveable cultural heritage is largely socially constructed and as a result is manifested through the policies and laws which have been written to protect cultural heritage.

This research sets out to question whether material culture of national significance should be recognised and protected through the *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (*or 1972 Convention*) in conjunction with a World Heritage Site or museum. Drawing on memory studies and the role of built structures and moveable material culture in the formation of our individual and collective memory, the research builds the case for a review of the *1972 Convention* towards the protection of objects and collections deemed as having national and international significance. Through including highly significant objects in a site's nomination application for World Heritage Listing, they will be documented and protected under the *1972 Convention* against environmental and manmade threats and disasters.

The research has been supported through three World Heritage museums as case studies. Each museum encompasses an archaeological collection that marks significant periods in history and are nationally and internationally recognised. These include: The Hyde Park Barracks - Sydney, Australia, The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum - Paola, Malta and Vindolanda – Hadrian's Wall - Northumberland, Great Britain.

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of Figures

Figure 1: The design of the 3EF breaks down the processes needed to include material culture with universal value with the site which is being nominated for World Heritage Listing. (Designed by S. Fabry 2018)

Figure 2: Hitler inspecting an object with Nazi colleagues to be considered for the Fűhrermuseum (or the Leader's museum). The Nazi Cultural Policy would encourage the removal of such items by the Third Reich from private and public collections.

Figure 3: 'Prisoners' Barracks, Hyde Park' by Robert Russell, 1836. Note St. James's Church can also be observed in this image which was also designed by Francis Greenway, architect to the HPB.

Figure 4: HPB Floor Plan 1819-1848.

Figure 5: The entrance into the Hyde Park Barrack, maintains a permanent display. The artefacts in the glass class are from the buildings archaeological collection highlighting some of the 50 occupants of this site.

Figure 6: Exposed fireplace in the interpretation room in which layers of the building fabric is used to show the uses of this space since 1819 to the late 1970s. Over the years, the fireplace was reduced in size as the use of the room was adapted.

Figure 7: Students dress in mock-up convict shirts and assess a model of a treadmill an interactive screen assists to explain the processes used. Convict Sydney exhibition.

Figure 8: Panoramic painting created by artist Wayne Haag for the exhibition Convict Sydney. This image takes up a complete wall in this display area and highlights the processes which convicts went through to get to Australia during the early part of the 19th century.

Figure 9: On the second floor of the HPB displays highlight the artefacts found during the archaeological investigations during the 1981-1984 dig. This display reveals some of the pieces of fabric which were found in the many rats' nests beneath the floorboards both on the second and third floor.

Figure 10: Many of the artefacts found in the HPB were discovered in rat nests which had been made beneath the floorboards on the second and third floor. This section of flooring is used to show how these rats lived and the types of objects which were found in their nests.

Figure 11: Display cases in the HPB are used to exhibit the archaeological collection and often are mixed with contemporary pieces or props. The themes of these displays often alter between the Immigration of Female Depot period.

Figure 12: Designed with minimal physical interpretation, this room contains a soundscape which is set off upon entering this space. Personal stories and accounts of

those convicts which were once held in the HPB are presented by professional actors who take on these characters

Figure 13: In this room on the on the third floor of the HPB cut outs set against the windows give a feeling of isolation. Convict personal stories are written on each figure.

Figure 14: Designed with minimal physical interpretation, this room contains a soundscape which is set off upon entering this space. Personal stories and accounts of those convicts which were once held in the HPB are presented by professional actors who take on these characters

Figure 15: Malta consist of three main Islands. It is the largest of the three major islands that constitute the Maltese archipelago.

Figure 16: Paola was to become a central location for workers who were commuting from the Ports, Grand Habour and Bakery in Birgu.

Figure 17: The subterranean temple site Ħal-Salfieni Hypogeum was nominated for the WHL in 1980 and was nominated against Criteria III.

Figure 18: The Sleeping Lady as photographed by Dr. Zammit in his report The Small Objects and the Human Skulls found in the prehistoric Hypogeum at Casal Paula, Malta.

Figure 19: These female figures are possibly deities. Made from limestone they have been excavated from various temple sites on the Maltese Islands. The figure retrieved from the ĦSH is situated in the display case on the RHS.

Figure 20: Some of the artefacts retrieved from the ĦSH which today are displayed in the NMA in Valletta.

Figure 21: Some of the objects retrieved from the Megalithic temples on Malta which today are displays in the National Museum of Archaeology in Valletta. (Image courtesy of National Museum of Archaeology.

Figure 22: Image showing both the point of entrance into the hypogeum and the above ground ĦSH IC prior to 2016.

Figure 23: One of the skulls found at the ĦSH. Image kindly provided by Head Curator Ms. Sharon Sultana NMA.

Figure 24: This skull highlights the elongated shape of the one of the skulls from at the ĦSH. Image kindly provided by Head Curator Ms. Sharon Sultana, NMA.

Figure 25: Hadrian's Wall was the first section of the defence to be nominated in 1987.

Figure 26: Aerial view of the garrison fort at Vindolanda was designed to guard the central section of the Stanegate, a road connecting Corbridge and Carlisle.

Figure 27: Entrance reception area in West Gate building. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 28: Under covered walkway directing visitors from West Gate building to introduction orientation area. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 29: The Vindolanda site-museum guides the visitor across the partially excavated landscape via a footpath which weaves between the remains of roman buildings. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 10: External signs assist the visitor gain a deeper understanding of the site. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 31: A selection of footwear from the collection of approximately 6000 shoes which date from the Roman period are on display at the Chesterholm Museum at Vindolanda. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 32: An infant's shoe showing delicate leather work. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 33: This skull is believed to have been from a Scottish male and was placed on a pole near the fort to reinforce the Roman Armies power at Vindolanda. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 34: This Horse's Chamfron highlights with inserted bronze fittings reveals the decorative detailing which went into this ceremonial face mask. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 35: This fragment dates to nearly two thousand years ago yet it reveals the highly controlled handwriting which was used. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 36: This display shows a writing tablet and stylus. A thin layer of wax would be placed in the wooden tablet and then the nib of the pen would be used to write into it. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 37: The design of the 3EF has been based upon the atom, as each section of the framework overlaps to strengthen the bonds between the object, the nominated site and their ability to work together so as to create a stronger link in an effort to develop collective memory. (Designed by S. Fabry 2018).

List of abbreviations

UNESCO – United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
IMO – International Museum Office.
WHS – World Heritage Site.
WHL – World Heritage List.
Lieber Code – Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field, General Order № 100.
The Roerich Pact – The Treaty on the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments.
1899 Hague Convention- (II) Convention with respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land.
1907 Hague Convention-(IV) Convention respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land.
1954 Convention – 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.
1970 Convention - 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the illicit, Import, Export and transfer of Ownership of cultural property.
1972 Convention/ 1972 World Heritage Convention –1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.
OG – Operational Guidelines.
OUV – Outstanding Universal Value.
HPB – Hyde Park Barracks.
HPBMP – Hyde Park Barracks Management Plan.
IP – Interpretation Plan.
ĦSH – Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum.
ĦSHMP - Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum Management Plan.
NMA – National Museum of Archaeology.
LN - League of Nations.
ICOM – International Council of Museums.
IUCN - International Union for the Conservation of Nature.
ICCROM- International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property.
ICOMOS - International Council of Monuments and Sites.
HWHL - Hadrian's Wall Heritage Limited.
FMP - Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site Hadrian's Wall Management Plan 2008-2014.
FRE – Frontiers of the Roman Empire.
FIF - Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework Overview and Summary.
UN – United Nations.

Introduction

Introduction

> Notre-Dame de Paris is our place, it is our history, our literature, our imagination, the place where we have lived all our great moments […]. It is in so many books and paintings […] Even for those who have never been there, this is our story.[1]
>
> French President Emmanuel Macron

People, buildings and objects are intimately connected. We connect to the physical world around us by listening to the stories told about the places we inhabit. Sometimes these stories are local, shared by just a few people and sometimes they are national, informing our thoughts and feelings about the world in which we live. We build our understanding of the world and our social relationships in and through space. The outcome of human interaction and creativity, our physical world – built and moveable – both solidifies and produces social frameworks and human interaction. As such, our physical world is bound up in our lives and in our memories.[2] Buildings, landscapes and objects contribute to the formation of collective memories as well as the establishment of values; they shape who we are, are embroiled in our lives and act as markers in our memory. This is further reinforced when an event is celebrated, re-enacted or experienced either at a significant building or landscape and when an important object is also used as part of this event. It is during this process, that collective memories[3] and values are formed and become "bound up in notions of belonging (or not belonging), ownership and consequently identity."[4]

This form of deep emotional attachment to a site and its collection was witnessed on the 16th April 2019 during Holy Week celebrations. The French nation and the rest of the world watched in horror as Notre Dame de Paris cathedral was engulfed by flames. Much of the main bell tower and vaulted wooden ceiling with timbers dating from over 850 years ago were lost. The news of the fire not only shocked the people of Paris but also the entire nation who watched in disbelief as this iconic and holy site lit up the night sky.

---

[1] Anne Gombault, *Notre-Dame de Paris: from searing emotion to the future rebirth of a world heritage site,* 2019 < https://theconversation.com/notre-dame-de-paris-from-searing-emotion-to-the-future-rebirth-of-a-world-heritage-site-115612> [accessed 17 May 2019]

[2] Can Bilsel, 'Architecture and the social frameworks of memory: a postscript to Maurice Halbwachs' "collective memory", *International Journal of Architecture and Planning,* 5, no. 1, (2017), pp. 1-9. < http://dx.doi.org/10.15320/ICONARP.2017.14>

[3] Ibid.

[4] Sara McDowell, 'Heritage, memory and identity' in Brian J. Graham and Peter Howard (eds), *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 37-53 (p. 38). < http://www.campusincamps.ps/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/McDowell-Heritage-08.pdf>

Within hours of this disaster, world leaders, leading heritage and religious authorities and the people of Paris had pledged financial assistance and support to rebuild the cathedral. In less than a week, hundreds of millions of US dollars were raised in aid of restoration efforts.[5] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Director General, Audrey Azoulay stated:

> We are all heartbroken, […] Notre Dame represents a historically, architecturally, and spiritually, outstanding universal heritage. It is also a monument of literary heritage, a place that is unique in our collective imagination. Heritage of the French but also of humanity as a whole. This drama reminds us of the power of heritage that connects us to one another.[6]

The significance of this site – included on the World Heritage List as part of the Banks of Seine nomination in 1991 – and the relics it held, was highlighted by Pope Francis who recognised the importance of Notre Dame in the collective memory of the people of Paris. Pope Francis stated in a letter written to the Archbishop of Paris H.E. Msgr., Michel Aupetit:

> This disaster has seriously damaged a historic building. But I am aware that it has also affected a national symbol dear to the hearts of Parisians and French in the diversity of their beliefs. For Notre-Dame is the architectural jewel of a collective memory, the gathering place for many major events, the witness of the faith and prayer of Catholics in the city.[7]

Fortunately for Paris and the rest of the world, sections of the cathedral were saved due to the quick response of approximately 500 firefighters who fought to save the two main rectangular bell towers, carved statues and the ornate, centuries old stained glass windows.[8] Many of the cathedral's valued art and religious relics had been removed in for maintenance work, which was being undertaken on the church.[9] Parisian officials,

5   Bridget Brennan, *Notre Dame repairs see Paris split over whether to redesign or replicate cathedral spire and ceiling,* 2019 < https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-21/notre-dame-paris-cathedral-rebuild-controversy/11033824> [accessed 10 May 2019].

6   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], *Fire at Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris: UNESCO stands by France to safeguard and rehabilitate this historic heritage of outstanding universal value,* 2019 < https://en.unesco.org/news/fire-notre-dame-cathedral-paris-unesco-stands-france-safeguard-and-rehabilitate-historic> [accessed 12 June 2019].

7   Holy See Press Office, *Message of His Holiness Pope Francis to the Archbishop of Paris, France, for the fire in the Cathedral of Notre Dame,* 2019 < http://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2019/04/16/190416c.html> [accessed 16 June 2019].

8   The Sydney Morning Herald, *Crews assess damage at Notre Dame as investigation begins,* 2019 < https://www.smh.com.au/world/europe/notre-dame-fire-crews-assess-damage-as-investigation-begins-20190417-p51eun.html> [accessed 20 April 2019].

9   Anny Shaw, *Precious works rescued from Notre Dame to be transferred to the Louvre,* 2019 < https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/louvre-plans-to-take-precious-works-rescued-from-notre-

church caretakers and the chaplain of the Paris Fire Brigade Department, Reverend Jean-Marc Fournier formed a human chain and worked tirelessly taking out objects to safety. This was to include the Holy Crown of Thorns, the 13th century tunic of Saint Louis King of France, a nail believed to have been used during the crucifixion of Christ and a fragment of the cross.[10,] Although these significant objects have been successfully moved to the Louvre for safekeeping and conservation, other artefacts such as the cathedral's organ which maintains 8,000 pipes have sustained damage.[11] "Four large-scale 17th- and 18th- century paintings depicting the apostles were at least partly damage [plus a] separate fragment of the Crown of Thorns, along with relics of two saints, are known to have been destroyed."[12] It is still unclear if other significant religious and historical objects were removed from the cathedral and taken to safety. This includes "the twelfth-century gold cross of the Emperor Manuel Commenus […] the relic of the True Cross sent to Galon, Bishop of Paris,… the coronation mantle of Napoleon I., […] the magnificent silver image of the Virgin and Child, given by Charles X (1821)"[13] and many other significant objects.[14]

The damage caused by the fire at Notre Dame de Paris cathedral not only spurred experts to question the overall protection of World Heritage buildings against natural and manmade disasters but also to focus on their important collections. Although it remains

---

dame?utm_source=daily_april16_2019&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=email_daily> [accessed 18 April 2019].

[10] The New Daily, *Human chain rescues priceless artefacts from burning Notre Dame de Paris cathedral,* 2019 < https://thenewdaily.com.au/news/world/2019/04/17/notre-dame-cathedral-human-chain/> [accessed 12 June 2019].
The Crown of Thorns believed to be worn by Jesus Christ during his crucifixion. The Crown of Thorns was brought to Paris by French King Louis IX in 1238. The Catholic Church believes it is a relic of the wreath of thorns placed on the head of Jesus Christ. Both objects along with others were taken away to the Paris Hotel De Ville and the Louvre Museum for care and protection and although these objects were to survive, others were lost through the fire. This included relics such as fragments from Saint Genevieve (who is the Patron Saint of Paris) and Saint Denis, which were installed in 1935 in the 19th-century spire, that unfortunately collapsed at the height of the blaze.

[11] Brigit Katz, *What happened to Notre-Dame's precious art and artifacts?,* 2019 < https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/what-happened-notre-dames-precious-art-and-artifacts-180971977/> [accessed 14 June 2019].

[12] Ibid.

[13] Frank Field, 'Famous foreign cathedrals', in [n. ed.], *The English illustrated magazine,* volume xxxviii: October 1907 to March 1908 (London: The Central Publishing Company, 1908), pp. 27-28. < https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015056059929&view=1up&seq=7> [accessed 21 September 2019].

[14] Alexander V. Maiorov, 'The Emperor Manuel's Cross in Notre Dame: on its origin and path,' *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies,* 57, no. 3, (2017), pp. 771–791. <https://www.academia.edu/33256173/The_Emperor_Manuel_s_Cross_in_Notre_Dame_On_its_Origin_and_Path_in_Greek_Roman_and_Byzantine_Studies_2017_vol._57_no._3_pp._771-791> [accessed 5 February 2018].

unclear whether the fire started as a result of an electrical short circuit or from a dropped cigarette butt, concerns over the condition of the cathedral had been regularly highlighted by those working on the building.[15] In 2013, workers who were hired to install lightning rods in various sections of the roof were shocked to see the "gaping holes and cracks."[16] Having complained about the condition of the roof and the need for professionals to undertake this project, the contractors quit in frustration. This was not the first time that the condition of the cathedral had come under investigation as centuries of deterioration and the lack of maintenance became more evident. Even though the cathedral relied on a number of financial supporters (including The Friends of Notre Dame and a group of national and American benefactors), it was hoped that further funds would be provided through the French ministry.[17] However, due to the falling numbers in church attendance, the French government, which is responsible for maintaining over 100 gothic religious sites, has been increasingly burdened with rising repair costs.[18] Since this blaze, written reports have indicated that Notre Dame de Paris cathedral is vulnerable and unstable and requires immediate reinforcing – it could collapse if winds exceed 90km per hour.[19] Another document has revealed that an alarmingly high level of lead has been released into the atmosphere after approximately 300 tonnes was melted from the wooden roof framework.[20] This high level of lead content prompted the French government and Parisian people to spend the summer frantically cleaning up the dust which resulted from the fire.[21]

---

[15] Adam Nossiter, *Notre-Dame fire investigators focus on short-circuit and cigarettes,* 2019 < https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/25/world/europe/notre-dame-fire-investigation.html?searchResultPosition=4> [accessed 5 June 2019].

[16] Valentina Pop, Drew Hinshaw and Nick Kostov, *Decades of neglect threatened Notre Dame well before it burned: its flying buttresses were weakening, and the spire was rotting from the inside out,* 2019 < https://web.archive.org/web/20190418234833/https://www.wsj.com/articles/decades-of-neglect-threatened-notre-dame-well-before-it-burned-11555624252> [accessed 6 June 2019].

[17] Ibid. In 1905, a French Law was passed which transferred the ownership of the cathedrals built before to government property.

[18] Ibid. In an effort to gain instant financial support, it had been suggested that the cathedral charge an entrance fee to tourists. Other gothic cathedrals had taken this approach in France in an attempt to collect funds for repair work. However, Monsignor Patrick Chauvet, (rector of Notre Dame) went against this proposal, fearful that it may convert a place of worship into another commercial tourist attraction. In addition to this, the clergy have always wanted to keep the cathedral free for all those visiting this World Heritage Site.

[19] Francesco Bandarin, *Notre Dame unstable: the current approach to its restoration fails to take account of the interconnected structural engineering of Gothic architecture,* 2019 < https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/notre-dame-is-unstable> [accessed 27 May 2019].

[20] Phys-Org, *Officials warn of lead pollution risks after Notre-Dame blaze,* 2019 < https://phys.org/pdf476603172.pdf> [accessed 10 June 2019].

[21] Nicole Gelinas, *Notre Dame's reconstruction already stalled,* 2019 < https://nypost.com/2019/08/11/notre-dames-reconstruction-has-already-stalled/ [accessed 15 August

Even though the UNESCO World Heritage Centre continues to work closely with multiple State Parties to the *1972 Convention*, they are aware that many World Heritage Sites do not have established policies, plans or emergency procedures set in place for reducing potential disasters.[22] The International Council of Museums (ICOM) also recognised the lack of policy development in museums towards disaster management. ICOM emphasized this need directly after the devastating fire at the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil in September 2018. This was shortly followed by the *Statement on Protection of Museum Infrastructure* produced through ICOMs' International Committee for University Museums and Collections in an effort to highlight the need for greater safety measures in museums.[23] The committee believed there was an urgent need to make cultural property protection a global priority and called on leaders to take on the responsibilities to protect the museums and collections which they maintain. [24] The committee suggests that in order to do this, a digital database should be kept and stored on "several offsite servers."[25] Through this process "at least some records of the accumulated knowledge and a record of the destroyed collection" will be preserved.[26] Although the *Statement on Protection of Museum Infrastructure* was established before the Notre Dame de Paris cathedral disaster, it has reinforced the importance and urgency of documenting collections at sites that are "custodians of the world's artistic, cultural, and scientific heritage."[27] The French parliament was also swift to respond by passing a law, 95 days after this disaster, aimed to guide the restoration of this site. The law directs how the restoration works should be undertaken to "preserve the historic, artistic and

---

2019]. It has been estimated that the amount of lead which was released into the atmosphere was four times the amount than what France emits in a year.

[22] UNESCO*, Reducing disaster risk at world heritage properties,* [n.d.].
< https://whc.unesco.org/en/disaster-risk-reduction/> [accessed 17 June 2019].
The UNESCO World Heritage Committee had also approved the Strategy for *reducing risks from disasters at world heritage properties* at its 31st Session in 2007 and was structured around five key objectives.

[23] International Council of Museums [ICOM], *ICOM calls for increased public investment in cultural property protection following Notre Dame fire,* 2019 (
< https://icom.museum/en/news/icom-calls-for-increased-public-investment-in-cultural-property-protection-following-notre-dame-fire/> [accessed 12 June 2019].

[24] University Museums and Collections [UMAC], *UMAC (ICOM) statement on protection of museum infrastructure*, 2018 < http://umac.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/UMAC-Statement-on-Museum-Infrastructure.pdf> [accessed 20 April 2019].

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

architectural interest of the monument."[28] Any restoration works undertaken at the site should also closely follow the principles set out in the *1972 World Heritage Convention* and other leading local and national policies which are directed to the protection of cultural heritage.[29] To further emphasise the importance of this new law and how important this site is to the nation, it will be the French President Emmanuel Macron, who will directly control the restoration efforts.[30]

The national and global support which the Notre Dame de Paris cathedral has received validates its significance as a Christian landmark and reference point in the history of humankind.[31] Not only has the cathedral acted as a site through which religious social frameworks have been developed over hundreds of years as part of the catholic doctrine, but it has also become a site of collective memory. [32] However it took the near destruction of the cathedral for many to understand "how much—to the French mind—the cathedral embodied the nation."[33] As Sorman writes:

> It took Notre-Dame's near-destruction for the cathedral to reveal itself as a national symbol [...]The cathedral belongs to French citizens' symbolic heritage; it contributes to their identity and rootedness. The risk of losing this masterpiece reminded the French of its irreplaceable cultural importance. [34]

The outpouring of grief for Notre Dame manifested in a whole variety of ways. Crowds sang together on the streets of Paris and, online, a vast number of people shared their horror at the unfolding events. Whilst the fire still raged, Chole Demrovsky, senior contributor to the online *Forbes American Business Magazine* wrote:

---

[28] Francesco Bandarin, *Cathedral of Notre Dame: new law regarding Notre Dame says restoration must preserve its 'historic, artistic and architectural interest*, 2019 < https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/cathedral-notre-dame-new-law-regarding-says-must-its-bandarin?trk=d_public_post_promoted_post> [accessed 10 August 2019].

[29] Ibid. Restoration and structural repair works carried out on the Notre Dame de Paris cathedral will also need to follow other ICOMOS Charters such as the 1964 Charter of Venice.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Pierre Nora, 'Between memory and history: les lieux de mémoire', *Representations Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory,* no. 26, (1989), pp. 7-24. < https://eclass.uoa.gr/modules/document/file.php/ARCH230/PierreNora.pdf > [12 November 2014]

[32] Maurice Halbwachs, *The collective memory,* Francis J. Ditter (trans.) (New York: Harper & Row, 1950), pp. 128-157. < http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/hawlbachsspace.pdf> 20 November 2016]

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

> I feel a deeply personal sense of loss for the cathedral having walked past it nearly every day when I studied abroad in Paris and visited many times since then including on my honeymoon […] The fallen spire has surely pierced the hearts of a nation as well as my own.[35]

Taylor Bennett, a staff writer at Thriveworks and who also contributes to a blog through *Counselling News magazine* has gone further to explore how these memories of Notre Dame de Paris cathedral impact on people both "physically and psychologically" and how this disaster could result in people suffering from depression.[36] Bennett writes:

> The bottom line is that grief can be triggered by the loss of anything that is important. As more information is released and people begin to process the destruction of the Notre Dame Cathedral, many—such as those who belong to the Catholic church or those who have other emotional ties to the cathedral—may experience…symptoms of grief […] In the wake of a tough loss, we might need to take a break from work, school, or any kind of social event in order to process all of our emotions—as tough losses often shake our identity and can cause us to question the world as we know it.[37]

Bennett draws attention to the feelings of permanence and stability that sites of universal historical significance generate and the uncertainty and deep emotion that their loss can bring about. As Molly Roberts, editorial writer for *The Washington Post,* writes, "The idea that we are connected to those before and after us by the structures that survive us all acts as an anchor when life surges by too fast."[38] In a similar vein to Bennett, she also suggests that people can speak more freely on an emotional level about the destruction of Notre Dame de Paris cathedral than they might about other aspects of their lives. This is because it represents over 850 years of national and international Christian history and identity and because of this the "building is simpler to transform into a symbol than people".[39] Roberts' comments reveal how the tangibility of a building can become embroiled in the collective memories of a group.

The global conscience stirred through this event has also triggered reflection on moveable heritage amongst agencies entrusted with heritage conservation internationally and

---

[35] Chloe Demrovsky, *Notre Dame in flames: protecting our cultural treasures,* 2019 < https://www.forbes.com/sites/chloedemrovsky/2019/04/15/notre-dame-in-flames-protecting-our-cultural-treasures/#26650dda5f10> [accessed 17 May 2019].

[36] Taylor Bennett, *Processing grief and loss in the wake of destruction at the Notre Dame Cathedral*, 2019 < https://thriveworks.com/blogprocessing-grief-and-loss-notre-dame/> [accessed 10 May 2019].

[37] Ibid.

[38] Molly Roberts, *Why did the world stop for Notre Dame?* Opinions, 2019 < https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/04/17/why-did-world-stop-notre-dame/> [accessed 10 May 2019].

[39] Taylor Bennett, *Processing grief and loss*.

reinforced the need to develop policies which can prevent such disasters from occurring.[40] Agencies such the ICOM, the International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works (IIC), French body of the IIC freely offer their support and assistance when needed.[41] However, ICOM has recognised that there is a greater global need to protect moveable cultural heritage due to a lack of policy development to protect related objects and collections from such events. [42] This lack of policy development could be observed eight months earlier at the Brazil's National Museum. Situated in the form Imperial place of São Cristóvão and maintaining the oldest scientific collection with a total of 20 million objects, both the palace and the collection would be destroyed by fire. It is estimated that 90%[43] of the museum's collection was lost, including the Imperial palace which was also completed gutted. [44] Although the museum was not officially listed as a World Heritage Site, its loss would be seen by many as a preventable "crime against work heritage" as it could have been avoided if funds had not been cut. [45]

The fire at Notre Dame cathedral has further demonstrated the urgent action needed to make cultural property protection a global priority. ICOM has endevoured to highlight this urgency to policy makers worldwide, especially with a focus on "to care for museums, to allocate adequate funding and to develop policies that will allow cultural institutions to carry out their role in society."[46] ICOM in its efforts to protect museums and their collections stated that it is prepared to readily "collaborate with governments and our partner organisations, ICOMOS, ICCROM and UNESCO, to work together relentlessly to ensure adequate protection for the world's cultural heritage."[47] This need

[40] ICOM, *ICOM calls for increased public investment in cultural property protection following Notre Dame fire,* 2019 < https://icom.museum/en/news/icom-calls-for-increased-public-investment-in-cultural-property-protection-following-notre-dame-fire/> [accessed 12 June 2019].

[41] Kate Smith, *International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works [IIC]: statement about the fire at Notre Dame, 2019* < https://www.iiconservation.org/content/iic-statement-about-fire-notre-dame> [accessed 10 June 2019].

[42] ICOM, *ICOM calls for increased public investment*.

[43] Dom Phillips, *Brazil National Museum: as much as 90% of collection destroyed in fire,* 2018 < https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/04/brazil-national-museum-fire-collection-destroyed-not-insured> [accessed 10 March 2019].

[44] Tim Whewell and Jéssica Cruz, *Brazil National Museum fire: 'little surprises' salvaged from the ashes.* (11 May 2019) < https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48023691 > [accessed 15 May 2019].

[45] Alexander Morrison, *A crime against world heritage: experts mourn Brazil's National Museum,* 2018 < https://www.sothebys.com/en/articles/a-crime-against-world-heritage-experts-mourn-brazils-national-museum > [accessed 10 May 2019]. The significance of the National Museum of Brazil's collection was that the collection had provenance and had the biggest scientific library in Brazil, covering all topics, but in particular anthropology, archaeology and history.

[46] ICOM, *ICOM calls for increased public investment*.

[47] Ibid.

to protect material cultural also includes objects that are also located in buildings or museums considered to have Outstanding Universal Value such as those objects which were lost at the National Museum of Brazil.

Yet, because Notre Dame de Paris is included as part of a World Heritage City, only the building is protected under the *1972 Convention*, whilst the material culture in the cathedral is not. The *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*[48] and its supporting *Operational Guidelines* have been globally accepted. However, both fail to recognise the importance of moveable material culture and how heritage contributes to reinforcing national collective memory and the social frameworks and values which they maintain. This lack of protection towards moveable heritage is also evident in the supporting *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* which supports the enactment of the *1972 Convention*. As a result, collections which are considered highly significant for their social, cultural and national values may be placed at risk.

It remains unclear why this internationally recognised and respected *Convention* has not been adapted to recognise and include moveable heritage, especially as the World Heritage List continues to grow. The lack of recognition of material culture and significant collections under the *Convention* directly influences how World Heritage management plans and policies are created and implemented. Due to this, there is often a lack of understanding by staff of the historical importance of moveable heritage in museums held at World Heritage Sites. The negative impact of these gaps at an international level can at times also be observed at a local, state and national level. The fire at Notre Dame cathedral has highlighted the need for the *1972 Convention* to be revised by UNESCO, the World Heritage Committee and its supporting bodies so that significant collections may be acknowledged through the same governing framework which protects World Heritage Sites.

Scope of the research
This research sets out to question whether material culture of national significance should be recognised and protected through the *1972 World Heritage Convention* in conjunction

---

[48] The *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* is also recognised as the *World Heritage Convention*, the *1972 Convention* or just simply the *Convention*.

with the World Heritage Site it resides in. Drawing on memory studies and the role of built structures and moveable material culture in the formation of our individual and collective memory, the research builds the case for a significant revision of the *1972 World Heritage Convention* towards the protection of significant objects and collections. The research goes on to explore how such collections could be included as part of a site's World Heritage Listing nomination process if those collections were deemed as maintaining universal value. The research has been progressed through three case studies. Each case study is listed as a World Heritage Site which also includes significant archaeological collections that highlight a specific time in their past in which they operated as either a working convicts barracks and law courts, burial site, and roman military post. A key innovation of the research has been the development of the Three Element Framework (3EF). Located firmly within contemporary heritage protection and conservation practice, the 3EF provides a simple model which identifies the specific actions that might be taken towards this end.

Motivation, timeliness and significance

The motivation behind this research came through my professional work. As part of my career I have been fortunate to work on various historic buildings that date from the Knights of the Order of St. John situated in the World Heritage City of Valletta, Malta. Between 2003 and 2011, I developed various Conservation Management Plans aimed at the adaptive re-use of some of the most significant buildings in Valletta. Working with architects, conservation architects, government and private owners as well as the Malta and Environmental Planning Authority, many of our discussions focused around the fact that these buildings were located inside a World Heritage city. These experiences had a huge impact on my thinking. For example, one site I worked on which emphasised the invisible links between heritage and the people of Malta, was a building owned and operated by *The Times of Malta* newspaper. Originally dating from the late 18th century, the building had been used as an office by the Knights of the Order, as a restaurant (the *Canberra)*, as emergency housing during and after WWII and, in more recent times, as the typing room and archives for *The Times of Malta Newspaper*. In 2010, the site was earmarked to be adaptively re-used and whilst writing a Conservation Management Plan for this site, I was privileged to interview the last tenant of the property. The tenant, who had lived on site with her three sons since the mid-1940s, was in her late eighties and was able to explain in great detail her memories of the building and its many uses. She

revealed to me how the building was used during WWII for housing: many families had been forced to relocate to the site even though it had been directly hit by German and Italian fighters. She was also able to recollect and explain in detail the sounds and smells emanating from the restaurant, positioned on the ground floor and basement. Physical evidence at the site confirmed her recollections. She recounted personal stories of living in a small section of the building with her three sons, including how all pretended to be priests as children and how they used parts of the home to practice mass. I was very aware that this lady was the only remaining tenant who could explain how the building was used and occupied from the 1940s. Whilst recognising the importance of recording the tenant's memories of this building, I also sensed there was an urgent need to protect objects at the increasing number of sites undergoing redevelopment. As time progressed, it was evident that the combinations of objects, building and memories present in these places were being lost as 17th century buildings which were bombed during WWII were quickly being adapted, rebuilt and reused by foreign wealthy investors and government departments.

Beyond my personal interests and professional motivations to undertake the research, it quickly became apparent that there are significant gaps in research in this field. Much has been written on the *1972 World Heritage Convention* since it was officially introduced by UNESCO nearly fifty years ago. The Convention's global success has resulted in it being widely known as the "flagship" of UNESCO's programmes, because of its globally recognised support towards setting the standard for the protection of cultural heritage at an international level. The success of this legislation has also exerted pressure on governments globally to mitigate conflictual development proposals that have occurred around built heritage and natural landscapes throughout the world. However, over the past decade, articles have been written which question the depth of protection that the *Convention* provides. Many of these articles question the flexibility of the *1972 Convention* and its ability to adapt to global environmental issues. The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) states that the *1972 Convention* is "at a crossroads, and warnings of serious departure from its original objectives from many sources, including the most senior levels of UNESCO, seem, so far, to have gone unheeded."[49] The World Heritage Committee also stressed their concern of the

---

[49] International Union for Conservation of Nature [IUCN], *A future for world heritage: challenges and responses to assure the credibility of the World Heritage Convention International Union for Conservation of Nature*, 2012

management and impact of climate change on World Heritage Sites at its 29th session. The Committee stated "that the impacts of Climate Change are affecting many and are likely to affect many more World Heritage properties, both natural and cultural in the years to come."[50] Other published material focuses on the need to expand the guiding principles which the *1972 Convention* has established in an effort to be more inclusive of national cultural heritage situated inside countries experiencing conflict and war. Unfortunately, scarcely any research has been completed on significant and internationally recognised material culture and how these can be protected and further recognised under this convention.

Although ICOM recognises the need for inclusion of moveable heritage in this Convention, no formal research appears to exist which specifically explores the need for collections to be protected at World Heritage Sites or discusses what that protection might look like. The need for greater collaboration between UNESCO and World Heritage areas which maintain museum collections was highlighted in 2013 during a brief conversation I had with France Desmarais who at this time held the position of Director of Programmes and Development at ICOM. During this dialogue, Desmarais not only highlighted that museums play an important role in demonstrating the outstanding universal value of a World Heritage Site, but they also contribute to the interpretation of a site and provide protection for moveable heritage. Desmarais also mentioned that museums which abide by a strict 'Code of Ethics', remain key to protecting the moveable heritage on site and that ICOM has been pushing these ideas forward. This was stressed when, during a World Heritage Convention meeting held in Paris in 2011, a brochure, which aimed to give greater recognition and awareness of collections at World Heritage Sites, was presented to all delegates by ICOM. Rather than accepting these concerns however, there was a level of resistance by Member States and UNESCO. Desmarais nevertheless believed that the concept of greater recognition of such collections at a World Heritage level should be pushed forward even if there is only a small chance that the *1972 Convention* would be altered or modified to include moveable heritage.[51] In the same year as my conversation

---

<https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/content/documents/a_future_for_world_heritage_iucn_non_paper_september_2012.pdf> [accessed 5 June 2013].

[50] UNESCO, *The impacts of climate change on world heritage properties* (WHC-06/30.COM/7.1) (Paris: UNESCO,[n.d.]), p. 1.
< https://www.uncclearn.org/sites/default/files/inventory/unesco32.pdf> [accessed 12 June 2013].

[51] Frances Desmarais, ICOM Director of Programmes and Development, personal discussion with author, 30 October 2013.

with Desmarais, I was also fortunate to speak with Hanna Pennock about my proposed thesis topic. Pennock, who was at this time Director General of ICOM, reiterated the need for my research and ICOM's desire to become more directly involved with collections held at World Heritage Sites.[52]

This topic was also discussed by ICOM Italy in 2015 during the "Museums and World Cultural Heritage" conference in Catania where part of the conference was reserved to discuss the relationships between museums and World Heritage Sites.[53] In particular the conference asked how "the models and forms of [the museums'] management can take a leading role in the safeguarding, interpretation and communication of cultural heritage as a whole" as well as under "what conditions museums can play an active function within the sites and participate in their interpretation and communication".[54] Members of ICOM hoped that from these discussions a Charter would be established which would support and recognise museums that were surrounded by landscapes and which were also World Heritage Sites, though this was not forthcoming.[55] This would be debated during the 24th General Conference of ICOM in Milan in 2016. In the same year as the Catania conference, the committee of ICOM Russia set about discussing the role of museums in countries that belonged to the Commonwealth of Independent State (CIS).[56] To investigate in what way the *1972 Convention* principles could be implemented to strengthen how these sites operated, ICOM Russia, with support from CIS experts, prepared a policy brief.[57]

---

[52] Hanna Pennock, ICOM General Director, email message to author, 30 October 2013.

[53] Daniele Jalla, 'Some considerations by ICOM Italy' *International conference on "Museums and World Cultural Heritage"* (Catania 16-18 October 2015) <http://network.icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/minisites/Milan2016/Galleria/Consideration_by_ICOM_Italy_on_Catania_Conference_Theme.pdf> [accessed 16 February 2017]

[54] Ibid.

[55] This charter would be similar to the Siena Charter: Museums and Landscapes, which had been presented as a proposed document by ICOM Italy at the International Conference in Siena on July 7th 2014.

[56] Reference, *What countries are in the CIS?* 2019 < https://www.reference.com/geography/countries-cis-6da54e62f08c380e> [accessed 19 May 2019]. Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) include Russia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan and Armenia as of 2014. Turkmenistan and Ukraine are both unofficial members of the organization. Georgia was a member of the CIS but left the group in 2008.

[57] Galina Andreeva and Afanasy Gnedovsky, *Policy brief: role of museums in promoting the principles of the UNESCO 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,* 2015 < http://icom-russia.com/upload/iblock/80e/80e87c471e0ca9510b65a95073d4b860.pdf> [accessed 15 May 2019].

As the comments above illustrate, this research has arrived at a critical stage at which museums situated in World Heritage Sites and other museum professionals seek for greater protection of material culture held at these sites through UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee. This is especially the case if the museum cares for objects which maintain national values and global significance such as the Holy Crown of Thorns and the tunic of Saint Louis from the Notre Dame de Paris. Although these objects were already nationally and internationally recognised, the fire at Notre Dame has highlighted the need for establishing stronger protection around such moveable material culture at World Heritage Sites, especially if these items are vulnerable due to the lack of recognition which they may receive through museum managers, curators and State Members.

In an effort to think through the multi-layered complexities that surrounded my research, I developed a framework to break down the specific areas that needed closer examination. This would result in the creation of a model which I named the 3EF and which forms perhaps the most significant contribution of the research. Each of the three elements in this framework highlights a specific step a Member State needs to undertake towards an object's documentation and inclusion during the nomination process. Therefore, the first step of the 3EF requires Member States to identify specific material culture within a collection which maintains universal value which should be included as part of a site's nomination process for World Heritage Listing. The next step of the 3EF would require the nominating Member State to document the object through a classification process which is both recognised and approved through UNESCO. Once catalogued through this process, this information would be included with the proposed nomination application for the World Heritage Listing. Furthermore, once the site has been listed, material culture identified could be forwarded to Interpol, Red Shields and other leading protective authorities within the State or Nation. This would allow for quicker process in tracking the object if stolen, damaged or destroyed. Finally, it would also allow for this information to be included in leading policies and plans which are directed to protecting and interpreting the museum, the collections and the World Heritage Site. The thesis returns to this Framework in the conclusion.
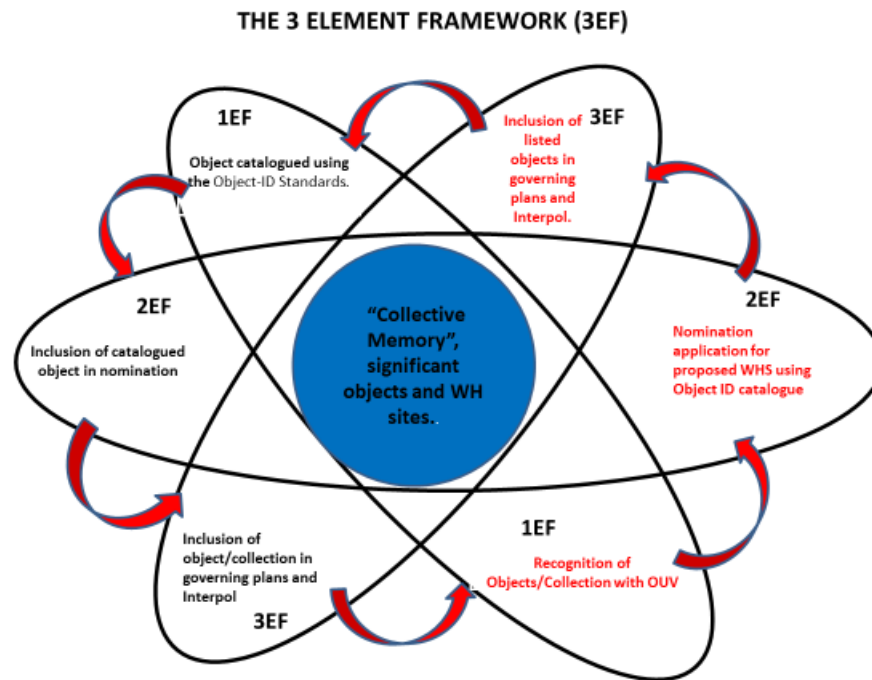
THE 3 ELEMENT FRAMEWORK (3EF)

Figure 1: The design of the 3EF breaks down the processes needed to include material culture with universal value with the site which is being nominated for World Heritage Listing. (Designed by S. Fabry 2018)

Choice of Case studies

In order to provide some focus to the research, a decision was taken to focus specifically on collections of great significance held in World Heritage museums. Case studies were based on three core criteria. First, the site had to be on the World Heritage List. Second, although each site dated from a different period, each maintained an operating museum. To align these museum collections together for research purposes, sites were identified with extensive archaeological collections. By examining this type of material culture through these case studies, I aimed to highlight the strong historical and contemporary links between the artefacts, people (now and in the past) and the site and make a case for their protection as a complete entity. Third, collections had to be deemed of national significance

Case Study 1 – The Hyde Park Barracks and Museum, Sydney, Australia

The first case study to be assessed is the World Heritage Site, the Hyde Park Barracks and museum. Part of a group nomination of convict sites, it was placed on the World Heritage List in 2010. The museum maintains an archaeological collection of over

130,000 artefacts, most of which had been placed beneath the floorboards by the hundreds of rats which occupied this site. Other objects found in this building had either been accidentally dropped or purposely hidden beneath the floorboards by residents. The collection sheds light on over 50 different occupants including convicts, Irish Female immigrants and legal administrators who lived, worked and played in the Hyde Park Barracks between 1819-1979. Due to the dry environmental conditions of this building, much of the material culture has survived, making the site and its archaeological collection one of the most unique of its kind in existence.

Case Study 2 – Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola, Malta
The second case study is the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum of Malta. Officially listed as a World Heritage Site in 1980, the Hypogeum dates from 3000-3500 BC and is a subterranean structure that has been created on three different levels with various burial chambers. Constructed to resemble an above ground temple, it was formed partly through a natural process and partly by hand carving with the use of animal horn. It is estimated that over 7000 artefacts have been excavated from the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum since 1903 including skeletal remains, beads, shells and clay modelled forms. However, due to the unstable environmental conditions in these chambers, much of the material retrieved was transferred to the Museum of Archaeology in the capital city of Valletta. Much of the material culture retrieved from this site has been crucial to understanding how Neolithic people lived, worked, worshipped and traded not only on the Maltese Islands but also within the Mediterranean. The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum and its Neolithic archaeology collection remains one of the most unique and significant sites ever discovered.

Case Study 3 – Roman Vindolanda Fort and Museum, Northumberland, United Kingdom
The third and final case study is the Roman Vindolanda Fort and museum. Situated in the World Heritage buffer zone of Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland, the Roman Fort of Vindolanda is just one of a small number of remaining sites adjacent to this fortification. Although all of these sites contribute to highlighting the outstanding universal values of Hadrian's Wall as a World Heritage Site, it is the Roman Vindolanda Fort and the exceptional array of social material culture that supports its national and international importance. The site and museum collection not only greatly enhances our understanding of how Hadrian's Wall operated as a military defence post during this period, they also reveal how a Roman outpost functioned. Therefore, both contribute to provide substantial

information on the soldiers posted at this location as well as their families and how they worked, shopped and spent their free time in and around this Fort.

Literature Review

Memory studies

French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs and French historian Pierre Nora have both had a significant impact on scholarship relating to collective memory. Both scholars have been central in the development of collective memory and national memory studies. Although Halbwachs was to lay the foundations for scholarship on collective memory during the early 20th century, it would be Nora who would lead this research as part of the "memory boom" of the 1970s onwards, especially in the field of French national identity.[58] Over the decades, various academics and theorists have referred to Halbwachs as the "founding father" or "field father"[59] of collective memory studies.[60] Astrid Erll referred to Halbwachs as "the best remembered founding father of memory studies" because he "was the first to write explicitly and systematically about cultural memory."[61] Lewis Coser, who studied with members of the "Durkheim circle" and was responsible for translating parts of Halbwachs' work in English, also held great respect for Halbwachs' theory on collective memory.[62] This would become evident after he had completed this work when he wrote:[63]

> Halbwachs was without a doubt the first sociologist to stress that our conceptions of the past are affected by the mental images we employ to solve present problems, so that collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present.[64]

Other authorities in this field such as Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy were to view Halbwachs less as a "founding father" or "field founder", but rather

---

58 Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The collective memory reader.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 14 < https://pconfl.biu.ac.il/files/pconfl/shared/olick_2011-collective_memory_reader.pdf> [accessed 14 March 2017]
59 Sarah Gensburger, 'Halbwachs' studies in collective memory: A founding text for contemporary "memory studies"?' *Journal of Classical Sociology,* 16, no.4 (2016), pp. 397-405. < https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1468795X16656268> [accessed 16 March 2017]
60 Anne Eriksen, *From antiquities to heritage: transformations of cultural memory,* (New York: Berghahn Books Incorporated, 2014), p. 19.
61 Astrid Erll, 'Cultural memory studies: an introduction' in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural memory studies: an international and interdisciplinary handbook.* (Frankfurt, Germany: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, 2008), pp. 1-18 (p. 8).
62 Ibid.,
63 Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The collective memory reader,* p. 25.
64 Sarah Gensburger, 'Halbwachs' studies in collective memory, p. 399.

as "a member of a second, post-charismatic generation" of sociologists.[65] These authors believed that Halbwachs was not the first to establish the concept of collective memory but rather was someone who adopted it. Olick, and Robbin argue that first explicit use of the term "collective memory" could be found in the work of Hugo von Hofmannsthal in 1902. They identified that Von Hofmannsthal referred to this term as meaning "the dammed up force of our mysterious ancestors within us" and "piled up layers of accumulated collective memory."[66] Historian Marc Bloch would also use the term in 1925 in his book on feudal society.[67] Irrespective of these differing views of Halbwachs' position on the genealogical family tree of collective memory what is certain is his research has been significant in drawing attention to the ways in which people remember both individually and as a group.[68] Due to this, Halbwachs' early works have gradually been translated into English and German, attracting a wide audience and strengthening interest in collective memory studies amongst non-Francophones.[69] Pierre Nora has been recognised as Halbwachs' "heir" because of his extensive research on French national memory during the 'memory boom' period.

"Memory, even conceived in its social dimensions, is hardly a new topic" state leading scholars Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy in their published work titled *The Collective Memory Reader*.[70] In fact, our desire to understand how memory is established has been a major preoccupation for social thinkers since Ancient Greece. It has largely been over the past 150 years that much has been written on this topic by leading philosophers, scholars and academics. Patrick Hutton believes that the desire for researchers to understand how memories are developed "reveals the need felt by philosophers in each age along the way to reassess its meaning in light of the temper of their times. Each age has contextualized collective memory differently."[71] However, Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi

[65] Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The collective memory reader,* p. 23.

[66] Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, 'Social memory studies: from "collective memory" to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 24, (1998), pp. 105-140 (p. 106).
< https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.105> [accessed 13 May 2017]

[67] Ibid.

[68] Sarah Gensburger, 'Halbwachs' studies in collective memory, p. 405.

[69] Halbwachs published his doctoral dissertation: *La classe ouvrière et les niveaux de vie. Recherche sur des besoins dans les sociétés industrielles contemporaines* in 1913.

[70] Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The collective memory reader,* p. 4.

[71] Patrick H. Hutton, 'Physiological reflections on the ways of memory and history', *History and Theory: Studies in Philosophy and History,* 57, no. 2 (2018), pp. 292-305.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/hith.12063> [12 September 2019]. Patrick Hutton examines the philosopher Jeffrey Barash's views on the original reflections of such study in his book published in 2016 titled

and Levy believe that since memory studies commenced as an area of investigation, there have been two crucial periods of research. This would include the late nineteenth century, which "was tied up with the ascendancy of nationalism," whilst "the late twentieth century[was] tied up with its decline".[72]

Theorists such as Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy agree that it has been particularly in the last forty to fifty years that a new phase in memory studies has been established, giving way to a "memory boom".[73] As a result of this, memory studies has been heavily shaped and built on by a "new wave" of theorists and scholars during this time.[74] Many of these scholars have endeavoured to further expand on the theoretical framework in this field. Through this approach, additional fields have been added to memory research bringing this area of study into the 21st century. For example, in the introduction of "media memory", the study of "media research" and "memory scholarship" have been bought together.[75] This would be supported through the "publications of the German group of researchers around Jan and Aleida Assmann, who focused on media and memory in ancient societies" in the 1980s.[76] The amalgamation of these two fields has created a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary area of study.[77] This has been further enhanced through the use of media which has allowed for additional research material to become readily available to fellow philosophers, scholars and students interested in the field of memory studies.[78] Alison Landsberg refers to mass media as prosthetic memory. She describes how, "in an age of mass communication and global capital, historical understanding can more effectively be transmitted across boundaries of time, space, and culture" through prosthetic memory.[79] By using mass media, a wider audience can gain access to a deeper understanding of local, state, national and world history.[80] Whilst Wulf Kansteiner emphasizes the importance of using mass media in this new field of memory

---

"Collective Memory and the Historical Past "and how it has been a heavily investigated area of research.

[72] Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The collective memory reader,* p. 14.

[73] Ibid., p. 4.

[74] Astrid Erll, 'Cultural memory studies', p. 8.

[75] Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg, 'On media memory: editor's introduction', in Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg (eds), *On media memory: collective memory on new media age.* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 1-24.

[76] Astrid Erll, Cultural memory studies', p. 9.

[77] Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg, 'On media memory: editor's introduction'.

[78] Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The collective memory reader,* p. 6

[79] James Berger, 'Which prosthetic? Mass media, narrative, empathy, and progressive politics', *Rethinking History,* 11, no. 4 (2007), pp. 597-612 (p. 598). < https://doi.org/10.1080/13642520701652152> [13 February 2015]

[80] Ibid.

study as it can benefit and "exploit existing data collected by commercial and academic institutions in the past… historians of collective memory can profit from the sophisticated discussions about reception and audience behaviour in media and cultural studies."[81]

Sarah Gensburger was to reveal this potential through her own research in 2015 when exploring which philosophers, scholars and theorists were the most retrieved online by researchers.[82] By using the keyword "memory studies" to search on Google Scholar, Gensburger was able to identify which authors were being accessed. The most accessed included: Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora, Jeffrey Olick, Frederick Bartlett, Paul Ricoeur, Wulf Kansteiner, John Sutton, Jan Assmann, Andrew Hoskins, Aby Warburg, and Patrick Hutton.[83] Although this list included many contemporary authors, Gensburger's investigation revealed that Halbwachs was the most searched via this form of social media. With approximately 3160 hits, Halbwachs was, in 2015, the most cited scholar in the field of memory studies. Although Gensburger's search did not highlight which of Halbwachs' works were viewed the most, it did suggest that his research remained relevant as an entry point into the field of memory studies. Nora, who is recognised as part of the 1970s "memory boom," was considered the second most searched for author via Google Scholar with 2780 hits.[84] Although Halbwachs and Nora were to write on collective memory at different times during the twentieth century, both are seen today as leaders in this field of study.[85] Halbwachs' introduction of the term "collective memory" during the mid-1920s and Nora's research on French national identity during the early "Memory boom" period has ensured that both authors have remained amongst the most respected theorists in this area of study.

Although the term "collective memory" was first developed by the French sociologist Émile Durkheim in the early 20th century, it would be his student Maurice Halbwachs

---

81   Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding meaning in memory: a methodological critique of collective memory studies', *History and Theory*, 41, no. 2 (2002), pp. 179-197 (pp. 194-195).
      < https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00198> [12 March 2015]
82   Sarah Gensburger, 'Halbwachs' studies in collective memory'. Sarah Gensburger completed this search via Google Scholar on the 15th August 2015.
83   Ibid.
84   Ibid., p. 398. The following number of hits were indentified by Gensburger during her search on Google Scholar on the 15th August 2015: Jeffrey Olick (2050) Frederick Bartlett (1370) Paul Ricoeur (1070) Wulf Kansteiner (993) John Sutton (974) Jan Assmann (870) Stevens (745) Patrick Hutton (551) Andrew Hoskins (532) Aby Warburg (357).
85   Ibid.

who would officially introduce the term to the field of memory studies and to world literature.[86] Halbwachs was to be heavily influenced by his teacher's philosophical theory on memory and would become one of his most committed students during this time. Halbwachs was to highlight his respect for his teacher by interpreting Durkheim's views on collective psychology as a new theory based on the collective consciousness.[87] This theory would be further explored in Halbwachs' 1918 published work titled *La doctrine d'Emile Durkheim* in which he states:

> Collective consciousness is a spiritual reality. […] Its action and extensions may indeed be followed into every region of each man's conscience; its influence on the soul is measured by the influence exerted on sensitive life by the higher faculties, which are the means of social thought.[88]

Although Halbwachs respected Durkheim's work on collective psychology, he was interested in pushing the boundaries further in an attempt to reveal how an individual's consciousness was in fact "entirely reworked and transformed by social life".[89] The impact of Henri Bergson's work in this field is also evident in Halbwachs' philosophical thought. Bergson believed there were "dominant memories, on which other memories lean, as on supportive points".[90] Théodule Ribot also considered that locations used "landmarks" on which different levels of consciousness could be intensified. Halbwachs considered "landmarks" could assist people to become members of specific groups because they contributed towards creating memories which were built on "social frames" that were based on our "present identities."[91] Halbwachs' philosophical framework on memory would gradually move away from that of Durkheim towards a distinctive type of "phenomenological sociology" which was to focus on three main "social frames" of thought:

1. the social construction of individual memory;
2. the development of collective memory in intermediary groups (family and social classes);

---

[86] Ibid., p. 22. Prior to being a student of Emile Durkheim, Halbwachs had also been a student of the anti-positivist philosopher Henri Bergson at the Lycée Henri IV in Paris where he studied philosophy. Both teachers were to influence by Halbwachs work on collective memory. The psychiatrist Charles Blondel and the historians Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre during the 1920s and 1930s assisted Halbwachs to further develop the concept and meaning of collective memory. Marc Bloch would collaborate with Halbwachs through print too.

[87] Jean-Christophe Marcel and Laurent Mucchielli, 'Maurice Halbwachs's mémoire collective', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural memory studies: an international and interdisciplinary handbook.* (Frankfurt, Germany: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, 2008), pp. 141-150.

[88] Ibid., p. 141.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid., p. 142.

[91] Ibid.

3. collective memory at the level of entire societies and civilizations. [92]

In an effort to highlight how these "social frames" operated, Halbwachs was to adopt them in his own experiments to analyse his own memories and dreams. He did this not only to debunk Sigmund Freud who believed that dreams were fragments of the past, but to confirm if "there is such a thing as strictly personal memories".[93] Halbwachs' research was to highlight that the past is not "really preserved in the individual memory" but only "fragments" or a "snapshot of a specific recollection".[94] He further identified that "What makes them true memories are collective representations" in which specific events or experiences are remembered in more detail as part of a group.[95] Due to this, collective memories can be "structured into lasting memories only to the extent they are contextualized by the social group to which the individual belongs, be it a family, a social class, or a religious community".[96]

Halbwachs would eventually introduce the concept of collective memory in his 1925 published work *Les cadres sociaux de la memoire* or *The social frameworks of memory*.[97] Produced during the interwar period, it would become one of Halbwachs' most recognised works on memory studies during a time when the world was experiencing great social and political upheaval.[98] Halbwachs was to propose in this work that individuals could not remember in any logical and persistent manner outside of their group contexts. Due to this, each person remembers through a formed social framework which when recalled, releases individual memories.[99] To reveal how Halbwachs' social framework operates, Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy refer to his example of childhood memories. Here Halbwachs believed that individuals remember childhood memories as fragments. These memories become more complete when they are supported by the recollections of others.

---

[92] Ibid. Phenomenology was initially discovered during the early 20th century by German philosopher Edmond Husseri and is the philosophical study of the structures of experience and consciousness.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Can Bilsel, 'Architecture and the social frameworks of memory'.
[97] In 1992 Lewis A. Coser translated selections from Halbwachs' 1925 work book *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* into English.
[98] Can Bilsel, 'Architecture and the social frameworks of memory'.
[99] Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The collective memory reader*, p. 14.
[99] Ibid., p. 18.

> Once we become adults, it is often impossible to say whether a memory of a childhood experience is more the result of stored features of the original moment or some kind of compilation out of stored fragments, other people's retellings, and intervening experiences.[100]

Although Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy's reference to Halbwachs' example of childhood memories helps to explain how social frameworks operate, it is possible for an individual to have multiple social frameworks. Through this process, contesting collective memories may be created as there may be competing social frameworks which an individual may be involved in at any given time.[101] It is therefore evident from Halbwachs' theory, that people have the freedom to create their own collective memories based on the social frameworks they wish to be part of, or included in. They could also be part of a social framework which was centred around a permanent structure, building and collection of objects. Halbwachs would further explore how social frameworks, collective memory and architecture merged together during his travels to Palestine.

By 1941 Halbwachs had published, *La Topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte: Étude de mémoire collective* or *The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land.* This work would be his most architecturally focused writing and would extend his thought on how collective memory can be established through a built environment. To understand how this occurred, Halbwachs' research would again include his personal experiences in Palestine during the late 1920s and again in 1939.[102] Halbwachs was interested in identifying how people remembered in faith-based communities and how they connected with archaeological records that were preserved in the material culture. During both trips, he was able to observe how visitors and pilgrims connected collectively to religious sites. He observed how "Scenes found on stained-glass church windows, such as the path of suffering followed by the Christ on his way from Pontius Pilate to Calvary, fill this commemorative role" and enabled Christians to confirm their faith together in a religious social framework that was connected to a building.[103] Marcel and Laurent write that in this position "the collective memory is not composed of just any old memories: It contains those which, in the views of living Christians, best express the substance of the group they form."[104] Bilsel also reveals that Halbwachs'

---

[100] Ibid., p. 19.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid., p. 5.
[103] Jean-Christophe Marcel and Laurent Mucchielli, 'Maurice Halbwachs's mémoire collective', p. 147.
[104] Ibid.

recognized that architecture and social frameworks both influence how collective memories are created. He indicates that such memories can remain "in constant flux in the consciousness of a group. Yet when an event experienced by the group is memorialized into a monument, collective memory is fixed in architecture".[105] This suggests that not only faith-based communities can strengthen how collective memories are made through the interactions people have with architecture but also families, work, recreation, governments, other states and nations. All have the ability to control, delay or change the development of collective memories, which are designed around social frameworks involving buildings and architecture connected to specific groups or communities.[106]

By the time of Halbwachs' death in 1945, he was working on his book *La Mémoire Collective or The Collective Memory*. Published posthumously in 1950, it would be considered one of his finest works on memory studies. The book was translated into English in 1980 during the memory boom by Francis Didder, Jnr, and Vida Yazdi Ditter with an introduction by Mary Douglas.[107] In this text, Halbwachs would not only investigate how familiar "objects" contribute towards how we remember, but also how the "space" around these artefacts and the "location" in which they are placed can support how we remember both as individuals and as a collective.[108] Halbwachs believed that: "Our tastes and desires evidenced in the choice and arrangement of these objects are explained in large measure by the bonds attaching us to various groups."[109] Although these objects are unable to speak directly to us, they can be interpreted through the various "spatial frameworks" which we belong to, thus making it easier to connect with them.[110] Furthermore, how we place or display these items in the "space" of a building, site, city or landscape in which a specific framework operates, can further influence the collective memories of groups which are "bonded" to it.[111] Through maintaining a spatial framework and by developing a "special relation with the material forms embodying it", a group has the ability to be remembered as well as to survive.[112] Marcel and Mucchelli

[105] Can Bilsel, 'Architecture and the social frameworks of memory*'.
[106] Ibid., p. 5.
[107] Mary Douglas, 'Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945)', in Maurice Halbwachs (ed.), *The collective memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), pp. 1-21.
[108] Maurice Halbwachs,, *The collective memory*.
[109] Ibid., p. 1.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.

determine that it is through this process that a "relative steadiness provides the group with tangible proof of its existence and with a basic tenet of stability."[113]

Steven Brown and David Middleton reflect upon the importance of Halbwachs' works stating that nowadays, "there is scarcely a single text on social remembering that does not begin by invoking the work of Maurice Halbwachs".[114] Even though studies have progressed in this field, the term collective memory has been adapted by other scholars to include the 'group' or 'society' and collective memory continues to form the cornerstone of the critical work surrounding Halbwachs' research.[115] However over time, the term collective memory has been used by different scholars who have used other expressions to describe "this original Halbwachsian concept".[116] This has included such terms as: "collected memories", "mnemonic practices", "cultural memory", "imagined communities", "invented traditions", "theatres of memory", "collective remembrance", "social remembering", "sites of memory", "social memory" and others which have gradually been introduced.[117]

By the 1980s, a new awakening in memory studies would see a rapid increase in published works by academics, historians, philosophers and theorists, many of which would challenge Halbwachs' theory on collective memory.[118] However, it would be the French historian Pierre Nora who would introduce a new form of study which explored French national memory in an effort to bridge the chasm which he believed existed between history and memory.[119] Nora would publish his most respected seven volume work - *Les Lieux de Mémoire* or *Sites of Memory* - between 1981 and 1992. With the support of a number of additional authors, its publication was "timed to engage with the problematics of the French Revolution bicentennial".[120] Nora would refer to this work as "the

---

[113] Jean-Christophe Marcel and Lurent Mucchielli, 'Maurice Halbwachs's mémoire collective', p. 145.

[114] Steven Brown and David Middleton, *The social psychology of experience: studies in remembering and forgetting* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2005), p. 38.

[115] Sarah Gensburger, 'Halbwachs' studies in collective memory', p. 400.

[116] Anne Eriksen, *From antiquities to heritage*, p. 19.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Sarah Gensburger, 'Halbwachs' studies in collective memory', p. 401. Respected scholars Jan and Aleida Assmann' were to focus on media and memory in ancient societies in their publication *Skulturelles Gedächtnis*.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The collective memory reader,* p. 23. Pierre Nora's publication would eventually be condensed into a three-volume English-language edition titled, "Realms of Memory".

concentrated, condensed product of a lengthy intellectual and publishing venture that developed over a period of almost a decade".[121] As with Halbwachs' publication, *La Mémoire Collective,* in which different elements of memory were explored, *Les Lieux de Mémoire* would examine the different elements Nora believed were connected to French national memory. In his first volume published in 1984, Nora was concerned that the disappearance of cultures and the amalgamation of Europe through migration as a result of WWII, was to place French national memory at risk of vanishing forever:[122]

> We have seen the end of societies that had long assured the transmission and conservation of collectively remembered values, whether through churches or schools, the family or the state; the end too of ideologies that prepared a smooth passage from the past to the future or that had indicated what the future should keep from the past-whether for reaction, progress, or even revolution.[123]

As a result of this, Nora was concerned that with the influx of migrants after the war coming into the country that there would be a change in how French history was written and perceived by emigrants who would take on the role of historian. Through this process, a new history would be created and the link to the past would be lost as a result of a new generation of French people:

> Every history is by nature critical, and all historians have sought to denounce the hypocritical mythologies of their predecessor…That we study the historiography of the French Revolution, that we reconstitute its myths and interpretations, implies that we no longer unquestioningly identify with its heritage.[124]

Nora's efforts to explore not only the history which he experienced but that of others, would be examined through *La Mémoire Collective* in which his work explored different elements of French memory supported through the various contributors who assisted to write this work. Anne Eriksen identified this work as an "ambitious attempt at constructing an alternative 'narrative' of French national history".[125] Through focusing on "different themes as literary texts, food, ideologies, founding people, religion and secular symbols" he was able to gain a wider understanding of what constituted French

[121] Pierre Nora, *From Lieux de memoire to realms of memory* [n.d.], pp. XV-XXIV. < http://faculty.smu.edu/bwheeler/Joan_of_Arc/OLR/03_PierreNora_LieuxdeMemoire.pdf> [12 March 2017]

[122] Pim Den Boer, 'Loci memoriae – Lieux de mémoire', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural memory studies: an international and interdisciplinary handbook* (Frankfurt, Germany: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, 2008), pp. 8-11. < http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/pdf/geschiedenis/cultural%20memory.pdf> [15 June 2018]

[123] Pierre Nora, 'Between memory and history', p. 7.

[124] Ibid., p. 10.

[125] Anne Eriksen, *From antiquities to heritage,* p. 15.

national memory through the eyes of other contributors.[126] Eriksen suggests that it was through this process that Nora was able to reveal "important elements in French national identity without suggesting that this identity is a fixed phenomenon, but rather showing how realms of memory can draw on a wide variety of cultural myths and ideologies."[127] Through this approach, Nora also emphasized how a community's permanent surroundings along with their past state and social history can contribute towards uniting the collective memories of a nation. [128] However once the final memories have disappeared, Nora believed it was replaced by *lieux de memoire* only to survive as a "reconstituted object beneath the gaze of critical history."[129] Michael Rothberg suggests that through *lieux de memoire* Nora wanted to bring "our attention to the way the past finds articulation in a wide array of "sites" - …not only monuments and museums, but also novels, cities, personages, symbols, and more."[130] He also wanted to examine sites which he believed contributed to French national memory and therefore they "become the most symbolic objects of our memory."[131] Nora wanted to highlight through his published volumes specific images which he considered were the "last objects of our memory" before they disappeared and become "sites of memory."[132] Nora implies that sites of memory such as the Bastille and the Arc de Triomphe, assisted the French people to understand themselves as individuals and as a nation. Such sites assisted to strengthen the collective memories of a nation because of the historical events which occurred in the past that tie a community together even if the last distant memory has disappeared. [133] In other words a *site of memory* is any memory which is projected onto "any significant entity (whether material or nonmaterial in nature)" which due to a particular historical moment "has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community".[134]

---

[126] Ibid., p. 15.
[127] Ibid., p. 16.
[128] Leila M. Farahani, Marzieh Setayesh and Leila Shokrollahi, 'Contextualising palimpsest of collective memory in an urban heritage site: case study of Chahar Bagh, Shiraz– Iran', *Archnet-IJAR: International Journal of Architectural Research,* 9, no. 1. (2015), pp. 218-231 (p. 219). < http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.847.5072&rep=rep1&type=pdf> [15 February 2017].
[129] Pierre Nora, 'Between memory and history', p. 7.
[130] Michael Rothberg, 'Introduction: between memory and memory – from lieux de mémoire to noeuds de mémoire', *Yale French Studies,*. 118, no. 119 (2010), pp. 2-12 (p. 3). <http://michaelrothberg.weebly.com/uploads/5/4/6/8/5468139/between_memory_and_memory_rothberg.pdf> 12 March 2014]
[131] Pierre Nora, 'Between memory and history', p. 12.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.

Because of this, sites of memory can allow us to gaze inwardly at our own past history and also allow us to gaze outwardly onto the past of others. Rothberg states that the "*lieux de mémoire*" or *"sites of memory"* has come to be "at the center not just of considerations of French negotiations with its national past but of studies of remembrance on an international scale."[135] Therefore, sites of memory or lieux de memoire are fundamental remains of a time past, which allow visitors to gain a deeper insight into a culture or a group which no longer exists. This is further supported through the things, nic-nacs, heirlooms, objects or artefacts which remain at a site of memory to support and reveal the values of those who once occupied this space. Christina Cameron stated that: "Historic properties take on value because people ascribe values to them. What makes a site part of our heritage is not the site itself but the fact that groups and individuals have attributed values to it." [136] Cameron's theory on how significance is placed on sites by individuals and groups can also be used to understand how values are placed on material culture. Therefore, the values which are placed on an: "'object', 'thing', 'specimen', 'artefact'[or] 'goods'"[137] and "how something is valued by an individual or by a group can become 'complicated, multifaceted and diverse'".[138] Through this process, they remain as "the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness" in which they become "the boundary stones of another age, illusions of eternity." [139]

Value

The concept of how values are established on material culture has been the focus of many theorists, academics and scholars who question exactly what constitutes the meaning and significance of an object, building or site.[140] Lisanne Gibson and John Pendlebury

---

[135] Michael Rothberg, 'Introduction'.

[136] Christina Cameron, 'The intrinsic values of heritage: value and integrity in cultural and natural heritage – from Parks Canada to world heritage', in Kate Clark (ed.), *Capturing the public value of heritage: the proceedings of the London Conference 25–26 January 2006.* (London: English Heritage, 2006), p. 71.

[137] Susan M. Pearce, 'Museum objects', in Sandra H. Dudley (ed.), *Museum objects: experiencing the properties of things* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 23-25 (p. 23).

[138] Christina Cameron, 'The intrinsic values of heritage', p. 71.

[139] Pierre Nora, 'Between memory and history', p. 12.

[140] Chris Uchiyama, *Cultural heritage values: some historical background*, (2014), p. 3. < https://betweennatureandculture.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/values1.pdf>. [18 November 2016]. Chris Uchiyama highlights these values by referring to Sir John Summerson, who was to develop the following five value types of building in 1949.
1. The building which is a work of art: the product of a distinct and outstanding creative mind.
2. The building which is not a distinct creation in this sense but possesses in a pronounced form the characteristic virtues of the school of design which produced it.

propose that values are "complex and shifting, operating within various registers of meaning, sometimes all at once".[141] Over the last 50 years, much discussion and research has been undertaken on the significance of material culture and the values connected to it. So much so that today when we talk about the significance of something we are talking about the value and "what it means, who experiences it, how it is determined, how it should be measured, and what role it should play in …the item's conservation, restoration or re-use."[142] Because of the diversity of values across groups, states and nations, it is difficult to identify cultural values which could be universally accepted for they are continually moving and expanding. Sue Davies, Rob Paton and Terry O'Sullivan deem "that sets of values exist on various levels, i.e. individual, group, organisational and societal. These levels interact with each other and, to various degrees, the values are malleable." [143]

On an economic level, David Throsby indicates that the monetary values which are placed on material culture are "a multiple and shifting thing which cannot be comprehended within a single domain" thus resulting in them being "both various and variable."[144] Throsby suggests that economic values are difficult to define when it comes to cultural heritage as they can often be separated into two separate areas, that of individual and collective worth. At an individual value, cultural heritage is largely connected to its "neoclassical economic" worth through supply and demand.[145] This is because "we are thinking of the sorts of values that individuals recognise and are prepared to pay for in

---

3. The building which, of no great artistic merit, is either of significant antiquity or composition of fragmentary beauties welded together in the course of time.
4. The building which has been the scene of great events or the labour of great men.
5. The building whose only virtue is that in a bleak tract of modernity it alone gives depth in time
The list of values however did not consider buildings which fell outside these set value types and therefore were left for demolition and new development. Through this process Chris Uchiyama identifies Summerson preference for "high architecture over vernacular" and as a result of this contemporary architecture was introduced into new town planning.

[141] Lisanne Gibson and John Pendlebury, 'Introduction: valuing historic environment', in Lisanne Gibson and John Pendlebury (eds), *Valuing historic environments* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2016), pp. 1-18.

[142] David Throsby, 'The value of heritage: abstract', paper presented at *Heritage Economics Workshop, Australian National University,* (October 2007) < https://environment.gov.au/system/files/resources/da10a766-2ef7-4989-b202-edac0f5d6f3e/files/economics-value.pdf> [12 March 2016]

[143] Sue M. Davies, Rob Paton and Terry J. O'Sullivan, 'The museum values framework: a framework for understanding organisational culture in museums', *Journal Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28, no. 4 (2013), pp 345-361 (p. 354). < https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2013.831247> [31 November 2016]

[144] David Throsby, *Economics and culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 28.

[145] David Throsby, 'The value of heritage'.

one way or another."[146] Collective values stem from the creation of an object or building where significance is assessed at a cultural level in which heritage is assessed by its' aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic and authenticity significance.[147] Due to this significance, the collective values may affect the individual economic value but "there is also a sense in which some such values can only be fully realised in collective terms and cannot sensibly be represented in individual monetary valuations."[148]

Over time, the concept of value has not only been used by academics, theorists, scholars or heritage professionals to assess the significance of material culture, but also to help guide state and national cultural heritage policy makers. The notion of value has also been used to develop legally binding protective cultural heritage conventions at an international level. However, the typology of values varies from convention to convention as a result of the type of material culture which it aims to protect. [149] These differences can be noted in how the term "cultural property" or "cultural and natural heritage" is used when discussing specific material culture and the designated values which are used to describe their significance. An example of these differences can be seen between the 1970 *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transport of Ownership of Cultural Property* (*1970 Convention*) and the *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (*1972 Convention*). Although both conventions are internationally recognised for protecting moveable and immoveable material culture, both have been designed to operate under different circumstances. Whereas the *1970 Convention* has been established to prevent the illegal import, export and trade of moveable material culture, the *1972 Convention* was developed to protect immoveable material culture considered of universal significance. Therefore, although both conventions are aimed to protect cultural property, they do so under separate conditions and independently of each other. For instance, the *1970 Convention* provides protection for cultural property which is both moveable and immoveable and consists of:

---

[146] Ibid., p. 2.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid., p. 5.
[149] UNESCO. *Problems of culture and cultural values in the contemporary world* (Paris: UNESCO, 1983) < https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000054681/PDF/054681engo.pdf.multi> [14 November 2017]

archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, art or science.., specimens of fauna, flora, minerals and anatomy […] history of science and technology and military and social history […] elements of artistic or historical monuments or archaeological sites […] antiquities […] objects of ethnological interest […] pictures, paintings and drawings […] art and sculpture […] engravings, prints and lithographs […] artistic assemblages and montages […] postage […] archives […] furniture more than one hundred years old […] musical instruments.[150]

Furthermore, the *1970 Convention* not only operates as a protection for material culture but also endeavours to highlight the possibility of creating an "interchange of cultural property among nations for scientific, cultural and educational purposes" through which a greater increase of "knowledge of the civilization of Man" will be obtained by nations and thereby will enrich "the cultural life of all" and inspire "mutual respect and appreciation among nations."[151] However, the *1972 Convention* protects cultural and natural heritage which is only immovable and consists of monuments, buildings and sites as well as physical, biological, geological and physiographical formations which are unique to the world.[152] In 1977, support was given by ICOMOS, ICCROM, IUCN and the World Heritage Committee, to adopt the draft criteria for Outstanding Universal Value. However these values would be included, for the "first time in the 2005 Operational Guidelines" and would be effective from 2007.[153] Cultural property placed on the World Heritage List needs to satisfy at least one of the ten criteria in their nomination application as well as to meet the conditions of authenticity and integrity.[154] Therefore built and natural sites are deemed as having value "from the point of view of history, art or science […] historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological […] conservation or natural beauty."[155] The *1972 Convention* asks that to provide protection for a World Heritage Site the entire international community should also participate in its overall conservation and protection. It is believed that through this process, a site's

---

[150] UNESCO, *Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property1970* (Paris: UNESCO, 1970). < http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13039&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html> [17 November 2018]

[151] Ibid.

[152] UNESCO, *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972). < https://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf> [19 November 2018]

[153] International Council on Monument and Sites [ICOMOS], International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property [ICCROM], IUCN, UNESCO World Heritage Centre. *Guidance on the preparation of retrospective statements of outstanding universal value for world heritage properties*. (2010), p. 1. < https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/import/downloads/whouven.pdf> [19 November 2018]

[154] The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention further defines a set of ten criteria which the site requires to be set against when completing the nomination application.

[155] UNESCO, *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*.

Outstanding Universal Value will be highlighted and its significance will be promoted for all "mankind as a whole."[156] However, the collective values that are connected to a particular community at a World Heritage Site go unnoticed along with the moveable material culture that supported the social frameworks and values of these groups. Due to this, these values are completely overlooked, since the *1972 Convention* does not recognise this type of cultural heritage in the nomination process. Jukka Jokilehto highlights that "the aim of the World Heritage List has never been to inscribe persons or communities, but rather physical cultural expressions that are recognised as heritage."[157] Despite this, it could be argued that the *1972 Convention's* Outstanding Universal Values should be adapted to also include different aspects of "our common heritage, whether physical or intangible, movable or immovable." [158] By taking this approach, greater reference will be made to heritage in all its aspects and will allow for greater protection and support by both local, national and international communities as they will be able to further develop stronger attachments to the World Heritage Site.

Objects as material culture and values

The interest in material culture at a scholarly level coincidentally arrived at the same time as the "memory boom" of the 1970s and 1980s. Whilst graduate programs were being established to analyse and investigate how material culture operates in a cultural framework, Nora was constructing his philosophical thought on collective memory and sites of memory. Jules Prown suggests that although these programs were at this time "spontaneous and largely uncoordinated" there was "a perceived scholarly need and opportunity" to explore material culture in an effort to understand humanity.[159] However, what does material culture mean and how can it reveal the values of an individual, community or nation either living or dead?

---

[156] Ibid.

[157] Jukka Jokilehto, 'Living in world heritage and community involvement', paper presented at *Nordic World Heritage Conference,* Rauma, Finland (September 2017). <http://www.lettere.uniroma2.it/sites/default/files/JJokilehto_paper_on%20five%20Cs%20of%20the%20WHC%2C%20communities%20and%20synergies%20with%20ICH.pdf> [accessed 3 October 2018]

[158] Ibid.

[159] Jules D. Prown, 'Mind in matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method', *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture,* 17, no. 1 (1982), pp. 1-19 (p. 2). <http://ciuhct.fc.ul.pt/textos/Prown_1982.pdf> [accessed 4 October 2018]. In the US material culture studies were introduced in the 1980s including at the University of Delaware, University of Notre Dame, and Boston University an experimental Centre for American Art and Material Culture at Yale University.

James Deetz argued "Material culture is that segment of man's physical environment which is purposely shaped by him according to a culturally dictated plan."[160] Prown expands on this thought further by suggesting that "material culture is the study through artefacts of the beliefs-values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions of a particular community or society at a given time."[161] Prowns' comment suggests that material culture can include anything which is made or altered by a civilization or individual. Especially if it is connected to a specific event or episode in the past and which results in a legacy of their existence being left behind.

Margaret Gibson believes the values of material culture can also be altered if moved "within, across and between private/personal spaces and relationships", resulting in a transformation of values to be undertaken.[162] Values can fluctuate and alter "in the sphere of personal life" whilst the "spaces objects attain" can change "through the life course and through events such as death and bereavement."[163] This can be seen especially if an object or a site is transferred or relocated between "private", public, "personal spaces and relationships" once someone has died:[164]

> Through death, the subject-object relationship enters into a new phase of distribution, attachment, ownership or custodianship and the question of value inevitably arises.[165]

In one sense, the original values of an object have been forgotten with the passing of its original owner. No longer do we fully understand or know the significance of this material culture, instead new values are created and attributed to it. Through this process, a different significance is given to material culture, allowing for transformation of values to be acquired. This is why family heirlooms may not have a high market (or auction) value but have intrinsically gained significant private value. Otto Lauffer argues that it is not how an object is used that gives it importance, but the historical moment in which it was utilized. Lauffer believed it was this which resulted in the object obtaining an

---

[160] Susan M. Pearce, 'Museum objects', p. 23.
[161] Jules D. Prown, 'Mind in matter'.
[162] Margaret Gibson, 'Death and the transformation of objects and their value', *Thesis Eleven,* 103, no. 1 (2010), pp. 54-64 (p. 54). < https://doi.org/10.1177/0725513610388988>. [accessed 19 December 2018]
[163] Ibid., p. 55.
[164] Ibid., p. 54.
[165] Ibid., p. 55.

"'affective value", thereby becoming "a thread from the mantle of history.''[166] This thread can be further reinforced if it can be confirmed that the object had been used in an event or had been in direct contact with a particular person that had been involved in it.[167] Through this process, an object can be seen as a witness to the past, adding a sense of "authentic value."[168] Therefore the "affective value" and interconnectedness between an object and a site can be further enhanced through the historical layers which bind them together.[169] Through this course, a selection process is developed in which increased values are added on to certain objects working to differentiate them from others. As a result, a hierarchy is formed between objects that often results in the most significant of these artefacts being emphasised through interpretation. Michael Ames also stresses this concept by suggesting that a museum object can have a multitude of values considered whilst on display:

> as commodity, as artefact, as specimen, as art, as someone else's heirloom, treasured cultural heritage, or sacred emblem […]. They are all properties or values of the object, all phases in its life. Values may be imposed by those wishing to possess or appropriate the object, and others asserted by those claiming moral jurisdiction.[170]

Susan Pearce demonstrates the selection of an object for display can contribute to how values are placed on material cultural by visitors. Pearce reveals this with a lump of moon rock retrieved by Apollo 17 and currently on display in the Milestones of Flight hall at the National Air and Space Museum, Washington DC:

> The moon rock has been turned into material culture because through its selection and display it has become a part of the world of human values, a part which, evidently, every visitor wants to bring within his own personal value system.[171]

This form of selection process can not only contribute in identifying the best example of an object from a collection but can also highlight an artefact's ability to be an example of the "world of human values."[172] Although the moon rock is unique, it represents many objects which are held in museums that have the ability to establish a visitor's personal

---

[166] Thomas Thiemeyer, 'How different perspectives on museum objects alter the way they are perceived, and the values attributed to them', *Museum and Society,* 13, no. 3 (2015),pp. 396-412 (p. 404). < https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.v13i3.338> [accessed 21 December 2018]
[167] Ibid., p. 406.
[168] Ibid., p. 405.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Michael Ames, 'Cannibal tours, glass boxes and the politics of interpretation', in Susan M. Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting objects and collections* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 1994), pp. 98-106 (p. 101).
[171] Susan. M. Pearce, 'Museum objects', p. 10.
[172] Ibid.

set of values.[173] Therefore, what is true of the moon rock can equally be true of other objects or artefacts which have been through a selection process and identified as maintaining significance both national and international values. Selected material culture can also be used for mass media to create what Alison Landsberg refers to as "prosthetic memories."[174] Landsberg believes that prosthetic memories are those which are developed through an engaged encounter with an object through mass media and the various technologies it uses. However, because these memories are not original to the person experiencing these recollections, nor a group, community or nation "they conjure up a more public past, a past that is not at all privatised."[175] Through making material culture available via mass media, prosthetic memories can be created in which those who are not privy to these personal and group based recollections develop new ones of their own. [176]

Material culture has the ability to provide an authentic link to the past and as such can be re-experienced. It is through this material culture that the world of the past is brought into contact with the present and re-experienced.[177] Even though the definition of material culture does not directly include natural objects or landscapes, it does recognise "architecture, town planning, agriculture and mining."[178] Pearce confirms this by stating:

> Strictly speaking, the lumps of the physical world to which cultural value is ascribed include not merely those discrete lumps capable of being moved from one place to another, which is what we commonly mean when we say 'thing' or 'artefact', but also the larger physical world of landscape with all the social structure that it carries.[179]

By including both the "larger physical world" as well as moveable heritage in its definition, material culture has the ability to unite the cultural values of both a community and/or nation. Thereby, both the moveable and immoveable material culture become

[173] Ibid.
[174] Margaret Gibson, 'Death and the transformation of objects and their value', p. 54.
[175] Ibid., p. 149.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Andrews Jones, '*Memory and material culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). pp. 1-26
[178] Jules D. Prown, 'Mind in matter', p. 3.
[179] Susan. M. Pearce, 'Museum objects', p. 9.

"storehouses of knowledge as well as storehouses of objects" in which together they convey a more comprehensive story of the past.[180]

Methodology

This research argues that material culture of national value that is maintained in a World Heritage Site and museum should be recognised and protected through the *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.* It further explores how such collections could be included as part of a site's World Heritage Listing nomination process and if so, how? To explain how this investigation was undertaken, the following pages will focus on describing my research methodology and the different approaches to research and analysis employed.

Qualitative Research Approach

As described above, this research topic grew as a result of the need for more in-depth analysis and consideration on the protection of highly significant objects at World Heritage Sites. The research has played "an indispensable role in ensuring the growth" of my understanding and thinking.[181] Gilliland and McKemmish indicate that research underpins how we understand something. For through research we are able to build:

> theories and models that provide frameworks for practice, as well as explain and describe the contexts within which practice operates. It develops the field's knowledge base and skills, and leads to a heightened understanding of its ethos and societal roles and how these have evolved over time.[182]

To investigate this field of research, a multi-layered approach was required and as a result a qualitative approach was used for this study. This research was further supported through the use of additional paradigms including both the ethnographic and interpretivist methods. The use of these methodological tools not only allowed for a more flexible approach to data collection but also for data analysis and reflection. Jennifer Mason highlights that qualitative research permits researchers to:

---

[180] Sandra H. Dudley, 'Museum materialities: objects, sense and feeling', in Sandra H. Dudley (ed.), *Museum materialities: objects, engagements, interpretations*, Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2010), pp. 1-18 (p. 5).

[181] Anne Gilliland and Sue Mckemmish, 'Building an infrastructure for archival research', *Archival Science,*4 (2004), pp. 149-197 (p. 149). < https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-006-6742-6> [accessed 15 January 2017]

[182] Ibid., p. 149.

explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate.[183]

By using such an approach, I was able to apply various reasonings to analyse historical documentation, military laws and legislations, investigate three case studies and supporting documentation, undertake site visits and complete interviews.[184] The research framework not only allowed this investigation to examine more closely *how* certain events in history directly influenced the way nations identified and protected their cultural heritage but also, *why* and under what *conditions* this was to occur. In addition, the use of a qualitative framework has allowed for personal thoughts and opinions to evolve as part of the examination of documentary evidence which was collected. Mason states that "The analysis of documentary sources is a major method of social research, and one which many qualitative researchers see as meaningful and appropriate in the context of their research strategy."[185] By assessing such documentary sources, a multitude of different "behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals" have been discovered.[186] Qualitative research allows for greater immersion into a "social world that is increasingly thought to be complex and multi-dimensional."[187] It has also permitted a deeper understanding of the different contexts which surround each law that was written and those events which occurred that directly influenced their development by specific nations.[188]

Interpretivist Approach

In keeping with a qualitative approach, the research was informed by an interpretivist philosophy. Gilliland and McKemmish suggest that an interpretivist approach is "based on an understanding of the social world as being ever changing, constantly interpreted or

[183] Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative researching,* 2nd edn. (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2002), pp.1-223 (p. 1.) < http://www.sxf.uevora.pt/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Mason_2002.pdf> [accessed 14 July 2018]

[184] Natasha Mack et al., *Qualitative research methods: a data collector's field guide* (Research Triangle Park, North Carolina: Family Health International, 2005), p. 3. <https://www.fhi360.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/Qualitative%20Research%20Methods%20-%20A%20Data%20Collector's%20Field%20Guide.pdf> [accessed 15 September 2018] Unlike a quantitative approach, which is a "more rigid style of eliciting and categorizing responses" and "highly structured", qualitative research was deemed a more suitable style for this study.

[185] Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative researching,* p. 103.

[186] Natasha Mack et al., *Qualitative research methods*, p. 1.

[187] Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative researching,* p. 56.

[188] Ibid.

constructed by people."[189] They further suggest that through this approach "there is no one objective reality, but rather "multiple realities which are socially and individually constructed".[190] Norman Blaike further expands by suggesting that an interpretivist approach uses "people as a primary data source" in an effort to gain an individual or groups perspective.[191] Due to this, I did not have to totally immerse myself in the museum environment but rather instead was able to observe "people's individual and collective understandings" whilst at these listed sites.[192] I was able to gain an "insider view" of each site as well as gain a more precise understanding of how certain staff members at these sites perceive certain museum objects both as individuals, and at a collective level in a World Heritage museum. [193]

Ethnographic Approach

In addition to using an interpretivist method, an ethnographic approach was also used to collect additional data through on "the field" observation.[194] The use of an ethnographic approach not only permits a "first-hand experience […] of a particular social or cultural setting" it also allows a researcher to study the environment they are investigating.[195] Mason highlights this by stating that an ethnographic approach is "enormously influential in the development of qualitative research."[196] Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland and Lofland further state that "Observation […] remain the characteristic features of the ethnographic approach" through which various techniques can be applied.[197] These techniques include using such methods as "analysing spoken discourse and narratives, collecting and interpreting visual materials (including photography, film and video), collecting oral history and life history material."[198] Through immersing myself in the cultural and social setting of each museum, I was able to assess the methods of interpretation which had been used and to observe if any preference had been made in how these objects had been displayed.[199] It also allowed me to perceive how visitors

---

[189] Anne Gilliland and Sue Mckemmish, 'Building an infrastructure for archival research', p. 166.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative researching,* p. 56.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid, p. 55
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Ibid.

interacted with the displays through these museums.[200] My objectives during this observation was not to critically analyse how an exhibition or display was developed by a curator but only to identify which objects had been used to tell the history of the site and the people who lived or worked in it.

Documentary Historical Research

World Heritage protection has been subject to social influences and therefore displays differences in philosophical thought and variations in perspectives which have been built over many decades. The way that we perceive the world and create value is largely socially constructed and as a result is manifested through the policies and laws which have been written to protect cultural heritage not only in the past but continuing into the present. Therefore, to gain a deeper understanding of how heritage protection and heritage law has developed since the late 19th century, documentary research was undertaken so as to familiarize myself with the historical setting in which the *1954, 1970* and *1972 Conventions* were developed. This was further enhanced through additional material available through the University of Leicester online library, online journals, articles, and reports which enabled me to acquire various different perspectives from academics, researchers and heritage professionals. Jennifer Mason states that "The analysis of documentary sources is a major method of social research, and one which many qualitative researchers see as meaningful and appropriate in the context of their research strategy."[201] Most of these source materials comprised articles, journals, photographs, films and reports produced by western governments and international agencies. Much of this documentary research focused on legislations developed through military warfare in the US, Europe, and the United Kingdom.[202] Reviewing this documentation revealed that historically the protection of cultural heritage was to evolve through the development of military laws and legislations both in the United States and in Europe. This was further complemented through researching the early development of heritage organisations and

---

[200] Natasha Mack et al., *Qualitative research methods,* p. 16.

[201] Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative researching*, p. 103.

[202] Cultural Policy Research Institute, 'The Lieber Code of 1863: Correspondence, orders, reports, and returns of the union authorities from 1 January to 31 December 1863,' *Series III – Volume III General Orders No. 100.* < https://www.cemml.colostate.edu/cultural/09476/pdf/liebercode1863.pdf>. [accessed 16 June 2017]
The Lieber Code of 1863 was one such document which although directed as instructions to the American Government during the American Civil War, was to heavily influence other governing legislation which followed in Europe. Especially on how soldiers should behave during warfare and to the protection to heritage which was owned by the enemy.

groups in the US, Europe and the United Kingdom during the late19th and early 20th — written as 20th

century. To examine how cultural heritage was protected by the Nazi administration during the interwar period, cultural policies supported by the National Socialist Society for German Culture and the Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda of the Reich were examined.[203] Adolf Hitler's published work *Mein Kampf* was also assessed giving a deeper insight towards his attempts to 'purify' German artwork during this time.[204] More contemporary documentation was accessed through the *Asser Institute: Centre for International and European Law* online research portal.[205] Reference to Sean Connolly's 2008 publication *The United Nations, Setting the Scene*, also assisted in gathering contemporary views on the organisation and its peacekeeping missions.[206]

To comprehend 'why' and 'how' UNESCO was originally established in 1946, various articles, journals and papers were analysed which had been written from the end of WWII to today. Through understanding the environmental and political challenges which Europe, Great Britain and other parts of the world were experiencing at this time, I was able to appreciate the difficulties which Julian Huxley faced in developing UNESCO.[207] To gain an understanding of how UNESCO operated programmes which were aimed at museums and monuments during its early development, Hiroshi Daifuku was able to reveal those supporting bodies which were directly involved in the protection of museums and their collections from the post war period.[208] Whilst Francesco Bandarin was able to give a more recent view of UNESCO and the challenges which are currently faced at a global level in the 21st century, Bandarin was also able to highlight some of the successes — written as 21st

---

[203] Sylwia Grochowina, and Katarzyna Kacka, 'Foundations of Nazi cultural policy and institutions responsible for its implementation in the period 1933–1939', *Kultura I Edukacja,* 6, no. 106 (2014), pp. 173-192 (p. 190)
< https://repozytorium.umk.pl/bitstream/handle/item/3014/Grochowina_Kacka.pdf?sequence=1>
[accessed 12 September 2015]

[204] Adolf Hitler, *Mein kampf* (Noontide Press: Books online, 1924)
< http://www.angelfire.com/folk/bigbaldbob88/MeinKampf.pdf> [accessed 15 September 2015]

[205] Asser Institute – Centre for International and European Law*, Research* [n.d.].
< https://www.asser.nl/research/> [accessed 14 May 2012].

[206] Sean Connolly, *The United Nations*, (London: Franklin Watts, 2008), p. 8.

[207] Julian Huxley, '*UNESCO: Its purpose and its philosophy – Preparatory commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation*, ([n.pl], [n.pub], 1946), pp. 3-22.
< https://kritisches-netzwerk.de/sites/default/files/julian_huxley_-_unesco_-_its_purpose_and_its_philosophy_-_1946_-_60_pages.pdf> [accessed 1 January 2014]

[208] Hiroshi Daifuku, 'Museums and monuments: UNESCO's pioneering role', *Museum International*, 50, no. 1 (1998), pp. 9-19.
< https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000110513/PDF/110513eng.pdf.multi > [accessed 17 November 2012].

and challenges of the *1972 World Heritage Convention* during the past 30 years.[209] Through analysing this data I was able to confirm that there has been and remains a gap in how moveable material culture is valued through the *1972 Convention* and its supporting Operational Guidelines which are used to assist Member States during nominating a site for the World Heritage List. To understand current issues which still exist on the protection of cultural heritage during military warfare, Marah Al Alouls' views were insightful as they focused on the destruction of cities and cultural heritage during WWII. Alouls' qualitative research approach used case studies to highlight the vulnerability of cultural heritage which is often obliterated through war. He reveals this by using three cities as case studies including Warsaw, Dresden and Mostar. His case studies explored and showed how the focused destruction of a historic city is an attempt to remove national identity as well as the values, collective memories and social frameworks which have been established by a community.[210]

Case Study Approach

A major strand of the research involved the development of three case studies of World Heritage museums. Robert Yin suggests:

> As a research strategy, the case study is used in many situations to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organization, social, political, and related phenomena. Not surprisingly, the case study has been a common research strategy in psychology, sociology, political science, social work, business and community planning.[211]

Case study research enabled me to develop an in-depth understanding of contemporary practice at three World Heritage museums. Each site was chosen based on the quality and uniqueness of the archaeological collection, the physical completeness of the World Heritage Site, age, location and accessibility. Sites were also chosen based on how the archaeological collection was found, retrieved or excavated and interpreted. Site visits were first undertaken so as to take photographs and gain a deeper appreciation and sense

---

[209] Sophia Labadi (ed.), *World heritage: challenges for the millennium* (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2007), p. 67. <http://whc.unesco.org/sustainabletourismtoolkit/sites/default/files/3.%20UNESCO%20%282007%29%20World%20Heritage%20Challenges%20for%20the%20Millennium.pdf> [accessed 12 February 2013].

[210] Marah Al Aloul, 'The destruction of cultural heritage by warfare and reconstruction strategies: lessons learned from case studies of rebuilt cities,' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Florida, 2007) <http://ufdcimages.uflib.ufl.edu/UF/E0/02/16/05/00001/alaloul_m.pdf > [accessed 15 July 2011].

[211] Robert K. Yin, *Case study research: design and methods*, 3rd edn (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications Inc, 2003).

of the layout of the site and the way the museum and its collections have been interpreted. This would be further revisited through the photographs and notes collected on site.

The three World Heritage museums which have been examined as part of this research include: Hyde Park Barracks Museum, Sydney Australia; Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola Malta; Roman Vindolanda Fort, Hexham Northumberland. The three site visits were essential to my research. Not only did they allow me to undertake additional fieldwork and observation but they also placed a focused on the history, culture and values of the people presented to me through interpretative settings.[212] This fieldwork also allowed me to observe how people moved through these museums, whilst noting the key objects which were being the most studied and photographed.

Therefore, not only was it important to investigate the social groups who were owners or makers of these objects but also those who are now responsible for interpreting them. It was considered that using a qualitative interview approach through a set questionnaire that additional data and the analysis of it would support and compliment the theory which I was attempting to establish. Mason suggests through using this approach that data can be used to generate information on these individuals and compare this data between these individuals.[213] It was hoped through this process, that the feedback received would support the observational studies which had been undertaken during the onsite visits. This collected data would then be further supported through the additional information and documentary evidence obtained during my research.

Interview Approach

Mason indicates that "Interviews are one of the most commonly recognized forms of qualitative research method." [214] Interviews allow the collection of data which can include the viewpoint of "individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored".[215] Due to this, interviews can be used to enable an applicant to reflect on complex and deep issues which are being presented. Interviews can be powerful tools which allow researchers greater insight into

---

[212] Ibid., p. 55.
[213] Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative researching*, p. 34.
[214] Ibid., p. 63.
[215] Natasha Mack et al., *Qualitative research methods,* p. 3.

how others view a situation. Cohen, Manion and Morrison believe that interviews allow participants:

> to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view. In these senses the interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself, its human embeddedness is inescapable.[216]

Therefore, interviews were a very useful tool for this research as they became a powerful checkpoint against what had been already viewed during a site visit.

Staff members chosen for interviews were selected based on their familiarity with the site's World Heritage status, archaeological collection and interpretation. However, research questions were completed after the initial site visits. This was due to a number of reasons. First, so as not to influence my thoughts and opinions prior to my onsite visit and second, due to the availability of the person being interviewed.

Interviewees were approached first via email so as to ascertain if they would be willing to be part of this research project. Once confirmed, project information sheets were provided and consent forms were signed. Additional communication was made through emails, phone calls and in some cases face to face. Participants were then presented with a set questionnaire via email (refer to appendix for questionnaire).[217] A total of eight questions were developed and based on the key areas of this research investigation. The questions were designed so as to prompt the applicant to reflect on various issues which were directly connected to the collections in each World Heritage museum.

Case Study Documentary Research

In addition to the completed interviews and site visits which were completed as part of this qualitative research approach, additional documentary data was also examined. This documentary research allowed me to review and assess if material culture had been included in the World Heritage Site's nomination application or recognised through the World Heritage Management Plan.

---

[216] Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison, *Research methods in education,* 6th edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. 346. < https://islmblogblog.files.wordpress.com/2016/05/rme-edu-helpline-blogspot-com.pdf> [accessed 16 October 2011].
[217] Ibid., p. 338.

Hyde Park Barracks Museum, Sydney Australia

The Hyde Park Barracks museum was the first of my case studies. As part of this study I was fortunate to be given access to a number of restricted documents generally not readily available. This was to include the: *Historic Houses Trust Collections Management Policy,* published in 1994 by the Historic Houses Trust, Sydney and *The Hyde Park Barracks Museum Plan: Incorporating Analysis and Guidelines on Conservation, Interpretation and Management* published in 1990 by the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales (NSW).[218] The *Hyde Park Barracks Management Plan* published in 2010 by the Historic Houses Trust of NSW was also reviewed as a document which had been created in preparation for the sites World Heritage nomination.[219] This Plan was to set objectives and provide information about the Local, State, National and World heritage values of the place. Other material such as academic articles, reports which focused on Sites of Memory and memorials were also assessed. This included the large publication edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nűnning titled *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* which was published in 2008 and included various articles by a number of scholars in this field. The handbook documents current research in cultural memory studies which include psychology, history, neuroscience, psychology and other streams and served as a forum for bringing other authors together. A report which explored in more detail the material culture in this collection was the *Archaeology of the Modern City 1788-1900 Assessment of Historical and Archaeological Resources of the Hyde Park Barracks, Sydney.* Written by Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos and Tim Murray, this detailed report was one of seven which were produced to investigate the historical and archaeological resources held at various sites.[220] In addition to this, further research was undertaken of other archaeological collections to gain a greater understanding of the evolution of penal systems and the evidence which remained. Written by Denis Gojak, the article *Convict archaeology in New South Wales: An overview of the investigation, analysis and conservation of convict heritage sites,* explored convict settlements in the

---

[218] Historic Houses Trust of NSW, *Hyde Park Barracks museum plan: incorporating analysis and guidelines on conservation, interpretation and management* (Sydney, Australia: Historic Houses Trust of NSW, 1990).

[219] Historic Houses Trust of NSW, *Hyde Park Barracks, Sydney: management plan* (Sydney, Australia,, 2010) < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/sites/default/files/2010-Feb-HPBM-Management-Plan.pdf> [accessed 14 April 2014]

[220] Other sites which were included as part of this artefact assessment in Sydney included: The Royal Mint, First Government House, Susannah Place, the Cumberland and Gloucester Streets site, the Paddy's Market site and Lilyvale.

state of New South Wales.[221] Gojak explored how archaeological evidence has been significant for understanding how these people lived during this time and how they were operated.[222] It also discussed the Hyde Park Barracks collection and the re-examination of this collection in an effort to understand more information on the methodology used to excavate this collection.[223] The *Australian Dress Register,* which is a collaborative online project about dress with Australian provenance, was also used to help identify the significance of a convict shirt found at the Hyde Park Barracks. The register confirmed that the shirt was considered one of the most important artefacts in historical archaeology in Australia.[224] Further articles and documents were obtained through UNESCO and the Australian Government Department of the Environment and Energy website. This was to include the *Australian Convict sites World Heritage nomination* which comprises the Hyde Park Barracks' application for World Heritage Listing along with ten other convict sites which survive in Australia.[225] These documents were assessed in order to understand if and how the Hyde Park Barracks archaeological collections were recognised or mentioned.

Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola Malta.

The second case study to be assessed included the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum. To gain a deeper understanding of this site and familiarise myself with the types of material culture which had been excavated from this site, it was important to review archaeological reports that had been produced by archaeologists familiar with the Hypogeum and other temple sites on the Maltese Islands. To understand the Ħal-Salfieni Hypogeum and the archaeological collection which had been excavated from this site, the guidebooks *Malta Insight Heritage Guides: The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola* [226] and *The National*

---

[221] Denis Gojak, 'Convict archaeology in New South Wales: an overview of the investigation, analysis and conservation of convict heritage sites,' *Australasian Historical Archaeology,* 19, (2001), pp. 73-83. < http://www.asha.org.au/pdf/australasian_historical_archaeology/19_04_Gojak.pdf> [accessed 14 July 2014]

[222] Ibid.

[223] Ibid.

[224] Sydney Living Museums, *Australian dress register: Hyde Park Barracks convict shirt,* [n.d.] < http://www.australiandressregister.org/garment/259/ > [accessed 14 June 2016].

[225] Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts [DEWHA], *Australian convict sites: world heritage nomination*, 2008 < http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/publications/australian-convict-sites-world%20heritage-nomination> [accessed 14 June 2016]

[226] Anthony Pace, *The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola* (Malta, Midsea Books, 2004).

Museum of Archaeology: The Neolithic Period were reviewed.[227] Written by Pace and Sultana and published through Heritage Malta as historical guides, these books aimed to give insight into aspects of the Neolithic Maltese people. Both authors present a timeline of how the underground temple was developed and the types of artefacts which were discovered. Sultana further compares the Hypogeum objects with others also held in the National Museum of Archaeology collection which date from the Neolithic period. An article which examined the different construction methods used during the building of temple sites on Malta was the article *Archaeoacoustics Analysis and Ceremonial Customs in an Ancient Hypogeum* by Paolo Debertolis and Niccolo Bisconti. This article also compared the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum in Malta with Cividale del Friuli Hypogeum in Italy, with a focus on the archeaoacoustic properties and the historical rituals between these two underground temple sites.[228] Further information was gained through a report which was published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* in 1922, titled *The ethnology of Malta and Gozo*.[229] Written by Leonard H. D. Buxton, the report refers to the types of artefacts and human remains found at Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum including the burial techniques used at this site.[230]

Due to the large number of human remains which had been found in this site, additional research on the processes of death and the afterlife was also explored through the document written by Malone, Bonanno, Gouder, Stoddart and Trump. Titled *Death Cults of Prehistoric Malta,* the article examined various clay figures which had been excavated from a number of temple sites from around the Maltese Islands, including the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum.[231] Although not yet finalised, the *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum Management Plan Consultation Document* was also examined. Published in 2012 through the Prehistoric Sites Department of Heritage Malta, this document highlights the various values which

---

227 Sharon Sultana, *The National Museum of Archaeology: the Neolithic period* (Malta, Midsea Books, 2010).

228 Paolo Debertolis and Niccolò Bisconti, 'Archaeoacoustics analysis and ceremonial customs in an ancient hypogeum', *Sociology Study,* 3, no. 10 (2013), pp. 803-814. < https://www.scribd.com/document/212813027/Archaeoacoustics-Analysis-and-Ceremonial-Customs-in-an-Ancient-Hypogeum> [accessed 2 March 2016]

229 Leonard H. D. Buxton, 'The ethnology of Malta and Gozo', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 52 (1922), pp. 164-221. < https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/7809?show=full> [accessed 5 March 2016]

230 Ibid.

231 Anthony Bonanno et al., 'The death cults of prehistoric Malta', *Scientific American: Mysteries of the Ancient Ones*,15, no. 1 (2005), pp. 14-23. < https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/the-death-cults-of-prehistoric-malt-2005-01/> [accessed 13 July 2016]

have been set against this site in an effort to show, its national and international significance.[232] The nomination Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum as a World Heritage Site in 1980 resulted in it being one of the earliest sites to be listed on the Maltese Islands. A copy of the nomination application for the Hypogeum revealed that the method in how Member States prepared their applications had changed over time. As a result of this, the application for the Hypogeum was to greatly differ to that of the Hyde Park Barracks and the Roman Vindolanda Fort nomination. Due to this, the nomination for this site for World Heritage Listing did not provide as much information as the other two documents. Furthermore, unlike the Barracks and the Fort, the Hypogeum was to suffer diverse environmental issues. In order to understand these environmental conditions, it was necessary to review the following documentation for this site; The *1990, 1994* and *1995 State of conservation reports*; *2006* and *2014 Periodic Reporting* and the *2015 State of Conservation Reports by States Parties.* [233]

Roman Vindolanda Fort, Hexham Northumberland

The third case study to be assessed for this research was the Roman Vindolanda Fort. To understand the history of Vindolanda and its collections, I reviewed a number of publications by Robin Birley who had been the Director of Excavations at the site and head of the Vindolanda research committee. These were to include the following publications *The Making of Modern Vindolanda with the life and work of Anthony Hedley 1777-1835* published in 1995;[234] *Chesterholm 1830-2000. Vindolanda's Museum*, published in 2000,[235] and *Vindolanda's Treasures: An extraordinary record of life on Rome's northern frontier*, published in 2008.[236] All three reports contribute to give an historical overview of the site and how it was first established as a Roman Fort and then rediscovered through excavation. Initially, Hadrian's Wall was listed as a World Heritage Site in 1987 but then was extended upon in 2005 and 2008 with additional roman fortifications connected to this site. To understand how the Fort and its collection was

---

[232] Heritage Malta, *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum management plan consultation document*, (Kalkara, Malta, Heritage Malta, 2012) < http://heritagemalta.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Consultation-document-hypogeum.pdf> [accessed 16 January 2014].

[233] UNESCO, *Hal Saflieni Hypogeum* < http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/130/documents/> [accessed 15 January 2011].

[234] Robin Birley, *The making of modern Vindolanda with the life and work of Anthony Hedley 1777-1835* (Greenhead, UK: Roman Army Museum Publications, 1995), pp. 13-74.

[235] Robin Birley, *Chesterholm 1830-2000: Vindolanda's Museum* (Greenhead, UK: Roman Army Museum Publications, 2000), pp. 18-19.

[236] Robin Birley, *Vindolanda's treasures: an extraordinary record of life on Rome's northern frontier* (Greenhead, UK: Roman Army Museum Publications, 2008), p. 8.

mentioned and included as part of the Hadrian's Wall nomination for World Heritage Listing, the 2008 *Frontiers of the Roman Empire nomination application* [237] and the *Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site Hadrian's Wall Management Plan 2008-2014 (FMP),* were reviewed.[238] Furthermore, the *Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site: Hadrian's Wall Interpretation Framework* Overview and Summary *(FIF)* was also studied as these documents not only explained how the site should be managed as part of a collection of sites situated along Hadrian's Wall, but also how interpretation should be used to link these locations together.[239]

Structure of research

Due to the depth of this investigation and the types of qualitative research which have been used for this study, this thesis has been divided into three main sections. *Part One* will include a chapter that examine the history of cultural heritage protection and the early legislation which was established in Europe, United Kingdom and the US from the late 19th century to the end of WWII.

Chapter One commences by introducing the reader to the first heritage protective laws which came to be established in Europe, United Kingdom and the US by exploring some of the key events which occurred in world history which resulted in the creation of the earliest military laws. This Chapter will also highlight how these laws were to be quickly followed with establishment of the first international bodies and legislative systems directed to protect cultural heritage. Chapter One will further trace how conflict between nations caused the need for a more global approach on the protection of significant sites and collections. It will show how both the US and Europe were pivotal in establishing guidelines in the form of conventions, treaties, and policies for the safeguarding of cultural heritage after WWII to the early 1950s. Through this process, Chapter One will

---

[237] UNESCO, World Heritage Convention cultural properties: UK nomination – Hadrian's Wall military zone (London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1987).
< http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/430ter.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2014].

[238] UNESCO, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire world heritage site: Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014*. (Carlisle, UK, The Hadrian's Wall Trust, [n.d.])
< https://hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/sites/default/files/3__Hadrian%27s_Wall_2008-2014_-_Greyscale_text_%26_appendices%5B1%5D.pdf> [accessed 12 July 2014].

[239] Genevieve Adkins and Nigel Mills, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire world heritage site Hadrian's Wall interpretation framework primary theme: the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire*. (Hexham, UK: Hadrian's Wall Heritage Limited, 2011)
< https://hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/sites/default/files/2.%20%20HWIF_The%20north-west%20frontier%20of%20the%20Roman%20Empire.pdf> [accessed 12 July 2014].

support the reader to understand specific events which occurred during WWI and WWII and organisations which catalysed global actors to address the need for the protection of cultural heritage in times of peace or unrest. Chapter One will conclude by revealing how through these events the first treaty was created. Known as the 1954 *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* it would be the first global attempt to protect sites and objects in countries in conflict from theft and destruction.

Part Two will include Chapter Two which explores the establishment of UNESCO and the supporting bodies which have enabled heritage protection to be accepted on an international level. As part of this section, two leading conventions will be examined to understand the guiding principles and guidelines created for the protection of international cultural heritage. Chapter Two analyses the core values emanating from world conflict. Chapter Two explores the concept of world heritage in the *1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* and the *1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit, Import, Export and transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*. It compares and assesses both conventions and their own individual Operational Guidelines in an effort to understand how they complement and support each other as globally accepted documents.

Part Three of this research will included Chapters Three, Four and Five. In each chapter, a World Heritage museum will be analysed and its archaeological collection will be investigated. The notion behind these individual case studies will be to put forward the case for greater protection of significant material culture belonging to World Heritage Sites under the protection of the *1972 Convention.*

Chapter Three examines and analyses the World Heritage convict site and museum at the Hyde Park Barracks located in Sydney in Australia. Chapter Three will draw upon the literature available both at the Hyde Park Barracks and through the UNESCO website to build a picture of this site and its occupants. An exploration of specific artefacts will also be undertaken to identify items which could be identified as potential triggers of collective memory and national identity. An onsite assessment has been completed of the museum in which displays will be reviewed to identify how objects have been interpreted at this World Heritage Site. This analysis will be further supported by additional analyses of

plans and documentation held on site. Furthermore, responses to an open-ended interview with Senior Curator, Dr Fiona Starr, will inform the concluding remarks.

Chapter Four follows a similar approach to Chapter Three in order to analyse the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum located in Paola in Malta. An onsite visit of both the Hypogeum and the National Museum of Archaeology in Valletta were carried out to identify artefacts which could contribute to the development of collective memory and national identity. A review of the displays was also completed to understand the various processes which have been used to interpret the museum's collection. Information was accessed from the UNESCO website and further insights were gained from Senior Curator, Ms. Katya Stroud.

Chapter Five concludes with the third and final case study of the Roman Vindolanda Fort and Museum located in Northumberland in the United Kingdom. This site was chosen as a case study due to the significance of the artefacts found on this site. The site was identified as a good case study because it used both outside and inside interpretation. As with the previous two case studies, additional data has been gained through the UNESCO website as well as from the site's own website in an effort to understand various objects in this collection as well as how they were retrieved. Information was also acquired through set questions presented to the Director of the Vindolanda Trust, Ms. Patricia Birley. This material also contributed to the shaping of my final theory and therefore yielded a better understanding of a recommended intervention and its outcomes.

Chapter Six draws together the concluding findings collected through the assessment of the documentation provided on the three case studies in Chapters Three, Four and Five. It will also compare the results found through the onsite visits and pull together the data collected from Starr, Stroud and Birley. The research concludes by proposing a simple recording system – The 3EF Framework - which could be used during a site's World Heritage nomination to document and include moveable material culture which supports and upholds both state and national collective memory. It is hoped that this research project will prompt greater acknowledgement during the nomination process of moveable material culture at World Heritage museums. Through this framework, steps can be taken

which will allow for greater protection and recognition of both moveable and immoveable material culture through the nomination process for World Heritage Listing.[240]

---

[240] To assist the reader, abbreviations will be used in the following chapters – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Heritage Site (WHS), Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), International Council of Museums (ICOM).

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

The intentional destruction of cultural property through global warfare and the development of international cultural property law and protection

Introduction

International law relating to cultural property "has its roots in antiquity" during a time when nation States produced treaties to protect and govern their own communities and people under the "protection of their sovereign."[241] Many of the early treaties, policies and laws prior to the early 19th century, not only presented directions for how nation States should act but also how they should behave during battle.[242] However, even though the protection of cultural property "has existed within the various manifestations of this corpus of law" in the past, it has not prohibited military forces from removing some of the "most significant cultural objects" and placing them in their capital city's archives, libraries or museums.[243] Through this process, nations at war became responsible for destroying cultural material of their enemies that was "the substance of [their] national identity" and historical memory.[244] Ana Filipa Vrdoljak indicates that by not enforcing regulations to stop this activity, a nation State "encapsulated the subjection and assimilation of the conquered into the physical space and cultural identity of the dominant power."[245]

From the mid to late 19th century, the protection of enemy and allied cultural property would be incorporated into military legislation and peace treaties. Although some would include provisions for the restitution of material culture, many would be bound only to the State which created it. This approach would later change as States and nations became more aware of the significance of cultural property and its deep connections to national identity and historical memory. John Merryman believed that there were two ways to view cultural heritage in history; "The first is the nationalistic way, which conceives of cultural property as part of the Nation, with the attendant desire of governments to retain

---

[241] Aaron Schwabach and Arthur J. Cockfield, *The role of international law and institutions* (Paris: UNESCO Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems, [n.d.]), p. 3. < https://www.eolss.net/Sample-Chapters/C14/E1-36.pdf> [accessed 15 April 2019]

[242] These guidelines were included in the Charter of the United Nations of 1945, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

[243] Ana F. Vrdoljak, 'History and evolution of international cultural heritage law: through the question of the removal and return of cultural objects', paper presented to the *30th Anniversary of the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in case of Illicit Appropriation* (Berkeley, Calif: Bepress, 2008),p. 7. < file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/fulltext_stamped%20(6).pdf > [accessed 23 June 2019]

[244] Sylwia Grochowina, *Cultural policy of the Nazi occupying forces in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia, the District Wartheland and the Reich District of Katowice in the Years 1939–1945*, Agnieszka Chabros (trans.) (Toruń, Poland: Museum of the Home Army and the Military Service of Women, 2017), p. 16.

[245] Ana, F. Vrdoljak, 'History and evolution of international cultural heritage law', p. 7.

it and limit its international circulation."[246] This approach can be witnessed prior to the establishment to UNESCO. In contrast, "The second is the cosmopolitan way, which looks at cultural property as heritage of humankind and therefore supports the broadest access and circulation to facilitate exchange and cultural understanding among different peoples of the world."[247] Francesco Francioni highlights this stating that by "the 20th century, [there was] sure evidence of the existence of a rule of customary international law that imposes upon States the duty to respect cultural heritage in times of war."[248] Unfortunately, it would take two world wars and the destruction of many historic cities and sites as well as the theft, trafficking and destruction of millions of objects, before an international law for the protection of cultural property would be established. It would also be as a result of these battles that a definition for cultural property would be finally produced. Today, international cultural property law has emerged as a distinct field in which protective frameworks and principles have been developed in an effort to safeguard cultural property at risk.

To understand how modern international law came to protect cultural property from the mid 20th century, it is necessary to understand the context in which western mililtary regulations came to be created. Through briefly exploring 'why' and 'how' specific State and national military laws were developed and drawing across a large body of research that has explored this history, a greater awareness will be gained as to why certain material culture was protected whilst others were not. Towards these ends and to put this research in to context, Chapter One examines the first European and US military laws formed during the mid-19th and early 20th century as well as how nations were to view and value their own cultural heritage differently, causing national policies to identify cultural property distinctly. Jiri Toman's[249] and Francesco Francioni's analysis has been particularly helpful here.[250] Finally, Chapter One will investigate how, by the end WWII, there was an international move to establish an organsational body which was aimed at

---

[246] Francesco Francioni, 'The evolving framework for the protection of cultural heritage in international law', in Silvia Borelli and Federico Lenzerini (eds), *Cultural heritage, cultural rights, cultural diversity: new developments in international law* (Boston, Mass: Martinus Publishers, 2012), pp. 1-25 (p. 3).
[247] Ibid.
[248] Ibid., p. 8.
[249] Jiri Toman, *Cultural property in war: improvement in protection commentary on the 1999 Second Protocol to The Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2009), p. 245.
[250] Francesco Francioni, 'The evolving framework', p. 9.

establishing global peace and harmony. Known as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (or UNESCO) it would adopt the first globally recognised Conventions aimed at not only protecting built and moveable cultural property in times of war but but also valuing it as part of the "culture of the world" in times of peace.[251] Overall, the chapter reveals the ways in which the actions of war and the purposeful and planned as well as the almost opportunistic pillaging and destruction of cultural property, must be understood as attempts to dislodge collective memory and eradicate national identity.

Nations at War and the first steps towards international dialogue

History has shown that the lack of defined boundaries which have been presented in military laws have often resulted in the theft, trade and destruction of national cultural heritage by armed forces during and after conflict.[252] For many centuries, the destruction and plunder of cultural property was considered part of the 'booty' of war in which powerful nations did not necessarily display it "for its artistic value, but rather to demonstrate the prowess of their own victories."[253] However, with each historical period the reasons for taking advantage of the cultural heritage of a vanquished nation increased. No longer was a country's heritage used for boasting a nations' conquest, but also to enhance the conqueror's cultural inheritance and cultural beliefs.[254] The pillaging of material cultural was to rise over the following centuries as more and more countries went to war. Even though codified military laws which operated at this time condemned the abuse of cultural property during conflict, they predominately focused on crimes against

---

[251] UNESCO, *Convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict with regulations for the execution of the convention 1954* (1954), p. 8. < http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html> [accessed 11 January 2011]. In Chapter One, I purposely use the term 'cultural property' instead of 'cultural heritage' (except for in quotes) as defined in Article 1 of the 1954 Hague Convention. This has been undertaken because the term cultural heritage was first introduced in the 1972 Convention and therefore would be seen as time inappropriate.

[252] Asser Institute Centre for International and European Law, *Research* [n.d.]. [accessed 14 May 2012].

[253] Elissa S. Myerowitz, 'Protecting cultural property during a time of war: why Russia should return Nazi-looted art', *Fordham International Law Journal*,20, no. 5 (1996), pp. 1961-2002. < https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/ilj/vol20/iss5/14/> [accessed 14 June 2012].

[254] Erik Nemeth, '*Cultural security: evaluating the power of culture in international affairs* Insurgency and terrorism series volume 5 (London: Imperial College Press, 2007), pp. 1-27. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228121038_Cultural_Security_The_Evolving_Role_of_Art_in_International_Security> [accessed 16 June 2012].

humanity.[255] Therefore, damage, theft and destruction made by enemy and allied forces to cultural property largely went unprosecuted. Jiří Toman writes that:

> In the past, the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict was included in legal instruments concerning the laws and customs of war. A very limited number of these provisions included prosecution of violations of these laws and customs of war.[256]

Yet, it was not only cultural property which has been threatened through this breach in national and international military laws but also the identity of a nation and the legacy of its people. Marcus Műller declares that: "Cultural property provides access to the history of nations. It is the foundation for cultural and social identity, for learning something about other peoples."[257] This understanding would be further recognised as nations, governments and leading authorities became increasingly aware of the irreversible damage being caused to their national cultural heritage by military conflicts. It would also highlight the emotional trauma caused through the damage of material culture both to a nation, city and community. Műller recognises this importance by stating:

> Cultural property, culture, and social identity have multiple interlinks; they are bound together in one inseparable unity. However, these links are not fully understood, and, moreover, they are not exclusive to one social group. Cultural property can be national heritage, common heritage of some nations, or part of the common heritage of all humankind. [258]

The interconnectedness between "cultural property, culture and social identity" would be recognised by government leaders and would result in military codified laws being altered by policy makers to be more inclusive. These laws endeavoured to illustrate how military forces should operate when confronted with cultural property in an enemy or allied nation. Although these modified military laws were to recognise cultural property, they were

---

[255] LCDR Rachael S. Mangas, Maj. Mathew Festa and Maj. Laura O'Donnell (eds), *Law of armed conflict deskbook*, 16th edn (Charlottesville, VA: International and Operational Law Department: The United States Army Judge Advocate General's Legal Center and School, 2016), p. 31 <https://www.jagcnet.army.mil/Sites%5C%5Cio.nsf/0/EEF9422EB2C293B68525805A0063ABED/%24File/LOAC%20Deskbook%20final%20with%202016%20index%20(20%20Sep).pdf> [accessed 10 March 2017]

[256] Jiri Toman, *Cultural property in war*, p. 245.

[257] Marcus M. Műller, 'Cultural heritage protection: legitimacy, property, and functionalism', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 7, no. 2 (1998), pp. 395-409 (p. 405).
< https://www-cambridge-org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/B56F4705626F786EB0A1ED521CD4DC85/S0940739198770407a.pdf/cultural_heritage_protection_legitimacy_property_and_functionalism.pdf > [accessed 11 March 2017]

[258] Ibid.

often vague when setting guidelines towards its protection.[259] It is only in the second half of the 19th century that the legitimacy of the destruction and pillage in the event of war begins to be questioned.[260]

One such law which would be recognised as a defining moment in the evolution of cultural property protection during military conflict, was the *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field, General Orders, No. 100, (or the Lieber Code)*. Established in 1863 and drafted during the American Civil War, the Lieber Code would be the first national legislation for the protection of cultural property and "became the basis for certain international treaties and similar national military codes in other countries."[261] Written by the German American scholar Franz Lieber, *The Code* aimed to determine how soldiers during the American Great Civil War should behave when entering into enemy states. Lieber drew inspiration for the Code from his own experiences when as a boy of 15, he volunteered to join Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher's army. He also took part in the battle of Waterloo and had been involved in Greece against the Ottoman occupation. His memories from these conflicts gave him a deeper understanding of the ethical dilemmas around the destruction of cultural property faced during conflict. Because of this, *The Code* therefore would be constructed to, encourage soldiers to protect and respect private property during battle. Articles 34-36 of *The Code* highlights that classical works of art, museums of fine arts, libraries and scientific collections "must be secured against all avoidable injury" and are "not to be considered public property."[262] In short, *The Code* was designed so that it is the victorious army that is the protective institution.[263] Although The *Lieber Code* was a significant step towards setting a framework for humanitarian law and military behaviour towards cultural property, it was not fully adopted outside of the United States. However, *The Code* was to eventually influence the basis for the *Brussels Declaration in 1874*, the first

---

[259] Ibid., p. 245. The development of codified laws of war was influenced in the early stages by national provisions, in particular those adopted in the US during the Civil War.

[260] Jiri Toman, *Cultural property in war*, p. 62.

[261] American Red Cross, *International humanitarian law (IHL) survey: key findings and teaching resources – April 2011,* [n.d.] < https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=http%3A%2F%2Fredcrosschat.org%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2011%2F04%2FIHL-survey-and-EHL-connections.doc> [accessed 12 March 2012].

[262] Yale Law School *General Orders No. 100: The Lieber Code* (2008) < https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/lieber.asp#sec2> [accessed 12 February 2015].

[263] Ibid.

international codification.[264] The *Oxford Manual* would shortly follow this in 1880 and would set the ground for successive formal international humanitarian laws. Yet although it did work to influence the creation of international rules dealing with the conduct of war it did not explicitly describe how military forces should safeguard cultural property. Instead, it was to indicate the types of properties which should be spared from bombardment, theft and illicit trafficking.[265]

The *1899* and *1907 Hague Conventions* were both designed as a set of international treaties and declarations to regulate war and war crimes including the looting from buildings and sites by military forces.[266] Many of the articles and provisions of the *1899 Hague Convention* (or *1899 Convention*) would be annexed in the *1907 Hague Convention (*or *1907 Convention).* Both Conventions prevented the unnecessary damage or destruction to enemy property unless absolutely needed. These conventions also stated that: "All seizure of, destruction or wilful damage done to… historic monuments, works of art and science, is forbidden, and should be made the subject of legal proceedings."[267] Although the *1907 Convention* would absorb most of the 1899 regulations, it was the first to use the term cultural property as a category in a convention designed specifically for warfare.[268] Policy makers "aimed at providing a more realistic definition that would actually be able to protect at least some cultural heritage during conflict" [269] and because of this, the Convention "took the protection of cultural property during war on land […] further […] than any of the codes achieved in the 19th century."[270] The *1907 Hague Convention* would consist of thirteen treaties with the protection of cultural property

---

[264] Katerina Papaioannou, 'The international law on the protection of cultural heritage', *International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences*, 3, no. 7 (2017), pp. 257-262 (p. 258). < http://static.dergipark.org.tr/article-download/497b/4a2f/2beb/59036c00edd9a.pdf?> [12 January 2018]

[265] Marah Al Aloul, 'The destruction of cultural heritage', p. 55.

[266] Ibid.

[267] Maj. Yvette Foliant, *Cultural property protection makes sense a way to improve your mission*, The Hague, Netherlands: Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence, 2015), pp. 27-28. <https://cimic-coe.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/CPP-Makes-Sense-final-version-29-10-15.pdf> [accessed 12 June 2014].

[268] Janet E. Blake, *International cultural heritage law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 7. < https://www-oxfordscholarship-com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198723516.001.0001/acprof-9780198723516-chapter-1> [accessed 15 September 2017]

[269] Lucas Lixinski, *International heritage law for communities: exclusion and re-imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 30. < https://www-oxfordscholarship-com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/10.1093/oso/9780198843306.001.0001/oso-9780198843306-chapter-2> [accessed 21 November 2019].

[270] Marah Al Aloul, 'The destruction of cultural heritage', p. 56.

being entered under Treaty IV in Article 27 which stipulates: "In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps must be taken to spare, as far as possible, buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, [and] historic monuments."[271] Article 27 of the Convention was to further stress that: "It is the duty of the besieged to indicate the presence of such buildings or places by distinctive and visible signs, which shall be notified to the enemy beforehand."[272] Article 56 would further state that during occupation, protection would also extend to "works of art and science."[273]

Although the Convention's definition for "cultural property" was designed to allow for a wider choice of State heritage to be protected under this term, it was only valid if enemy and allied States were both signatories to the legislation. Therefore:

> all parties in the conflict were Parties to it and were bound by it. Thus, if at least one belligerent was not Party to the Convention, the Convention would not be applicable to any of the belligerent parties to the conflict, regardless of whether those parties were also Parties to the Convention.[274]

Jiří Toman mentions that because of this States were "entirely free to punish or not to punish the actions of their own troops or enemy soldiers. Individual responsibility is included only in national legislation."[275] Because of this, both Conventions failed to provide direct law enforcement in relation to the protection of cultural property and "sadly failed to avert the extensive destruction of cultural property."[276] This failure to provide protection would be evident in the wars which were to follow both in Europe and the rest of the World and would result in both enemy and allied forces taking souvenirs or as 'trophies-of-war' without the fear of being legally prosecuted for theft.[277]

---

[271] Yale Law School, *Laws of war: laws and customs of war on land (Hague IV): October 18, 1907* (2008)
< http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hague04.asp> [accessed 13 February 2015].
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.
For further information refer to Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 18 October 1907. Section II Hostilities Chapter I Art 27. Furthermore, the concept of highlighting a site for its significance during conflict in an effort to protect it against damage had been already been recommended in other national legislations such as the Oxford Code (1880) and the Hague (1899).
[274] Jiri Toman, *Cultural property in war*, p. 65.
[275] Ibid., pp. 246-247.
[276] Marah Al Aloul, 'The destruction of cultural heritage', p. 56.
[277] Dominiek Dendooven, 'The journey back: on the nature of donations to the "In Flanders Fields Museum"', in Nicholas J. Saunders and Paul Cornish (eds*), Contested objects: material memories of the Great War* (London and New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2013), pp. 60-72.

This lack of protection would be evident throughout WWI, in which many towns and cities were depleted of cultural property through theft, damage and destruction. After nearly four years of conflict the French city of Ypres was reduced to little more than a pile of rubble. It was during this time that many soldiers would venture out amongst the debris to find war souvenirs. Churches and council buildings were not the only targetted sites which were open to souvenir hunters but private properties were also vulnerable to such attack. Doniniek Dendooven declares "There is little doubt that the most sought-after souvenirs were woodcarvings, statues, parts of paintings and stained glass from the cathedral or the thirteenth-century Cloth Hall – the two most important ancient monuments in the city centre." [278] This continuation of cultural theft would endure even after this war had ended with material culture still being traded and sold at local markets. Lode Opdebeek, a writer from Antwerp, recollects how everything in Ypres at this time could be bought at a price:

> 'Un souvenir d'Ypres'. Wood and stone pieces of trash, souvenirs in iron, steel, bone, linen, and board, paper, earth. All souvenirs of a doomed city. …Oh Ypres, dear Ypres, 'beautiful crown of Flanders' democracy', they are fighting for your body and scattering your bones to all corners of the earth.[279]

The trade of cultural material was to continue after the war had ended. Andrzej Jakubowski states that after WWI:

> the link between the principle of self-determination and cultural heritage was generally understood in terms of the post-war reconstruction of Europe and the peaceful coexistence of its nations. This referred both to the internal and the external dimensions of self-determination.[280]

However, internally many States attempted to protect their own minority groups and cultural rights whilst following the principles which had been set out by the League of Nations. Externally, new States were to take "on the restoration of cultural and historic objects of great importance to national identity, removed by a predecessor state."[281] Number IV of the Regulation Annex to *1907 Hague Convention* also requested that State

---

[278] Ibid., pp. 60-61.
[279] Ibid., p. 62.
[280] Andrzej Jakubowski, *State succession in cultural property* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 147. < https://www-oxfordscholarship-com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198738060.001.0001/acprof-9780198738060-chapter-5> [accessed 21 November 2016]
[281] Ibid.

Parties return stolen cultural heritage which had been removed from countries by military forces. Not many, however, were to comply. Francesco Francioni writes that:

> After World War I, the obligation to restitute certain cultural objects has been introduced in the peace treaties, but the application of this obligation has become problematic in practice, as one can see from the case of the refusal by Austria to restitute objects to Hungary on the basis of the debatable argument that they had become part of a public collection in which unity was to be preserved.[282]

The lack of protection which this Convention provided towards cultural property during WWI was to result in many nations feeling vulnerable and defenceless against further theft and destruction occurring in the future.

The Spanish Civil War of 1936 would further highlight the limitations to the protection of cultural heritage at an international level, especially in State conflicts. The Civil War would prompt the development of two multilateral initiatives for the protection of cultural property during non-international military conflicts.[283] The first treaty would include *The Treaty on the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments (or The Roerich Pact)* in 1935.

Written by Russian art historian, painter, writer, theosophist, and archaeologist Nicholas Roerich in 1935, *The Pact* was as a response to the destruction which had occurred during the Russo-Japanese War between 1903-1904 to cultural property.[284] Under Article IV of *The Pact* it declared:

> The signatory Governments […] shall send to the Pan American Union […] a list of the monuments and institutions for which they desire the protection agreed to in this treaty. The Pan American Union, when notifying the Governments of signatures or accessions, shall also send the list of monuments and institutions

---

[282] Francesco Francioni, 'The evolving framework', p. 13.

[283] Ana F. Vrdoljak, *Intentional destruction of cultural heritage and international law* (Berkekey, Calif: Bepress, 2007), p. 5. <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/CulturalRights/DestructionHeritage/NGOS/A.P.Vrdoljak_text3.pdf [accessed 21 June 2017].

[284] Nicholas Roerich Estate Museum in Izvara, *The Roerich Pact: protection of artistic and scientific institutions and historic monuments treaty between the United States of America and the other American republics* [n.d.] <http://www.roerich-izvara.ru/eng/roerich-pact.htm> [accessed 27 January 2013].

mentioned in this Article, and shall inform the other Governments of any changes in said list.[285]

The Pact was to "introduce for the first time the idea that cultural property is the common heritage of the culture of all peoples."[286] For cultural property to be protected by *The Roerich Pact*, States Parties provided a list of cultural property to the Pan American Union. Through this process, a national list of cultural property was established resulting in a State Parties' cultural heritage being recognised by both enemy and ally State Parties. Although *The Roerich Pact* was accepted by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and by representatives from twenty-one American governments on the 15th April 1935, it did not provide any form of international control. It therefore rested solely on those committed State Parties "to adopt the measures of internal legislation necessary to ensure said protection and respect."[287] However, like the *Lieber Code,* it too was not officially recognised or accepted in Europe as a working policy. It did, however, result in *The Roerich Pact* guiding the way governments viewed the safety and security of their own national cultural property.[288] The second attempt of a treaty being created would be established by the League of Nations' Advisory Committee, the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation in 1939. However, the *Declaration for the Protection of Historic Buildings and Works of Art in Time of War* would remain in draft form only, due to the onset of WWII.[289]

History has revealed that although special provisions for the protection of cultural property were included during the early formation of military codified law, many of these focused primarily towards humanitarian efforts during armed conflict. [290] Many of these laws were also restricted to national protection as with the *Lieber Code*. It would be only after the introduction of the *1899* and *1907 Hague Conventions*, that international treaties were officially introduced: "the limits of acceptable conduct during armed conflict" were

[285] Foundation for Advancement in Conservation, *Roerich Pact*: *protection of artistic and scientific institutions and historic monuments*, [n.d.] < http://cool.conservation-us.org/bytopic/intern/roerich.html [accessed 14 January 2011].

[286] Francesco Francioni, 'The evolving framework', p. 9.

[287] Jiri Toman, *Cultural property in war*, p. 439.

[288] Nicholas Roerich Estate Museum in Izvara, *The Roerich Pact.*

[289] Francesco Francioni, 'The evolving framework', p. 9.

[290] Joachim J. Savelsberg and Ryan D. King, 'Law and collective memory', *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 3 (2007), pp. 189-211 < https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.3.081806.112757> [accessed 14 May 2017]

set.[291] Yet although the *1907 Hague Convention* was to expand on the definition of cultural property in its main text, its ineffectiveness to protect heritage material by allied and enemy military forces on an international level would be highlighted during WWI. This inability to protect cultural heritage at a global level would continue into the interwar period. Even though treaties such as *The Roerich Pact* had been introduced to emphasise the need to protect and document cultural property during conflict, and had been recognised as a leading document in the United States, it had only been developed at a national level.[292]

Even though the protection of cultural property had gained greater recognition in military law during the mid-19th to early 20th century, they would not be strong enough to obstruct the destruction, theft and illicit trafficking of cultural heritage during military conflict. The discrepancies around how these early national and international legal military codes defined and protected cultural property during warfare, would be apparent with the onset of WWII in which nations watched helplessly as their national heritage was plundered, destroyed or sold. This loss of cultural prompted a response by the German Nazi party and their leader Adolf Hitler who was to devise a plan to reconstruct and re-establish German cultural identity. This would be achieved through the establishment of the *Nazi Cultural Policy* which focused on strong nationalistic views towards German culture. Whereas previous national and international military laws had tried to outline how military forces should behave when confronted with allied or enemy cultural property, the *Nazi Cultural Policy* endeavoured to remove material culture which was not connected to the Aryan race. The policy was not only to emphasize Hitlers belief that the Aryan people were the "representatives of the best and superior human race" but also that they were "the only creator of higher humanity, which means that he [the Aryan race] constitutes the archetype of what we understand by the word "human.""[293]

It would be this underlining principle which would allow Hitler, the "National Socialist Society for German Culture and the Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda

---

[291] Maj. Yvette Foliant, *Cultural property protection*.
[292] Ibid., p. 28. The Roerich Treaty agreed that "the defence of cultural objects should be more important than military defence and CPP [Cultural Property Protection] should always have precedence over military necessity."
[293] Sylwia Grochowina, *Cultural policy of the Nazi occupying forces*, p. 21.

of the Reich" to use the *Nazi Cultural Policy* as a political weapon.[294] Not only would this Policy set the context for cultural property to be destroyed, stolen or sold but also promote the political, social and religious ideologies.

Hitler and the Nazi Cultural Policy: The destruction and plunder of cultural property

The *Nazi Cultural Policy* was designed not only to reflect Adolf Hilter's political ideology but also that of the Nazi party. Sylwia Grochowina suggests that Nazi Cultural Policy endeavoured to create a:

> high degree of standardization of culture in terms of content and form [that] led inexorably to the creation of a society with one monolithic culture. On top of that, one may be tempted to say that the Nazi cultural policy propagated in a sense a model of mass culture, because the cultural message was addressed to a mass audience.[295]

Published in two sections, "The main interpretation and creed of the Nazi cultural policy was presented by Adolf Hitler on the pages of his political autobiography, *Mein Kampf*, which became to an extent a Nazi "Bible"."[296]. *Mein Kampf* enabled Hitler to present his political views, beliefs and opinions which were to be adopted into the Nazi Cultural Policy as well as other laws and legislations at this time.[297] Grochowina suggests that:

> The basis for the Nazi Cultural Policy was strong nationalism. Deliberating over the humans' abilities to create culture, Hitler divided people into three groups: – creators of culture (Kulturbegründer), – bearers of culture (Kulturträger), – destroyers of culture (Kulturzerstörer).[298]

The Nazi Cultural Policy was also designed in such a way that gave the German army permission to remove material culture from occupied cities and communities. Author Robert Edsel states:

> Hitler and the Nazis had gone to great lengths to establish new laws and procedures to 'legalize' the looting activities that would follow. This included

---

[294] Sylwia Grochowina and Katarzyna Kacka, 'Foundations of Nazi cultural policy', p. 190.
[295] Ibid., p. 230.
[296] Ibid., p. 175.
[297] AdolfAdolf Hitler, *Mein kampf*.
[298] Sylwia Grochowina, *Cultural policy of the Nazi occupying forces*.

forcing the conquered countries to give him certain works as a term of their surrender. [299]

Countries which experienced looting by the Nazi forces during WWII included Belgium, Holland and France, with the most theft of cultural treasures being taken from museums, churches, and private individuals.[300] Personal collections removed included those from the Rothchilds, Paul Rosenbergs, the Bernheim-Jeunes and David-Weills. The Schlosses were also vulnerable to theft by the Nazi party due to their size and significance.[301] Paintings removed comprised of "Vermeer, Delacroix, Cezanne, Manet, Degas, Monet, Renoir, Picasso, and Bonnard".[302] In an effort to cleanse Germany from "the trash of the more modern artistic development", a public exhibition was organised of what was considered degenerate art.[303] This was designed to highlight artwork which Hitler and the Third Reich believed was corruptive in nature. The exhibition would include artists linked to the Cubism, Dadaism and Futurism movement and were either Jewish or known opponents to the governing regime at this time.[304] Grochowina suggests that "As part of the preparation works a huge action of purging galleries and museums from exhibits representing "hostile" artistic movements made by "foreign" mainly "non-Aryan" artists was carried out."[305] Grochowina also highlights that:

> In the first five years of the Nazi rule over 5000 pictures and 12 000 graphics were removed without any compensation from 101 galleries. They were referred to as "Bolshevik art," "cultural and political anarchy" or they were regarded as "decadent." The galleries which suffered the greatest losses included Kunsthalle in Mannheim, the museum in Düsseldorf, FolkwangMuseum in Essen, the national gallery in Hanover and the Munich collections.[306]

---

[299] Robert M. Edsel, *Monuments men: allied heroes, Nazi thieves and the greatest treasure hunt in history* (Boston, Mass: Hachette, 2010), p. 117.

[300] Corine Wegener and Marjan Otter, *Cultural property at war: protecting heritage during armed conflict,* [n.d.] < http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_1/feature.html> [accessed 13 March 2017]

[301] Erica B. Marcus, 'Nazi looted art: setting precedence for museum decisions' (unpublished master's thesis, Seton Hall University, 2010), p. 12. < https://scholarship.shu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1251&context=theses [accessed 17 March 2017]

[302] Ibid.

[303] Adolf Hitler, *Mein kampf.*

[304] Erica Marcus, 'Nazi looted art', p. 12. To emphasis his distaste, Hitler established the *Degenerate Art* exhibition, which was to display works by Jewish artists Max Ernest, Franz Marc, Marc Chagall, Paul Klee, and Wassily Kandinsky.

[305] Sylwia Grochowina, *Cultural policy of the Nazi occupying forces*, p. 50.

[306] Ibid., p. 52.

German art was now to embrace and glorify purity and the Aryan lifestyle and values. It would focus on the "peasant life, family and community and heroism on the battlefield [...] art was not just for art's sake, but had a calculated propagandistic undercurrent" and therefore reinforced the philosophy behind the *Nazi Cultural Policy*.[307]

Figure 2: Hitler inspecting an object with Nazi colleagues to be considered for the Führermuseum (or the Leader's museum). The Nazi Cultural Policy would encourage the removal of such items by the Third Reich from private and public collections.[308]

Although a characteristic feature of the *Nazi Cultural Policy* was the "strict centralization and institutionalization of the culture management system", it would be considered difficult to follow.[309] It was unclear who was directly responsible for the administration of these looted collections once removed and this would be highlighted by Erica Marcus in her thesis; *Nazi Looted Art: Precedence for Museum Decisions*.[310] Yet even so, the

---

[307] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'Culture in the Third Reich: overview', in *Holocaust Encyclopedia,* [n.d.]
< https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/search?query=culture+in+the+third+&languages%5B%5D=en> [accessed 27 October 2019]

[308] Figure 2: AFP Getty Museum< http://www.warhistoryonline.com/war-articles/adolf-hitlers-super-museum.html> [accessed 12 May 2015]

[309] Sylwia Grochowina and Katarzyna Kacka, 'Foundations of Nazi cultural policy' p. 189.

[310] Erica Marcus, 'Nazi looted art', p. 12.
"He [Hitler] often assigned several rival branches in government to the same task, and yet Hitler retained command and expertise over all divisions. This is exactly what occurred when Hitler assigned three separate government branches to oversee the confiscated art in occupied France: the Kunstschutz, which took orders from Wehrmacht; the German embassy in Paris, which took orders from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the ERR."

Nazi Cultural Policy was used to "control the consciousness of German society" in an attempt to construct and eradicate specific cultural and national memories.[311] Efforts to remove the national identities and collective memories of nations deemed as enemies to Hitler's ethos and ideologies was further achieved through the destruction of various towns and cities which were occupied and governed by enemies of Germany.

The destruction of national identity and collective memories

To do this, strategic bombing was also used. Not only was this used on significant historic buildings in leading European cities but also specific access and transport points such as railways, harbours, and industrial districts. Direct attacks by the Third Reich were made on various countries including Poland, France, Belgium and Norway. [312] Whilst the cities of Dresden, London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Hamburg and Warsaw were directly bombed causing many citizens being annihilated.[313] Anthony Tung states that:

> In Warsaw they fought, and as a result the city and its people were almost totally eradicated, and not just by the missiles, bombs and bullets of combat. In Warsaw the Nazis devised a systematic program of cultural annihilation.[314]

This destruction would also be undertaken in Poland in which "material forms of Polish nation's cultural achievements was directly targeted. This was to include "Polish monuments, commemorative plaques and figures that were a clear representation of national, patriotic and religious feelings."[315] By identifying the most significant monuments and buildings of a city and through the removal of artistic treasures, the Third Reich endeavoured to remove the cultural and architectural identity of the city and its people. Robert Hardy proclaims that:

---

[311] Sylwia Grochowina and Katarzyna Kacka, 'Foundations of Nazi cultural policy', p. 190.

[312] History.com, *Bombing of Dresden*, 2019
< http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/battle-of-dresden> [accessed 20 November 2019].
This form of bombing was used in Dresden in which Allied forces tried to bring war with Germany to a close. It was estimated that approximately:
"800 British bombers had dropped more than 1,400 tons of high-explosive bombs and more than 1,100 tons of incendiaries on Dresden, creating a great firestorm. Later that day,…more than 300 U.S. bombers began bombing Dresden's railways, bridges and transportation facilities,… another 200 U.S. bombers continued their assault on the city's infrastructure. All told, the bombers of the U.S. Eighth Air Force dropped more than 950 tons of high-explosive bombs and more than 290 tons of incendiaries on Dresden. Later, the Eighth Air Force would drop 2,800 more tons of bombs on Dresden in three other attacks before the war's end."

[313] History.com, *1940, December 29: London is devastated by German air raid*, 2010
< http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/worst-air-raid-on-london> [accessed 12 September 2011].

[314] Marah Al Aloul, 'The destruction of cultural heritage', p. 24.

[315] Sylwia Grochowina, *Cultural policy of the Nazi occupying forces*, pp. 83-89.

> Our behaviour and identity are our cultural heritage and the ability to hold such a heritage is what makes us human. Culture is the heritage of behaviour and memory. Culture is heritage and heritage culture.[316]

Through removing the material culture that belonged to a country and its people, the Nazi Cultural Policy endeavoured to create a chasm in a nation's history that would be replaced by German ideology and culture.[317] It would be finally at the end of WWII, that steps would be taken towards this politically driven cultural destruction through Nuremberg trials.

The Nuremberg trials held between 20th November 1945 and 1st October 1946, highlighted war related crimes which occurred under the direction of Adolf Hitler by the hands of the Third Reich. These hearings would also serve as "bookkeepers of history."[318] Ana Filipa Vrdoljak states that "As the evidence before the Nuremberg tribunal exposed, the removal and destruction of the cultural heritage of targeted groups was intrinsic to the campaign to discriminate, segregate and ultimately eliminate them".[319] The Soviet prosecutor General Rudenko reinforced this belief when he told the court:

> These crimes epitomized all the abomination and vandalism of German fascism. The destruction of national monuments, schools, literature, and the compulsory Germanization of the population followed the German occupation everywhere, in obedience to the same criminal principle which governed the ensuing pillage, rape, arson and mass murders.[320]

Justice Robert Jackson was head Chief Prosecutor during the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg and maintained a crucial role in recording and memorializing the horrific events which occurred by leading Nazi and German authorities.[321] Jackson was adamant that the horrors which had occurred through war should never be forgotten and hoped that any military law which would be developed in the future should reflect the reasons why it had been created. He specified:

---

[316] Robert Adam, 'Heritage', in Matthew Hardy (ed.), *The Venice charter revisited: modernism, conservation and tradition in the 21st century* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp. 3-15.(p. 5).
< http://www.cambridgescholars.com/download/sample/61199> [accessed 15 July 2010].

[317] Ibid., p. 11.

[318] Joachim J. Savelsberg and Ryan D. King, 'Law and collective memory', p. 5

[319] Ana F. Vrdoljak, 'History and evolution of international cultural heritage law', p. 9.

[320] Robert Bevan, *The destruction of memory: architecture at war*, 2nd expanded edn (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2016), p. 265.

[321] Joachim J. Savelserg Ryan D. King, *American memories: atrocities and the law* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011), p. xxi-xxii.

> Unless we write the record of this movement with clarity and precision, we cannot blame the future if in days of peace it finds incredible the accusatory generalities uttered during the war. We must establish incredible events by credible evidence.[322]

Nevertheless, war criminals who were held responsible for leading military troops on this pathway of cultural destruction were prosecuted. German war criminals Hermann Goering, Reichsleiter Rosenberg and Joachim von Ribbentrop, although responsible for initiating and directing these cultural crimes against humanity, did not receive a prison sentence.[323] However, in total the Third Reich removed an estimated 20 percent [324,] of all Europe's art from museums, galleries and private collections[325] As a result of this cataclysm, international leaders and their govenments from around the world rearched out to other nations in an effort to develop a global unity in an effort to protect cultural property.

UNESCO and post-war conventions

Although efforts had been made by national leaders to protect cultural property during the late 19th and early 20th century, it would only be after the end of WWII that stronger dialogue would develop at an international level. This would manifest through the establishment of The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in London on the 16th November 1945.[326] Designed to draw together agencies and NGOs, UNESCO became a meeting point where collaborative projects were developed between nations, cultures and communities. Under the direction of Julius Huxley, UNESCO would develop programmes aimed at peace and security. These projects would be created by the collaboration of nations through education, science and culture so as to create a deeper respect and understanding for justice, law, human rights and freedom. These collaborative projects would be directed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion.[327] Even though Huxley found

---

[322] Ibid.

[323] Robert Bevan, *The destruction of memory*, p. 265.

[324] Kim Oosterlinck, *The price of degenerate art*, working paper no. 09/031 (2011) < file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/wp09031.pdf> [accessed 14 June 2012].

[325] Military history now, *Culture wars – meet Nazi Germany's 'monuments men'*, 2014 < http://militaryhistorynow.com/2014/01/31/culture-wars-meet-nazi-germanys-monuments-men/> [accessed 2 March 2014].

[326] Janet E. Blake, *International cultural heritage law*, p. 2. In the same year, the United Nations (UN) would also established and the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in 1948.

[327] Julian Huxley, 'UNESCO'S early years', in Sandy Koffler (ed.), *UNESCO'S first 30 years* (Paris: UNESCO, 1976), pp. 4-7 (p. 4). < http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0007/000748/074820eo.pdf> [accessed 3 March 2014]

himself often confronted with countries which had fought each other, UNESCO's vision for universal peace and harmony enabled many nations to work together on projects that were focused on education, science and culture.[328]

Huxley's admirable attempts to unite the globe through educational programmes would have seemed almost impossible and unsurmountable at the start. However, his efforts to emphasize peace and security through educational programmes, would make UNESCO the first internationally recognised organisation in the world. By promoting international dialogue between nations, Huxley would promote and emphasise that:

> Culture is not a luxury reserved for those whose elementary needs are satisfied; it is linked with the organization of society, and to it society owes its dynamic force.[329]

In view of the purpose of UNESCO and that of the UN to create a global collaboration for "peace and security", it would not be long before the first international legislation would be created that was designed to respect and protect a nation's cultural property.[330] It would aim to prevent "damage to cultural property belonging to [...] all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world." [331]

Whilst earlier conventions had mentioned the protection of cultural property, they lacked in detail and had been only directed at a State level and not internationally. However this would change with the establishment of UNESCO and the acceptance of the United Nation Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Geneva Conventions (1949).[332] These negotiations would be further supported through the inclusion of the unratified 1939 *Declaration for the Protection of Historic Buildings and Works of Art in Time of War* by the League of Nations.[333] With the introduction of bi-lateral and multi-lateral discussions being undertaken between national leaders, cultural organisations, museum professionals and NGOs, steps were being undertaken to develop an international framework for the protection of cultural property. The establishment of these guidelines would be heavily influenced by the collective memories of those nations

---

[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid., p. 28.
[330] Janet E. Blake, *International cultural heritage law*, p. 4.
[331] Ibid., p. 5.
[332] Francesco Francioni, 'The evolving framework', p. 9.
[333] Ana F. Vrdoljak, *Intentional destruction of cultural heritage and international law*, p. 5.

who collaborated in these discussions. Therefore not only would these recollections influence how military policies were to focus on humanitarian causes during conflict, but also the reparation of stolen, damaged or destroyed cultural property.[334] The terms and conditions would be finally used in the formation of the *1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.*[335]

The protection of cultural property and the creation of the 1954 Hague Convention
The *1954 Hague Convention* was formed after a conference was held in the Netherlands between the 21st April until the 14th May 1954 and was officially recognised on the 7th August 1956.[336] Despite the acceptance of earlier conventions which had been approved at the beginning of the 20th century, there had not been any "evidence of the existence of a rule of customary international law that imposes upon States the duty to respect cultural heritage in times of war".[337] In addition to this, each nation had their own meaning of what cultural property represented, resulting in its meaning being fragmented around the world.[338] Because of this omission specific cultural property would be protected whilst other cultural property would be overlooked. Francesco Francioni maintains:

> What is still missing at this time is a normative definition of what can be considered cultural heritage; protection is not given to a unitary category of "cultural property", but rather in a fragmented manner to certain property identified empirically.[339]

The establishment of the *1954 Hague Convention* would rectify this omission by establishing the first universal meaning of cultural property which was to include three key legal criteria:

> (1) the "great importance" of the property for civilization and peoples; (2) a typological criterion based on the identification of three categories of property; and (3) the criterion of registration on a list of special protection that signals the properties of exceptional importance.[340]

---

[334] Sigrid Van der Auwera, 'International law and the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict: actual problems and challenges', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 43, no. 4 (2013), pp. 175-190. < https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2013.841114> [accessed 14 April 2014]
[335] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage*, p. 67.
[336] UNESCO, *Final act of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict,* The Hague 1954, p. 4.
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000824/082464mb.pdf> [accessed 16 August 2015]
[337] Francesco Francioni, 'The evolving framework', p. 8.
[338] Ibid., p. 9.
[339] Ibid., p. 8.
[340] Ibid., p. 9.

This law was to also recognise the need for greater "international protection for the intrinsic value of culture and not as an indirect consequence of the protection of property rights or State sovereignty."[341] This concept would be included in the preamble of the convention which directly recognised the need for greater protection for cultural property during military action.[342] The *Convention* highlighted that "cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world." [343] Furthermore, it specified: "that the preservation of the cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world and that it is important that this heritage should receive international protection."[344]

Nations which supported and signed the *1954 Hague Convention*, became State Parties and therefore had agreed to "prohibit, prevent and, if necessary, put a stop to any form of theft, pillage or misappropriation of, and any act of vandalism directed against, cultural property" during times of war.[345] It would also consider the protection of both moveable and immoveable material culture which was deemed significant to the every day person and not solely to those who maintained wealth or status. This convention therefore aimed to safeguard cultural property such as:

> monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property.[346]

The *1954 Hague Convention* further emphasised the importance of placing collections on an inventory system, along with identifying any major assets as well as the storage

---

[341] Ibid.

[342] UNESCO, *Convention for the protection of cultural property.*
Preamble: Being convinced that damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contributions to the culture of the world.

[343] Ibid.

[344] Ibid.

[345] Ibid.
By 1999 a second protocol to the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict had been developed. The 1999 protocol (which is still being used today), attempted to highlight the importance of the provisions of the Convention which was created at the Hague on 14 May 1954, and emphasized the need to extend these provisions through measures to reinforce their execution.

[346] Ibid.

facilities which provided protection.[347] By defining the term cultural property and incorporating its protection, the *1954 Hague Convention* broke away from the restrictions which State protection provided. It would, for the first time, demonstrate cultural property as being "elements of global interest in the conservation of the great variety of contributions given by all peoples to the civilization of the world."[348]

Conclusion

The atrocities of war and violent attempts to eradicate a State's cultural property have to be understood as direct attempts to dislodge collective memory and eradicate national identity. The destruction of cultural property has often been used as a weapon to destroy a nation's or a State's genealogical framework. Yet, although certain laws recognised the need to protect cultural property during conflict, they were often restricted to individual States and to supporting Member States who were signatories of that legislation. They were also incredibly limited in detail, as they did not stipulate exactly what types of material culture required protection and how this should be undertaken. Furthermore, the definition of cultural property differed from State to State and an internationally shared understanding of this term did not emerge until the early 1950s. The destruction of cultural property became part of an intrinsic plan "to discriminate, segregate and ultimately eliminate" the collective memories of those national States directly involved in conflict.[349]

Drawing across a large and detailed body of research, this Chapter has traced the development of key laws and conventions instrumental in the creation of the *1954 Hague Convention*, the first internationally recognised law for the protection of cultural property in times of both war and peace. The second part of the twentieth century triggered a new mechanism to deal with globalisation and the impact of a growing global market. In times of peace the illegal trafficking and trading of stolen cultural goods was on the rise and the protection of natural and built sites which were considered as containing universal value came under threat from different agents of change. As a result of this, the *1954 Hague Convention* has not only influenced international law and regulations but also policy

---

[347] UNESCO, *Information kit: protect cultural property in the event of armed conflict,* [n.d.] < http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/1954Convention-InfoKit-EN-Fina-webl_03.pdf> [accessed 18 October 2016]
[348] Francesco Francioni, 'The evolving framework', p. 9.
[349] Ibid., p. 2.

makers around the world.[350] By the early 1970s two different international conventions for the protection of cultural property would be approved and adopted by UNESCO and its governing bodies. Whilst both of these conventions were developed to protect cultural property, each policy was developed to operate under separate circumstances and under different conditions. Yet, only one of these conventions' is considered "a flagship for best practice in global conservation" that is dedicated to the protection of immoveable heritage deemed as having international value to all humanity, whilst the other protects moveable heritage against other areas of risk outside of war from illicit import, export and trade. To explore this in more detail, Chapter Two will study and compare the *1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972 Convention)* and the *1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970 Convention).* The Chapter will focus on how the *1972 Convention* was purposely designed to only protect immoveable heritage and as a result overlooks the contribution which certain objects have made towards establishing particular social frameworks with communities, States and nations. Chapter Two will also emphasize how the collections in World Heritage Sites can also be placed in danger through manmade and natural events which can lead to the destruction, theft and illicit trade of collections. Finally, Chapter Two will briefly explore the two *Operational Guidelines* which supports both the *1972* and *1970 Conventions* and highlight how they have been revised to conform with changing global needs. Through this process, a strong case can be presented which will show why there is a need recognise moveable cultural heritage in the *1972 Convention.*

---

[350] UNESCO, *Legal instructions*:, *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention,* The Hague, 14 May 1954 < http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/convention.asp?KO=13637&language=E&order=alpha> [accessed 13 March 2014].

PART TWO

Chapter Two

A review of the 1970 and 1972 Conventions and their supporting Operational Guidelines towards the protection of material culture and World Heritage Sites

Introduction

Moves to establish modern international law covering the protection of cultural property followed swiftly after the end of WWII. With the establishment of The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1945, and the introduction of the *1954 Hague Convention* nine years later, the world saw nations unite through the first global multilateral treaty of its kind. [351] The *1954 Hague Convention* would be a major turning point in the development of international law as it was to reflect a global "desire both to prevent the outbreak of future armed conflict and to minimize damage to cultural property in the event of such conflict".[352] However, it would take nearly fifteen years before UNESCO would adopt two additional international laws for the protection of cultural property. Not only would they be developed on similar principles to that of the *1954 Hague Convention* but they would also seek to protect national cultural property and global cultural heritage in times of peace.[353] Whereas the *1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Cultural Property* (or *1970 Convention)* aimed to protect moveable cultural property from theft, destruction and illicit trade the next convention would not. Instead, the *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (or 1972 Convention)* would be established to safeguard immoveable heritage.[354]

The *1972 Convention* sets out guidelines to be followed to protect both cultural and natural sites which show Outstanding Universal Value. It also establishes duties for State Parties that are signatories to the *1972 Convention* with identifying potential World Heritage Sites in these nations as well as outlining their role in protecting and preserving them for future generations. It needs to be ratified by countries which subsequently become State Parties to the Convention and therefore are obliged to conserve sites which have been listed as World Heritage in their own nations. Through this process, State Parties become part of an international community in which there is an "appreciation and concern for universally significant properties that embody a world of outstanding

---

[351] Janet E. Blake, *International cultural heritage law*, p. 4.
[352] Ibid., p. 6.
[353] Marcus, M. Műller, 'Cultural heritage protection', p. 403.
[354] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage*, p. 69.

examples of cultural diversity and natural wealth."[355] The *1972 Convention* is a "legal intergovernmental instrument and aims to set up a system of collective protection of natural and cultural properties of outstanding universal value for present and future generations."[356]

While both legislations have been instrumental in furthering the protections placed around moveable and immoveable cultural heritage, each is unique in how it functions and operates at a national and international level. Whereas the *1970 Convention* "is considered the most important pioneering multilateral international agreement concerning…illicitly traded cultural objects"[357] it has been the *1972 Convention* and supporting programmes which have been recognised as "a flagship for best practice in global conservation."[358] Lyndel Prott suggests that there are "two grounded reasons" why one convention was more readily accepted by nations than the other. The first reason "is the fact that there was substantial consensus" to pass the *1972 Convention* by State Parties as nations could see an economic and political advantage.[359] Furthermore, governments could see the advantages for greater local, national and international recognition through having a site nominated on the World Heritage List. The second reason lies in the "difficulties of implementing the compromise of substantially opposed positions in the case of the *1970 Convention*."[360] Certain nations found this convention to be "highly politically sensitive" or that it raised "difficult constitutional problems" due to past national and global military events which resulted in the theft and destruction of cultural property.[361] Prott states: "For these reasons many States were reluctant to ratify the [1970]

[355] UNESCO, *The World Heritage Convention,* [n.d.] < https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/> [accessed 12 May 2018]

[356] Sophia Labadi, 'UNESCO World Heritage Convention (1972)', in Claire Smith (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2014), pp. 1-9. <https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-319-51726-1_1039-2> [accessed 15 May 2019].

[357] UNESCO, *Culture & development: stop the illicit traffic of cultural property* (Havana, Cuba: UNESCO, 2013), p. 16. < http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/publications/culture-development-stop-the-illicit-traffic-of-cultural-property/ [accessed 16 February 2014].

[358] IUCN, *A future for world heritage: challenges and responses to assure the credibility of the World Heritage Convention International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN),* p. 7. <https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/content/documents/a_future_for_world_heritage_iucn_non_paper_september_2012.pdf> [accessed 16 February 2014]

[359] Lyndel V. Prott, *Strengths and weaknesses of the 1970 Convention: an evaluation 40 years after its adoption*, 2012, p. 5. < http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/Prott_2_en.pdf > [accessed 14 February 2014]

[360] Ibid.

[361] Ibid.

Convention and it has been a major task for the UNESCO Secretariat to persuade them to participate."[362]

In spite of the concerns around the *1970 Convention* however, it is the future of the *1972 Convention* and how it will continue to protect cultural heritage into the 21st century, that has caused many deliberations to occur. This has been observed especially between UNESCO, the World Heritage Committee and State Parties and has continued through various milestones of the convention's existence including its 30th and 40th anniversary.[363] Leading heritage organisations, academics and heritage professionals have also focused on the challenges which the *1972 Convention* currently encounters and will continue to do so well into the future.[364] These concerns have concentrated on areas such as is there a maximum limit of sites which can be placed on to the World Heritage List? Furthermore, how can numbers of sites be increased outside of western countries which currently lack representation on the World Heritage List to ratify this imbalance.[365] Another area of great interest has included the safety of cultural property at World Heritage Sites at risk from theft, trade and destruction. This has been further highlighted by Francesco Bandarin who emphasised the lack of protection which the *1972 Convention* provides to moveable material culture. Bandarin, who held the position of Assistant Director-General for Culture to UNESCO at this time stated: "The 1972 Convention does not entail any direct mechanism to ensure international restitution of illicitly removed and then exported cultural objects stolen from World Heritage Sites."[366] However, neither does the *1972 Convention* protect moveable material cultural from manmade or environmental threats which may affect World Heritage Sites or their museums. As a result of this, significant material culture which are held in World Heritage museums that have deep connections with the site, may be in a position of risk. This risk may not only include the physical removal or damage of an object from its original location but also the collective memories and social frameworks connected to it which have been established by a community, state or nation. In an effort to comprehend why the *1972*

---

[362] Ibid.
[363] Peter Strasser, ' "Putting reform into action" – thirty years of the World Heritage Convention: how to reform a convention without changing its regulations', *International Journal of Cultural Property,* 11, no. 2 (2002), 215-266 (p. 216). < https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739102771427 > [accessed 14 July 2015]
[364] IUCN, *A future for world heritage*.
[365] Ibid.
[366] Ibid., p. 66.

Convention does not protect moveable cultural heritage, it is important to first gain a deeper understanding as to why it was created. Therefore Chapter Two, will commence by assessing the *1972 Convention* and its supporting *Operational Guidelines* prior to investing the *1970 Convention* and *Operational Guidelines,* as it is this legislation which underpins this research topic. By also proceeding in this manner, the chapter will reveal gaps which currently exist in the *1972 Convention* more clearly, thereby highlighting my argument for the need to include material culture under its protection.

The chapter will commence by first giving a brief historical overview of what led to the creation of the *1972 Convention*. This chapter will also examine some of the present-day issues which challenge this document as it endeavours to maintains its global position for protecting both built and natural sites listed as World Heritage. Chapter Two will also investigate how the *1972 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* supports and guides State Parties through the World Heritage nomination with a focus on how it directs the documentation of a site. Through investigating the processes used to document a site for nomination, a greater awareness will be gained of steps that must be undertaken by a State Party. This chapter will also give a brief overview of the *1970 Convention* and the *1970 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* which must be followed by a State Party. It will further assess the type of documentation used in the *1970 Operational Guidelines* by State Parties in an effort to protect cultural property from theft and illicit trade. Finally this chapter will conclude by discussing how one of the current inventories used in the *1970 Operational Guidelines* could be used to document significant collections at a site which is being nominated by a State Party for the World Heritage List.

The 1972 convention: founding concept and context

The creation of the *1972 Convention* by UNESCO took place at a time when nations around the world became increasingly aware not only of the cultural heritage destroyed in the war, but also what needed to be protected against future destruction and

redevelopment.[367] Dennis Rodwell suggests that during this time there was a strong " consciousness [in Europe] of the need for international cooperation for reconstruction and restoration".[368] In this context, UNESCO framed discussions about an international system for the protection of cultural property, monuments and sites.[369] The desire to protect cultural heritage was strengthened by a number of manmade and environmental threats during the 1950s and 1960s; for example, the neglect of archaeological sites such as Angkor Wat in Cambodia and Borodudur in Indonesia.[370] It would also involve possible "threats of natural disaster to pre-eminent historic cities such as Venice … and Florence" in which both were to experience the destructive forces of high tides and floods.[371] It was as a result of these concerns, that UNESCO established a number of major international conservation campaigns and that an interest grew amongst nations to create a convention that would ultimately aim at "the conservation and protection" of the remaining "world's cultural heritage".[372] In 1965, the idea of a World Heritage Trust was raised at the 9th General Assembly of International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in Sweden in an effort to combine the protection of both cultural and natural heritage. At the same time, a project which would be pivotal in the formation of the *1972 Convention* was taking place in Egypt. The Aswan High Dam was erected to create a source of both renewable energy in the region and to control the flood waters and drought in the Nile River.[373] The potential loss of the Abu Simbel temples, and hundreds of additional archaeological sites prompted UNESCO to launch an international campaign to relocate the structures to higher grounds.[374] The success of the Aswan High Dam development quickly became internationally recognised as one of the most ambitious and multi-national archaeological rescue programs ever undertaken in the world.[375] As

---

[367] Dennis Rodwell, 'The UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 1972–2012: reflections and directions', *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice*, 3, no. 1 (2012), pp. 64-85 (p. 65). < https://doi.org/10.1179/1756750512Z.0000000004> [accessed 14 May 2015]

[368] Ibid.

[369] Sophia Labadi, *World heritage*, p. 28.

[370] Dennis Rodwell, 'The UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 1972–2012', p. 65.

[371] Ibid.

[372] Ibid.

[373] History.com, *This day in history, July 21, 1970: Aswan High Dam completed*, 2010 < http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/aswan-high-dam-completed> [accessed 5 January 2011]. Estimated at a cost of $1 billion, it took ten years to complete the Aswan High Dam.

[374] The Abu Simbel temples were originally constructed by Ramesses II who ruled Egypt between 1279 and 1213 BC 280 km south of the First Cataract, the traditional southern border of Egypt.

[375] UNESCO, *Records of the General Conference 17th Session, Paris, October 17 to November 21, 1972, vol. 1: resolutions, recommendations* (Paris: UNESCO,1973) < http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001140/114044e.pdf#page=145> [accessed 11 January 2011].

Elizabeth Keough wrote: "[T]he plight of these [sites] captured the public imagination and appeals from the Egyptian and Sudanese governments, among others, inspired UNESCO to launch a campaign in 1960 to save the ancient structures."[376] The Aswan High Dam was finally completed in July 1970. Its success would result in the first drafts of the *World Heritage Convention* in 1972 which was then presented to IUCN, UNESCO and the United States of America for review.[377] It would finally be adopted at the General Conference of UNESCO on the 16th November 1972 and entered into operation in December 1975.[378]

Over 48 years have passed since the *1972 Convention* was formed. However, at many levels it remains one of the most significant international laws for the protection of both cultural and natural heritage sites deemed by UNESCO as maintaining outstanding and universal value for all humanity. With the introduction of the *1972 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* in 1977, the convention has endeavoured to remain at the forefront of international conservation and protection.[379] In an effort to achieve this, "the nomination dossier has changed many times since the first properties were inscribed in 1978."[380] By 1997 State Parties have also been asked to provide a copy of the management plan as well as information on any factors which may affect the safety of the site's position on the World Heritage list.[381] However, one significant addition introduced to the *1972 Operational Guidelines* which would promote the most critical and central concept to the *1972 Convention* would be the inclusion of Outstanding Universal Values. Although no precise definition was given in the text of the *1972 Convention* to the meaning of OUV, its significance would be reflected in the set criteria used in this law for highlighting the types of sites to be

---

[376] Elizabeth B. Keough, 'Heritage in peril: a critique of UNESCO's world heritage program', *Washington University Global Law Studies Review*, 10, no. 3 (2011), pp. 593-615, (p. 594). < https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law_globalstudies/vol10/iss3/5/> [accessed 25 March 2014] "In 1959 the Egyptian and the Sudanese governments requested UNESCO to assist their countries in the protection and rescue of the endangered monuments and sites. In 1960, the Director-General of UNESCO launched an appeal to the Member States for an International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia. Within the International Campaign, UNESCO played the role of a coordinator and intermediary between the donor States and the Egyptian and Sudanese Governments and facilitated their efforts to save the cultural heritage of Nubia."

[377] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage,* pp. 28-29.

[378] Ibid., p. 29.

[379] Peter Strasser, 'Putting reform into action', p. 217.

[380] UNESCO, *Managing cultural world heritage:* world heritage resource manual (Paris: UNESCO, 2013), p. 40. < https://www.iccrom.org/sites/default/files/activity-827-1.pdf> [accessed 24 April 2015]

[381] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage*, pp. 28-29.

considered for World Heritage Listing. The OUVs were developed to support State Parties further understand these criteria and would be explained through further the *Operational Guidelines*.[382]

World Heritage and Outstanding Universal Value

Originally introduced to the *Operational Guidelines* by UNESCO in conjunction with the World Heritage Committee and in an effort to "reflect new concepts, knowledge or experiences", [383] the first definition of OUV would be included in the 2005 edition of this document. The *Operational Guidelines* were designed to underline the key concepts and ideals as set out by the *1972 Convention* for State Parties when nominating a site for the World Heritage List.[384] Over time, the OUVs have "been elaborated to take into account the diversity and great variety of natural and cultural heritages of the world."[385] Gradually this has resulted in the current 2019 edition of the *1972 Operational Guidelines* defining OUV as:

> cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole. The Committee defines the criteria for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List. (Point 49).[386]

However although this definition highlights the tangible values of a World Heritage Site, it does not acknowledge those "values recognised by those who live in, use or visit that site".[387] Neither does this definition acknowledge the significance of collective memories or recollections which may be connected to specific objects or collections which a community or nation may deem as having OUVs in conjunction with the World Heritage

---

[382] Ibid., p. 30.
   Bandarin states: "This Convention and the concept of outstanding universal value do not apply to movable cultural heritage. The artefacts of museums located within the boundaries of World Heritage sites are therefore not protected under the terms of the Convention."
[383] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (Paris: UNESCO, 2019)
   < https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/> [accessed 3 October 2014].
[384] Jukka Jokilehto, *What is OUV? Defining the outstanding universal value of cultural world heritage properties* (Paris: UNESCO, 2008), p. 48.
   <https://www.icomos.org/publications/monuments_and_sites/16/pdf/Monuments_and_Sites_16_What_is_OUV.pdf> [accessed 23 June 2014]
[385] Francesco Francioni, 'The evolving framework', p. 19.
[386] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *The operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.*
[387] UNESCO, *Interpretation of sites of memory* (Paris: UNESCO, 2018), p. 8.
   file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/activity-933-3%20(1).pdf [accessed 26 September 2019]

Site. These links can be observed in such sites where "religious belief and the reinforcement of social structures have attracted international attention."[388] As a result of this, the objects and "intangible associations" which are connected to a site "are important" and could "help to focus nominations and inscriptions on the World Heritage List," especially "where remarkable monumental sites and cultural landscapes" exist.[389] This type of connection can be observed at sites such as the Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum underground burial site in Malta, in which overtime the site's use as burial chambers has revealed significant archaeological artefacts and design features that have come to represent the Maltese people and their Neolithic ancestors.[390] Therefore, whilst the *1972 Convention* continually focuses on the protection of immovable heritage, the threat to significant cultural items which have for hundreds or thousands of years connected people to a site can be placed at risk, not only from global environmental disasters but also from man-made threats including theft, illicit trafficking and trade heritage.[391] As a result of these concerns, international discussions between leading authorities, museum experts and cultural heritage professionals have been undertaken over the past four decades in an endeavour to identify ways the *1972 Convention* can adapt into the future.

The 1972 Convention and the call for change to recognise collections in World Heritage museums.

Since being launched in 1972, the context in which the Convention operates has changed dramatically on various different levels. This has placed increasing pressure on the *1972 Convention* to change so as to consider current demands.[392] Peter Strasser states, however, that "Intentions to introduce reforms in the implementation of the Convention are almost as old as the Convention itself" which has resulted in "a forum of permanent discussions, evaluation, and intervention."[393] Yet, in spite of this and the many reports which have been presented to UNESCO to make the convention more inclusive, it has remained largely unaltered as it would be considered a very complicated effort to get all the State Parties to agree to any changes which would be made. Instead revisions have

---

[388] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage*, p. 157.
[389] Ibid., p. 69.
[390] The Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum in Malta will be further discussed in Chapter Four in which I focus on this site in more detail.
[391] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage*, p. 69.
[392] Ibid.
[393] Peter Strasser, 'Putting reform into action', p. 255.

been made to the *1972 Operational Guidelines*.[394] Although these changes have been made to enhance the global credibility of the *1972 Convention*, queries as to the protection of moveable heritage at World Heritage Sites and museums have been continually raised by leading professionals. Such concerns were made in December 1997 at the 21st session of the World Heritage Committee meeting held in Naples in which a report was presented to highlight these issues. [395] The report emphasized that the illicit trafficking of moveable cultural heritage was not just directed to countries that were vulnerable because of military conflict, but also during times of peace. Bandarin further highlighted that although some of these countries might have stronger security protection, they were no less prone to threat from pilfering than those State Parties which did not offer some form of protection. Bandarin, who was at this time the UNESCO Assistant Director-General for Culture, recognised this lack of security for moveable cultural heritage in the *1972 Convention* as well as in the set criteria used to identify the OUV of a World Heritage Site during the nomination process. As a result of this, "The artefacts of museums located within the boundaries of World Heritage Sites are therefore not protected under the terms of the Convention."[396]

In an effort to reinforce the important role which museums and their collections play at World Heritage Sites, International Council of Museums (ICOM) reported in 2011[397] that "Several thousand museums are either directly located in, or related to, World Heritage areas".[398] This estimated number not only stressed that "cultural and natural sites should not be disassociated from their related cultural objects and meaning" but also that further recognition should be given to their significance through documentation during the nomination process. [399] Four years later in 2015, a further document was presented by the Russian Committee of ICOM which was produced in consultation with other experts from a number of CIS countries.[400] This report not only highlighted the difficulties "that museums face during the implementation of the main provisions of the [1972]

[394] UNESCO, *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*.
[395] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage,* p. 69.
[396] Ibid., p. 30.
[397] UNESCO, *World heritage list statistics*, [n.d.] <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat#s6> [accessed 21 October 2015]
[398] ICOM, Museums and world heritage areas Paris. (2011). Printed Maison de l'UNESCO 1, rue Miollis 75732. Paris Cedex 15 France.
[399] Ibid.
[400] The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has nine member states including Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

Convention" but also revealed the lack of discourse which World Heritage museums had with UNESCO.[401] Ex-Director General of ICOM Julien Anfruns further emphasised this view in an article which was produced by ICOM. He confirms: "the museum community has not been part of the World Heritage Convention and its operational guidelines to an extent where it has been able to fulfil its potential to contribute."[402] Anfruns states: "As such, museums can be considered custodians, safeguarding the cultural and natural value of World Heritage areas." [403] This also includes values which have been "derived from peoples' feelings about, understanding of, and relationship to a place, its history, and the uses to which it has been traditionally put" through the collections which they maintain.[404]

Even though UNESCO recognises the importance of museums at World Heritage Sites and acknowledges that such collections "serve to present … the integrity of the sites through conservation, public awareness and education", their State and national significance remains unnoticed. Due to this lack of awareness, the social frameworks and collective memories which have been constructed around these objects by either a community, state or nation, are overlooked by UNESCO.[405] Even so organisations such as ICOM acknowledge that such sites "should not be disassociated from their related cultural objects and meaning", [406] for doing so would go against one of UNESCOs main principles which centres on "conserving the world's living memory" for future generations.[407] It remains puzzling therefore why the text to the *1972 Convention* has remained unchanged for over 40 years and only the *1972 Operational Guidelines* have been continually revised. Why has this legislation not been altered to include the documentation and protection of moveable heritage at World Heritage Sites from manmade and environmental disasters?

One reason which has been suggested is that "the reform procedure [would be a very] complex and time-consuming task" as a result of the political and economic influences.[408]

---

[401] Galina Andreeva and Afanasy Gnedovsky, *Policy brief,* p. 5.
[402] ICOM, *Museums and world heritage areas*, p. 4.
[403] Ibid., pp. 4-7.
[404] Ibid., p. 8.
[405] UNESCO, *World heritage sites and museums – international conference,* 2-3 November 2016, [n.d.] < https://en.unesco.org/news/world-heritage-sites-and-museums-international-conference-2-3-november-2016> [accessed 27 April 2017].
[406] ICOM, *Museums and world heritage areas*, p. 6.
[407] Ibid.
[408] Peter Strasser, 'Putting reform into action', p. 255.

Although this could be part of the reason why this legislation has not been altered, it should not dominate the key values of this policy or else "the goals embedded in the text of the Convention" cannot "thrive" or expand to include other forms of cultural heritage protection such as significant objects and collections.[409] Furthermore, amending the convention to include certain moveable heritage under its protection would provide "greater awareness of the specific problems of World Heritage" museums and the "increasing demands" which they encounter when it comes to the security of their collections.[410]

Documenting World Heritage

Currently, when nominating a site for inscription on the World Heritage List, nine key fields must be completed as set out in the *1972 Operational Guidelines*. The first part of the nomination application process asks State Parties to produce an executive summary of the project as well as identify, describe and justify why the property maintains OUVs based on ten criteria as set by the World Heritage Committee.[411] Furthermore a site must also meet the conditions of "integrity and/or authenticity".[412] The physical condition and current conservation of the site as well as the protective laws and legislation must also be highlighted by the nominating State. This includes Management Plans or any

---

[409] Elizabeth B. Keough, 'Heritage in peril', p. 615.
[410] Peter Strasser, 'Putting reform into', p. 255.
[411] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,* pp. 25-26. < http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines> [accessed 11 December 2016] The ten criteria used to highlight a sites OUV includes: (i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; (ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared; (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria); (vii) contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance; (viii) be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features; (ix) be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
(x) contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation.
[412] Ibid., p. 26.

documentation which contributes to the site's management and conservation. Visual "documentation" of a site that is required to be included in the nomination application requires both: "a) images of a quality suitable for printing …and b) image/audiovisual inventory and authorization form".[413] The final section of the nomination process focuses on administrative requirements to complete the application process.

Although the *1972 Operational Guidelines* (2019 edition) accepts the importance of authenticity and integrity and respects how "cultural heritage must be considered and judged primarily within the cultural" framework, it purposely does not recognise the significance of moveable heritage in this context.[414] Nevertheless, "language, and other forms of intangible heritage" might be recognised to support the authenticity of a site during nomination, along with its "spirit and feeling" and "traditions" which might be connected to it. [415] However, material culture which highlights the authenticity of a site because it contributes to revealing the social frameworks of a community or nation through connecting the intangible (collective memories) to the tangible (site,) goes unnoticed. Therefore, the only option for a World Heritage Site's collection to be protected and recognised at an international level is if a nation becomes a State Party to the *1970 Convention* as well as the *1972 Convention*.[416]

The creation of the 1970 Convention

Although the *1972 Convention* was designed to only protect immoveable cultural heritage with OUV, the *1970 Convention* was developed to only protect cultural property at risk during peacetime. Written at time when there was great concern after WWII of recovering important cultural items that had been removed from territories not only by former colonizing States but also by looters, *the 1970 Convention* was an attempt to set an international framework of control to prevent further theft and trade.[417] Heavily influenced by the *1954 Convention* which aimed to protect cultural property during times of conflict, this new legislation was to adopt the term cultural property as a common

---

[413] Ibid., pp. 36-37.
[414] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *The operational guidelines,* 2019, p. 26.
[415] Ibid., p. 27.
[416] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage,* p. 71. Bardarin also states in this publication that 'A State Party to the 1972 Convention does not automatically benefit from restitution of stolen cultural property from world heritage sites under the 1970 Convention. A state will only benefit if both it and the requested state (where restitution is sought) are party to the Convention and if the heritage at stake falls within the definition adopted by the Convention.'
[417] Lyndel V. Prott, *Strengths and weaknesses of the 1970 Convention*.

universal definition for moveable heritage. It would become the first international law to protect moveable cultural property which was situated on "religious or secular grounds,"[418] and was "designated by each State as being of importance for archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, art or science, against the effects of illicit traffic of these properties."[419] Nations which became State Parties to the *1970 Convention,* were bound by the regulations set by this legislation, including that "States should take preventive measures to impede the illicit import and export of cultural property from their territory".[420] Through this State Parties are encouraged to produce an inventory of their most significant objects and by doing so, contribute to supporting the fight against future theft and illegal trade of cultural property.[421] In addition to this, States Parties should also provide restitution provisions in an effort to return and recover stolen cultural property.[422] It would be also hoped that State Parties to the convention would collaborate with each other in an effort to not only create a collaborative relationship but also assist each other to identify and return stolen or traded goods. As in the case of the *1972 Convention*, the *1970 Convention* can only be effective "if organized both nationally and internationally among States working in close co-operation."[423] State Parties who have agreed to adhere to the convention must directly return any inventoried object which it contains in its collections to its rightful owner.[424]

To assist State Parties in understanding the convention and the regulations it upholds, the *1970 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* was also introduced. These guidelines, (as with the *1972 Operational Guidelines)*, have been continually updated through UNESCO in an effort to align this

---

[418] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (WHC-09/34.COM/5E), Thirty-fourth session, Brasilia, Brazil (Paris: UNESCO) p. 3. < http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-5Ee.pdf> [accessed 12 May 2014].

[419] Ibid.

[420] UNESCO, *Culture & development,* p. 16.

[421] UNESCO, *The operational guidelines for the implementation of the 1970 Convention*, 2015 < http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/operational-guidelines/> [accessed 15 June 2015].

[422] Ibid., p. 17.

[423] Zsuzsanna Veres, 'The fight against illicit trafficking of cultural property: the 1970 UNESCO Convention and the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention', *Santa Clara Journal of International Law*, 12, no. 2 (2014), pp. 91-114. < http://digitalcommons.law.scu.edu/scujil/vol12/iss2/4> [accessed 31 December 2015]

[424] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage*, p. 69.

document with current demands and needs which State Parties may be confronted with on a daily basis. However, one component of the *1970 Convention* which is reinforced through the *1970 Operational Guidelines* is that State Parties should view specific cultural property as part of their nations heritage and as a result should be entered into a national inventory.[425] Point 33 of the guidelines highlights this by stating:

> A key step in the protection of States Parties' cultural property against illicit import, export and transfer of ownership is establishing and keeping up to date, on the basis of a national inventory of protected cultural property, a list of important public and private cultural property whose export would constitute an impoverishment of the national cultural heritage.[426]

By using such an approach, not only could this inventory contribute to the development of national "laws and regulations" for the protection of cultural property but it could also be used "for tracking lost and stolen cultural objects in support of full compliance with and enforcement of the Convention."[427] In an effort to support this, the *1970 Operational Guidelines* suggests two methods for documenting a State Party's cultural property in an effort to identify material culture of national significance and to highlight objects which have been removed (either stolen or traded) to another State Party. This includes the *Object-ID Standard* for "property in museums and religious or secular public monuments or similar institutions, including legally excavated archaeological sites."[428] It also comprises of *The Model Export Certificate* used as an "operational tool for the fight against illicit trafficking of cultural property."[429]

Although both are significant for the documentation of cultural property, it is the *Object-ID Standard* which has been designed to simplify the work of law-enforcement officers as well as cultural heritage professionals. This method has also been developed to provide a minimal standard for tracking displaced, stolen or illicitly exported cultural property.[430] The Standard guidelines have been created to also provide a basic inventory to be quickly

---

[425] UNESCO, *The operational guidelines for the implementation of the 1970 Convention*, pp. 10-11.
[426] Ibid., p. 11.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid., p. 15. The Model Export Certificate for Cultural Objects requires that nations complete this document certification would then be given to the relevant authorities in their own state as well as other state parties to the convention. The export certificate form goes into detail to identify the owner and where the object is to be transferred either for loan or display purposes. States' parties are encouraged to adapt the export certificate if required.
[430] ICOM, *Object-ID: what is an object-ID?* [n.d.]
< http://archives.icom.museum/objectid/guide/guide_intro.html> [accessed 28 December 2018]

complied with when material culture is placed in the short term under threat or additional information is required on an object. The *Object-ID Standard* was initiated by UNESCO, with the support of "the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Getty Information Institute, the International Council of Museums and the U.S. Information Agency".[431] Today, these Standards have been translated in to a number of different languages including "Arabic, Chinese, French, Russian, and Spanish".[432] This has allowed a greater number of State Parties to the convention, who do not have national inventories, to protect and track their cultural property which may be stolen or illegally traded. The *Object-ID Standard* sets a number of key areas of how an object should be documented and identified. These include providing an image of the object plus stating the material type, measurements, inscriptions or markings, physical characteristics, title or name, name of the subject, date made, maker and most importantly, a description of it.[433] Although *the Object-ID Standard* does not directly focus on the values or the significance of the cultural property documented, this information can be added through its description. Through this process, the social frameworks or the collective memories which have been linked to this object by a specific museum, state or nation, can be included in this documentation. This process will not only assist the significance of an object to be identified by a State Party but it will also be recognised through UNESCO and other leading authorities who use this system for the protection of cultural heritage at an international level.

Conclusion

As described above, the *1972 Convention* was created during a time of international consciousness towards the protection of cultural and natural heritage sites considered "of universal and exceptional importance."[434] It was also a time when the destruction which occurred during WWII was still in living memory and therefore States recognised they had "a duty to protect sites of exceptional value and transmit them to future generations…as part of the common heritage of humanity."[435] However, while, the *1972 Convention* has played a significant role, in recognising and protecting significant cultural

---

[431] ICOM, *Object-ID: who is using it?* [n.d.] < http://archives.icom.museum/objectid/who.html> [accessed 12 January 2018]

[432] Ibid.

[433] Ibid.

[434] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage*, p. 30.

[435] Ibid.

and natural heritage universally for over four decades, it has failed to recognise the importance that moveable cultural heritage plays towards highlighting a World Heritage Site's overall OUVs.[436] As a result of this, the *1972 Convention* and its supporting *Operational Guidelines* "does not entail any direct mechanism to ensure international restitution of illicitly removed and then exported cultural objects stolen from World Heritage sites."[437] Nor do they recognise or provide steps to protect material culture which has been affected through environmental disasters. Organisations such as the IUCN now view the *1972 Convention* as being at "crossroads", in which there are "growing concerns regarding its performance, credibility, sustainability and long-term viability."[438] Irina Bokova, former Director-General of UNESCO, has also indicated that the convention was at a turning point and that forward planning was needed "to rejuvenate the World Heritage Convention and confront the challenges of the 21st century."[439] Lyn Meskell considers that the: "Convention faces significant challenges and must realign itself" not only to provide greater protection to existing built and natural World Heritage Sites, but also to the museums and the collections which these listed locations maintain.[440] In an effort to provide this protection, the *1972 Convention* must be revised to recognise the significance of moveable heritage and the *1972 Operational Guidelines* must include the *Object-ID Standard* as part of its main text so that State Parties can include highly valued collections as part of a site's nomination.

In an effort to further explore the importance of material culture at a World Heritage museum, Chapter Three will analysis the Hyde Park Barracks in Sydney which was nominated in 2010 as part of a serial nomination of 11 convict sites. To place this chapter in context, it will commence by briefly examining the site's history from 1819 up to the present day and will explore how it came to maintain such a significant collection which is considered the "best preserved archaeological assemblage" of convict material in the world.[441] To understand this collection in more detail, Chapter Three will also review a number of key documents and reports which have been created for the Hyde Park

---

[436] Janet E. Blake, *International cultural heritage law*, p. 14.
[437] Francesco Bandarin, *World heritage*, p. 69.
[438] IUCN, *A future for world heritage,* p. 7.
[439] Lynn Meskell, 'UNESCO's World Heritage Convention at 40: challenging the economic and political order of international heritage conservation', *Current Anthropology*, 54, no. 4 (2013), pp. 483-494 (p.486). < https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdfplus/10.1086/671136> [accessed 21 January 2016]
[440] Ibid., p. 492.
[441] Ibid.

Barracks museum to understand how this collection has been viewed with the barracks building at a State level. This will be further supported by reviewing the *Australian Convict Sites* 2010 application which was presented to UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee as part of a serial nomination for World Heritage. A review of the current displays on the first, second and third floors will also be undertaken to identify how these artefacts have been used in permanent and semi-permanent displays to interpret this site and if any specific artefacts have been to highlight its own significant values in connection to this site.

PART THREE

Chapter Three

World Heritage and the Hyde Park Barracks museum archaeological collection: acknowledging objects with Outstanding Universal Value

Introduction

The Hyde Park Barracks (HPB) is one of the most significant convict sites which still exists today. Built in 1819, it is a grim reminder of the global trend towards the use of transportation as a form of punishment during the late 18th to early 19th century. The HPB is the only known example of its type in Australia and was inscribed in 2010 as a group of convict sites upon the World Heritage List.[442] Although each convict site differs to the next, each had either been used for the housing or the confining or managing of male or female convicts. Many of the convicts housed at these sites were forced to work upon government labour under the control of Great Britain. Today, these sites are a solemn reminder of work which was forced upon many thousands of men, women and children who were often tried and sentenced in Great Britain and subsequently forced to migrate to Australia under the British penal system. It is estimated that approximately 80,000 convicts were transported to New South Wales (NSW) alone between 1788 to 1849, of which 50,000 had passed through the HPB.[443] Deprived of their freedom and facing an uncertain future, many were never to return to their country of origin. Instead, many convicts were forced to develop another colony for Great Britain and were put to work in roles that included being employed as government or private labourers, farming hands or servants "Typically, convictism involved: the use of convicts to extend the geo-political influence of the home state; the transportation of prisoners to penal colonies to deter crime in the home state; and the reformation of convicts."[444]

Some convicts were fortunate enough to earn money through making produce on the side so as to purchase additional goods. Others gained their freedom after completing their time in punishment and therefore were able to establish their own businesses. However, convicts who committed further crimes were sent to sites for secondary punishment such as Norfolk Island and Port Arthur in Tasmania. The sentences for these convicts ranged from floggings, further imprisonment or hard labour as part of road gangs.

However, one convict site, which was to represent a turning point in the management of Australian convicts, would be the HPB. Constructed in 1819, it would be the first of its

---

[442] DEWHA, *Australian convict sites.*

[443] Sydney Living Museums, *Who were the Hyde Park Barracks' convicts?* [n.d.]
< https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/who-were-hyde-park-barracks-convicts> [accessed 21 February 2018]

[444] DEWHA, *Australian convict sites*, p. 98.

kind built in Australia. Designed in a Georgian style, the barracks comprised a three-storey central dormitory building with a shingled gabled roof. Constructed in red brick, the Barracks contained a central corridor which led off into separate dormitories. The site also included corner pavilions, cells and two guard rooms situated on either side of the front entrance. Additional buildings were also provided for housing the Superintendent and his family. The barracks held convicts assigned to the construction of government buildings overnight. The HPB housed between 600 to 1400 convicts. It was constructed adjacent to the 'Rum' Hospital in an effort to care for those convicts both from the barracks and other areas in Sydney who worked upon government projects.[445] Other buildings which were constructed in this area by convict labour also included the St. James Anglican Church, designed by the same convict architect as that of the HPB. The church was to be constructed using convict labour from the HPB between 1819-1824.[446]

Figure 3: 'Prisoners' Barracks, Hyde Park' by Robert Russell, 1836. St. James' Church can also be observed in this image which was also designed by Francis Greenway, architect to the HPB.[447]

---

[445] Department of the Environment and Heritage, *Australian heritage database: places for decision* [n.d], p. 19. < http://www.environment.gov.au/system/files/pages/f2f96400-7bb3-46df-9d9b-a9d96fc31be1/files/hyde-park-barracks.pdf> [accessed 21 April 2014].

[446] Office of Environment and Heritage (NSW), *St. James' Anglican Church*, [n.d.] < http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5054947> [accessed 21 April 2014].

[447] Sydney Living Museums, *Prisoners' barracks, Hyde Park* by Robert Russell (1836), in Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia. < http://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/hyde-park-barracks-museum> [accessed 21 April 2014].
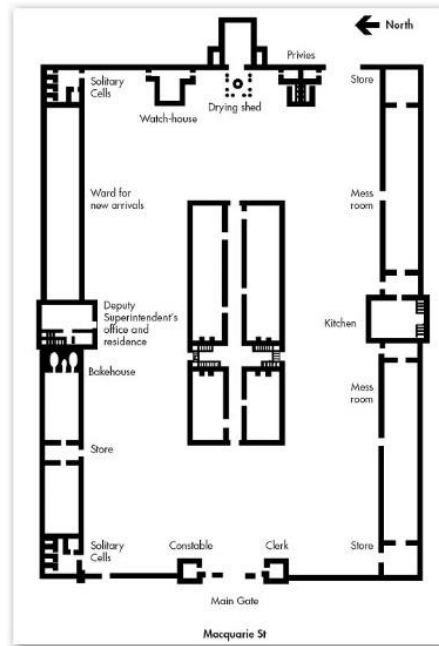
Figure 4: HPB Floor Plan 1819-1848.[448]

However, since its construction in 1819, various transformations have been made to the HPB and its surrounding precinct in order to accommodate the different occupants of the site. It is estimated that over 50 different tenants lived or worked at the HPB between 1819 and 1979 and a bulk of the archaeological material found in the building relates to those residents. This included the Female Immigration Depot between 1848 to 1887 (in which over 2000 orphan girls were also maintained in the building in the first four years), an asylum for the aged, destitute, terminally ill and mentally ill women. [449] After this period, the site was altered to accommodate various government offices and law courts in and around the HPB building (between 1887 to 1979) after which the site was closed.[450] Over a span of 160 years, an estimated 50 different occupants used this site. With each different occupant came additional artefacts. This material had either been swept accidentally between the floorboards or taken at night by the resident rats. As with the convict collection, those artefacts which have been collected post this period are significant in highlighting the use of this site. This can be observed through the quantity

---

[448] Sydney Living Museums, *Hyde Park Barracks floor plan 1819-1848*,
<http://lrrpublic.cli.det.nsw.edu.au/lrrSecure/Sites/Web/13651/13654/applets/11698_floor_plan/images/_highlighter_/floor_plan.jpg> [accessed 12 March 2017]

[449] Joy N. Hughes, 'Hyde Park Asylum for Infirm and Destitute Women 1862-1886: an historical study of government welfare for women in need of residential care in New South Wales*' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Western Sydney, 2004)
< http://researchdirect.westernsydney.edu.au/islandora/object/uws:3618> [accessed 15 March 2015]

[450] Sydney Living Museums, *Immerse yourself at Hyde Park Barracks,* [n.d.]
< https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/hyde-park-barracks-museum> [accessed 15 March 2017]

of sewing material which had been collected from beneath the floorboards at the HPB dating after the convicts were removed in 1848. The building was subsequently adapted to accommodate female immigrants arriving from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland in the hope of finding jobs in the colonies as domestic servants. Many young girls and women would pass their time in the barracks, sewing and mending clothes whilst waiting until they secured employment.

By 1862 part of the barracks building had been transferred over to government authorities to be used as an asylum for women who were elderly, without lodgings or employment. Some of the women who came into the building had also been removed from the Sydney Benevolent building not far from the barracks. As a result of this, much of the material which had been retrieved by archaeologists during the excavation on the upper floors were to include "thousands of textile offcuts, clothing items, shoe components and buttons" furthermore "a rich collection of textile fragments from the HPB Asylum for Infirm and Destitute Women" were also to be found.[451] Although much of this material remains in storage, the amount discovered has revealed that many young girls and women were influenced by certain styles and colours which were fashionable at the time. This collection was to go undiscovered until the mid-1970s, when the NSW Public Works Department started restoration works on the barracks buildings in which these structures were placed in 1978 on the National Estate Register. By 1980 it was officially announced that the site would be transformed into a museum about the history of Sydney. As a result of this, the site surviving largely intact from 1819, the museum would be designed to use the building fabric to interpret the history of the city and the history of how convicts lived, worked and played in the barracks building and the surrounding areas of Sydney. By the beginning of 1981, the HPB and the adjacent Mint building became protected by the first permanent conservation orders under the Heritage Act (1977). This was to be shortly followed with the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act (1979), Historic Houses Act (1980), Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act (1999) and the Sydney Local Environment Plan (2005).

---

[451] Peter Davies, 'Clothing and textiles at the Hyde Park Barracks Destitute Asylum, Sydney, Australia', *Post-Medieval Archaeology,* 47, no. 1 (2013), pp. 1-17 (pp. 1-2). <https://www.academia.edu/16583535/Clothing_and_textiles_at_the_Hyde_Park_Barracks_Destitute_Asylum_Sydney_Australia> [accessed 27 March 2017]

The HPB was officially opened to the general public under the control of the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (MAAS) in 1984. It would be the first of its kind which would be dedicated to Sydney's early convict history. By 1990, the Barracks management had been transferred to the Historic Houses Trust of NSW (which today is known as the Sydney Living Museums).[452] The Historic Houses Trust of NSW was originally established in 1980 and was designed to care for significant historic places, buildings, landscapes and collections. It was developed as a statutory authority and largely funded through the New South Wales Government to maintain and conserve the 12 buildings which it operated at this time. Yet, despite these different residents, the interpretation of the HPB has predominately focused upon its connection to Governor Macquarie, the convict architect Francis Greenway (who designed the building) and the estimated 50,000 convicts which passed through the entrance gates. The thousands of artefacts which have been retrieved from between the wooden floorboards on the second and third floor and the surrounding site which date from convict occupation, has also further enhanced the site's significance. The dry environmental conditions beneath the floorboards on these levels created an ideal location for hundreds of rats to make their nests using various items which had been stolen, discarded or hidden by the various occupants of this site. However, ultimately it is the barracks building itself which is the main focus. For not only has this building stood as a testament of time as a surviving convict building but it was also designed by a convict for convicts. The sites transfer of management to the Historic Houses Trust of NSW in 1990 resulted in the primary focus towards the building's conservation and interpretation to be based upon the convict barracks, female immigration depot and asylum.[453] It was also concluded that the: "building should properly be regarded as a museum of itself, directly related to its historic uses, rather than as a venue for other museum exhibits."[454]

Because of this, the HPB has not only come to be recognised as a rare and highly significant convict site, but the archaeological collection which dates from this period has come to be recognised "as one of Australia's most significant archaeological collections."[455] As a result of this, the site is not only recognised at state and national level

---

[452] Historic Houses Trust of NSW, *Hyde Park Barracks management plan*.
[453] Department of the Environment and Heritage, *Australian heritage database*, p. 23.
[454] DEWHA, *Australian convict sites*, p. 44.
[455] Department of the Environment and Heritage, *Australian heritage database*, p. 7.

as representing "a turning point in the management of Australian convicts" which was initiated by Governor Macquarie, but also with the first convict architect Francis Greenway.[456] Due to this, and the fact that no other building like it survive in Australia, it sustains OUV. This has resulted in the HPB being enlisted upon the World Heritage List in 2010 as part of a national nomination of convict sites which included in addition to the barracks:

1. Kingston and Arthur's Vale Historic Area, Norfolk Island;
2. Old Government House and Domain, New South Wales;
3. Cockatoo Island Convict Site, New South Wales;
4. Brickendon–Woolmers Estates, Tasmania;
5. Darlington Probation Station, Tasmania;
6. Port Arthur Historic Site, Tasmania;
7. Coal Mines Historic Site, Tasmania;
8. Cascades Female Factory, Tasmania;
9. Old Great North Road, New South Wales;
10. Fremantle Prison, Western Australia.

In an effort to further understand the importance of the HPB and its archaeological collection, chapter four will briefly examine the site's history from 1819 up to the present day and how it came to maintain such a significant collection which is considered the "best preserved archaeological assemblage" of convict material in the world.[457] This chapter will also review a number of key documents and reports which have been created for the HPB museum to gain a deeper understanding of how the archaeological collection has been viewed as opposed to the site and barracks building. This will be further supported by reviewing the *Australian Convict Sites* 2010 World Heritage nomination application. A review of the current displays on the first, second and third floors will also be undertaken to identify how these artefacts have been used in permanent and semi-permanent displays to interpret this site and if any specific artefacts have been highlighted to highlight its own significant values in connection to this WHS.

Furthermore, evidence gathered from an interview undertaken with HPB's Senior Curator Dr. Fiona Starr will also be studied. This personal reflection by Starr will assist in providing a deeper understanding of some of the key artefacts in this collection and if they assist towards highlighting the values which they hold in connection to this site. Starr's feedback will highlight whether she believes that there is a need for greater

---

[456] Ibid., p. 2.
[457] Ibid.

recognition of such collections at a WH level. This feedback will support my final argument in Chapter Six on how significant artefacts should be recognised and assessed in conjunction to the nomination of a WHS by a State Party.

Convicts, Immigrants and the Law: A historical overview of the Hyde Park Barracks between 1819 to 1970

The HPB was to be part of Governor Macquarie's vision for prison reform and was to reflect the beginning of change towards prison reform in the colony of New South Wales. Macquarie was to design not a prison but rather a barracks in which convicts would sleep at night and work off site during the day as there was a great need for government building work to be completed:

> During his governorship, convicts and ex-convicts represented over 70 percent of the population and over 90 percent of the white male workforce. Macquarie believed that the well-being of the colony would be advanced if 'deserving convicts', those that had served their time and worked diligently, were readmitted to society. Under Macquarie's governorship, emancipist ex convicts were appointed to government positions appropriate to their skills. The architect of Hyde Park Barracks, Francis Greenway, is an example of this approach to convict administration. Greenway was granted an Absolute Pardon at the opening of Hyde Park Barracks, to acknowledge the work he had done to construct Macquarie's vision.[458]

Yet although the design of the barracks was to be a new concept in prison reform and the operations of the how convicts were managed was transformed, strict rules still applied. Life was controlled by the central clock which was positioned in a pediment on the front of the building which would direct the daily routine of the convicts both in its walls as well as those who worked in the garden, bakery, government work gangs or government sites nearby.[459] Convicts slept in hammocks which were then rolled up during the day. Young boys were restricted to other rooms in the site but were at risk of sexual abuse due to the lack of supervision.

After 1830, the HPB became a site for re-offending convicts, and a court house for convict trials. Two solitary cells were allocated at the corner pavilions and flogging was introduced after 1833.[460] By the 1840s, convict transportation to Australia was gradually

---

[458] Department of the Environment and Heritage, *Australian heritage database,* p. 4.
[459] DEWHA, *Australian convict sites*, p. 22.
[460] Ibid., p. 52.

phased out and as a result, by 1848, convicts living in the building were removed to the convict site on Cockatoo Island.[461]

The convicts, immigrant girls and female asylum at the barracks were just three out of 650 tenants who resided at this site. Because of the complexity, both as an operational site as well as a museum which had undergone various changes in management and interpretation, the management and conservation of the HPB has been complex and multi-layered. Through these changes, various management and heritage conservation documents had been created by leading archaeologists and heritage professionals. In total over 150 publications have been produced including: "Archaeological reports; Conservation reports; Museum plans; Educational program; Exhibition catalogues […] Unpublished university theses; Architectural histories; Maintenance reports."[462] Many of these documents from the 1970s to the time the Historic Houses Trust of NSW took over its management in 1990.

Most of the management planning towards the barracks building was largely developed during the 1990s under the direction of the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales. Gradually, as the last occupants from the law courts left the barracks site, the management plan was to expand to include these remaining locations:

> As the subject of one of the first Permanent Conservation Orders in New South Wales and a major historical conservation project by the Public Works Department (1975–1984), it is a focus for debate on building conservation theory and practice. As the subject of extensive adaptation for museum purposes by the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (1984–1990), it is the focus for debate on museological policy, practice and interpretation. As a significant historical site in the CBD of Sydney, it is a focus for great interest and involvement by government, tourism and cultural agencies.[463]

Today, the museum, the barracks and surrounding outbuildings are controlled by the Hyde Park Barracks Management Plan (HPBMP). Revised in 2010, the document provides information on the site's protection at a Local, State, National and World Heritage level. Not only was the HPBMP to provide an overview of the site's history and

---

[461] Ibid.

[462] Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos, and Tim Murray, *Assessment of historical and archaeological resources of the Hyde Park Barracks,* 2nd revised edn (Sydney, Australia: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2003), p. 15.

[463] Historic Houses Trust of NSW, *Hyde Park Barracks management plan*, p. 27.

conservation needs but also the policies and conventions which needed to be followed at a WH level. Furthermore, the HPBMP was created to avoid actions which could place this site, and its WH status at risk. Similar to the Australian Convict Sites nomination application, the HPBMP discusses the protection and conservation of the barracks in detail on various different levels from statuary management, to the implementation of conservation management.[464] This includes the fabric of the original barracks building and its conservation, plus the museum's interpretation and how it should be directed to reveal the significance of the building and its many different uses and occupants.

The World Heritage Listing of the Hyde Parks Barracks

Nominated as *The Australian Convict Sites* by the Government of Australia, and comprising of 11 sites, the HPB is the only known type of its kind which exists in the country. The submitted application highlights the significance of each convict site in an effort to reflect how these "sites are representative of the global phenomenon of convictism and its association with global developments in the punishment of crime in the modern era."[465] This very thorough document includes detailed descriptions of each convict site and its history. The nomination application was to also examine the system of penal reform which was being developed in the United Kingdom during the early to mid-19th century and the use of convict transportation and convict labour to Australia, Tasmania and the Norfolk Island. Justification as to why these sites should be listed was reinforced through the set criteria IV and VI which were chosen in their group nomination application. Therefore, not only did these criteria work to reinforce the values of these convict sites as a group, but they also highlighted the global phenomenon of forced migration by the British Empire in an effort to experiment with new methods of penal reform.

> *Criteria IV - be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.*[466]

> Collectively, the Australian Convict Sites are an outstanding example of an architectural ensemble which illustrate a significant stage in human history, that of the forced migration of convicts. Through these buildings the Australian

---

[464] Ibid., pp. 4-8.

[465] Ibid., p. 5.

[466] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (WHC 08/01, January 2008) (Paris: UNESCO, 2008). < http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf> [accessed 31 July 2017]

Convict Sites demonstrate the main features of the global system of transportation and convictism. These were:

1 Use of transportation as a strategic tool to expand the home state's sphere of influence. Many state powers used convicts to build new colonies in order to expand their economic, military and political influence access the world:

2 Use of transportation by nation states as a mechanism for the control of law and order. The establishment of penal colonies to punish criminal offenders and the crime in the homes' state was an immediate and long-term objective of transportation systems; and

3 Use of transportation by state powers to reform the criminal elements of humanity. Penal systems were introduced to rehabilitate criminals into productive citizens and integrate them into the new colonies or for their return to the home state.[467]

Criteria VI - To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.[468]

The Australian Convict Sites are of outstanding universal significance for their association with global developments in ideas and beliefs about punishment and reform of the criminal elements of humanity in the modern era. These included:

1 Consolidation and expansion of the transportation system as one of the dominant models of punishment of crime by European powers in the 19th century;

2 Emergence of new forms of punishment including the shift from corporal punishment to psychological punishment, and the development of segregated prisons for female and juvenile criminals; and

3 Influence of transportation on the rest of national penitentiary system in Europe.[469]

Yet, although the nomination application refers to the collections as maintaining high significance, they are only referred to so as to reconfirm the importance of this WHS and its original use as a convict barracks in which these artefacts are kept:

> The Australian Convict Sites are directly associated with vast collections of convict materials that have no equivalent in the world. The collections comprise: artefacts; official documents that record the regulation of convict lives in extraordinary detail; personal narratives; paintings and sketches; poetry and ballads; and fictionalised accounts of convict life. These materials evoke the experience of the forced migration of convicts and greatly enhance our knowledge of this important stage of human history. They constitute a globally unique

---

[467] DEWHA, *Australian convict sites*, p. 72.

[468] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *Operational guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (WHC 08/01, January 2008).

[469] DEWHA, *Australian convict sites*, p. 73.

convict-centred perspective of the processes associated with both transportation and the penal regime in Australia. They uniquely capture both the dark and sombre side of humanity as well as its uplifting and enlightening aspects. The most significant collections are housed at Hyde Park Barracks, Port Arthur and KAVHA.[470]

Although some of these convict records were listed upon the *UNESCO Memory of the World Register* in 2007, this documentation was not included in the nomination application which only considers documentary heritage such as manuscripts, oral traditions, audio-visual materials, library, and archival holdings. The convict records which have been included on the register include: "information relating to all aspects of convicts' lives, including physical appearance, literacy level, trade or calling, crime and sentence, behaviour in incarceration, further punishment, pardon, ticket of leave and marriage."[471] The register does not include artefacts which may maintain significant cultural memory from the hundreds of men, women and children who once lived and worked as convicts at these sites.[472]

This oversight can also be observed in the nomination document which whilst it gives recognition to some collections such as those held at the HPB, Port Arthur and Kingston and Arthur's Vale Historic Area, gives minimal recognition towards other convict collections. [473] For example, at Brickendon–Woolmers Estates in Tasmania (1820–50s), "A vast collection of artefacts and written materials has survived from the convict era and remain in the homestead." [474] Containing over 20 timber and brick buildings covering an area of approximately 420 hectares, many of the male and female convicts who worked at both these sites were assigned to private masters and today both these sites are still managed and worked by the descendants of the first owners. Furthermore, the Cascades Female Factory in Hobart, Tasmania (1828–56) is also another example of prisoner reform which aimed to reform female convicts through isolation and separation. Yet, it was also to be a site that was self-sufficient in which female convicts and their children could live and work together. At one time a building in this site held 88 convicts and 150

---

[470] Ibid. p., 75.
[471] UNESCO, *Memory of the world: the convict records of Australia,* 2017 < http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/the-convict-records-of-australia/#c186408> [accessed 23 October 2018]
[472] Ibid.
[473] DEWHA, *Australian convict sites,* p. 75.
[474] Ibid., p. 24.

children, highlighting that although this site had been constructed in isolation a community existed in it.[475] Today some of these buildings (such as the Matron's residence) are used to display some of the 2,000 artefacts which were excavated from this site.[476]

Although the nomination of these sites does mention the use of interpretive displays in highlighting these convict stories, there is no clear standard indicated towards how this must be undertaken for a WHS. Instead, each museum is responsible for exploring and telling these stories. In the case of the HPB, how it interprets its own history is indicated in the Management Plan, which focuses upon the stories and histories connected to the convict occupation of this site. Although it is believed that an Interpretation Plan does exist, this was not accessible at the time this research was undertaken.[477]

The interpretation of the Hyde Park Barracks museum

> The Hyde Park Barracks property—and in particular, the central dormitory—is conserved and interpreted as 'a museum that uses the fabric of the building, its rich archaeology collection, documents and spaces to tell the many stories about its occupants and uses over the past 187 years'. Whilst all periods are respected as part of its story, the Historic Houses Trust [Sydney Living Museums] has determined that the primary significance is its unique evidence of use as a convict barracks and female immigration depot and asylum. [478]

The HPB operates as a museum which incorporates a series of different displays and exhibitions which focus upon the three main periods described in the HPBMP, including the convicts and female immigration depot and asylum plus the legal courts. Although the HPB exhibition programme and displays change annually and bi-annually, the first and third floor (including the building itself), focus largely upon the convict period of occupation.[479]

Since opening under the management of the Historic Houses Trust of NSW in 1990, the display areas have largely remained the same with semi-permanent and permanent displays on the second and third floors. The first floor had been designated for changing

---

[475] Ibid, p. 30.
[476] Ibid.
[477] Historic Houses Trust of NSW, *Hyde Park Barracks management plan*, p. 4.
[478] Ibid., p. 36.
[479] Denis Gojak, 'Convict archaeology in New South Wales'.

displays with a permanent display in the information room upon entering the building. This can also be observed in how the central dormitory has been conserved over time to use the building fabric to highlight the convict occupants. On a museological level the archaeological collection has been used to "plug the gaps, of architectural history and illustrate known historical details about daily life at the Barracks between 1817 and 1981 (with some exceptions), rather than be used to uncover other aspects of the lives of its occupants."[480] In total it is estimated that 13,250 bags (holding approximately 55,453 artefacts) were retrieved from beneath the floorboards and approximately 6,862 bags (which contain approximately 37,910 artefacts) were discovered underground, bringing a total of 20,112 bags. In total it was estimated that approximately 93,363 artefacts were retrieved.[481] These estimates continue to increase as more sections of this site are investigated and excavated with additional supporting documentation.[482] However, as each investigation was undertaken at this site by a different archaeologist artefacts which were retrieved were moved to a temporary storage area in the HPB and as a result the excavation catalogue was to experience differences in analysis and research. This can be observed through the list of projects which occurred at this site and was included in the report: *Archaeology of the Modern City 1788-1900: Assessment of Historical and Archaeological Resources of the Hyde Park Barracks, Sydney* by Archaeologists Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos and Professor Tim Murray. These projects ran from 1980 to 2001 and include:

- 1980 Excavation and analysis by Carol Powell;
- 1980 Test-trenching by Wendy Thorp in the main building, north range and yard;
- 1981 Excavation by Patricia Burritt and team of underfloor and underground deposits;
- 1981–83 Salvage excavation by Elizabeth Pinder;
- 1981–84 Salvage work by Graham Wilson at Bakehouse, Southern Gatehouse, Northern Gatehouse;
- 1982 Artefact conservation by Glennda Marsh 1985–c1994 Sydney University research design and preparation for catalogue of underfloor artefacts;
- 1991 Museum opened with display of artefacts;
- 1994 Wendy Thorp Artefact Review and Management Recommendations: completed underground catalogue;
- 1995 Finalisation and reporting of the catalogue of underfloor artefacts, by Dana Mider
- 1996 Wendy Thorp unstratified artefacts report;

---

[480] Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos, and Tim Murray, 'Assessment of historical and archaeological resources', p. 26.
[481] Ibid., p. 37.
[482] Ibid.

- 1997 Peter Tonkin artefact 'stock-take' of underfloor and underground collections 1998–2001 The Hyde Park Barracks database;
- 2001 Exploring the archaeology of the modern city project.[483]

Although the barracks building does not include all the occupants of this site in its interpretation framework, it did attempt to include the interpretation of the surrounding perimeter structures on the same themes as set in the MP. However, the main focus in exploring these various layers of history has remained focused upon the central dormitory building. Although the HPB artefact collection is "unlike other museums in that the significance…is in the whole, and not just in the parts. The awareness of place frames each narrative."[484] As a result of this the convict period has dominated the buildings' interpretation framework and a large proportion of artefacts which it displays to explore the different stories of its past.

Level one (First Floor)
The first floor level of the barracks museum has been designed to be divided into four separate sections separated by an interconnecting corridor and staircase leading to the upper floors. This format is used throughout the barracks. Undoubtedly the approach used to explore the building fabric has been greatly influenced by the Burra Charter which was first adopted in the South Australian township of Burra in 1979 by Australia ICOMOS and today is an internationally accepted document used to guide the conservation of heritage sites.[485] The philosophy behind the *Burra Charter* is largely directed towards the "less is more" approach when undertaking conservation and restoration. Therefore paint-scrapes which were done on the walls exposed original signage and white-washed walls, assisting to reveal the various layers of the buildings history and use since 1819.

---

[483] Ibid., p. 32.
[484] Sydney Living Museums, *Strategic Plan 2017-2022* ([n.pl.], [n.pub.],[n.d.]), p. 6. < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/sites/default/files/Strategic_Plan_2017_2022_FA3.pdf> [accessed 23 August 2018]
[485] Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter: the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Significance* (Melbourne, Australia: Deakin University, 2013), p. 2. <http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf> [accessed 13 August 2018]

Figure 5: The entrance into the HPB, maintains a permanent display. The artefacts in the glass class are from the buildings archaeological collection highlighting some of the 50 occupants of this site.[486]

Figure 6: Exposed fireplace in the interpretation room in which layers of the building fabric is used to show the uses of this space since 1819 to the late 1970s. Over the years, the fireplace was reduced in size as the use of the room was adapted.[487]

Upon entering the building via a central corridor, the visitor can either turn right into the bookshop to purchase an entrance ticket into the museum or can turn left in to a display

---

[486] Seen in Sydney.com, *Hyde Park Barracks entrance introduction area*, 2011 < http://www.seeuinsydney.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/convicts.jpg> [accessed 23 November 2016]

[487] Trip Advisor, *Hyde Park Barracks entrance introduction area*, [n.d.] < https://media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/0f/a2/8c/bb/hyde-park-barracks-museum.jpg> [accessed 23 November 2016]

area which gives a brief historical overview of the site. Windows in this room have been covered in an effort to allow the room to speak for itself. The visitor is drawn to specific areas of the room by directional lighting which highlights parts of the building which date from the three main occupants of the site. Other areas of this room also make reference to the archaeological exploration which occurred during the early 1980s. The walls have been painted a dark steel grey colour to assist, direct the visitors' focus to specific paint-scrapes upon the wall, highlighting the various changes which the room has undergone since being built in 1819. A floating floor with an observation area reveals sections of the 1981-1984 archaeological dig site. A central glass display case highlights some of the key archaeological finds from the barracks reflecting some of the key occupants of this site. On the lower section of the case a convict shirt from the collection is on display along with a cat-o-nine tails, rat and other artefacts connected to this period and on the second level objects from the immigration occupants are included. On the top level is a Judge's wig, referencing the later presence of the court at the site. This room has been interpreted to create a space for reflection before entering the main museum. By directing our attention to various areas in this space through directional lighting, use of different materials and different coloured paint schemes to highlight specific periods of the buildings use, the museum has been able to focus our attention upon certain occupants which used this site. However, by doing so, it has overlooked other tenants who once lived and worked at the HPB. Instead, the methods which have been used to explore the historical layers of this space have been undertaken drawing on a more analytical approach in which the archaeological layers have been used to reveal this history instead of the stories which could be used to investigate this in more detail. Due to this, visitors can only 'view' this space and attempt to imagine what these objects were used for, then directly interact through the stories which some of these objects may hold.

The corridor entrance gains access into the two main exhibition areas. Known as the Greenway Galleries (named after the architect who designed the HPB), temporary exhibitions are placed on display. Over the years, displays have included 'Francis Greenway', 'Convict Love Tokens'; 'Convicts' and the most recent 'Convict Sydney'. Billed at this time as 'the biggest ever [exhibition] of convict related objects and pictures',

the exhibition was opened in the same year as it was given World Heritage status.[488] Curators and designers were aware that the listing of this site would bring more overseas visitors in addition to local, state and national tourists. Designed to take a closer examination of the convict life during early settlement, 'Convict Sydney' was placed in both the northern and southern galleries. Each gallery focuses on different aspects of convictism and the development of Sydney and its people. Due to insufficient documentation which dated from this period and a lack of images of individual convicts, different methods had to be used in the design of the display to explore this area of history. This was attempted through the use of a giant map of Sydney which dated from 1822.[489] The image was replicated and transferred onto the floor in the gallery space, in an effort to give visitors a sense of place and location. This larger than life approach also resulted in the development of a giant panoramic landscape of Sydney. Dated around the same period as the map, the image was supported with information panels. Furthermore, giant tableaux were also painted by the artist Wayne Haag in an effort to reveal the journey of a convict from Britain to Sydney and the HPB.

Figure 7: Students dress in mock-up convict shirts and assess a model of a treadmill an interactive screen assists to explain the processes used. Convict Sydney exhibition.[490]

---

[488] Alexandra Boukouvalas, 'A "metamorphosis of perspectives on the past": a study of the Hyde Park Barracks, 1975-2012' (unpublished BA honours thesis, University of Sydney, 2013), p. 20. <https://core.ac.uk/display/41237899> [accessed 25 May 2016]

[489] Sydney Living Museums, *Convict Sydney exhibition*, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/convict_sydney-exhibition> [accessed 13 May 2016].

[490] Ibid.

Figure 8: Panoramic painting created by artist Wayne Haag for the exhibition Convict Sydney. This image takes up a complete wall in this display area and highlights the processes which convicts went through to get to Australia during the early part of the 19ᵗʰ century.[491]

To support this, various stories were revealed thorough interactives, touch screens and three-dimensional props in an effort to explain and educate visitors of Sydney's convict past. Objects which were used in this display largely consisted of working tools that had been used to build government structures in the city of Sydney. Many were on loan from private owners.

The first floor has been dedicated towards highlighting the history of the convict occupants of this site. Aside from showing a few artefacts (and a section of the excavated area) in the introduction room which date from the immigration depot and asylum period and legal courts, the focus is towards highlighting the convict period through the use of the building fabric and introduced displays. Aside from an original convict shirt which maintains great national importance yet still remains unrecognised for its significance, no direct reference is made towards this sites' WH listing or the importance of these artefacts.

Level two (Second Floor)
The second floor of the barracks replicates that on the first floor in format. A ghost staircase mirroring the one originally used to access this level has been installed to help visitors visualise what this area was like during the convict period. Paint scrapes, white washed walls, original signage and wall-paper along with exposed brickwork and worn floorboards are also used to tell elements of the site's history.

---

[491] Ibid.

Figure 9: On the second floor of the HPB displays highlight the artefacts found during the archaeological investigations during the 1981-1984 dig. This display reveals some of the pieces of fabric which were found in the many rats' nests beneath the floorboards both on the second and third floor. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2016).

Figure 10: Many of the artefacts found in the HPB were discovered in rats' nests, which had been made beneath the floorboards on the second and third floors. This section of flooring is used to show how these rats lived and the types of objects that had been found in their nests.(Photo taken by S. Fabry 2016).

The two front rooms on this level are used for semi-permanent displays. Since being listed as a WHS, one room has been used to highlight the HPB listing along with the other ten listed convict sites around Australia. Yet, although this display refers to the site's OUV status, no artefacts have been used to highlight the significance of this collection. This

oversight is both disappointing and a lost opportunity to reference the connection between these objects and the WHS. It is also unfortunate as this collection is referred to in the group nomination as well as governing policies which direct this site.

Directly opposite this room, a display explores the immigration period. Titled Female Immigration Depot 1848-1886 the display explores the 38 years in which the barracks was used as an Immigration Depot in which approximately 40,000 women and children passed through the building. Installed since 2014, the display has been designed to appear bare and utilitarian. The installation was developed based upon known historical records, family research, oral histories, photographs and archaeological artefacts from the immigration depot. Preference towards furnishing this room in an effort to highlight this period of history has been given. There are folding beds from the period and travel chests are marked with names of known residence. Inside each trunk are displayed some of the artefacts from the HPB collection to highlight some of the stories of some of these girls. Also included in this display is an original trunk that once belonged to Irish orphan Margaret Hurley.

Figure 11: Display cases in the HPB are used to exhibit the archaeological collection and often are mixed with contemporary pieces or props which have been made to support the artefacts on display. This room display themes focused on the Immigration or Female Depot period. [492].

---

[492] Sydney Living Museums, *Female immigrant display*,[n.d.]
< https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/sites/default/files/install%200805%2026.jpg> [accessed 17 August 2016]

Whilst attempts have been made to create a reflective space in which the visitor can sit upon the bed and "take in" the space around, a more in-depth connection could have been developed through displaying more of the collection from this period, especially as it is estimated that:

> The underfloor collection includes more than 10,000 textile fragments, with almost 3,000 from Level 2 (Depot) and more than 7,000 from Level 3 (Asylum)." Furthermore "Almost 600 leather fragments were recovered from under the floors of Levels 2 and 3. Most of these relate to shoe repairs, and include heel (lift) and sole pieces, uppers, welts and small curved offcuts.[493]

The largest collection of artefacts is displayed in the Archaeology Room (Figures 9/10). This dimly lit room with covered windows exhibits objects grouped by 'Location', 'Type' and 'Use'. Set in two large steel powder coated glass cases that extend the length of the room, working tools and images of the original excavation are presented. Various artefacts have been set in a grid layout, highlighting the method which was used by the archaeologists to retrieve these artefacts (Figure 10). One side of the case has been developed to recreate and show the processes used to retrieve artefacts from beneath the floorboards. On the other side of this display case, it has been reconstructed to show how archaeologists retrieved artefacts from beneath the soil around the barracks building. A large array of glass, ceramics and bone are on display, including a section of the original floorboards exposing an original rat's nest. Unfortunately, most of this material is generic and without in-depth description or explanation (Figure 16). As a result of this, the visitor comes away learning about the methods used to excavate this material but with minimal information about the stories behind these artefacts. Any further information about these pieces must be gained through staff or research outside of this display.

Significant artefacts held in the archaeological collection are largely maintained in storage in the storage room on this level. Material is kept in polypropolene archive boxes and therefore the vast amount of material which is held is not seen. Although this storage room provides a viewing point for visitors to observe the curator, students and researchers that are working on the collection, people can only observe this material if it is removed from the shelved polypropylene boxes.

---

[493] Peter Davies, 'Clothing and textiles at the Hyde Park Barracks Destitute Asylum, pp. 6-10.

Directly on the opposite side to this floor, is a more traditional display in which text panels and models of the building dating from 1819 till the late 1970s are presented. Similar to the first floor, this room is also white washed, giving a feeling of cleanliness and hygiene fitting for the convicts and immigrant women who once occupied this level. The inner walls on this floor still maintain a wall with various layers of wallpaper dating from the mid-1850s.

Although level two maintains a display which discusses the site's WH significance along with the other listed convict sites, no reference has been directly made to the importance which this collection maintains at a WH level. Nor is there any reference to any of the most "unique pieces" in this collection that contribute towards highlighting its state, national and international significance or OUV.

Level three (Third Floor).

Figure 12: Designed with minimal physical interpretation, this room maintains a soundscape that is set off upon entering this space. Personal stories and accounts of those convicts who were once held in the HPB are presented by professional actors who take on these characters.[494]

---

[494] Hyde Park Barracks, *Third floor - surveillance and routines room*, [n.d.] <https://www.bing.com/images/search?view=detailV2&ccid=uky%2bVkaG&id=A5E8CF72D6709198C19BB359B68AE2F7399D8365&thid=OIP.uky-VkaGhcv80j-4hmuHpQHaE7&mediaurl=http%3a%2f%2f4.bp.blogspot.com%2f-rgpXySfhSrA%2fTp_tOwuo__I%2fAAAAAAAAAWI%2fE210EZw9xig%2fs1600%2fhyde%2bpark5.jpg&exph=533&expw=800&q=hyde+park+barracks+convicts+third+floor&simid=608039038067736972&selectedIndex=2&ajaxhist=0> [accessed 31 January 2017]

Figure 13: In this room of the HPB, cut-outs set against the windows give a feeling of isolation. Convict personal stories are written on each figure (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).[495]
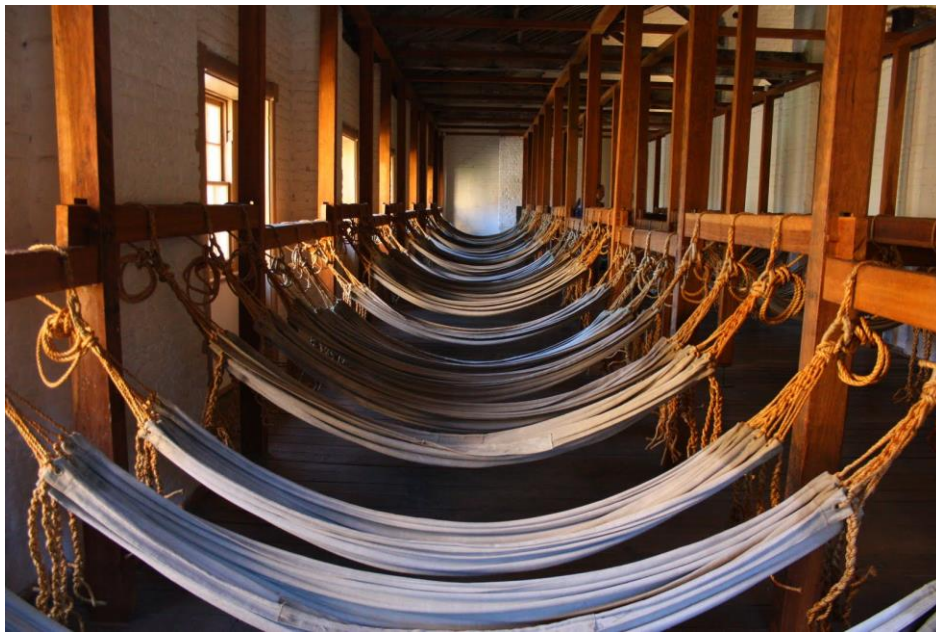
Figure 14: Designed with minimal physical interpretation, this room contains a soundscape that is set off upon entering this space. Personal stories and accounts of those convicts who were once held in the HPB are presented by professional actors who take on these characters.[496]

The third floor of the HPB (as with the below two levels) is divided into four separate rooms, which are largely open plan in design. Titled 'Surveillance and Routines', both rooms discuss the rules and regulations which the convicts followed whilst in the

---

[495] Hyde Park Barracks, *Third floor - surveillance and routines room*. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

[496] Hyde Park Barracks, *Hammocks room – Third floor*.< https://2.bp.blogspot.com/-pylTTtrgapQ/TguB6kdCY0I/AAAAAAAAOy8/_Jtvr71jHdM/s1600/1%2BMuseum.JPG > [accessed 26 November 2017]

Barracks building and the types of chores they undertook on a government work gang (Figure 13/14). The large two rear rooms have been interpreted to give an atmospheric feel to these spaces. Designed to include voice overs (by professional actors) of some of the stories of convicts who stayed in these spaces, visitors are allowed to absorb this information whilst walking through these eerie spaces. One of the rooms has been recreated into a hammock area in which visitors are permitted to lie down in an attempt to gain an understanding of how it would feel to sleep in such a space. The opposite room is empty except for flat figures which have been propped in front of the windows, giving a feeling that an actual person is standing there. Upon these cut outs are written the crimes and punishment of some of the convict occupants. The exposed wooden floors throughout this level and the white washed walls gives an overall feeling of isolation and separation.

The OUV of the Hyde Park Barracks archaeological collection

Although the archaeological collection at the HPB is deemed to be the largest archaeological collection which "survives from a 19th-century institution in the world", it still remains removed in significance in comparison to the barracks building.[497] No distinction has been made in its interpretation towards highlighting its national or international importance. As archaeologists Crook, Illmoos and Murray write: "this sample of the Barracks' artefact collection is presented to the visitor more as an introduction to a typical historical archaeological site in Australia, rather than an important assemblage from a site as unique as the Hyde Park Barracks."[498] However, investigations have shown that this collection remains as "the largest, most comprehensive, and best-preserved archaeological assemblage derived from any 19th-century institution in the world."[499]

Although Crook's statement was presented prior to the site's WHL, attempts have been made to highlight certain objects from the collection via the museum's website. The HPB has updated their current website to include not only information on the site's successful nomination but also the other 10 sites which were nominated with it. Therefore, although

---

[497] Peter Davies, Penny Crook, and Tim Murray, *An archaeology of institutional confinement: the Hyde Park Barracks, 1848–1886*, Studies in Australasian Historical Archaeology 4 (Sydney, Australia: Sydney University Press, 2013) <http://www.asha.org.au/pdf/publications/9781920899790_COVER.pdf> [accessed 24 June 2017]

[498] Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos, and Tim Murray, *Assessment of historical and archaeological resources of the Hyde Park Barracks*, p. 26.

[499] Peter Davies, Penny Crook, and Tim Murray, *An archaeology of institutional confinement*.

the HPB might not include such detailed information on particular objects in the museum's interpretation, its current website attempts to highlight some of the most unusual and unique objects which have been found as well as some generic artefacts which reveals the lifestyle some of these convicts lived. These include:

1 - Coins – George III farthing dated 1817 and a Cartwheel penny dated 1797 (HPB/UG1275, HPB/UG1280). [500]
Two coins were discovered at the HPB both underground and underfloor. This discovery highlights the different types of currency which were used not only during the trade of made or stolen goods but to bribe overseers. Coins were also used for gambling or for trading of rations whilst others had been used to inscribe messages of love and dedication.

2 – Convict Braces - Made from recycled side strips of convict punishment pants (HPB/UF 53). [501]
Found beneath the floor in the hallway door on the third floor, these braces are made from two recycled lined strips with a button hole. The type of material used in these braces reveals that it was made from two different government standard cloth.

3 – Clay tobacco pipe (HPB/UG3111). [502]
Tobacco was part of the rations which convicts received whilst at the Barracks. This type of pipe however was sold in a pub and usually came with a drink when purchased. This indicates that convicts could have ventured into such venues for recreational purposes. This pipe was made by Johnathan Leak between 1826-1838 and is part of a collection of over 1500 pieces of smoking pipes. Leak was originally transported to NSW in 1819 at the age of 42 for burglary. He was a trained potter.

4 – A convict shoe (HPB/UF56). [503]
Found on the second floor in the north eastern dormitory, this shoe could have been produced on site as it maintains the 'B↑O' Board of Ordnance stamp.

5 – Convict shirts (UF unknown exact location found). [504]

---

[500] Sydney Living Museums, *Convict coins: 1819–1848,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection (n.d) < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107646> [accessed 13 May 2016].

[501] Sydney Living Museums, *Convict braces and belts:1819–1848,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection (n.d) < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107691> [accessed 13 May 2016].

[502] Sydney Living Museums, '*Clay tobacco pipe: Jonathan Leak, 1826-1838,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-109221>[accessed 13 May 2016].

[503] Sydney Living Museums, *Convict shoe: 1819-1848,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107686>[accessed 13 May 2016].

[504] Sydney Living Museums, *Convict shirt: 1819-1848,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107716> [accessed 13 May 2016].

These two rare shirts were part of the convicts clothing rations. Both are made from plain weave unbleached cotton with a blue weft strip. Both have been repaired but only one maintains the 'B↑O' Board of Ordnance stamp. Retrieved from beneath the third level floorboards, shirts were often stolen by other convicts to be traded on the black market.

6 – Gaming pieces (HPB/UG1007, HPB/UG1014, HPB/UG1012, HPB/UG1011, HPB/UG1009, HPB/UG1013, HPB/UG1015, HPB/UF2633). [505]

Gambling amongst convicts in the barracks was a common practice and such artefacts indicate that this was an occurrence which happened especially when they were in the main building at night. Such pieces were made from objects which were either found or made from bone which would have been taken from food scraps from the kitchen.

7 – Ginger beer bottles (HPB/UG3065, HPB/UF 7605). [506]
Although convicts were not permitted to take alcohol in the barracks, it is evident through the archaeological collection that they did. These bottles are just some of the finds found which highlight that convicts drank on site.

8 – Leg iron ankle guard (HPB/UF125). [507]
This guard was discovered during the restoration of the building in 1979 and is the only known type of its kind in Australia.

9 – Religious texts (HPB/UF 28, HPB/UF 8225). [508]
Found hidden together under the floorboards of the northern dormitory on Level two.

10 – Woven cabbage tree leaves and shredder (HPB/UF4393, HPB/UF11636, HPB/UF11648). [509]
These tools were used to create hats by the convicts who subsequently took them out on location or in Sydney to sell so that they could purchase goods such as tobacco or alcohol.

---

[505] Sydney Living Museums, *Convict gaming tokens: 1819-1848,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107711> [accessed 13 May 2016].

[506] Sydney Living Museums, *Ginger beer bottles: William Foster & Philip Whelan, 1830s,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107671>[accessed 13 May 2016].

[507] Sydney Living Museums, *Leg iron guard, 1819-1848,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107636> [accessed 13 May 2016].

[508] Sydney Living Museums, *Bible and prayer book: Thomas Bagnall 1830s,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107706> [accessed 13 May 2016].

[509] Sydney Living Museums, *Convict hats sennets & leaf shredder,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107701>[accessed 13 May 2016].

Other objects have been collected over the years which although not excavated from this site, have direct connections with the convicts stationed at the HPB. These objects are significant, as they greatly assist in connecting the individuals who lived here with the crimes for which they were convicted. One example is the Absolute Pardon of Michael Gorman, dated 1832, which was entered into the collection in 2015 (HPB 2015/6). Gorman had originally been transported to NSW for 14 years but was awarded a pardon whilst acting as a constable in South West Sydney. He was to assist in the "capture of the notorious bushranger John Donohoe" also nicknamed "Bold Jack Donohoe" as well as "The Wild Colonial Boy."[510] Convict John Onion was also awarded an Absolute Pardon in 1835 (HPB 2007/2). He was originally transported for his involvement in the Pentrich rebellion in 1817 in Derbyshire at the age of 49, just as the HPB was being built.[511] Although both these pardons have recently come into the collection, they are evidence of a convict who lived and worked at this site.

Even though the nomination of this site has resulted in the convict history further dominating how this site is interpreted, Curator of the HPB Dr. Fiona Starr clearly believes that both the Convict and Female Immigration artefacts play a significant role in highlighting the site's past. Starr indicates that:

> the majority of artefacts relate to the secondary use of the site as Sydney's female Immigration Depot, although many were deposited during the convict period and reflect the clothing, activities and skills of the convict occupants. The collection is a very rare archaeological archive of Australian convict artefacts combined with those relating to the everyday lives of immigrant women. The artefacts provide a deeper understanding of the heritage values of this site, by revealing clear evidence of the personal and individual experience of convicts and immigrant women in 19th century Sydney. They provide a detailed and additional layer of evidence that is not provided by the site and buildings alone.[512]

Since the late 1970s, it is estimated that over 150 reports have been written about the HPB and site. A majority have been written towards preserving the site or focused upon interpretation or education. However, by 2002 there had not been any report written about the HPB archaeological artefacts. This would change by 2003 when a report was

---

[510] Sydney Living Museums, *Absolute pardon: Michael Gorman 1832*, Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107676> [accessed 14 May 2016].

[511] Sydney Living Museums, *Absolute pardon, John Onion 1830,* Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection, [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107771>[accessed 14 May 2016].

[512] Email from Dr Fiona Starr, senior curator of the Hyde Park Barracks to author, 16 September 2014.

produced as part of the findings from the 'Archaeology of the Modern City' project. Undertaken by Project Partners: La Trobe University, the HHT, Godden Mackay Logan Pty Ltd, the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority, the NSW Heritage Office, Heritage Victoria and the Sydney City Council, it included two research projects. Headed by Chief Investigator, archaeologist Professor Tim Murray from La Trobe University, it included two research schemes: *Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City: Sydney 1788–1900* and *Managing the Archaeology of Central Sydney and Melbourne 1788–1900.* Since then, a number of reports have been written by the authors Crook, Ellmoos and Murray who believe that this collection is "regarded as being one of the most important collections in Australian historical archaeology."[513]

When asked which three convict artefacts were considered the most significant in the collection, Starr identified these as being:

1. Striped cotton convict shirt with Board of Ordnance stamp and broad arrow – an incredibly rare surviving example of the convict clothing that was mass-produced for the colony's convict workers - an iconic symbol of the colony's convict past.
2. Convict leg iron ankle protector – a handmade leather cuff designed to fit under a leg iron to protect the wearer's ankle and a clear example of how convicts found ways to make their punishment more bearable.
3. Convict shoe with Board of Ordnance stamp – a straight-lasted handmade man's leather shoe, worn on the right foot. Possibly made at HPB in the convict shoe making establishment that operated in the compound, 1819-1848.[514]

Undoubtedly these three artefacts independently help us to identify the type of lifestyle which these convicts lived in the HPB, yet if placed together these objects join forces to create a more valuable and in-depth narrative. Placed together these rare artefacts along with the site, personal recollections, poems and stories that were written by these convicts all contribute towards cementing our collective memory of this WHS. Together they assist us to understand how difficult it would have been for the thousands of men and boys who were forced to adapt in an effort to survive during their time at the HPB.

---

[513] Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos, and Tim Murray, *Assessment of historical and archaeological resources*, p. 7.
[514] Email from Dr Fiona Starr.

Yet, even though certain archaeologists, academics and scholars believe various convict objects in the HPB collection maintain high significance independently to that of the HPB, their values have often been overlooked in numerous HPB policies.[515] This lack of recognition can further be detected through the sites nomination application. When questioned if she believed the significance of these significant artefacts would reduce the site's OUV if removed from the HPB, Starr replied:

> If these convict period objects no longer existed, or were separated from Hyde Park Barracks, I don't believe the site would lose any of its significance. The objects help us to understand more about the experience of being a convict living at the barracks, so add great value to the interpretation of the site, but the site would remain just as significant, since its fundamental importance lies in the role it played in the British convict system – the most ambitious and longest-running transportation system in human history. Perhaps for more ancient archaeological sites, where documentary sources are fewer, the physical evidence of the artefacts is more important in understanding site use and history, and so more intrinsic to determining the heritage values of the site.[516]

Although Starr believes that the HPB artefacts play a secondary role in highlighting the importance of this WHS, archaeologists Crook, Ellmoos and Murray identify this collection as maintaining national and international value not only because the artefacts are rare but because they connect us to the objects' owner.[517] As a result of this, these gambling pieces have the ability to conjure up past recollections which normally would not surface unless prompted in visitors of games previously played as children.[518] Therefore our recollections are encouraged by the material evidence which remains hidden in our subconscious until reawakened because it is familiar to us either personally or as a community. This connection is also highlighted in the paper *"Prisoners, Punishment and Torture: Developing new approaches to interpreting the Tower of London"* which states that: "Emotional connections at museums and historic sites are made through material evidence of the past ('the real thing') and connections with human life and experiences."[519]

---

[515] Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos, and Tim Murray, *Assessment of historical and archaeological resources* (such as the leather Leg Iron Guard which is believed to be the only known surviving example in Australia)

[516] Ibid.

[517] Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos, and Tim Murray, *Assessment of historical and archaeological resources*, p. 7.

[518] Elizabeth Wood and Kiersten F. Latham, *The objects of experience: transforming visitor-object encounters in museums* (Walnut Creek, Calif: Left Coast Press, Inc, 2013), p. 59.

[519] Suzanne MacLeod et al., *Prisoners, punishment and torture: developing new approaches to interpretation at the Tower of London* (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2014), p. 13.

Author Patrick Christian also reflects upon this when assessing how we remember collectively through sites of pain. Christian considers Maurice Halbwachs contribution towards the concept of collective memory on the field of conflict. Although the Tower of London and the HPB were not battlefields, they were used as sites of holding prisoners and convicts and therefore have maintained pain and suffering. Christian stated that:

> Halbwachs writes about the reconstruction of the past; the methods that societies use to revisit past events and the roles assigned to older members of the community to recollect and collectivize past events.[520]

In other words, the object is directly linked to the site through the pain which it has experienced through the owner who wore it or used it. Therefore although Starr recognises the sites' significance over that of the collection, she also recognise that there is a need for certain objects to be known at a WH level because of their ability for us to connect with them on an emotional level. As already discussed in the introduction chapter to this research, the principle ways in which an object may transfer upon a visitor, is through the strength of feeling which we invest in it or which has been placed upon it by others. Starr states:

> I believe that including relevant archaeological artefacts or objects with provenance to the site would add value and weight to a WH nomination. Since it is the artefacts that allow greater understanding of a site's history and heritage value, they most certainly should play a part in the nomination process. These should include objects that provide clear evidence of the who, what, when, and why of the history of the site, as well as any that might raise questions that have yet to be answered.[521]

Starr's response is significant towards confirming the notion that there is a need for greater recognition of collections with OUV at a WH level. Rare objects such as the two surviving convict shirts assist us to understand the who, when and what of such artefacts. Although both shirts are slightly different in production, they both reveal the standard dress code which was worn in a government controlled male barracks. Each shirt tells its own history and story, not only because of where they were found upon the third floor

---

<http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/museumstudies/rcmg/publications/prisoners-punishment-and-torture> [accessed 14 June 2017]

[520] Patrick J. Christian, *History, memory & conflict: the collective memory of Maurice Halbwachs*, (2012) p. 5.
<https://www.academia.edu/27755520/History_Memory_and_Conflict_the_collective_memory_of_Maurice_HHHalbwachs> [accessed 24 June 2017]

[521] Email from Dr Fiona Starr.

but also because of each shirt has been previously used and adapted by the convict who possessed it. Each patch, cut and repair assists towards giving the visitor a deeper insight into both of these convict shirts' future use. From this, a story starts to unfold in which it is evident that both shirts would have been stolen from another convict in the HPB, hidden beneath the floorboards and repaired at night possibly whilst laying in a hammock. This narrative starts to give us a deeper sense of connection on various levels in which a mental image starts to develop. Furthermore, we start to comprehend what it would have been like to be a convict whilst living in the HPB and attempting to survive in circumstances in which what you had on your back was your most valued possession. Author Christian states:

> The process of creation and the memory it creates includes both the structure and the texture of the lived experience, which in its most basic form serves as the cloak of individual and group identity. This is the essence of the transmission of generational identity. We create future identity of those who succeed us with the creation of present memory today. Each generation reconstructs past memory to adapt it to present identity in an endless process of creating 'collective effervescence'. The ethos of the sacred then, explains the strength of generational linkage and the pain of disruption of historical narrative.[522]

Over time, both these shirts have come to be linked to pain and survival, giving the visitor an insight into the lives of their early forefathers who were transported to Australia for such reasons as stealing a loaf of bread or a handkerchief. Viewing such emotionally charged objects in their original context only strengthens our link with it if it has been emphasised as being significant and if we understand that link between the site, the observer and object. However as already mentioned in the previous chapters, currently, moveable heritage is not recognized under the *1972 Convention* or its supporting *Operational Guidelines*, yet they are under the *1970 Convention*. Yet how could these objects be further recognised? How can these artefacts be reinforced at an international level so that the links between them and the site are combined, especially at a WH level?

Starr suggests that for a collection to be recognised at a WH level there would a need for wording to be changed in the WHC so that other policies which were created towards a site's protection would also include this concept. The nomination process and wording of the CMP are ultimately tied to the WHC, so if collection significance were recognised as part of the significance of a site, it would need to be mentioned in the convention.[523]

---

[522] Patrick J. Christian, *History, memory & conflict,* p. 6.
[523] Email from Dr Fiona Starr.

Asked if she felt specific collections or objects should also be included during the nomination process, Starr was concerned that if this process was undertaken there could be a real risk of placing objects at risk.

> It would be a double-edged sword [by nominating objects], just as WH listing is for the built fabric of sites themselves – the listing attracts greater government and conservation attention, but in turn it also promotes greater visitation which results in damage and potential looting.[524]

However, this comment is precisely why all nations should be State Parties of the *1970 Convention* as well as the *1972 Convention* when nominating a WHS, even if these countries are not in conflict. Although Starr recognises that being listed upon the WHL can result in the site and its collections becoming a target for attack, or place objects at risk from theft or destruction, recognition has already been given through the HPB's website as a result of its WH status. This is the same with all eleven convict sites. Each site is required to promote the WH logo in their museum and via their social media and marketing:

> HPB promotes its listing as part of the group [Australian Convict Sites] – by using the group WH logo. The museum has a display featuring the other ACS and we promote the WH status of the site by mentioning it on our website and on printed marketing material, onsite signage, museum tours, through information provided to commercial venue hire clients and in future interpretation plans. The collection is not currently used in relation to these promotions of the WH status.[525]

Therefore, although these artefacts are not recognised for their OUV in the museums' display, they are recognised and are given significance through the HPB's website. This includes some of the most rare and unique convict artefacts which survive today.

Conclusion

Since being refurbished and reinterpreted as a museum through the Historic House Museums of NSW in 1990, the HPB has remained as "a museum of itself, directly related to its historical uses."[526] In fact the barracks has continued to endure as:

> an ideal model to explore and explain the very processes of history, not by the props and paraphernalia of a designer's dream, but through the evocative display of the sources themselves: the building, the archaeological dig, under floor

---

[524] Ibid.

[525] Ibid.

[526] Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos, and Tim Murray, *Assessment of historical and archaeological resources*, p. 24.

deposits, pictures, documents, the goods and chattels of ordinary men and women who used the place.[527]

This philosophy has heavily influenced the many reports and guiding plans which have been used to direct and conserve the HPB museum and site plus the interpretation, collection display and educational programmes which it undertakes. However, it is evident that the permanent and semi-permanent displays which are held on the first, second and third floors have remained largely unchanged. Except for the occasional altering of displays and the change of artefacts which are used to highlight specific occupants who lived or worked at the HPB, there is no direct emphasis placed upon the collections' OUV both at a state, national or international level. This approach is also reflected in the HPB MP and nomination application for WHL in which no direct artefact is emphasised for its direct connection to the site.

In 2019, the HPB will be celebrating its 200th anniversary. As part of this celebration, the barracks will be shortly closed whilst the building undergoes reinterpretation as a convict site and as a WHS. The studio earmarked for this significant project will be the US company "Local Projects". Responsible for undertaking the interpretation of the 9/11 site, Jake Barton, Principal and Founder of Local Projects states:

> Our goal for this reinterpretation is to create a cohesive experience that incorporates multiple points of view of the people who inhabited the Hyde Park Barracks over the years and of the people impacted by their arrival – engaging the many themes this site touches on: displacement, migration captivity, freedom, exploitation, hope and greater opportunity.[528]

Although Local Projects endeavour to bring together "architecture, technology and design, pushing the boundaries of human interaction to create emotional storytelling and memorable experiences" it will be interesting to see how they will use the archaeological collection to tell these stories.[529] Furthermore, how this company uses these artefacts through interpretation to tell the convict narrative whilst also bringing the significance and OUV of these objects in line with this WHS will be a challenge.[530]

---

[527] Ibid., p. 25.
[528] Sydney Living Museums, *Local projects to lead Hyde Park Barracks' renewal,* media release, October 2017 <https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/sites/default/files/Local%20Projects%20announcement%20MR%20FINAL.pdfl> [accessed 12 November 2017]
[529] Ibid.
[530] Ibid.

This chapter has endeavoured to investigate how the HPB archaeological collection has been used to reveal the various layers of this sites' history spanning between 1819 in which it was constructed to the 1970s. This chapter has also attempted to understand if this collection or any artefacts in it have been directly recognized as maintaining universal value through the sites WH nomination application as well as specific policies which govern this site. Furthermore, an analysis of the museum's interpretation has also been completed in an endeavour to highlight if any recognition has been made to specific artefacts in the display which support the development of collective memories with this WHS. It is apparent that the archaeological collection has largely been used to highlight different phases of the barracks history, and an attempt has been made towards linking them to particular residences of this site. Yet it is apparent that amongst this huge collection, some objects exist which, in themselves maintain OUV. Although some of the most significant and rare objects do not have direct personal stories connected to them, accounts which have been recorded by other convicts in the HPB highlight their importance. An example of this can be observed through the two convict shirts which survive from 1819 and remain today in the HPB collection.[531] Both shirts differ from each other in manufacturer and there is evidence that up to several different variations were made for convicts during this time. However, convicts were only rationed two shirts per year, but due to the high rate of theft had to be either hidden or held on the person. Resident convict at the HPB, Charles Cozens, stated in his publication *Adventures of a Guardsman* which was printed in 1848:

> Saturday afternoon was set apart for the men to wash their shirts, which did not occupy long, as their wardrobe was chiefly confined to what they carried on their backs. The shirt, however, must be clean on Sunday's parade under pain of punishment. When washed, it was usually dried on the shoulders of the owners, over the jackets, to avoid any experiments in the sleight-of-hand conveyancing, as, so sure as any novice… happened to suspend his shirt… from a peg or paling, and only for one moment turn his back on it, his face would never more look on it.[532]

In fact, the convict shirt (UF51) which was found between the floorboards in the barracks building is highlighted upon the Australia Dress Register. The register states: "This shirt is one of the few provenanced items of convict clothing associated with a particular site, and it is arguably one of the most important artefacts in historical archaeology in

---

[531] DEWHA, *Australian convict sites*, p. 98.
[532] Sydney Living Museums, *Off convicts' backs*, [n.d.]
  < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/off-convicts-backs> [accessed 23 October 2018]

Australia."[533] However it still remains that at a WH level these objects (and many others like them) remain unnoticed and unrecognised both in the documentation which governs and directs the HPB as well as how the site is interpreted. Yet the visitors' recollection of the HPB continues to be supported through the objects which are on display. For many of the artefacts which are connected to the convict period, their significance lies in the:

> possibility of correcting the imbalance between the hidden story and that of the public record. It is the dissonance between the two records of memory – collective and the un-integrated individual – that creates the tension in the collective memory.[534]

Still, like so many other objects in this building which have the ability to create collective memories, their OUV will continue to remain silent until there is a greater recognition of their value set against the HPB museum as a WHS.

---

[533] Sydney Living Museums, *Australian dress register*.
[534] Patrick J. Christian, *History, memory & conflict*, p. 6.

Chapter Four

World Heritage and the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum archaeological collection: acknowledging objects with Outstanding Universal Value

Introduction

In spite of its small size, the Maltese archipelago holds a rich and varied history which spreads across the islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino. Situated approximately 100km from Sicily, the largest island of Malta measures approximately 32km in length by 12km in width.[535] To many who visit these Islands, it is evident that the early Maltese communities endured and survived in an isolated environment. Equipped with limited resources (such as vegetation and fresh water), small communities eventually grew and settled. Yet, the isolation of the Maltese Islands in the heart of the Mediterranean offered great benefits towards the survival of farming communities from other dominating adjacent countries. These small pioneering communities and their ability to interrelate with each other greatly contributed towards not only the survival of their communities but also, some of the most significant Neolithic cultures in the Mediterranean.[536] Due to these cultural interactions between surrounding Islands and the mainland, a transfer of ancient cultural rites and beliefs were developed in which rituals were practiced and loved ones were buried. Many of these rituals were held around or in specific temples which had been constructed specifically to reflect the belief systems of these people. This form of worship can be observed throughout the Maltese Islands where it has been estimated that approximately twenty groups of temples have been constructed. Although each of these sites had their own unique qualities, structurally they maintain similarities in design of those temples which had been constructed both above and below ground. Archaeological material retrieved from some of the Neolithic temples on Malta reveals that an exchange of goods was undertaken by the communities who inhabited these Islands. Material such as obsidian (volcanic glass) was imported from Lipari and Pantelleria whilst red ochre and flint was imported from Monti Iblei in Sicily. Other resources would have required contact with areas further afield.[537]

---

[535] Leonard H. D. Buxton, 'The ethnology of Malta and Gozo', pp. 164-211.
[536] Anthony Pace, *The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola*.
[537] Ibid.

Figure 15: Malta consist of three main islands. It is the largest of the three major islands that constitute the Maltese archipelago.[538]

Figure 16: Paola was to become a central location for workers who were commuting from the Ports, Grand Harbour and Bakery in Birgu. [539]

Radiocarbon dating of these temples has revealed that these temples date between 3600 B.C. and 2500 B.C and were made with soft and hard globigerina limestone.[540] This form of megalithic temple has to date not been directly linked or copied anywhere else and

---

[538] ECMeetings, *Map of Malta*, [n.d.] < http://www.ecmeetings.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/malta-map.jpg> [accessed 12 March 2018].

[539] Weather forecast.com, *Map of Paola*, [n.d.] <http://w0.fast-meteo.com/locationmaps/Paola-1.12.gif> [accessed 12 March 2018].

[540] Leonard H. D. Buxton, 'The ethnology of Malta and Gozo', pp. 164-211.

therefore remains unique to the Maltese Islands and therefore these temples are believed to be the best architectural representation of Mediterranean civilizations.[541] All had been constructed free standing and without any form of additional support except for the underground temple site.[542] Constructed to imitate an above megalithic temple, the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum (ĦSH) in Paola was discovered by accident during the early 20th century due to construction workers accidentally breaking through into an underground burial chamber.[543] Dr. Caruana who was the first to inspect and excavate the site, was a well-known and respected Antiquarian and leading Librarian. Caruana quickly understood the site's significance and was to make sure that any new building built on this site was undertaken without putting the ĦSH at risk of any further damage.[544]

Since its discovery, the ĦSH has radicalised the scientific understanding of Neolithic Malta and how the creation of communities in the Mediterranean area developed over thousands of years.[545] Further research has also revealed that the ĦSH is the only known megalithic monument which has been carved entirely underground in Europe, and because of this no other parallels have been identified elsewhere.[546] As a result of this, this site has not only significantly contributed towards our understanding of how people built temples, but also "who or what" they worshiped and how they dressed due to the human clay figures which have been found. The archaeological material which has been excavated has also revealed how these communities traded and communicated with other countries in the Mediterranean. This discovery has therefore significantly enhanced our understanding of the Maltese people and how they lived, worked and communicated with other communities outside of these islands.

Enlisted as a WHS in 1980 along with the City of Valletta and the Megalithic Temples of Malta, the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum (ĦSH) is operated under the control of Heritage Malta in collaboration with the Superintendence for Cultural Heritage. Although the artefacts from this site have significantly assisted archaeologists, historians and curators to gain a greater understanding of the Maltese Neolithic people, the collection has been separated

---

[541] Anthony Pace, *The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola*.
[542] Paolo Debertolis and Niccolò Bisconti, 'Archaeoacoustics analysis and ceremonial customs, pp. 803-814.
[543] UNESCO, *Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum*.
[544] Anthony Pace, *The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola*.
[545] Ibid.
[546] Ibid.

from its original context for more than one hundred years and is currently maintained in the National Museum of Archaeology.[547] However, the removal of the archaeology collection from ĦSH to another museum both separated these objects from their original context along with the established collective memories associated with them.

To further explore the context of this WHS and its collections, this chapter will briefly explore the history of ĦSH and some of the supporting documentation which has been created towards the management of this site. This chapter will also ascertain if any artefacts were mentioned or considered for their significance in these documents in conjunction with the site itself. Furthermore, an observation will be undertaken of some of the key archaeological artefacts currently on display both at the National Museum of Archaeology and at the ĦSH interpretation centre and will be investigated to understand how these artefacts have been used, to highlight the significance of this WHS.[548] Finally, reactions from set questions which were presented to Ms. Katya Stroud, Senior Curator of ĦSH, will be reviewed. The information gathered from this interview will ultimately assist towards forming my final conclusions in Chapter Six.

Digging up the past: An historical overview of Ħal-Salfieni Hypogeum

Located on a promontory, the ĦSH was constructed in an area known in Maltese as Tal-Gherien or 'of the caves' as a result of the chambers which naturally exist in this location.[549] Fabricated entirely from globigerina bedrock, the ĦSH was constructed to the depth of 11 metres having three levels and covering an area of approximately 500 km². The ĦSH would have started as natural caves and fissures, which gradually over time would have been worn and then adapted by hand. This soft stone which is easily dissolved through water could also be easily dug through the use of horn and rock tools. In these interconnecting chambers human remains were deposited beneath up to one metre of red soil which had filtered into these spaces as result of rain and soil entering these areas. Some of the remains which had been excavated from these spaces had small personal

[547] Heritage Malta, *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum*, 2017 <http://heritagemalta.org/museums-sites/hal-saflieni-hypogeum/> [accessed 12 November 2017].

[548] The City of Valletta was also inscribed as a WHS in 1980, thereby resulting in both sites being listed.

[549] Superintendence of Cultural Heritage, *National inventory of the cultural property of the Maltese islands*, [n.d.] < https://culture.gov.mt/en/culturalheritage/Pages/Default.aspx> [accessed 30 March 2012].

objects beside them so as to assist them in the next life.[550] As additional space was needed more chambers were dug out of the limestone. As these expanded, they became more refined and the techniques used became more complex.[551] As a result of the ḤSH not being disturbed prior to its official excavation in 1902, the chambers and the collections which it held (and could still hold in the lower uncovered chambers) were preserved almost in their entirety except for the fragmentary remains of the above ground entrance area.[552] Small niches in parts of the walls had also been cut out which when spoken into, creates an echo throughout the chambers. Designed with upright stone blocks which are spanned by lintels, steps leading into lower sections and hinged holes for doors, the ḤSH was constructed to replicate an above ground temple. The care and protection of the ḤSH was first entrusted to Fr. Emanuel Magri in 1903 in the same year as the Museum Department was established. Fr. Magri was considered the foremost scholar of Malta's antiquities. Because of this he oversaw the continual excavation of the ḤSH during the next five years, excavating the middle and lower levels and "four sets of caves and galleries were identified." [553]

Most of the material excavated included "flint and other stone tools, alabaster, clay and stone statuettes, personal ornaments, animal bones and sea shells."[554] Fr. Magri was later instructed by the Committee to write up his findings from this dig and the remaining site after which it was then officially surveyed. Unfortunately, in 1907, whilst undertaking a visit to Sfax in Tunisia on missionary duties, Fr. Magri mysteriously died and his reports on the ḤSH were lost and still remain so today. It was not long afterwards, however, that the responsibility for the excavation was given to the Director of Museums, Dr. Themistocles Zammit. During this time, the Maltese government purchased four additional properties on the same site. These buildings had been directly built above the entrance to the ḤSH during the late 19th century. These buildings were promptly demolished to allow further access to this site by the archaeologists working upon this excavation.

---

[550] Anton Mifsud and Simon Mifsud, 'The subterranean sanctuary at Ḥal Saflieni,' in Anton Mifsud and Charles S. Ventura (eds), *Facets of Maltese history* (Malta: Prehistoric Society of Malta, 1999), pp. 149-168 (p. 151). <https://www.academia.edu/3251076/THE_SUBTERRANEAN_SANCTUARY_AT_ḤAL_SAFLIENI_-_MALTA> [27 September 2012]
[551] Ibid.
[552] Ibid.
[553] Anthony Pace, *The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola*.
[554] Anton Mifsud and Simon Mifsud, 'The subterranean sanctuary at Ħal Saflieni'.

A medical doctor by profession, Dr. Zammit had over thirty years of experience both in Malta's national museums and with the excavation of archaeological sites. He was also the first curator of Malta's national museum from 1903 when the site was first reported to the Museum authorities until 1935.[555] To this day, his archaeological reports on the excavation of this site are the most detailed and therefore remain highly significant towards understanding how this underground temple was discovered.

Figure 17: The subterranean temple site Ħal-Salfieni Hypogeum was nominated for the WHL in 1980 and was nominated against Criteria III.[556]

By January 1908, the archaeological material found in these chambers was closely examined and assessed. Information gained through this research greatly assisted to reinforce the scientific importance of this site as well as understanding of the development of the Maltese people.[557] Dr. Zammit was to recognise the ĦSH's significance when he stated:

> It is obvious that the people who made it [the Hypogeum] excelled in the craft of stonecutting and building; and as the art of a people is an index of its culture, it is safe to surmise that, in the Stone Age, the inhabitants of these islands had reached a degree of civilization not met with at that time in any of the islands of the Mediterranean Sea.[558]

---

[555] Ibid.

[556] Heiko Gorski, *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum,* 2006 < http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/130/gallery/> [accessed 12 March 2016].

[557] Heritage Malta, *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum management plan consultation document*.

[558] Ibid.

In his official report Dr. Zammit referred to the red earth which had been washed into the caves over time. In some areas the earth was up to a metre deep. It was in this soil that most of the objects were recovered including human remains.

> human bones were found in greater numbers, but not one skeleton could be made out to have been whole and regularly laid out for burial. In the new caves as well as those cleared the years before, the impression one gets from the distribution of the bones is that they were thrown in a haphazard way" […] bones from 120 different individuals were identified in a space […] which could not hold more than six bodies if interred in the usual manner.[559]

After the earth had been completely removed from the ĦSH it had been perceived by Zammit that the space in this underground temple;

> had more the appearance of a sanctuary than of anything else. A large hall where people must have assembled, an elaborate chapel in which holy rites were celebrated, an oracular room, tiny cubicles which devotees could have slept in expectation of inspired dreams.[560]

This was further supported through the red ochre pigment which had been discovered painted upon the ceiling in some of the chambers as well as sprinkled upon the bones found in them. Although it is not clear exactly what these painted spiral designs represented, there does appear to be a link with the above ground temple structures in Malta which display similar details. Whatever the case, the examples found in the ĦSH reveal a link with ritual practice and the afterlife. Although most of the contents removed during the first stage of excavation at the ĦSH "ended up as fertiliser in nearby fields", Zammit was to clearly identify those artefacts which were recovered whilst under his direction.[561]

By 1910, the first legislation was finally enforced and was officially recognised as *The Protection of Antiquities Ordinance*.[562] This law was to provide protection for monuments and other objects of archaeological importance, including both movable and immovable material. This law made 'provision for the protection and preservation of monuments and

---

[559] Anton Mifsud and Simon Mifsud, 'The subterranean sanctuary at Ħal Saflieni'.
[560] Ibid.
[561] Ibid.
[562] Romina Delia, 'National museums in Malta', in Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (eds), EuNaMus Report No 1 conference proceedings from the *European national museums: identity politics, the uses of the past and the European citizen*, 28-30 April 2011 (Linköping, Sweden: Linköping University, 2011), pp. 567-593. <http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/064/024/ecp64024.pdf> [12 March 2014]

other objects of local antiquarian or archaeological importance'.[563] It included movable as well as immovable objects and was to be supported by the *Antiquities (Protection) Act* in 1925.[564] Gradually other legislation were introduced towards the end of the 20ᵗʰ century and the beginning of the 21st century which included such legislations such as the *Development Planning Act (1992).* Building development and land use is regulated through the *Development Planning Act (1992)* and therefore assist towards managing any development work in this location through the Malta Environment and Planning Authority.[565] The *Environment Protection Act (2001)* and the *Cultural Heritage Act (2002)* was to influence the future way heritage was treated due to various nationally protected sites being vandalised.[566] These legislations were also created due to no Maltese legislation having been enacted specifically to protect UNESCO World Heritage. Shortly afterwards a Scientific Committee for the Conservation of the Megalithic Temples was formed and in 2003 the Museums Department, (which had previously been in charge of the National Museums in Malta), was separated into different departments and included the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage, Heritage Malta and the Malta Centre for Restoration.[567]

Today the ĦSH is controlled by Heritage Malta whichis the Maltese national agency for museums, conservation practice and cultural heritage in collaboration with the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage. The site is also protected under the *Valletta Convention* and is listed as a Class A Scheduled Property by the Malta Environment & Planning Authority, which establishes a minimum buffer of at least 100 metres around the site where no further redevelopment is allowed.[568]

Although the ĦSH was enlisted in 1980, it was only in 2012 that the first draft of the Management Plan for this site was created by Heritage Malta. The introduction of management plans for all WHSs came as a result of the redrafting of the Operational

---

[563] Ibid.

[564] Ibid., p. 578.

[565] Heritage Malta, *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum management plan consultation document*.

[566] Natalino Fenech, *Vandalism: a record of shame* (7 July 2007) < https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20070707/local/vandalism-a-record-of-shame.12117> [accessed 13 April 2015].

[567] Romina Delia, 'National museums in Malta', p. 581.

[568] UNESCO, *Periodic report – second cycle: section II-Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum*, 2014 < http://whc.unesco.org/archive/periodicreporting/EUR/cycle02/section2/groupb/130.pdf> [accessed 24 August 2017]

[568] Ibid.

Guidelines which support the *1972 Convention* in 2005. During this time, it became mandatory for all WHSs to have its own governing policy in an effort to assist the protection and care of the site. Although it is unclear if this document has been officially completed by Heritage Malta, as of 2018 no final plan had yet been placed upon the UNESCO website for this particular WHS.[569] However, this could be due to various environmental conditions which affect the conservation and management of this site that were also noted in the nomination application for WH listing:[570]

> The humidity, coupled with the warmth and light from the electrical installation, gives rise to the growth of lichen which appears as light-to-dark green patches around and opposite the illumination points. Walls and ceilings attacked by this unsightly growth can be cured by washing with a mild detergent or killer without causing them any harm or undesirable after-effects. Much more careful treatment is necessary where the lichen has grown or could grow over the painted spiral decoration… which has largely escaped unharmed. [571]

In 1990, the ĦSH was installed with an environmental control system, however the site was closed until 2000 so that obsolete environmental control systems could be replaced, and the site monitored.[572] However this new equipment was not successful and the ĦSH was to show signs of environmental damage, thus placing the site at risk. As a result, in 2016, the ĦSH was officially closed whilst further environmental control and monitoring systems were installed. This equipment allowed for further investigation into the build of harmful residues, water infiltration and air circulation in the ĦSH. [573] Funded through a grant from *Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway through the EEA Grants 2009-2014*, the project was to also include the redevelopment of a new IC in the entrance area prior to entering the ĦSH itself, which re-opened on the 15th May 2017.

By 2012, the ĦSH Draft Management Plan (ĦSH DMP) was written in draft form into two separate sections. The first focuses on the values of this site and includes OUV, Cultural Heritage Values, Social Values and Research and Educational values. The second section emphasises the current framework and key issues which affect this site and includes Legal Framework, Conservation and Access. Although the importance of

---

[569] Ibid, p. 4.
[570] Email from Ms Katya Stroud, Senior Curator – Heritage Malta, to author, 16 December 2014.
[571] Ibid.
[572] Heritage Malta, *Hal-Saflieni Hypogeum*.
[573] Ibid.

the artefacts found on this site are not given much attention, there is some mention of certain types of artefacts:

> Pottery vessels decorated in intricate designs were excavated from the chambers. These may have been used as part of burial rituals or may have also carried grave goods placed close by the deceased. A considerable number of shell buttons, stone and clay beads as well as amulets were also collected during the excavations; possibly worn by the deceased upon burial. Little stone carved animals and birds which may have originally been worn as pendants, were also discovered at the site.[574]

Further examination of this document showed that one artefact was considered the most significant from this collection. Under subsection *2.3 Artistic,* the document states:

> The Hal-Saflieni Hypogeum also yielded several important artefacts of great artistic significance. Foremost amongst these is the so-called 'sleeping lady' a miniature ceramic figurine that is widely held to be one of the great masterpieces of prehistoric anthropomorphic representation.[575]

However, although the document does not go into further detail, it does reflect on how the ĦSH has come to represent the identity of the Maltese people:

> The Hal Saflieni Hypogeum has become a powerful symbol of Maltese national identity, and has often been represented on postage stamps and currency. The unique nature of the site, together with the new presentation of the site, has also made it a flagship of national pride.[576]

Yet, although this statement confirms the significance of this site to the Maltese people, it does not refer to how the small sculpture of the "The Sleeping Lady" has also come to represent the identity of the Maltese people. This weakens the ties between the site and the artefacts.

The World Heritage Listing of the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum

At the time of nomination in 1980, the ĦSH was listed not only for being the only example of an underground temple which had been carved as an above shrine, but also due to the Maltese Neolithic communities which once used if for burials and worship. The site was nominated against:

---

[574] Heritage Malta, *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum management plan consultation document.*
[575] Heritage Malta, *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum.*
[576] Heritage Malta, *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum management plan consultation document.*

Criteria III - Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared;[577]
The Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum is a unique monument of exceptional value. It is the only known European example of a subterranean 'labyrinth' from about 4,000 B.C. to 2,500 B.C. The quality of its architecture and its remarkable state of preservation make it an essential prehistoric monument.[578]

At the time of inscription UNESCO (at the request of the Government of Malta) began an investigation of the environmental conditions in the ĦSH as a result of the humidity and temperature which was affecting the site. Furthermore, the nomination application for this site also stated that the Government of Malta was to set plans to remove the modern buildings overlying the ĦSH which they believed at the time were visually veiling over the significance of the site. In place, a building would be constructed which would highlight the entrance into the ĦSH. Gradually, two additional set criteria were used by Heritage Malta in an effort to further highlight the significance of this site. These were to include:

Criteria I - It represents a masterpiece of human creative genius;
Criteria II - It is also an outstanding example of a type of architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in human history.[579]

Although no formal OUV existed when the site was listed as WH in 1980, values were eventually created and approved by ICOMOS international on the 19th December 2013.[580] These set values was then presented at the 38th session of the World Heritage Committee and officially accepted in 2014.[581] Although the OUV was directed towards the significance of this site, minimal acknowledgement of the archaeological collections was given:

Excavation of the Hal Saflieni Hypogeum produced a wealth of archaeological material, including numerous human bones, which suggests that the burial ritual had more than one stage. It appears that bodies were probably left exposed until the flesh had decomposed and fallen off. The remaining bones and what appear to be some of the personal belongings were then gathered and buried in the chambers

---

[577] UNESCO, *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (WHC/2 Revised, October 1980) (Paris: UNESCO, 1980) < http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf> [accessed 27 July 2017].

[578] UNESCO, *Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum*.

[579] Heritage Malta, *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum management plan consultation document*.

[580] UNESCO, *Periodic report*.

[581] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage* (38 COM, WHC-14/ 38.COM/8E), Thirty-eighth session, Doha, Qatar (Paris: UNESCO, 2014) < http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2014/whc14-38com-8E-en.pdf>[accessed 27 July 2017]. Statements of Outstanding Universal Value would be made mandatory and introduced within the 1972 WHC Operational Guidelines in 2005.

together with copious amounts of red ochre… Artefacts recovered from the site include pottery vessels decorated in intricate designs, shell buttons, stone and clay beads and amulets, as well as little stone carved animals and birds that may have originally been worn as pendants. The most striking finds are stone and clay figurines depicting human figures. The most impressive of these figures is that showing a woman lying on a bed or 'couch', popularly known as the 'Sleeping Lady'. This figure is a work of art in itself, demonstrating a keen eye for detail.[582]

The "Sleeping Lady" is the only known one of its type which was found in these chambers. Furthermore, no other has been found at the other temple sites upon these islands making it nationally significant as a Neolithic artefact.

Figure 18: The Sleeping Lady as photographed by Dr. Zammit in his report The Small Objects and the Human Skulls found in the prehistoric Hypogeum at Casal Paula, Malta.[583]

However, although the OUV for the ĦSH site does highlight numerous artefacts, it only mentions in detail one object, that being "The Sleeping Lady". In fact, there remain other objects in this assemblage which also maintain significant value that are only briefly discussed in the OUV stated above. Some of these include a 40cm high steatopygous female figure made from limestone, one of the largest found at the ĦSH site. Headless, feetless and missing one arm, the figure maintains wide hips, thick legs and a large flat bottom perhaps suggesting that this could have been a female figure. A socket has been made to hold the head which came as a separate piece. Two heads were recovered at this ĦSH site, however it is unclear if these belonged to this figure or for other figurines which

---

[582] Ibid., p. 100.

[583] Terri Zammit, Eric T. Peet, and R. N. Bradley, 'The Sleeping Lady', in *The small objects and the human skulls found in the Ħal-Saflieni Prehistoric Hypogeum at Casal Paula, Malta* (Malta, 1912) < https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/9125> [12 January 2014]

were also retrieved from this site. Similar in design and manufacture, they too seem to have been created with sockets in which to place the head. Most have a large and flat gluteal region which is flattened. The production of these figurines, although made with care and attention, do not compare in quality to "The Sleeping Lady" or to the other lightly fired female form lying face down, which although is partially damaged, shows great skill and detailing. The discovery of these figurines amongst the dense soil and human remains in the ĦSH highlight the significance of such deities during the Neolithic period upon the Maltese Islands. In addition to this, there are a number of fine flint scrapers which have also been recovered, complimenting those which have been found at other sites in the Maltese Islands. However, one of the most unique objects found amongst the excavated material have been buttons made from shell. Such small objects highlight that most possibly some of these bodies were laid in the chambers fully or partially dressed. One button shows repair work had been undertaken after it had been accidentally pierced through the vertex. In order for it to be still used as a button, a small stone was cut and inserted in the hole in an effort to repair it, highlighting the skill and creativity which the maker had developed suggesting that:

> Of these objects of shell the buttons are the most interesting for they have been found in several parts of the Western Mediterranean in connection with megalithic monuments or in the rock sepulchres which appear to the works of the same race…in Italy, Sardinia, France Spain, Scandinavia, England, Bohemia and Austria.[584]

This form of ingenuity and inventiveness was also discovered through the beads which were retrieved from this site. Measuring from 2 to 5 mm in diameter, these rare delicate objects have not only survived in these chambers for thousands of years but were also rediscovered during the excavation processes. Yet, even though many artefacts did not survive the environmental conditions or excavation at this site, those which did, emphasize and show the creativity and skill which the Neolithic people possessed in the Maltese Islands. Due to this, these artefacts have (over time) come to represent the national identity of the Maltese people and today are displayed at the National Museum of Archaeology in Malta's capital city of Valletta.

---

[584] Ibid., p. 12.

The interpretation of the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum collection at the National Museum of Archaeology.

Situated in Malta's capital city of Valletta, the National Museum of Archaeology (NMA) resides in one of the eight Auberges of the Order. Constructed to house the French Knights of the Order of St John in 1571, the Auberge de Provence was built under the directions of Girolamo Cassar in a Mannerist and Baroque style. Over the following centuries it was extensively adapted. The building was briefly occupied under Napoleon's rule in 1798 and then by the British Government from 1800 until the country became independent in 1964. The building was further used to maintain a military barracks, hotel and Union Club headquarters.[585]

Following WWII, Malta was to experience great destruction. Because of this and the need to relocate various collections, the establishment of a National Museum was to be heavily affected.[586] Dr Themistocles Zammit, who was the first Curator of the Museum and Director of the Museums Department, strongly influenced the care and acquisitions of the archaeological and historical section of the collection.[587] After the Second World War, the most urgent priority was to restore that buildings that had been damaged so that a site could be chosen to house the stored collections which had been removed for safety during this time. By 1944, a committee chaired by Charles Zammit, the son of Dr. Themistocles Zammit, had been officially given the task to review over 2,000 historic monuments.[588] By 1958, the first National Museum was established in the Auberge de Provence. The museum was officially opened by Ms Agatha Barbara, the then Minister for Education. At this time, the building was designed to maintain the archaeological collection on the ground floor and the fine art collection on the first floor.[589]. However, with the growth of both the fine art and archaeological collection there was a need to separate "the administrative set up."[590] In 1974, the fine art collection was relocated to another building and renamed the National Museum of Fine Arts. The need for further growth and development of the museum was also supported by Malta becoming an independent

---

[585] Romina Delia, 'National museums in Malta', p. 567.
[586] Ibid., p. 570.
[587] Ibid., p. 589.
[588] Ibid., p. 580.
[589] National Museum of Archaeology, Malta,, *Incredible treasures from the collection of the National Museum of Archaeology* [n.d.]
< https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/iAIid2K9uWT4KQ> [accessed 31 August 2018].
[590] Romina Delia, 'National museums in Malta', p. 570.

country as a British Colony[591]. The National Museum was to be renamed the National Museum of Archaeology (NMA) and was gradually refurbished with a new exhibition installed between 1996 and 1998.[592] Today, this significant building continues to store thousands of archaeological remains which have been excavated from multiple sites. Although each site is managed by a designated management team and operates independently, they are all governed and cared for by Heritage Malta, including the temple sites listed as World Heritage. Many of the collections are maintained or displayed in the Auberge de Provence, which today is the National Museum of Archaeology.[593]

Archaeology display (Rooms one – six).

Located upon the ground floor of the Auberge de Provence, the NMA collection was largely founded in the early 17th century by G. F. Abela. The collection was subsequently added to and organised into systematic, chronological order by Sir Themistocles Zammit. Today the collection is displayed in part of the original building, which consists of six key areas. All displays are supported with large interpretation panels, which are written both in Maltese and English. Smaller panels are also used to give more detail on certain design features of these sites and how they were constructed. These are dispersed with additional sketches, images, diorama and models of various sites. Additional information may be accessed on specific objects through audio handsets.

Yet, although the displays provide scholarly information and research on the Neolithic Temple period, there is minimal evidence on these individual objects. Instead, many of these artefacts have been used to explore the timeline from supplementary temple sites. Most artefacts have also been displayed in an archaeological approach in groups or types, thus isolating them into particular subgroups to highlight their similarities. This is especially evident when attempting to identify specific artefacts in connection to their original site and context.

It is immediately evident that the collection has been displayed due to the size and accessibility of these spaces rather than the needs of the collection. Larger objects are displayed in Room six, which relates to the original Auberge building design, whilst the

---

[591] Ibid., p. 581.
[592] Ibid., p. 584.
[593] Ibid., p. 580.

smaller artefacts are in cases in the remaining alternative rooms which had been adapted largely during the period when the British occupied the Maltese Islands. Developed between 1996-1998, the exhibition has been designed around 27 display cases and points of interest and highlight artefacts that explore the history and development of the Neolithic sites and their communities. The display commences in Room one, which is dedicated to the earlier Neolithic collection which dates from 5200 BC and ends at circa 3800 BC. Here a display of animal heads show, the artistic techniques involved in producing decorative styles. Other cases in this area also show a variety of implements including sling-stones, flint chert, pebbles, obsidian and bone points.

The exhibits weave throughout the adjoining rooms and travel through the temple periods. Although some extraordinary examples of craftsmanship are displayed, it is the detailed human representation which highlight the skills which these people had. This can be examined in the statuettes which have become known by the Maltese people as the "Venus of Malta" […] "Mother Goddesses, Fat Ladies, Deities or Priests" found at alternate sites.[594] Yet it is only when the visitor explores showcase 17 in Room three (towards the end) of this exhibition, that focus is directed upon a headless statue from a small pit at the ĦSH. In the same pit was also discovered two independent heads made from limestone which can be interchanged in the statue. In the showcase, two translucent alabaster figurines can also be found from this site. As this material was not available upon the Maltese Islands, it would have been imported from abroad, thus highlighting the importance and value of these pieces.[595] Various artefacts are further displayed which highlight the importance of the temple period from various sites, including the ĦSH. However, it is in Room five, the final display space, that the most significant pieces from the ĦSH is shown. Known as 'The Sleeping Lady,' this clay representation of a human figure is laying on her side with her hands under her head in a very natural sleeping position. She is partly naked but wears a pleated skirt. The base was rendered with extreme detail and care. Scholars believe that she might represent death or the eternal sleep. Other objects in this room include another human figure on a bed which has its head and neck partly broken off; in the same display case is a figure of a fish, also on what appears to be a bed. Both these statues are rendered in a similar manner to 'The Sleeping Lady,' indicating that they could have been produced by the same person.

---

[594] Sharon Sultana, The *National Museum of Archaeology*, p. 25.
[595] Ibid., p. 27.

Although the NMA provides the visitor with a good introduction to the Neolithic history of the Maltese Islands, it presents the collection as a timeline in an effort to highlight the periods in which these sites were initially constructed. In some display cases, various artefacts are displayed together from different sites. Only a few individual objects in this exhibition are highlighted as a result of their uniqueness, whilst others are highlighted either for the way they have been made or used. However the display fails to allow the visitor to connect with these objects. Artefacts are displayed in groups assisting to emphasise the connections between these sites and the similarities between them. The interpretation of this display only lightly touches upon the connections which these artefacts had with their owners or communities. Nor is there any reference to any of the most "unique pieces" (other than a chosen few) in this exhibition or collection that contribute towards highlighting the site's significance or OUV.

Figure 19: These female figures are possibly deities. Made from limestone they have been excavated from various temple sites on the Maltese Islands. The figure retrieved from the HSH is situated in the display case on the RHS. (Image taken by S. Fabry 2016).

Although this might seem a difficult task to undertake, considering that they were made during the Neolithic period, the opportunity to explore such stories would offer visitors a greater connection to them. Further investigation could also be made through revealing 'by whom' and 'how' these objects were excavated. A narrative on how the NMA came to be established in the Auberge de Provence would greatly assist visitors understand the complex layers of history which this site and the collections which it maintains has experienced.

Figure 20: Some of the artefacts retrieved from the ḤSH which today are displayed in the NMA in Valletta. (Photo: S. Fabry 2016).

Figure 21: Some of the objects retrieved from the Megalithic temples on Malta, which, today, are displayed in the National Museum of Archaeology in Valletta. (Photo courtesy of Heritage Malta). [596]

The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum Interpretation Centre

Although the majority of the archaeological material was transferred to the NMA, a small array of objects remain on display in the interpretation centre at the ḤSH. However, unlike the NMA which interprets and explores a variety of archaeological sites, the ḤSH Interpretation Centre (ḤSH IC) focuses upon the development and construction of the underground temple and those objects found in its carved out burial chambers. Installed between 2000-2001, the ḤSH IC was constructed to sit between the houses which had been purposely demolished to allow for greater access to the ḤSH. The entrance façade

---

[596] Heritage Malta, *Objects retrieved from the Megalithic temples* [n.d.]
    < https://heritagemalta.org/national-museum-of-archaeology/> [accessed 19 May 2016].

has been constructed in plain limestone with minimal information except for a large official UNESCO WHS emblem to assist visitors identify the way into the museum. A small corridor leads to a reception area filled with sovereigns and books. Here visitors present their prepaid and ordered tickets. Once processed, visitors are led to the ĦSH IC. Separated into two areas, the centre includes a small introduction display and audio-visual presentation. A number of artefacts are displayed which assist visitors gain a deeper understanding of how the site was made and what the site was used for by the Neolithic people. This information is supported with artefacts from the collection, including a reproduced copy of "The Sleeping Lady" which people can touch. Additional artefacts, such as working tools and coloured pigments used for painting as well as personal objects, are also presented.

Figure 22: Image showing both the point of entrance into the hypogeum and the above ground ĦSH IC prior to 2016.[597]

The closure of the ĦSH in 2016 for conservation reasons also included the refurbishment of the ĦSH IC. Officially reopened in May 2017, the centre was interpreted to explore "the site's discovery, its links to above ground contemporary sites, topics related to tales and so called 'urban legends' which developed over time since the discovery of the site until recently." The audio-visual equipment was also updated and extended to merge into a second interpreted space which, similar to the first room, shows tools which were used for excavation plus other archaeological finds discovered at this site. Other artefacts which had previously been on display at the NMA, have been relocated to the new centre. This includes examples from the elongated Neolithic skull collection. It was estimated

---

[597] Iceland Liechtenstein Norway Grants, *Ensuring continued access to world heritage in Malta*, 2016 < https://eeagrants.org/News/2016/Ensuring-continued-access-to-world-heritage-in-Malta> [accessed 14 July 2018].

that 11 had been retrieved from amongst the estimated 7000 bodies found in the ḤSH. Previously these had been placed on display at the NMA but were removed in 1980s.[598] The relocation of specific artefacts to the ḤSH, not only signifies the attempts by Heritage Malta to return some of these items to their original context, but also highlights these objects' OUV.

The OUV of the Ḥal-Saflieni Hypogeum archaeological collection

The ḤSH continues to remain as: "one of the best preserved and most extensive environments that have survived from the Neolithic."[599] Although the site is recognised at a WH level for "its architecture and its remarkable state of preservation," and is considered "one of the essential prehistoric monuments of our world heritage", numerous artefacts found at this site have been deemed as important.[600] Yet, although this WHS is globally recognised, no artefact has entrenched itself more intensely into the Maltese psyche than that of the 'The Sleeping Lady'. Since being discovered in 1903, much research has been undertaken upon this statuette by scholars and archaeologists in an effort to identify its use and purpose. Although many believe that 'The Sleeping Lady' represents a connection between life, fertility, and death, her universal form has (and still does) connect with women on a multitude of levels both nationally and internationally. Due to this, it has become recognised as one of the main masterpieces of prehistoric Maltese art. It has also become recognised amongst many New Agers and Goddess Movements of today who frequently visit Malta to become connected with the site and with this object. Yet although the significance of this object is highlighted through it being displayed in its own case and room in the NMA, the interpretation underestimates its value when set against the ḤSH itself.

This is further emphasized when assessing other objects such as the Neolithic skulls which have, over time, been given significant value by the Maltese people for their ability to confirm their cultural identity and heritage. They also play a significant role at an international level as the skulls assist scholars understand the physical development of the Neolithic Maltese people, and their burial and worshipping rituals during this period. This can be observed in the National Geographic Magazine which was printed in 1920:

---

[598] Anthony Bonanno et al., 'The death cults of prehistoric Malta', p. 16.
[599] Ibid.
[600] UNESCO, *Ḥal-Saflieni Hypogeum*.

From an examination of the skeletons of the polished-stone age, it appears that the early inhabitants of Malta were a race of long-skulled people of lower medium height, akin to the early people of Egypt, who spread westward along the north coast of Africa, when some went to Malta and Sicily and others to Sardinia and Spain. There appears little doubt but that the early Maltese belonged to the same stock as the Iberians of Spain, the Basques of the Pyrenees, the Gauls of France, and the small, dark men of Cornwall, South Wales and Ireland.[601]

However, by the 1980s, the Neolithic skulls at the NMA started to attract a lot of attention from specific cults and researchers who were into alternative thoughts and beliefs. As a result, they were gradually removed from the museum's displays. By 1999, authors Simon Mifsud, Anton Mifsud and Charles Savona Ventura noted that no skulls remained on display:

The number of Maltese prehistoric skulls presently exhibited at the Museum of Archaeology at Valletta is nil. They numbered six in 1995, whereas a total of eleven had been displayed in 1907. Another three Hal Saflieni skulls were taken to the British Museum in 1948 and 1955.[602]

Yet even though these objects are today rarely displayed or explored in a museum context, they maintain OUV for being the only known examples in the Maltese Islands which have survived from the Neolithic period.

Figure 23: One of the skulls found at the ĦSH. Image kindly provided by Head Curator Ms. Sharon Sultana NMA, (Photo courtesy of Heritage Malta 2016)[603]

---

[601] William A. Griffiths, 'Malta: The halting place of nations. First account of remarkable prehistory tombs and temples recently unearthed on the island', *National Geographic Magazine,* 37, no. 5 (1920), pp. 445-478 (p. 459). <https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/8054> [accessed 15 September 2017].

[602] Anton Mifsud and Simon Mifsud, 'The subterranean sanctuary at Ħal Saflieni', p. 153.

[603] One of the skulls found at the ĦSH. Image kindly provided by Ms Sharon Sultana, Head Curator NMA (Photo courtesy of Heritage Malta, 2016).

Figure 24: This skull highlights the elongated shape of the one of the skulls from at the ĦSH. Image kindly provided by Head Curator Ms. Sharon Sultana, NMA, (Photo courtesy of Heritage Malta 2016).[604]

Furthermore, personal objects such as carved stone-axes, shell buttons, stone, clay beads and amulets were also excavated from the ĦSH which had been made from material obtained from other countries. This exciting discovery was to highlight that Maltese Neolithic communities traded with other communities outside of the Maltese Islands.[605] Due to this, their values have increased in parallel with their significance when examining how these communities interrelated with each other and other nations.

Even though the ĦSH IC has recently undergone a refurbishment and attempts have been made to contemporize the way the story of this WHS is told, the style which has been used to inform visitors still does not explore these artefacts in detail. Although the audio visual has been expanded upon to include both rooms to further explore the stories connected to this site, the area designated for artefacts to be displayed in, does not allow for visitors to truly explore the depth of the archaeology collection. As a result, the exhibit neglects to highlight the significance of these artefacts in line with the site and Neolithic communities which used it. Senior Curator, Ms. Katya Stroud, also referred to this in 2014 when interviewed on this topic. Stroud stated:

---

[604] This skull highlights the elongated shape of the one of the skulls from at the ĦSH. Image kindly provided by Ms Sharon Sultana, Head Curator NMA (Photo courtesy of Heritage Malta 2016).

[605] Terri Zammit, Eric T. Peet, and R. N. Bradley, *The small objects and the human skulls found in the Ħal-Saflieni Prehistoric Hypogeum at Casal Paula, Malta*.

At the Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum itself there is a very small presentation of the finds discovered in it and therefore these are not significant in highlighting the values of the site.[606]

Although Stroud did not specify which objects would be introduced into the new display, she does refer to objects from the ĦSH collection which she considers the most important towards connecting the Neolithic people to the construction and use of this site. Asked which she believed were the three most significant objects in the collection, Stroud listed:

1. The Sleeping Lady;
2. Stone tools;
3. Skulls.[607]

Stroud further stated:

Amongst the collection of the Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum, … the so-called 'sleeping lady' is unique for its artistic quality and form. The stone tools from the same site are rather striking in their simplicity when considering that they were the only tools available to the society that created unique buildings dating from the Neolithic. The few remaining skulls from the site are also significant for various reasons a) one of them carries evidence for trepanation, an ancient medical procedure and b) they are the focus of a modern urban legend which states that these are elongated and therefore may have belonged to an ancient race of aliens or may be somehow related to the ancient Egyptians.[608]

Even so, until 2016 the displays in the ĦSH IC consisted of a reproduction of 'The Sleeping Lady' along with various working tools and personal items and therefore did not highlight any specific tools which maintained significant value. However, Stroud explained that in the new centre, additional artefacts would be introduced in the displays that would further explore the tangible connections between the site and objects. She explains that:

There are plans to increase the number of objects presented at the site, and these are currently being selected on the basis of how well they portray the values of the site and what information they provide about the society that built and used it.[609]

Although a site visit to the museum in 2016 showed no additional artefacts had been added in these display cases, pictorial evidence of the new centre showed a change in artefacts had been undertaken. The reopening of the centre in May 2017 revealed that a Neolithic skull and other working utensils had been added, along with excavated personal

---

[606] Email from Ms Katya Stroud, Senior Curator Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, to author, 9 September 2014.
[607] Ibid.
[608] Ibid.
[609] Ibid.

items which had been buried along with loved ones. As with the earlier displays which had been developed for this space, once again minimal information has been provided about these objects and their significance to the site's context. Yet, asked if she believed that the Ħ SH could lose part of its overall significance if separated from specific objects in the collection, Stroud responded:

> When the Hal-Saflieni Hypogeum was inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List, the artefacts discovered within it had all been removed and placed in the collection of the National Museum of Archaeology. Despite this physical separation, the value of the site was recognised locally and acknowledged internationally, leading to the site being inscribed in the World Heritage List.[610]

Stroud continues to reflect upon the value of the site as maintaining the most significance without considering those artefacts which have, over time, been adopted as national icons by the Maltese people. Even though the site was listed as WH after the collection had already been removed, the artefacts reflect its use as a place of worship. The artefacts assist to highlight that communities came together in this space. Author Patrick Christian states that Sociologists Maurice Halbwachs and Émile Durkheim believed:

> that as people work in collaboration to create religion, art, language, or other sacred rituals imbued with the effervescence of constructed group esteem, they create memory of action, of relation, of interaction and of creation.[611]

The objects confirm that the chambers were used to entomb loved ones, worship and to place icons of deities and therefore they still maintain an invisible connection with this site. Although this unseen connection continues, even though both artefact and site are separated, it goes unnoticed as a memory marker due to the change in context. Through this relocation process, any collective memories which may have been formed by the Maltese people or visitors are now connected to the National Museum of Archaeology and to the Auberge de Provence. Halbwachs believes such sites stand around "us as a mute and motionless society,"[612] yet even so, they greatly influence how we remember the environment in which an object is presented, even if the décor has aged:

> In truth, the impression of immobility does predominate for rather long periods, a fact explained both by the inert character of physical objects and the relative stability of social groups. It would be an exaggeration to maintain that changes of location and major alterations in the furnishing demarcate stages of family history.

---

[610] Ibid.
[611] Patrick J. Christian, *History, memory & conflict*, p. 4.
[612] Maurice Halbwachs, *The collective memory*, pp. 1-15.

However, the permanence and interior appearance of a home impose on the group a comforting image of its own continuity.[613]

Although Halbwachs reflects upon a home in this paragraph, this image can also be transferred onto a museum or historic site such as the hypogeum. Therefore, the only memories which survive that connect these artefacts back to the ĦSH are directly through historical reports, old photos, sketches and documentation, as those who were connected to this site have since died. Today, a different form of collective memory will be developed between a visitor and the ĦSH. Due to this, the way visitors develop and retain memories upon these objects, will be separated between two WH sites. Asked if the objects are used in the ĦSH IC to promote the site's WH status in any way, Stroud indicated:

> The World Heritage Status of the site is indicated through an emblem on the visitor building façade as well as interpretation panels inside the reception of the site.[614]

Yet should objects which maintained OUV be given greater recognition through interpretation at the NMA and the ĦSH IC? Questioned if she thought specific objects should be included during the nomination process for World Heritage recognition, Stroud suggested:

> Specific objects or collections should be included in the nomination process if these aid in illustrating the values of the site being nominated. In the case of the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, the individual objects on their own have little value, but when related to the rest of the collection and the site, they draw a picture of the society that created them. The hypogeum was inscribed because of its architecture, but also because of the society and culture it represents. [615]

Therefore, Stroud's statement recognises and confirms the need for greater acknowledgement of such items. It also suggests that such items should be included during a site's nomination process for the WHL if they illustrate the importance of a site. Yet at what point should recognition be given? Asked if the *1972 Convention* should be revised to enable a site to recognise the significance of an object or a collection during nomination for WHL, Stroud reflected:

> As in the case of the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum collection, the significance of collections and objects lies in their relation with their context; be it physical, historical, cultural etc. and the stories and information they provide about that

---

[613] Ibid.
[614] Email from Ms Katya Stroud.
[615] Ibid.

context. I do not believe the 1972 Convention needs to be revised since the value of collections and objects is inherently acknowledged through their cultural and natural contexts, be they tangible or intangible.[616]

However, if the original context of an object or collection has been altered, then our collective memory of it will also be different. Halbwachs highlights this fact when he reflects upon religious sites and how we define memories in them. Even though the ĦSH dates pre-4500 BC, the Maltese people have maintained a very strong Christian faith and belief structure. Due to this, the faithful may recall certain remembrances on view of specific locations, buildings or objects. Therefore, "every religion also has a history. Rather, there is a religious memory composed of traditions going back to events, often very far in the past, that occur in definite locations."[617] In other words, although the ĦSH no longer operates as a temple site, the Maltese people still maintain very strong connections to this site along with specific artefacts which were found in these chambers.[618] Although this comment suggests that the *1972 Convention* does not need to be revised, it does underline that the significance of such objects remain in their original context. For although these artefacts were removed from the hypogeum in 1903, further investigation and research needs to be undertaken to further explore the stories and values of these objects to the ĦSH in an effort to raise the profile of this collection in line with this site.

Conclusion

As the "only known European example of a subterranean 'labyrinth' which dates between 4,000 B.C. to 2,500 B.C.",[619] the ĦSH and its archaeological collection have endured various adjustments in an effort to protect them from environmental damage. This has included the removal of the excavated material from the site during the early 20th century by Dr. Zammit in an effect to protect this collection. However, through this process these artefacts have been removed from their original setting and as a result a secondary context has been formed. Through this transfer, our collective memory no longer connects them with their original site but rather to the NMA. Not only has this meant that the connection between a visitor and object has been altered, but also how the objects' past is connected to the site.

---

[616] Ibid.
[617] Maurice Halbwachs, *The collective memory*, p. 13.
[618] Ibid., p. 12.
[619] UNESCO, *Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum*.

In this chapter, I have attempted to illustrate the historical connections between the ĦSH, its archaeological collection and the NMA. Furthermore, this chapter has endeavoured to reveal that when a collection is removed from a WHS, the collective memory which is developed is also transferred. This is especially evident if neither WH sites give recognition to the OUV of specific collections or artefacts in their original context. It is only through a deeper awareness that a greater understanding of the rituals associated with objects from the ĦSH will be achieved of the Neolithic burial and ritual rites which occurred at this site. Finally, through including 'The Sleeping Lady', the Skulls and other items deemed as maintaining OUV, greater recognition will not only be given towards these artefacts but also the context in which they were found. This will affect how these objects are perceived at a World Heritage level and will gradually influence how they will be recognised in policy development for this site, and therefore enhance how they will be interpreted in the future.

Chapter Five

The World Heritage Site Hadrian's Wall and the Roman fort Vindolanda: Acknowledging objects which maintain Outstanding Universal Value in a buffer zone

Introduction

Hadrian's Wall survives as one of the most complex and best preserved, defence walls which dates from the Roman Empire in the world. This highly multifaceted defensive fortification has survived largely intact since AD 122 when the wall was constructed under the order of Emperor Hadrian. The defence wall was to form the basis for Roman military control in this area until c. AD 400. Hadrian's Wall was constructed with fortlets, turrets and Roman garrisons to support military zones which had been developed with interconnecting roads that were used to support and supply Roman military forces.[620] When completed, Hadrian's Wall extended approximately 117km across northern Britain. It was to expand from Wallsend in the east to Bowness in the west and represented the main element in a controlled Roman military zone. Today, the remaining sections of this wall comprise of various earthworks, burial sites and structures.[621] Over the following centuries, the Wall was to be gradually extended with an additional defence partition being constructed across Scotland as well as other parts of western Europe, Asia and Africa.[622]

It would be, Hadrian's Wall which would be the first section of this Roman defence system to be nominated upon the World Heritage List in 1987 as it represented "the most complex and best preserved of the frontiers of the Roman Empire."[623] Gradually other surviving sections of the Wall would be nominated as they highlighted the Roman Empire's ability: "to plan, create and protect a frontier of some 5000 km in length" whilst still maintaining "the social, economic and military implications of this frontier."[624] As a result of this awareness, a serial transnational nomination was established known as the *Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE).* The nomination would include the existing WHS Hadrian's Wall (1987); the German Limes (2005); and the Antonine Wall (2008).[625]

---

[620] Statement of Outstanding Universal Value for the Frontiers of the Roman Empire and its component parts (WHS FRE) (C430), ([n. pl.], [n. pub.], 2012), p. 5. <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/89293/Frontiers_of_the_Roman_Empire_-_Hadrian_s_Wall.pdf> [accessed 13 February 2017].

[621] UNESCO, World Heritage Convention cultural properties: UK nomination – Hadrian's Wall military zone.
The only known damage which has been identified was during the second Jacobite revolt in 1745 when parts of the wall were dismantled to construct a road under the orders of General Wade.

[622] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014.*.

[623] Ibid., p. 2.

[624] Ibid., p. 1.

[625] Ibid.

Although this defence wall has been deemed by UNESCO as the core value to this WHS, there are other factors which contribute towards its overall significance. This includes many nearby surviving structures and settlements which were built by the Romans which today are vital towards our understanding of how the Roman Empire managed and lived in these areas during this period. Although not directly part of Hadrian's Wall, many of these smaller sites are included in the designated buffer zone which spans one to six km from the listed site. One significant site which has come to be internationally recognised for the amount of significant Roman artefacts which have been excavated from this site, is the Roman garrison Vindolanda. Considered as "an excellent example of a garrison settlement", the site has been significant towards our understanding of how, "in times of peace, away from the entrenched camp, soldiers and their families lived."[626] Yet, compared to other surviving evidence of 'Roman occupation, Vindolanda's values "lie in the archaeology" that "over time have evolved to include the landscape."[627]

Constructed to take advantage of the location's topographical features, Vindolanda was designed on top of a hill with a 360° degree view of the landscape and was surrounded by a stream on two sides. It is estimated that a number of military structures had been built at least 40 years before the construction of Hadrian's Wall in 122 A.D, reinforcing the importance of its location.[628] Over time various buildings were demolished and rebuilt in an effort to improve military defence. As each site was demolished, a layer of turf or clay was placed over the top in an effort to make it even so that a new structure could be constructed upon the same site. Through studying this landscape and investigating the layout of this garrison, archaeologists and historians can observe the alterations and modifications which were undertaken nearly two thousand years ago. It is therefore believed from the evidence which has been discovered that Vindolanda was at one time a very active fort which maintained thousands of Roman soldiers and civilians.[629] This has been further confirmed through thousands of personal artefacts which have also been

---

[626] Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, p. 5.

[627] Randall Mason, Margaret G. H. MacLean and Marta de la Torre, *Hadrian's Wall world heritage site: English heritage* (Los Angeles, Calif: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2003), p. 32. < http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/pdf/hadrians_wall.pdf> [accessed 17 September 2015]

[628] UNESCO, World Heritage Convention cultural properties: UK nomination – Hadrian's Wall military zone, pp. 7-8.

[629] Ibid.

discovered beneath the soil whilst excavating this site.[630] The quality of these objects due to the "anaerobic conditions" of the soil, has resulted in a significant number of these artefacts being preserved. Previous Director of Excavations, Archaeologist Dr. Robin Birley, estimated that by 2007 only 15% of Vindolanda had been excavated. He believed that to fully investigate this site, an additional 150 years would be needed to cope with the amount of work which would be required to excavate this site.[631]

Figure 25: Hadrian's Wall was the first section of the defense wall to be nominated in 1987.[632]

Figure 26: Aerial view of the garrison fort at Vindolanda, which was designed to guard the central section of the Stanegate, a road connecting Corbridge and Carlisle.[633]

Therefore, in an effort to further understand the importance of this Roman garrison as well as the extensive archaeological collection which has been excavated from this site,

---

[630] Vindolanda Charitable Trust, *Home page*, [n.d.] < https://www.vindolanda.com/> [accessed 12 March 2017].

[631] Ibid., p. 15.

[632] British 1 Search, , *Hadrian's Wall map*, [n.d.]
< http://www.british1.co.uk/maps/Hadrians_Wall_map.html> [accessed 12 March 2017]

[633] Bing.com, *Site of Vindolanda*, [n.d.]
<https://www.bing.com/images/search?q=site+of+vindolanda&FORM=HDRSC26A7F45AD3D30D4478&selectedIndex=10&ccid=bRuiDCe1&simid=608038533761598988&thid=OIP.M6d1ba20c27b5219746ea37031478d9b7o0&ajaxhist=0> [accessed 22 October 2017].

Chapter Five will briefly examine the history of Vindolanda. It will also investigate some of the artefacts in detail and assess the values which they retain connected directly to this site, in an effort to understand that although they have survived over 2000 years, they still have the power to connect with visitors to this site. This chapter will also review a number of key documents which have been developed for this WHS, including the *FMP* and the *FIF* in an effort to see if any mention is made of the Vindolanda site and its archaeological collection. This will be further supported through the review of the World Heritage Scanned Nomination, titled the *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (*FRE*), which embraces all the nominated sites including Hadrian's Wall in the United Kingdom, Antonine Wall in Scotland and the German Roman Limes. However, the main focus will be upon the 1987 nominated site Hadrian's Wall to identify if any mention is made to the archaeological collection and the values which they maintain. Moreover, this chapter will also review the displays of Roman artefacts at the Chesterholm Museum which form part of the Vindolanda site. This appraisal will aim to identify if any specific artefact has been emphasized for its cultural value independently to this site. Lastly, evidence gathered through an interview with the Director of the Vindolanda Trust, Margaret Birley, will be drawn upon to identify if any particular values are connected to specific objects through those directly in contact with this site. From this evaluation, a deeper understanding will be gained about how those who are linked to this site, both on a professional and emotional level, view the values and significance of these objects. Furthermore, the information gathered from this assessment will assist the development of various proposals which will be given in Chapter Six towards creating greater recognition and protection of these objects at a WH level.

Soldiers, letters and leather: A historical overview of the Roman garrison, Vindolanda.

After the Roman Empire finally collapsed and use of Hadrian's Wall as a defence barrier abandoned, Vindolanda was to remain functioning for another four hundred years before finally being abandoned in the 9th century. Building material from the fort was gradually removed by local farmers and landowners and reused in buildings, roads, churches, walls, castles and other structures in the local area. [634] By the 16th century, Vindolanda had become over grown and any evidence of a settlement had been obscured.[635] However,

---

[634] Robin Birley, *Vindolanda's treasures,* p. 8.
[635] Ibid., p. 9.

over time, the significance of this site as a Roman garrison increased as the concept of retrieving artefacts became a romantic adventurist pass time. Due to this, Vindolanda was to experience "more intense archaeological research than any other Roman site in the old Roman Britain frontier region."[636] This has been due to the quality of the soil in this region. The moisture content, structure of the soil and lack of oxygen made it perfect for preserving any organic structure or object which might had been lost, dropped or dumped on this site.

> Such conditions were created by the most limited access for oxygen [...] a form of deep freeze was created, preserving all material in virtually the same conditions as it was when deposited.[637]

One antiquarian and historian who survives as one of the "founding fathers of Local English History" and who was to visit Hadrian's Wall was William Camden. He was to document his findings along site visits "to East Anglia in 1578, Yorkshire and Lancashire in 1582, Devon in 1589, Wales in 1590, Salisbury, Wells and Oxford in 1596, and Carlisle and Hadrian's Wall in 1600."[638]

The first person to write and publish accounts of the Roman Bath house being demolished at Vindolanda was Durham physician Dr Christopher Hunter in 1702.[639] As interest grew around this site, the number of enthusiasts increased. Eventually the land surrounding Vindolanda would be excavated by numerous amateur archaeologists, whilst other sections of land would be governed by wealthy farmers who established crops upon it. By 1814 however, Vindolanda was finally purchased by Victor Anthony Hedley, an Anglican Curate who promptly built a small cottage for his family on this site in 1831, which he named Chesterholm. Hedley's desire was to safeguard Vindolanda from any further removal of roman evidence from the site as a result of farming activities which were being undertaken.[640] However, eventually the property was sold in 1929 to classically trained scholar, Eric Birley, who proceeded to excavate sections of the site during his spare time. By the on-set of the WWII, he was transferred to the War Office in

---

[636] Ibid.

[637] Ibid., p. 15.

[638] R. C. Richardson, 'William Camden and the rediscovery of England', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 78 (2004), pp. 108-123. <http://www.le.ac.uk/lahs/downloads/05Vol78-Richardson.pdf> [2 May 2017]

[639] Vindolanda Charitable Trust, *Home page*,.

[640] Robin Birley, *Vindolanda's treasures*, p. 6. Hedley's attempts to protect this area through the establishment of specific events was to ultimately "lay the foundations" for the establishment of the Vindolanda Foundation Trust over a hundred years later in 1995.

London and upon his return the material which he had previously excavated had been removed, much of which was never to be found again.[641] By 1950, Hedley sold his Vindolanda estate to the former tenant farmer, Thomas Harding, along with the Chesterholm cottage. It was finally purchased by Mrs Daphne Archibald who was to be the last private owner.[642] By 1970, the Vindolanda Trust was established and by early 1974 the keys to Chesterholm cottage were finally transferred over to the Vindolanda Trust after a successful purchase was made with the support from a grant through the English Tourist Board.[643] The cottage would eventually be turned into a museum to store and display the vast archaeological collection which had been retrieved from this site.[644] Eventually the cottage would be the main display area for this collection until additional funding and support allowed for further extensions and interpretation areas to be made. Currently, the Vindolanda Trust owns and is responsible for maintaining and controlling the site, including the Chesterholm museum. Furthermore, the Trust also owns and manages its sister site, the Roman Army Museum, and the civilian settlement at Carvoran.[645]

It was soon apparent that to protect and maintain Hadrian's Wall (and the additional roman sites held in its buffer zone), a Management Plan (MP) would be needed. By 1996, it would be the first WHS in the UK to have its own directing policies, however it encountered "much scepticism and not a little concern" at this time.[646] Yet the success of this document and its established framework towards protecting and governing this site, was to result in it being further revised in 2002.[647] The overall achievement of this document resulted in it being recognised internationally as a best practice approach towards the management of a WHS.[648] As further sections of the Wall were nominated for the WHL, additional MPs were produced by other State Parties. Since 2002, the MP for Hadrian's Wall has undergone a third revision in an effort to create further protection and management of this site. Designed to cover the timeframe between 2008 to 2014, this complex document "is primarily intended to be used as a reference".[649] Professor Peter

---

[641] Ibid., p. 10.
[642] Ibid., p. 11.
[643] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall Management Plan 2008-2014*, p. 22.
[644] Robin Birley, *Chesterholm 1830-2000,* pp. 18-19.
[645] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014*, p. 22.
[646] Ibid., p. v.
[647] Ibid., p. 3
[648] Ibid.
[649] Ibid., p. vi.

Stone, who was Chair of Hadrian's Wall Management Plan Committee at this time, stated: [650]

> Over the last twelve years this unease has largely evaporated as both the first and second Plans have helped to deliver not only enhanced protection for the archaeological monuments and landscapes contained in the Site but, by addressing much wider issues, have also helped to redefine what we mean and understand by management of the cultural heritage.[651]

Today, the *FMP* explores in great depth not only the history of Hadrian's Wall but also those sites which are adjacent to it and which are protected in its buffer zone. The buffer zone has been established:

> • to signal the sensitivity of this area and its role in sustaining the importance of the WHS, particularly protecting it from development that would be detrimental to its visual setting
> • to define an area in which work can be particularly targeted to benefit the landscape setting of the WHS, where it impacts on the Site's OUV.[652]

Although the *FMP* and the buffer zone gives preference towards the protection of this defence system and landscape, as well as against further development which would place this WHS at risk, it does recognise the importance towards artefacts which have been excavated at Vindolanda. This can be observed under *Section 2.8 Finds and Collections* of this document:

Section 2.8.4

Excavation at Vindolanda has revealed an unparalleled collection of Writing Tablets, preserved in anaerobic conditions, ranging from official documents to personal correspondence. This is the largest such assemblage within the United Kingdom and contributes significantly to understanding of life on Hadrian's Wall. Although these documents are from a generation earlier than the building of Hadrian's Wall, they can be presumed to reflect life on the frontier from the building of the Wall onwards.[653]

Section 2.8.5
Taken together, the inscriptions and writing tablets form the largest collection of written Latin from the Roman world outside Italy [654]

Section 2.8.6

---

[650] Newcastle University, *Newcastle University to establish UNESCO chair of cultural protection*, press release, 2015 < https://www.ncl.ac.uk/press/articles/archive/2015/10/peterstoneunescochair/> [accessed 24 November 2016].

[651] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014,* p. v.

[652] Ibid., p. 7.

[653] Ibid., p. 14.

[654] Ibid.

> The same anaerobic conditions at Vindolanda produced large quantities of shoes, other leather items, cloth and wood, while extensive finds of pottery across the Site illustrate not only table and cooking wares but also the trade patterns by which the Wall was supplied.[655]

This document also gives further reference to the Writing Tablets currently held in the British Museum collection that had been removed from Vindolanda in 1974 and how they should be reconnected to their original context through interpretation.[656] The concept of using the Writing Tablets to emphasise and explore the lives of those who lived at Vindolanda is further highlighted in the document *FIF*. Published in 2011 by Hadrian's Wall Limited, the interpretation framework was produced to give a vision which would "realise the full social, economic, learning and cultural heritage potential of Hadrian's Wall." It was also established to give "a Wall-wide approach to audience development through collaborative partnership effort and the creation of an interpretation framework for Hadrian's Wall."[657] The interpretation framework was also developed to bring together the various Roman attractions and museums situated in the buffer zone of this WHS. The *FIF* was created to focus on two separate interpretation themes which include:

- The primary overarching theme of the Interpretation Framework is the story of the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire from the first to the fifth century – a dynamic story as the frontier changes, evolves and adapts over 400 years.
- The secondary overarching theme is the story of the natural and cultural landscape through which Hadrian's Wall passes.[658]

Although both themes are relevant in revealing the various layers of history which are connected to this site and those included in its buffer zone, it is the primary theme which endeavours to tell the stories which these objects hold to visitors through interpretation at these sites. However, certain artefacts sustain stronger narratives than others and this can be observed through such objects as the Writing Tablets discovered in Vindolanda, which reveal the "daily lives, emotions and cares of individual Roman citizens."[659]

The interpretation of Hadrian's Wall has been considered an important component in highlighting the significance of this WHS since the first MP was established in 1996.[660] Over time, the interpretation strategy for the Wall has been reassessed and revised.

---

[655] Ibid.
[656] Ibid., pp. 20-44.
[657] Genevieve Adkins and Nigel Mills, *Hadrian's Wall interpretation framework primary theme,* p. 1.
[658] Ibid., p. 10.
[659] Ibid.
[660] UNESCO, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire world heritage site,* p. 3.

However due to the size of this WHS it is believed that "more needs to be done to improve and coordinate interpretation" as there is an ongoing "need to refresh the approach and develop a new overarching framework for interpretation in collaboration with partners."[661] The interpretation section of this document, does however, recognise the significance of the archaeological collections. This can be observed in part six of the interpretation framework, in which it refers to using artefacts at Vindolanda as a way to connect with visitors on site so that they "can become personally involved in the daily lives, emotions and cares of individual Roman citizens though the compelling personal stories revealed in the writing tablets"[662]

Although both documents suggest a holistic approach towards managing and guiding the interpretation strategy for Hadrian's Wall, they also confirm the need for interpretation other Roman sites included in its buffer zone. However, due to the size of this section of the Wall, it is difficult for both documents to go into great detail about how Vindolanda should be interpreted. Instead they both present concepts and ideas which are based on specific themes that should be used so as to enhance the narratives behind the construction of the Hadrian's Wall, as well as the forts and garrisons which surround it. Even though mention is given to the Vindolanda Roman Writing Tablets in both *FMP* and the *FIF* (assisting to support their national and international significance), other significant objects are given minimal reference or go unnoticed. This too can be said about the artefacts which each site cares for and displays so that their own values and significance are recognised both at a local, national and international level.

The World Heritage Listing of Hadrian's Wall

Nominated for the WHL in 1987, Hadrian's Wall had been selected against three of the six criteria which had been set at this time through the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of World Heritage* for cultural sites. The extent of the 1987 WH nomination would include the "entire length of the Wall which extends from Wallsend in the east to Bowness on Solway in the west, except where overlain by the towns of Newcastle on Tyne and Carlisle" plus "the South Shields fort at the mouth of the Tyne to the east, sites along the Stanegate to the south and Cumbrian coastal defences to the south-

---

[661] Ibid., p. 62.
[662] Genevieve Adkins and Nigel Mills, Hadrian's Wall interpretation framework primary theme, p. 10.

west."[663] When Hadrian's Wall was nominated it was set against the following three criteria: [664]

> ***Criteria II - Have exerted great influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscaping***; [665]
> Hadrian's Wall exerted great influence on the spatial organization of the British limes over approximately 300 years. This frontier zone is still a part of the landscape from Tyne to Solway.[666]

> ***Criteria III- Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared***;[667]
> This military zone bears exceptional testimony to Roman colonization by the large number of human settlements associated with the defences: the vicus of Vindolanda (Chesterholm) is an excellent example of a garrison settlement which contributes to an understanding of how, in times of peace, away from the entrenched camp, soldiers and their families lived.[668]

> ***Criteria IV - Be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in history***.[669]
> Hadrian's Wall is an outstanding example of a fortified limes. No other ensemble from the Roman Empire illustrates as ambitious and coherent a system of defensive constructions perfected by engineers over the course of several generations. Whether with respect to military architectural construction techniques, strategic design in the Imperial period or a policy for ground use and the organization of space in a frontier zone, this cultural property is an exceptional reference whose universal value leaves no doubt.*[670]*

Over time, the criteria's used to nominate a site were updated through UNESCO and its supporting committees so as to reflect the environmental and political changes which were happening on a global level to World Heritage.[671] This was to also include greater recognition of existing sections of the Roman defence walls in other countries. The term

---

[663] UNESCO, World Heritage Convention cultural properties: UK nomination – Hadrian's Wall military zone, p. 8.

[664] Robin Birley, *Chesterholm 1830-2000.*
The first operational guidelines were developed in 1977 and were created to give support and provide procedures when using the WHC. They are continually updated to assist state members when applying for WHL.

[665] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (WHC/2 Revised, January 1987) (Paris: UNESCO, 1987) < http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide87.pdf> [accessed 13 March 2016].

[666] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014,* p. 26.

[667] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, (WHC/2 Revised, January 1987).

[668] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014,* p. 26.

[669] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (WHC/2 Revised, January 1987).

[670] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014,* p. 26.

[671] UNESCO, *The criteria for selection*, [n.d.] < https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> [15 June 2014].

Limes was to be used by UNESCO so as to refer to the border line of the Roman Empire in the second century AD. Therefore other nominations which were to follow would be known as limes and not walls. This would be evident when the original 1987 nomination of Hadrian's Wall was extended to include the Upper German-Raetian Limes in Germany, which was inscribed in 2005 and "together with Hadrian's Wall, formed the transnational Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site."[672] By 2008, Antonine's Wall, Scotland had also be inscribed as part of a trans-national nomination.[673] By this time, the criteria had been slightly altered to reflect the global changes which were happening to World Heritage.[674] It also resulted in additional information being added under each criteria so that the three inscribed sections could be further highlighted to reinforce the overall significance of this Wall as a trans-national nomination:

> ***Criterion II - exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design.***[675]
> Taken as a whole, the frontiers of the Roman Empire show the development of Roman military architecture from temporary camps through winter quarters for whole armies to the establishment of permanent forts and fortresses. These show through time a development from simple defences to much more complex arrangements.
>
> Linked to this is the development of the infrastructure of roads and waterways, along with systems of linear barriers and watchtowers. The frontier also promoted the development of urbanisation, particularly in central and western Europe, from which it had previously been largely absent.[676]
>
> ***Criterion III - To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.***[677]
> The Roman frontier is the largest monument of the Roman Empire, one of the greatest of the world's pre-industrial empires. The physical remains of the frontier line, of the forts and fortresses along it, as well as of the cities, towns and settlements associated with it, and dependent upon it, demonstrate the complexities of Roman culture and its spread across Europe and the Mediterranean world.

---

[672] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014*, p. vi.
[673] Ibid.
[674] UNESCO, World Heritage Convention cultural properties: UK nomination – Hadrian's Wall military zone
[675] UNESCO, *The criteria for selection.*
[676] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014,* p. 15.
[677] UNESCO, *The criteria for selection.*

Unlike the great monuments from the urban centres around the Mediterranean already inscribed as World Heritage Sites, the frontiers show a more mundane aspect of Roman culture, both military and civilian. As such they are evidence of the spread of Roman culture and its adoption by the Empire's subject peoples.

Inscriptions and other evidence demonstrate the extent to which the frontier led to an interchange of peoples across the Empire. To a large extent, this was the result of the movement of military units (eg British units in Romania, or Iraqi boatmen in northern Britain) but there is also strong evidence of civilian movement (eg merchants from the Middle East who settled in Britain, Germany and Hungary). The frontiers also acted as the base for the movement of Roman goods (and presumably ideas) to pass well beyond the Empire.[678]

Criterion IV – to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.[679]
The physical remains of the frontiers of the Roman Empire demonstrate the power and might and civilisation of the Romans. As such they are evidence of the development of the Roman Empire and its spread across much of Europe and parts of Asia and Africa. They therefore illustrate the spread of classical culture and of Romanisation which shaped much of the subsequent development of Europe.[680]

Today, the Frontiers of the Roman Empire is recognised as the largest archaeological monument in the EU and amongst the largest in the World.

Yet although these nominations are kept to the same criteria, when comparing the original criteria with those used for the Limes, it is evident that specific details have been removed to be more inclusive of the *FRE* application. These differences are especially evident in Criteria III, in which the 1987 statement gives recognition towards the Roman garrison Vindolanda. However with the inclusion of both the German and Antoine Limes, a non-specific location is given. Instead, it has been written to be more all-encompassing, thereby focusing upon the complexities of the Roman culture and the movement of the Roman Empire in its entirety during this period.

The Interpretation of the Roman Vindolanda Fort site

West Gate Admission building

---

[678] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014,* p. 15.
[679] UNESCO, *The criteria for selection.*
[680] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014,* p. A15.

Access to Roman Vindolanda Fort and to the Chesterholm Museum can either be made through the main museum situated on the west side of the fort *or* through the west gate admission point. The west gate building has been designed both as an entrance and ticketing point as well as to briefly introduce the visitor to the site. Designed as a small display area, with large interpretation panels (which explores both the Vindolanda and Roman Army Museum sites), visitors are briefed on the history of both locations through a short video. Staff act as Vindolanda custodians to help explain and brief visitors about access to the garrison and the museum. After purchasing tickets, visitors are guided through to a small enclosed courtyard which has been designed to give a roman ambiance. Supported with roman sculptures and central fountain, this area is used as a place of reflection and a chance to gather ones' thoughts about the site which they are about to enter after visiting the orientation building.

Figure 27: Entrance reception area in West Gate building. (Image taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 28: Under covered walkway directing visitors from West Gate building to introduction orientation area. (Image taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Orientation building

Designed to familiarise the visitor on the various complex layers of Vindolanda, the orientation building displays a large central model of the site during its 400 year history as a garrison and community. Wall plans of the site assist to show the garrison in its original context along with the various buildings and forts which were once constructed on the landscape. Highlighted areas upon the plans assist to show the various developments which occurred during the different periods. After viewing this area, the visitor exits to the excavated site of Vindolanda.

Excavated garrison site

Upon entering Vindolanda, the archaeological remains and the surrounding landscape are both impressive and powerful reminders of the roman occupation of this site. Building remains constructed by the Roman army are still evident. Therefore, these remnants survive not only as evidence of how garrisons were changed, designed and constructed but also how each community left their own distinctive mark upon this landscape. Surviving over 2000 years, the garrison shows evidence of how the site gradually expanded beyond its defence wall to almost double its size.

Access through the landscape and the remaining structures has been made partially through a purpose-built pathway which weaves through the site, together with external information panels. Other sections of the path are original and although can be unstable

in parts, brings the visitor in direct contact with the routes which were previously used. This retracing of footsteps helps visitors to reconnect with the past, whilst other areas which are inaccessible have above ground walkways to enable access to these points. Grass has been permitted to grow around the buildings which allows visitors to visually identify the difference between those areas which have been excavated since the 1970s, and as a result the visitor gains a deeper understanding and appreciation of how the site was planned and designed. Since the Vindolanda Trust has excavated at this site, the following buildings have been revealed:

- A large Pre-Hadrianic bath house and a beautifully preserved 3rd century bath house;
- Several commanding officer's residences and barrack buildings;
- A headquarters building;
- third and fourth century evidence of village houses and workshops, latrines, and a Roman Celtic temple to an unknown Romano Celtic God;
- The only temple to be found on display to a Roman god inside an auxiliary fort anywhere in the Roman Empire (Jupiter Dolichenus);
- A Post-Roman mausoleum and late Roman Christian church. Replicas of a Roman temple and shop, a Romano-British house and replica sections of Hadrian's Wall in turf timber and stone.[681]

Some of these structures have been filled with crushed rock, assisting the visitor to identify the boundary walls whilst other sites have been left exposed to reveal the original flooring. Visitors are allowed to walk through these areas, assisting to give a deeper understanding of the layout of this site. Metal barricades surround those areas which are being excavated. Interpretation panels have been placed at specific locations to assist with explain the area or the building being discussed. Made to survive the harsh environment, the interpretation panels have been inserted into metal frames which are supported with concrete slabs to keep them positioned.

---

[681] Vindolanda Charitable Trust, *Roman Vindolanda fort & museum: the archaeology,* 2019 < https://www.vindolanda.com/roman-vindolanda-fort-museum> [accessed 16 June 2019]

Figure 29: The Vindolanda site-museum guides the visitor across the partially excavated landscape via a footpath which weaves between the remains of roman buildings. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 30: External signs assist the gaining a deeper understanding of the site (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

As the visitor proceeds through the site to the main museum, they enter into a well-designed and lush garden retreat. Original roman and contemporary sculptures make this space welcoming to both those who have just visited the roman garrison and for those who are about to enter into it. Here interpretation panels continue to explain the various uses of this area. A stream runs through this area and a bridge has been constructed to

link visitors to the other side which brings visitors to the entrance to the museum. Beside the stream, a recreated roman temple dedicated to the water nymphs has been built. Painted internally with highly decorated images of relaxed romans, the building faces onto the stream which it was named after; "NYMPHIS SACRVM VICANI VINDOLANDENSES."

Although the surrounding landscape at Vindolanda is both beautiful and serene as well as undisturbed by both development and farming, it can appear at times very isolated. Due to this, it is difficult to realise what life must have been like to those men, women and children who once lived at this location. Yet it is the archaeological evidence at Vindolanda which reveals the reverse occurred over 2000 years ago. The complexity of this garrison and the various attempts which have been undertaken to redevelop it during its 400 years of occupation is a continual reminder of just how important and significant this site remained to the Roman Empire. It also remains as evidence that Vindolanda had an extremely active community with highly skilled and industrious merchants, artisans and businesses.

The interpretation of Chesterholm Museum

Over the last 40 years, various developments and alterations have occurred to the original Chesterholm Cottage in an effort to both display and house the thousands of artefacts in the museum's collection. By the end of 1973, visitor numbers had increased by 5,000 to 88,000 people a year and as a result of this, there was a need to increase the size of the present museum.[682] Between 1975 to 1980, over five major additions had been made to the museum. A café was further added to the museum in 1985 with an extension being added in 1990 to the west wing of the museum to enable future lectures and presentations to be held.[683] Further projects were added in 1994 and 1995 in which an Open Air Museum was added to the garden and a large research room was also constructed. Further extensions were also added at this time with the addition of the Eric Birley Research Building. Over the following years, funding would be acquired through the Heritage Lottery Fund (Britain's largest funding body directed towards heritage) which would support the expansion and development of the museum and the Vindolanda site.[684]

---

[682] Robin Birley, *Chesterholm 1830-2000,* pp. 18-20.
[683] Ibid.
[684] Heritage Lottery Fund, *About us,* [n.d.] <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us> [16 September 2016].

Directed by the Vindolanda Trust and focused on the redevelopment of the Chesterholm Museum, additional financial support would complete the following projects:

- 2005 - Vindolanda Visitor Access and Interpretation Development £377,000
- 2008 - Vindolanda Trust Heritage Access & Interpretation Project £4,064,700 m
- 2011 - Re-development at Vindolanda to boost the North East economy £6.3 m
- 2013 - Extending access to the Vindolanda heritage and Archaeological Experience £525,000
- 2016 –Wooden world: Hadrian's Wall Roman time capsule £1.3 m
- 2016 - Unlocking Vindolanda's Wooden Underworld £1,376,400
- 2017 –Secrets of Roman time capsule to be revealed £1.3 m.[685]

Through these funded projects being undertaken, many other objects which have been stored can be placed on display. Because of this, significant objects which previously would not be able to be placed on display can now be exhibited in specially designed cases which can be environmentally controlled to allow these fragile artefacts to be revealed. This funding would be used to refurbish the Roman garrison site Vindolanda as well as the nearby Roman Army Museum which is also controlled by the Trust.[686] The grant enabled a complete refurbishment of the site and museum by Architect Andrew Hamilton who was also responsible for undertaking works at Vindolanda's sister site, The Roman Army Museum. The exhibition designers were Studio MB Ltd and the displays were fitted out by Shaman Shaw Exhibitions Ltd.

Museum reception, café and displays.

Today, entrance into the Chesterholm Museum can be made through the reception and café area. Here visitors can purchase their tickets to enter the museum as well as browse through the bookshop and café. The newly redeveloped museum has been designed to be inclusive to all visitors and therefore all interpretation galleries and display are easily accessible. Galleries have been designed with even floors that have a slight incline to the next level so as to allow visitors in wheelchairs or with prams easier access. Many of the display cases have been designed with large glass windows measuring from the floor to ceiling. Central display areas designed to allow more of the collection to be exhibited. Most of the artefacts have been set against a white or red back ground with black text.

---

[685] Heritage Lottery Fund, *Global search,* [n.d.]
<https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/search?keys=vindolanda > [16 September 2016].

[686] Discover Britain, *Roman Army Museum, Northumberland,* [n.d.]
< http://www.discoverbritainmag.com/roman_army_museum_northumberland_1_3867091/>
[accessed 17 September 2016].

Whilst other areas of the museum have been designed to be in olive green with text panels being written in white. The Roman Writing Tablets have been purposely displayed in environmentally controlled display cases and are maintained in a dark environment. Lighting in this display is activated when entering into this area whilst other cases have been designed with direct lighting upon the object to direct the visitor's eye to the artefact on display.

Shoe collection

The shoe collection takes pride of place in the entrance of this museum. Upon entering the first gallery, visitors are directly confronted with a display of some roman shoes which have been retrieved from this site. Set into a wall and protected behind a wall of glass, this display case contains 70 of the estimated 6000 individual shoes which have been found on this site.[687] Ranging from military laced up boots with metal studs on the sole to delicately crafted ladies sandals, this display is a powerful indication of the fashions in footwear at this time. These artefacts also reveal the influences of footwear fashion which came to Vindolanda from other locations. Designed with a white background, each shoe has been individually displayed on a transparent ledge that projects from the back wall. Through this display technique, the visitor is able to view the artefact in more detail. However although there is supporting text adjacent to the display case, there is minimal information on how these shoes compare with others of the same type in the collection and therefore questions arise. For example, which shoe or shoes would be deemed the most significant from this collection and for what reason? Are there more shoes in this collection of a particular type or style? Are any shoes marked with a makers' mark? What percentage of shoes have this mark? These are just some areas which could assist to raise the values of a particular object over another artefact in this display. Yet, even though these questions are not directly answered through this display, the impressive array of footwear does allow the visitor to gain a deeper understanding of the numbers and class of people who arrived and lived at Vindolanda.

---

[687] Clive C. Cookson and Tyler Shendruk, *Archaeology: what Roman shoes tell us*, 2014 < https://www.ft.com/content/5e0eac56-3dea-11e4-b175-00144feabdc0> [accessed 17 September 2016].

Figure 31: A selection from the collection of approximately 6000 shoes which date from the Roman period are on display at the Chesterholm Museum at Vindolanda. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 32: An infant's shoe showing delicate leather work. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Directly opposite from this display is another similar case. This time however, the display has been set with a burnt red background. Titled "The Lives of Individuals", this case highlights ten shoes from the collection. One shoe on display includes a baby's, lace up leather bootie. Crafted with patience and care, this bootie reveals the skill of the crafts persons who made it. Although it is unclear exactly why this piece was disposed of (as it looks in perfect condition), it is a significant find for it reveals that families were a significant part of this military site. This discovery therefore, (along with other shoes

which were specifically made for children), assist us to create a direct emotional link with the child who wore it. Associate Professor of Classics, Elizabeth Greene, University of Western Ontario states:

> In a lot of ancient societies, a human being isn't really part of society until he is over the age of 2, and a 10 cm boot suggests this individual is very much a part of society. So, the family is very important in the social structure of the fort.[688]

The delicacy with which this shoe was created and the time it would have taken to create it confirms to us that it belonged to no ordinary child. Due to this evidence, it quickly becomes apparent that not only soldiers had families at Vindolanda but also senior officials too.[689] The text panels which support this display give further information on the object. However, this information only provides us with a general overview of who might have owned or worn this object and does not state the significance of it against those of the same kind.

Continuing past this gallery space, the visitor is introduced to a display titled "An Occupying Force". In this space hundreds of artefacts are on display which focus on the force of the Roman army. Many of these significant and unique artefacts enables the viewer to gain a deeper understanding of how the garrison operated and how the army prepared itself for the possibility of war. Not only are hand held weapons, spears and artillery displayed but also a human skull. This skull was found in a fort ditch at Vindolanda. Scientific evidence has revealed that this person originally came from Scotland, suggesting that conflict had been made between the Scots and the Roman Army. It is believed that this skull was used as a possible deterrent to others.[690]

---

[688] Adela Talbot, *Family footwear find shows new side to Roman military,* 21 January 2013 < https://phys.org/news/2013-01-family-footwear-side-roman-military.html> [accessed 17 September 2016].

[689] Ibid.

[690] 'No. 6, in *Skull – sending out a message,* [exhibition]. Chesterholm Museum, Northumberland. December 2014.

Figure 33: This skull is believed to have been from a Scottish male, and was placed on a pole near the fort to reinforce the Roman Army's power at Vindolanda. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

Figure 34: This Horse's Chamfron highlights the inserted bronze fittings reveals the decorative detailing which went into this ceremonial face mask. (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

One object which highlights the importance of animals at Vindolanda is the horse chamfron face mask, believed to have been owned by Flavius Cerialis. Although a total of four face masks have been so far found at Vindolanda, this piece was discovered amongst other excavated material at Cerialis's praetorium at Vindolanda (where he possibly lived with his family in the years around AD 100). Made from toughened cow

hide on the outside and softer leather on the inside, the chamfron was fitted with numinous bronze studs and was believed to have been used for ceremonial reasons.[691]

The following galleries have been set out to focus on various subjects and themes discussing issues and display items connected to daily life in Vindolanda; hygiene, jewellery, health and beauty. These displays show some incredible artefacts which are unique to the Vindolanda site, including a ladies' wig which was made from local grown hair moss known for deterring insects. Three different examination rooms have also been created in these gallery spaces which have been used to store artefacts made from wood, pottery and bone. These medium sized glass viewing rooms allow the general public to view archaeologists and researchers working on particular artefacts, as well as highlighting the types of artefacts which have been found on this site.
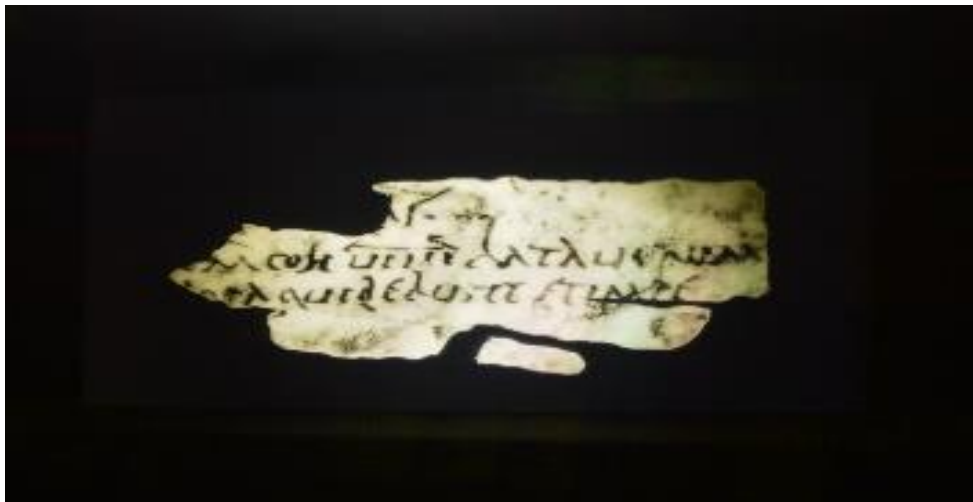

Figure 35: This fragment dates to nearly two thousand years ago yet it reveals the highly controlled handwriting which was used (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

---

[691] 'Horse's chamfron', in *Skull – sending out a message* [exhibition]. Chesterholm Museum, Northumberland. December 2014.

Figure 36: This display shows a writing tablet and stylus. A thin layer of wax would be placed in the wooden tablet and then the nib of the pen would be used to write into it (Photo taken by S. Fabry 2014).

One of the most significant galleries in Chesterholm Museum has been developed to house the Writing Tablets and Letters. A very informative video is presented to visitors on how the tablets were discovered and prepared by conservators. Displays of writing equipment such as nibs, pens, stylus and wooden writing tablets are also on show. Visitors are also given an opportunity to read some of the translated text from these letters through a display gallery titled "Robin Birley's Top Tablets". Tablets on display are on loan from the British Museum collection and are maintained in a purpose built environmentally controlled display case. The dark gallery walls are lit to highlight specific names of individuals mentioned in these letters. In this area, display cases highlight the content of each letter, whilst the recorded voice of an actor reads them out. The final galleries highlight and discuss the various digs which have occurred over the years through the display of newspaper articles, maps, plans and documents. The office of Eric Birley has also been reproduced to give the visitor a personal insight into his life and career as the first archaeologist in this family to have commenced the excavation of Vindolanda.[692]

As more artefacts are being excavated at Vindolanda, additional display galleries are being added to the Chesterholm Museum. In April 2018, an additional exhibition was

---

[692] Museum Mutterings, *Archaeology: Vindolanda Fort and Museum, Northumberland*, [n.d.] < https://museummutterings.wordpress.com/2016/05/08/vindolanda-fort-and-museum-northumberland/> [accessed 12 February 2015].

opened. Titled "Wooden Underworld", this new display highlights some of the key wooden artefacts which have been found on this site. Supported through the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Vindolanda Trust received an additional £1.3 million to develop additional environmentally controlled display case in order to enable further wooden artefacts to be placed on display.[693]

The OUV of the Vindolanda archaeological collection.

Although no formal OUV existed when Hadrian's Wall was first nominated in 1987, a Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUV) was eventually created with the inclusion of Antonine's Wall and the German Limes. The SOUV was introduced in the updated Operational Guidelines in 2005 and all properties inscribed after 2007 now use this format.[694] Over the years these values have been revised and altered in order to bring these sites in line with each other so that their SOUVs could become more inclusive to each site. Due to the size of this WHS, and the possibility of expanding this nomination to include other sections of the Wall, certain regulations would need to be adhered to. Therefore, any future proposals:

> must be endorsed by existing States Parties within the Roman Frontiers World Heritage Site who must confirm that they believe that the new nomination has outstanding universal value and that the management proposals for the proposed extension adhere to these management principles.[695]

As a result of this, all three nominated sites are recognised as maintaining the same SOUV:

- The scope and extent of the frontier reflects the unifying impact of the Roman Empire on the wider Mediterranean world, an impact that persisted long after the empire had collapsed;
- The frontiers are the largest single monument to the Roman civilisation;
- The frontiers illustrate and reflect the complex technological and organisational abilities of the Roman Empire which allowed them to plan, create and protect a frontier of some 5000 kms in length, garrison tens of thousands of men, and to manage the social, economic and military implications of this frontier;
- The frontier demonstrates the variety and sophistication of the response to topography and political, military and social circumstances which include walls, embankments, rivers, and sea.[696]

---

[693] Manning Elliott Partnership, *Grand opening of new exhibition,* [n.d.] < http://manning-elliott.co.uk/grand-opening-of-new-exhibition/> [accessed 12 March2018].

[694] Alessandra Borchi, *Status and process of approval of retrospective statements of outstanding universal value,* 2012 <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/documents/event-925-5.pdf> [accessed 14 January 2013].

[695] UNESCO, World Heritage Convention cultural properties: UK nomination – Hadrian's Wall military zone, p. 437.

[696] Ibid., p. 453.

These SOUVs have been designed to unify these structures and landscapes together as WH sites, thereby reinforcing the importance of the Roman Empire and its immense expansion across Great Britain, Europe, Africa and parts of Asia. However, although these have attempted to unite these three locations together as one WHS, they under-estimate the importance of artefacts which have contributed towards developing these SOUV. Due to this, such artefacts as the Vindolanda Roman Writing Tablets, which are considered the "largest collection of written Latin from the Roman world outside Italy", go unnoticed.[697] Nevertheless, the Writing Tablets are recognised in the *FMP* which highlights the significance of these artefacts even though they officially cannot be recognised at a WH level:

> These artefacts are portable and no longer in situ, so by definition cannot formally be listed as part of the WHS itself. However this overall assemblage, the largest from any of the frontiers of the Roman Empire, is essential to the understanding of the structural remains in the WHS.[698]

Therefore, these letters and tablets along with the shoe collection, horse chamfron, ladies' wig and other unique objects have the ability to stand alone independently to the WHS, as testaments towards not only how people lived and worked at Vindolanda, but also how they communicated with other work colleagues, families, other forts and cities. Site Archaeologist Dr. Robin Birley believes our understanding of roman life has been totally transformed through the discovery of the Vindolanda Writing Tablets. Birley states these artefacts have:

> utterly transformed our knowledge of the Roman army's activities on the northern frontier of Britain in the years before the construction of Hadrian's Wall. They have shed an almost blinding light on the daily affairs at Vindolanda, and, by implication, at other sites as well.[699].

This can be observed through one of the first wooden tablets to be translated which reveals some of the items which a mother has sent her son who is a soldier stationed at the garrison and although only partially legible, it reveals the love and pride of a mother to her son.

> I have sent…pairs of socks from Sattua, two pairs of sandals and two pairs of underpants,…Gret…ndes [greetings to] Elpis, Iu…., …enus, Tetricus and all of your messmates, with whom I pray that you live the greatest good fortune.[700]

[697] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014*.
[698] Ibid.
[699] Robin Birley, *The making of modern Vindolanda*, pp. 13-74.
[700] Robin Birley, *Vindolanda's treasures*, p. 36.

This tender message not only enabled archaeologists to gain a deeper understanding of what these soldiers were wearing at this time, but also gave an insight into the support which was provided by family members who were not living on site. Other tablets reveal the names of senior officers, ordinary soldiers, some of their wives and slaves at the fort. Personal information was also included in the tablets which revealed specific duties which the soldiers were required to undertake whilst stationed at Vindolanda.

Other excavated letters showed a different side to Vindolanda, possibly one of the most moving letters written during this time was by a slave who was stationed at the garrison. The letter was discovered on the floor of what was a part of the centurion's quarters in one of the barrack buildings and dates c. 120 AD:[701]

> As befits an honest man, I implore your majesty not to allow me, an innocent man, to have been beaten with rods – and I cannot complain to the prefect because he is detained by ill health, and I have complained in vain to the beneficiaries (the special representative of the prefect) and the rest of the centurions […]. Accordingly, I implore your majesty not to allow me, a man from overseas and an innocent one, about whose good faith you may inquire, to have been bloodied by rods as if I had committed some crime.[702]

It is uncertain who this letter was written to, yet its discovery along with many others, greatly assists the visitor to emotionally identity with the writer. We are able to connect with his feelings of desperation and isolation and because of this we can immediately sympathise with him. As a result of this, we gain a deeper understanding of how difficult it would have been to live as a slave in Vindolanda.[703]

Today, thousands of writing tablets and letters have been excavated from the garrison site at Vindolanda and as more digs are undertaken this number will steadily grow. Over time, these letters have not only allowed archaeologists and researchers to be able to look into the past, these artefacts have also become the "embodiment of memory". Jewish philosopher and cultural critic, Walter Bendix Schönflies Benjamin, further expresses how the earth becomes a medium for memory in his article *Excavation and Memory*:

> Language has unmistakably made plain that memory is not an instrument for exploring the past, but rather a medium. It is the medium of that which is experienced, just as the earth is the medium in which ancient cities lie buried. He

---

[701] Ibid., p. 60.
[702] Ibid.
[703] Ibid., p. 61.

who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging…And the man who merely makes an inventory of his findings, while failing to establish the exact location of where in today's ground the ancient treasure have been stored up, cheats himself of his richest prize [704]

In the case of the 6000 roman shoes which have so far been discovered (and still are being recovered) from Vindolanda, the "embodiment of memory" comes in the form of type, style, make and creator.[705] These shoes can also indicate the types of people who wore them and in some cases the writing tablets and letters can also assist in identify who might have owned them. Anthropologist Trudi Buck (who studied this collection) suggests that many of these shoes were from women and children:

> 41 per cent of the Vindolanda shoes are likely to have belonged to women and girls; children's footwear is also widely represented. We are seeing a living community with wives, mothers and children as well as soldiers. There are more women than had been thought.[706]

Buck's research into this collection further confirms and supports the theory that soldiers had families living with them at Vindolanda, although it was originally formed as a military garrison. Elizabeth Greene further supports Buck's research by stating:

> Shoes tell us about class and wealth and people's role in society; the children's shoes found in the home of the commanding officer are of the same high-end style as the officer himself. This small detail suggests that military children were held to the same expectations of status in the Roman world.[707]

The shoe collection along with the Roman Writing tablets and Letters at Vindolanda are unique, not only gaining national recognition for being the best preserved artefacts of their type in the United Kingdom but also internationally too. No other Roman site has managed to excavate such unique finds in such quantity or quality and as a result, they have independently established their own OUV.

---

[704] Walter Benjamin, 'Excavation and memory', in Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (eds), *Walter Benjamin: selected writings, vol. 2, part 2 (1931-1934)* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 576.

[705] Vindolanda Charitable Trust, *Home page*.

[706] Clive C. Cookson and Tyler Shendruk, *Archaeology*.

[707] Bradley Cornelius, 'Dr Elizabeth Greene, Western University – Roman Shoes' [Podcast], *WAMC Northeast Public Radio*, 11 June 2013. < http://wamc.org/post/dr-elizabeth-greene-western-university-roman-shoes#stream/0> [accessed 16 June 2017]

Patricia Birley, Director of the Vindolanda Trust, also believes that it is important to maintain the values of the collection with a WHS. Asked if she believed if collections play a significant role in highlighting the significance of a WHS site, Birley replied:

> The collection is site specific and gained via the archaeological investigation of the Roman site at Vindolanda, which forms part of the World Heritage Site. The value of this material culture to the archaeological record cannot be over emphasised and is essential to the understanding of the Roman and post Roman occupation of the site.[708]

Birley's reflection validates that significant collections such as the Vindolanda Writing Tablets and Letters can play a pivotal role both at a local and national level towards developing collective memories. Therefore, certain artefacts can contribute towards the development of collective memories if they historically come from a time in which a visitor cannot recall *or* in which they were not directly involved with personally. This can be observed when the Director of the Vindolanda Trust was asked what were some of the most significant objects in the Chesterholm Museum collection; Birley commented "Everything is significant!"[709] However, when asked which three artefacts were the most significant out of the Vindolanda collection, Birley suggested:

1. The Vindolanda Writing Tablets,
2. Other written material, inscriptions, graffiti etc,
3. The collections of organic artefacts – leather, wood, textiles.[710]

Birley unfortunately does not give three distinct objects from the collection but rather suggests three different types of artefacts. Because of this, it is difficult to confirm which specific object in the collection maintained high value. Even so, the first artefacts which Birley mentions are directly recognised as an important collection in their own right in the *FMP* and the *FIF*, therefore also confirming the significance of these objects. This comment therefore confirms that the collections in the Chesterholm Museum have the ability to work collaboratively with the site towards enhancing its overall values as an important Roman garrison which was established prior to Hadrian's Wall. However, other objects such as the shoe collection, roman wig, horse chamfron and others go unnoticed and therefore are not recognised, thus diminishing their importance at this level. Yet, when asked if Vindolanda could lose part of its overall significance if separated from specific objects in the collection, Birley replied that:

---

[708] Email from Ms Patricia Birley, director Vindolanda Trust, to author, 11 February 2015.
[709] Ibid.
[710] Ibid.

> To separate the material culture from the excavated remains severely inhibits the research opportunities and understanding of the site. It also removes public access to the 'complete' record and the excitement and educational value of the heritage experience.[711]

Through interpretation and displaying the more significant objects in the collection, a greater significance is given to recognising the importance of these artefacts in their original context. Philosopher Walter Benjamin believes that the importance of leaving objects in their original context so as to maintain their original location keeps the memory grounded to that location. Through this action, the Vindolanda site and the Chesterholm Museum can work collaboratively towards being memory markers for those visitors who come to Hadrian's Wall and other roman sites which are protected by its buffer zones. It is the objects in these sites which Benjamin believes contribute towards creating authentic memories: "it is far less important that the investigator report on them than that he mark, quite precisely, the site where he gained possession of them."[712] Through this action, the visitor will gain and develop stronger values and deeper connections to the site and its collection. Furthermore, their significance will be enhanced if they are recognised alongside the site's WH status. Questioned how artefacts displayed in the Chesterholm Museum collection have been used to highlight their significance in conjunction with the site's WH status Birley stated, that it was through "general use of [the] WHS logo and by featuring designation in part of the museum interpretation, and literature."[713] Yet although this approach might highlight that the site is listed as WH, is it enough to reveal the exceptional rarity and significance of the Vindolanda archaeological collection? How can such objects, especially those that maintain OUV such as the Roman Writing Tablets and Letters become further recognised both nationally and internationally? How can there be a "bottom up approach" towards emphasising the global significance of this collection?

One solution could be the application of an internationally recognised catalogue number to an object which is deemed as extremely important. The use of such a system could assist in signify the importance of one artefact above another. In fact, Birley proposes a similar concept when interviewed:

---

[711] Ibid.
[712] Walter Benjamin, 'Excavation and memory', p. 576.
[713] Email from Ms Patricia Birley, director Vindolanda Trust, to author, 11 February 2015.

All objects associated with the WHS and that are under or come into the care of accredited museums should receive a WHS designation status to protect the value of the archaeological record.[714]

Not only would this approach protect the value of the object at an international level but it could also reinforce its overall significance at a national and local level through being included in the policies and frameworks which are developed. Finally, this unique catalogue number could be used when the artefact is on display so that the object is given greater recognition through interpretation.

Conclusion

This chapter has strived to review a number of leading documents which have been developed to manage and protect Hadrian's Wall and those sites included with in its buffer zone. An examination of these policies was undertaken to identify and examine how archaeological collections excavated from the garrison at Vindolanda were valued and promoted at a national level when set against this WHS. Documents reviewed to assess this included both the *FMP* and the *FIF*. Although both documents recognised the significance of archaeology towards exploring the Roman culture and history, only specific artefacts were mentioned, thus devaluing the remaining artefacts. However, it is evident that to understand a deeper meaning of Vindolanda (and Roman life at this fort during this period), artefacts which have been excavated from this site need to be valued in conjunction with this site. Evidence has shown through this study that some objects will maintain greater value than others due to their unique qualities and connections with this site. It is also evident that through these connections, stronger memories can be created at a collective level. This shown through the Vindolanda tablets and letters which assist to verify this, as these artefacts, not only highlight the daily lives, feelings and cares of individual citizens but also the personal stories which are discovered in the writing tablets from Vindolanda. Due to this, these artefacts have become key assets to this site both national and internationally:

> a review of collections at Roman Vindolanda identified the writing tablets as a key archaeological asset and the stories and people revealed by the tablets as a key interpretive opportunity that would resonate with visitors. This led to the development of "Roman Lives on the Frontier" as the overarching interpretive concept for the site.[715]

---

[714] Ibid.

[715] Genevieve Adkins and Nigel Mills, *Hadrian's Wall interpretation framework primary theme,* p. 53.

However, even though, artefacts which are portable and no longer in situ, cannot formally be listed as part of the WHS itself these artefacts have become recognised as "the largest from any of the frontiers of the Roman Empire,"[716] and is considered by many Archaeologists and experts as "essential to the understanding of the structural remains in the WHS".[717] Yet, even though these objects have remained a national treasure in their own right over the years, and are today recognised in the *FMP* and the *FIF*, other artefacts which demonstrate high historical value and contribute greatly to our understanding of Vindolanda, go unrecognised or undervalued at both a national and international level. This is not only partly because movable heritage remains unrecognized through the *1972 Convention* or because it continues to remain unnoticed in the Operational Guidelines, but also because their values are not fully recognised in the management policies which manage and direct these sites.

In addition to this, Chapter Five also reviewed the *World Heritage Scanned Nomination - Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE)* in order to understand how the inclusion of both Antoine Wall and the German Walls altered the criteria and OUV. Through assessing these changes, it was evident that from the original nomination of Hadrian's Wall in 1987 that Vindolanda had been removed from the set criteria which were used towards originally nominating this WHS. Instead, the new updated criteria used in the *FRE* application became more generic in order to become more inclusive of these three sites. As a result of this information being removed, the established values that have been established towards the Vindolanda artefacts go unrecorded in the nomination application. As a result of this, the collection's significance goes unnoticed at an international level.

Moreover, Chapter Five also assessed the interpreted Vindolanda site and the galleries and displays at Chesterholm Museum to identify if any artefacts had been highlighted for their significance and value independently to that of the site. Finally, evidence gathered through an interview with Margaret Birley, Director of the Vindolanda Trust, was also assessed to gain a deeper understanding of the key artefacts which she thought emphasised and supported the values and heritage of this WHS. Although Birley's

---

[716] UNESCO, *Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014*, p. 14.
[717] Ibid.

response to the set questions indicated that she thought that all the artefacts were significant it was evident that she recognised that some were more important than others. She also understood that as a result of this, that further measures needed to be identified which would not only reinforce the importance of these objects but would also promote further their values both at a national and international level through the use of a specific catalogue number. Through using an internationally recognised inventory, steps could be taken towards further protecting and highlighting these important objects. Furthermore, this information could be merged in any future governing documentation or policies assisting to reinforce the importance of these objects and greater collaboration and the exchange of information between other WH museums and sites could be achieved. An example of this could be not only between the sites which maintain significant objects which are held in the buffer zone along Hadrian's Wall but also in the other transnational Roman defence sites in Scotland and Germany.

Chapter Six

Conclusion: protecting moveable heritage at World Heritage Sites and museums

People, buildings and objects are intimately connected. The outcome of human interaction and creativity, our physical world – built and moveable – both solidifies and produces social frameworks and human interaction. As such, our physical world is bound up in our lives, in our relationships and in our memories. Buildings, landscapes and objects contribute to the formation of collective memories as well as the establishment of values; they shape who we are, are embroiled in our lives and act, as Halbwachs enables us to see, as markers in our memory. At a national and international level and as we see in the work of UNESCO, over time, certain sites and objects have taken on added significance as they have come to stand for a nation's past and to embody its very existence.

Despite the fundamental significance of moveable and immovable cultural heritage, little has been written on the importance of material culture at World Heritage Sites. Even less has been written about material culture held in World Heritage Site museums where collections of great significance often reside. As a result, and with the emphasis often, still, placed on landscapes and built structures, little attention has been given to the Outstanding Universal Value of specific moveable material culture and the important role it plays in the experiences of visitors and the deepening of social values, social frameworks and collective memory. This is despite the fact that museums and museum professionals are now highlighting the need for greater protection and recognition of moveable heritage of Outstanding Universal Value in the *1972 Convention*.[718] In full awareness of all of the above, this research has endeavoured to explore whether material culture of national and international significance held at World Heritage Sites should be recognised and protected through the *1972 World Heritage Convention*. It has also built a case for the revision of the *1972 Convention* to include greater recognition of moveable heritage in the nomination process to both support a World Heritage Site's overall OUV and give greater protection to objects and collections of great significance.

Key to the research has been important underpinning knowledge and understanding drawn from Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora as well as other leading philosophers and academics. This underpinning research enables us to understand how people construct collective memory and how objects and the built and natural world support these processes. Maurice Halbwachs' works on collective memory studies not only

---

[718] Daniele Jalla, 'Some considerations by ICOM Italy'.

established how our environment and the objects in it play a part in constructing our memories, but also how these recollections strengthen when developed as part of a group.[719] His work "presented memory as a social process, one that could be jointly shared by members of a collective".[720] Halbwachs argued that collective memories are created not by "isolated minds, but minds working together in society. It is in society that people normally acquire their memories… It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories".[721] He continues "[Memories] are recalled by me externally, and the groups of which I am a part at any time give me the means to reconstruct them".[722] Halbwachs' enables us to understand the ways in which World Heritage Sites and the collections they maintain can act as 'landmarks' in the collective memories of a community, state or nation.

Pierre Nora confirmed this concept by suggesting that collective memories are developed through a community's permanent surroundings along with the social history of a nation.[723] Nora's views also indicate that World Heritage Sites and their collections work to strengthen and support the collective memories of a nation. The physical remnants of human inhabitation at World Heritage Sites enable social continuity and work to tie a community to a shared past and way of living, even after the actual memory has disappeared.[724] Through this process, a World Heritage Site – and we must include here museums at World Heritage Sites – become Sites of Memory in which any memory projected onto "any significant entity (whether material or nonmaterial in nature) …become[s] a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community."[725] World Heritage Sites and collections are a form of memorializing cultural heritage which support visitors to understand themselves as individuals by gazing inwardly at their own past history but also, by gazing outwardly, onto the past of others.

---

[719] Maurice Halbwachs, *The collective memory*, pp. 1-15.

[720] Karen A. Cerulo, 'Appendix: mapping the field', in Karen A. Cerulo (ed.), *Culture in mind: toward a sociology of culture and cognition* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 290. < https://epdf.pub/queue/culture-in-mind-toward-a-sociology-of-culture-and-cognition.html> [accessed 14 June 2019]

[721] Karen A. Cerulo, 'Storage and retrieval: an introduction, in Karen A. Cerulo (ed.), *Culture in mind: toward a sociology of culture and cognition* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 204-205. < https://epdf.pub/queue/culture-in-mind-toward-a-sociology-of-culture-and-cognition.html> [accessed 20 June 2019]

[722] Ibid.

[723] Leila M. Farahani, Marzieh Setayesh and Leila Shokrollahi, 'Contextualising palimpsest of collective memory in an urban heritage site', p. 219.

[724] Ibid.

[725] Ibid.

The research also drew heavily on an important body of scholarship which has documented and analysed the historical development of legal frameworks and conventions to protect cultural heritage from destruction and removal in times of war and peace. Chapter One reviewed the people and organisations who advocated for the protection of cultural heritage and the context that led to an international call for the protection of cultural resources. In an effort to explore this history, the chapter commenced by investigating some of the key national and world events which resulted in the first military treaties and codified laws being created during the mid-19th to early 20th century. Although these treaties and laws did set out to recognise cultural heritage and the need to protect it, their lack of defined boundaries contributed to the theft, trade and destruction of national cultural heritage by armed forces during and after conflict. Government leaders during this time quickly became aware of the damage caused to their nations' cultural property through military warfare. Although these military laws were designed to recognise the cultural property caught up in military conflicts, they often established only the vaguest of guidelines towards its protection. This flaw in cultural protection would continue until WWII and would be further heightened by the *Nazi Cultural Policy* which focused on strong nationalistic views towards German culture and identity.[726] It was only at this time, when countries such as Poland, France, Belgium and Norway were under constant attack by the Third Reich, that governments began to understand the vulnerability of their cultural heritance and national identity in times of war. This realisation came too late for many countries however, as they came to terms with the amount of national cultural property which had been lost through this global conflict. In an effort to stop further national and global conflict, and in an attempt to create World Peace, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1945. Shortly afterwards the first international law for the protection of cultural property was introduced through the *1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*.

Two significant conventions which heavily influenced the international laws which followed the *1954 Hague Convention* were explored in more detail in Chapter Two. Introduced two years apart, the *1970 Convention* and the *1972 Convention* were

---

[726] Sylwia Grochowina, *Cultural policy of the Nazi occupying forces*, p. 21.

developed at a time when there was not only a global increase in construction and demolition of sites but also in the theft of cultural objects from heritage and archaeological sites. The *1972 Convention* operated to protect immoveable cultural heritage which had been nominated by a State Party at a World Heritage Site due to its OUV. However, the *1970 Convention* protected moveable cultural property which was considered by a State Party as at risk from manmade threats. Whilst the *1972 Convention* has played a major role in recognising and protecting significant cultural and natural heritage universally for over four decades, it has failed to recognise the importance that moveable cultural heritage plays towards highlighting a World Heritage Site's overall OUVs.[727] Lacking in the *1972 Convention* is any direct mechanism to ensure that any material culture which is illegally removed from a site on the World Heritage List is, by Law, forced to be returned by the State Party.[728]

As a result of the different areas of heritage protection which these conventions cover, a gap has been formed whereby material culture which maintains high national or global significance could be at risk at a World Heritage museum. This gap in cultural property protection would be evident especially if the nation in which the site resides is not a State Party to the *1970 Convention.* Further inspection of the two Conventions, their supporting *Operational Guidelines* and the methods of documentation used, reveals a need to use a common international methodology for documenting moveable and immoveable heritage as part of the nomination process. Through this process, a Universal Standard could be used for both moveable and immoveable cultural property which would not only permit material culture to be included in a site's nomination application but would allow for greater collaboration between these protective laws.[729]

To explore the significance of cultural material and how it has the potential to emphasise a World Heritage Site's OUV, Chapters Three, Four and Five focused on three separate case studies. Each museum was selected due to its national location, when it was nominated and if it was part of a transnational group or individual site nomination. Each site was chosen because of its unique and internationally recognised archaeological collection and OUV. Through an examination of the material culture connected to each

---

[727] Janet E. Blake, *International cultural heritage law,* p. 14.
[728] IUCN, *A future for world heritage*.
[729] UNESCO, *The operational guidelines for the implementation of the 1970 Convention*.

site, I was able to highlight the connections between artefacts, people (now and in the past) and built environment at the sites, understanding which reinforces the need for a different approach towards the World Heritage nomination process and the protection of cultural property.

Chapter Three took as its focus the Hyde Park Barracks museum. Although the Barracks is particularly significant for being largely intact as a built structure dating from 1819, it maintains one of the largest archaeological collections ever discovered inside a building and therefore remains one of the best examples in Australia.[730] However, a review of this collection reveals that a number of objects in this collection themselves maintain OUV as a result of their ability to connect a convict to this site. This includes objects such as the government issued striped convict shirt found hidden in the barracks building. Hyde Park Barracks convict Charles Cozens recalls in 1848 what happened to shirts which were worn at the barracks. Convicts at the barracks were issued two shirts a year and therefore they were considered highly valued items which he highlights in more detail in publication *Adventures of a Guardsman* which was printed in 1848. Cozen's reminiscence at the barracks not only emphasizes the value of personal possessions but also the illicit trading which was to occur between convicts at this site. These practices were reflected in the archaeological material excavated inside this building. Other objects from the collection which were discovered on site such as "a ticket of leave" reveal how convicts could receive freedom for good behaviour. This included Hyde Park Barracks convict Thomas Beaton who was eventually allowed to leave government work to pursue other forms of employment.[731] These objects and documented stories have been further supported through the convict database which holds the names of those who were detained at this site. Established in the early 1990s, the convict database enabled visitors to do a personal search of a convict and the crime which they committed as well as the sentence they were given.[732] Such documented personal experiences and material evidence work to make concrete the historical threads which bind these stories, objects and the site together. They are central to the processes which transform the Hyde Park

---

[730] DEWHA, *Australian convict sites*, p. 17.
[731] Sydney Living Museums, *How were convicts rewarded for good behaviour? Ticket of Leave - Thomas Beaton, 1840,* [n.d.] < https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/rewards-freedom> [accessed 13 May 2016].
[732] Penny Crook, Laila Ellmoos, and Tim Murray, 'Assessment of historical and archaeological resources, p. 28.

Barracks into a Site of Memory in which national values, collective memories and identity are formed[733]. They provide irreplaceable evidence of how convict transportation and forced migration from Britain to Australia played a pivotal role in establishing this country as a colony from the late 18th to mid-19th century.

The Maltese underground Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum in Paola and the subject of Chapter Four is the oldest site of the three case studies, dating from the Neolithic period. Used as an underground temple for worshipping rituals and as a burial place for thousands of bodies, the Hypogeum and its collection highlights the artistic and architectural skills of Malta's earliest people. The relocation of the archaeological collection from the underground temple site to the National Museum of Archaeology in 1903, means that both locations – the heritage site and the Museum – have become connected with these objects. However, through this process, the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum has also become isolated from the artefacts and rituals which historically connect them together. Knowledge about the ways in which the collections are intrinsically connected to the Hypogeum comes mainly through the historical reports that have been written by the archaeologist and curator Dr Themistocles Zammit, rather than from any in-situ experience. Responsible for the excavation of this site and the relocation of the collection to the Museum of Archaeology, Zammit's documentation of the hypogeum along with surviving photos and sketches provide valuable evidence of the combined power of site and collection. After the collection was transferred to its current location, the context was automatically changed and the collection was framed differently. Visitors would now identify the artefact with the National Museum of Archaeology which was located inside the Auberge de Provence. Visitors wishing to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of the underground temple must visit both the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum and then travel to see the artefacts at the National Museum of Archaeology. Therefore although both sites have played an important role in highlighting the importance of these objects in the timeline of Neolithic history and their connection to the Maltese people, their significance has been reduced because the links which tie them to the hypogeum have been severed.

---

[733] Pim Den Boer, 'Loci memoriae – Lieux de mémoire', pp. 8-11.

The final case study examined as part of this research includes the Roman Garrison at Vindolanda in Chapter Five. Unlike the Hyde Park Barracks and the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum which are both situated in highly urbanised surroundings, the Roman Garrison at Vindolanda is situated in an isolated area in the Northumberland countryside. Included within the buffer zone of the World Heritage Site of Hadrian's Wall, the Roman Garrison, Vindolanda and museum is the only one of its type along the wall. It maintains one of the largest roman archaeological collections ever found. Like the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, artefacts excavated from the Vindolanda site have been removed to storage for conservation purposes. However, instead of being removed to another location, they have been stored in a museum onsite.

Vindolanda was also the only case study which investigated an open-air museum in which visitors could walk the original roman streets and enter the ancient remains of temples, shops and stables. Although examination of the *FMP* and the *FIF* found that there was reference made to the artefacts found at Vindolanda, it predominately made reference to the Roman Writing Tablets and Letters. Other objects in this collection were largely overlooked even though they hold significant links with the Vindolanda site. Artefacts such as the roman shoe collection (approximately 6,000 have been excavated), the lady's wig as well as the highly decorative horse chamfron provide important traces of the lifestyle which many people experienced whilst living at this garrison.

Research findings and interview responses

Although the *1972 Convention* has tended to be considered as one of the most successful laws for the protection of cultural heritage created, and therefore deemed as a "flag ship for best practice in global conservation", there are many who believe that it needs to be amended to recognise 21st century needs. As the world faces a continual increase of environmental disasters as well as an upsurge in theft and the illicit trade of cultural heritage from World Heritage Sites and museums, there is a need for this cultural material to be acknowledged. Not only should the *1972 Convention* recognise the significance of moveable heritage in its 'ten criteria' but the *1972 Operational Guidelines* should be adapted to recognise and include a specific inventory system so as to provide greater protection.

This argument was supported by interviews with senior staff members completed as part of this research. All interviewees were asked if they believed the collections which they maintained contributed in highlighting the sites' OUVs. Dr. Fiona Starr from the Hyde Park Barracks museum considered that the archaeological collection assisted to provide "a deeper understanding of the heritage values of this site" and that through this they revealed "clear evidence of the personal and individual experience of convicts".[734] These artefacts also added "an additional layer of evidence to the location which possibly might not have been provided if they [objects] had not been excavated."[735] The archaeological collection helps to connect visitors to the barracks' history as a site which was significant in providing government labour for the development of the city of Sydney and the surrounding townships.

The response was similarly unequivocal at the Roman Vindolanda Fort and Museum. Margaret Birtley was convinced that the OUVs of the Roman Vindolanda Fort and Museum collection are of great significance in understanding the use of this site as a Roman post. She stated "The collection is site specific […] which forms part of the World Heritage Site. The value of this material culture to the archaeological record cannot be over emphasised and is essential to the understanding of the Roman and post Roman occupation of the site".[736]

That said, responses were not always consistent across the sites. Katya Stroud at the Hypogeum was unable to give a full response to this question. Although in 2014 plans were being made for a new Interpretation Centre at the Hypogeum, it was unclear which artefacts would be selected and "how well they portray the values of the site" as well as the "information they [would] provide about the society that built and used it."[737] Even so, the feedback she was able to provide suggested an awareness amongst the team of the need for greater recognition of collections and objects held at World Heritage Sites because of their ability to support the values.

---

[734] Email from Dr Fiona Starr.
[735] Ibid.
[736] Email from Ms Patricia Birley.
[737] Email from Ms Katya Stroud.

Interviewees were also asked to consider if these World Heritage museums could lose part of their OUVs, if certain objects from the archaeological collections were removed, stolen or destroyed. Although Starr believed that the significance of the site would still remain, even if the artefacts were removed from the HPB, she did acknowledge that "The objects help us to understand more about the experience of being a convict living at the barracks, so add great value to the interpretation of the site".[738]

Asked to think about the separation of the collections from the site, Margaret Birley argued strongly that separating the material culture from the actual World Heritage Site "severely inhibits the research opportunities and understanding of the site. It also removes public access to the 'complete' record and the excitement and educational value of the heritage experience is undermined as a consequence."[739] Therefore by removing certain objects from a collection that maintain significance, the 'complete' story of the site cannot be fully told and the opportunities for collections to play their part in the formation of collective memory are severely curtailed. An example of this limitation can be observed at the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum in which the entire archaeological collection was relocated in 1903 to the Museum of Archaeology in Valletta. As a result of this, a visitor feels a sense of confusion because to gain a true understanding of the Neolithic people who used this site, two museums must be viewed so that this history can be put into context.

One of the most important questions used as part of this research, aimed to gauge participants' reactions to the recommendation that significant objects should be identified, recorded and included during a site's nomination for World Heritage listing. Starr suggested that relevant archaeological artefacts should be included, stating "Since it is the artefacts that allow greater understanding of a site's history and heritage value, they most certainly should play a part in the nomination process."[740] Starr further suggests that a nomination application "should include objects that provide clear evidence of the who, what, when, and why of the history of the site, as well as any that might raise questions that have yet to be answered."[741] Stroud agreed that specific "objects or collections should be included in the nomination process if these help illustrate the values

---

[738] Email from Dr Fiona Starr.
[739] Email from Ms Patricia Birley.
[740] Email from Dr Fiona Starr.
[741] Ibid.

of the site being nominated."[742] Birley went even further, arguing that all objects which are part of a WHS collection should be recognised through nominated status in an effort to protect the significance of the artefact.

Illustrating the complex reality of protecting material of outstanding value, when asked if objects or collections would be more secure if identified at a World Heritage Site through the nomination process, two of the three interviewees believed that to do so could place these artefacts at risk from possible theft or damage. Starr states it could be "a double-edged sword, just as WH listing is for the built fabric of sites themselves – the listing attracts greater government and conservation attention, but in turn it also promotes greater visitation which results in damage and potential looting."[743] Stroud also believes that this action could "…influence the country's investment in security measures for a site due to pressure from UNESCO, but on the other hand it may also turn sites into targets for vandals since their importance is recognised internationally."[744] However, all interviewees agreed that by recognising these objects as encompassing OUV at a World Heritage museum, greater recognition, security and support may be achieved through UNESCO, Blue Shields, ICOM, Interpol and other State Parties. Therefore, by using an inventory which is recognised through UNESCO, moveable material culture can also be documented and recognised as maintaining significance to a site's World Heritage nomination application.

To assist State Parties to identify and document objects and drawing on the analysis and discussions generated throughout this research, the 3EF has been developed to provide a simple model to distinguish specific actions which could be used to protect objects or collections which contain OUV. The design of the 3EF is based upon the atom, with each section of the framework overlapping to strengthen the bonds between the object, the nominated site and their ability to work together to create a stronger link and support collective memory.

The Three Element Framework (3EF) and material culture with Outstanding Universal Value

---

[742] Email from Ms Patricia Birley.
[743] Email from Dr Fiona Starr.
[744] Email from Ms Katya Stroud.

The First Element – Selecting objects to be catalogued

The First Element in this framework includes the identification of specific objects or artefacts that have significance or value within a site. Objects should be unique and hold value both nationally and internationally. Objects must also have strong historical and national connections to the site or location which is being nominated.
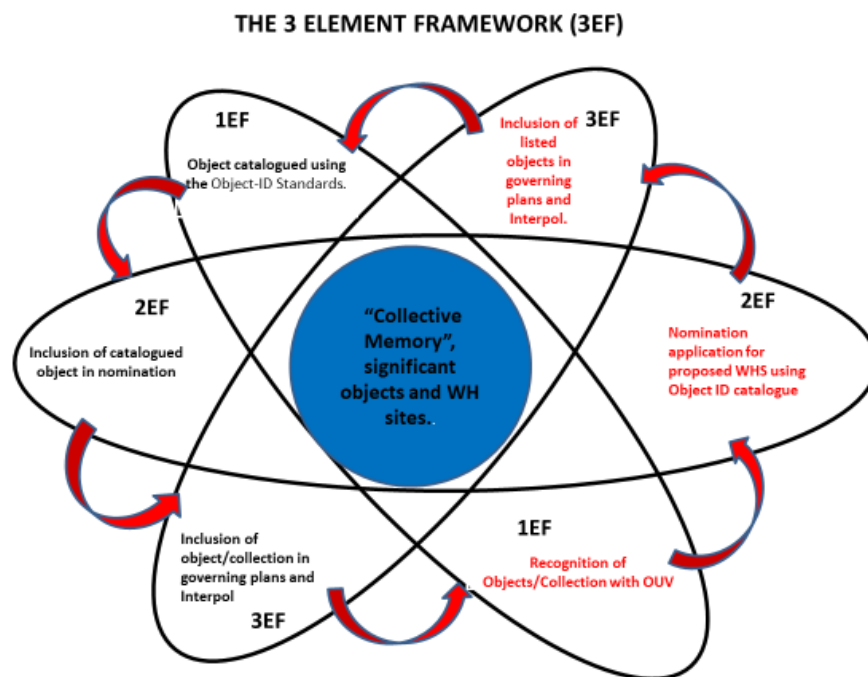

THE 3 ELEMENT FRAMEWORK (3EF)

Figure 37: The design of the 3EF has been based upon the atom, as each section of the framework overlaps to strengthen the bonds between the object, the nominated site and their ability to work together so as to create a stronger link in an effort to develop collective memory. (Designed by S. Fabry 2018)

The Second Element – Object-ID Standard method

The Second Element in this framework involves State Parties applying the inventory system, known as the Object-ID Standard, for documenting material culture. [745,] Created in 1993 through the J. Paul Getty Trust and launched in 1997 with the assistance and

---

[745] Robin Thornes, Peter Dorrell, and Henry Lie, *Introduction to Object-ID: guidelines for making records that describe art, antiques, and antiquities,'* (Los Angeles, Calif: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 1999) < http://www.getty.edu/publications/virtuallibrary/0892365722.html> [accessed 14 March 2018]. Currently the following organisations use the Object ID inventory: J. Paul Getty Trust, UNESCO, ICOM, Interpol, Federal Bureau of Investigation National Stolen Art Theft Program, U.S. State Department International Cultural Property Protection, Italian Carabinieri, London Metropolitan Police Art and Antiques Unit, World Customs Organization, AXA Nordstern Art Insurance, MuseumDepot.org, Kit - Royal Tropical Institute, CINOA, Stop-rob.com, Association of Art and Antiques Dealers, Appraisers Association of America, Ciram Leon Eeckman Art Insurance.

support from UNESCO, ICOM and the United States Information Agency, the Object-ID Standard is recognised and promoted by international law enforcement agencies. [746] These agencies include the FBI, Scotland Yard and Interpol, UNESCO and museums, as well as other cultural heritage organisations and insurance companies. Although the Object-ID Standard has been created to provide information on stolen objects to various authorities, it could easily be used for objects with OUV in World Heritage Sites or museums. The Object-ID Standard system has also been designed to be used by non-specialists, which can be easily used as a non-computerized inventory, in addition to being used with the support of a computer. It can be used in the following way to support the documentation of objects at risk at World Heritage Sites:

> 1 – As a checklist of the information required to identify stolen or missing objects;
> 2 - As a documentation standard that establishes the minimum level of information needed to identify an object;
> 3 - As a key building block in the development of information networks that will allow organizations around the world to exchange descriptions of objects rapidly;
> 4 - As a key component in any training program that teaches the documentation of art, antiques, and antiquities.[747]

As discussed in Chapter One, the Object-ID Standard suggests eight key areas that should be documented and identified in an effort to provide greater protection. However, to highlight an object's significance at a World Heritage Site, an additional segment could be added to this inventory titled: "*Object's Outstanding Universal Value.*" Information on how the object or collection is connected to the nominated site, as well as any information about how the object relates to the collective memories of specific groups, could also be added here.

> ***Object's Outstanding Universal Value:*** *What historic values are connected to this object? How is this object significant both at a state, national and international level? What connects this object historically to the site being nominated?*

The Third Element

The final section of this framework is the Third Element, which promotes the inclusion of this inventory in the management and interpretation plans of the World Heritage Site. Additional copies of the inventory would also be provided to national cultural heritage bodies that are responsible for the development of protective policies. Furthermore, this

---

[746] ICOM, *Object-ID: checklist* [n.d.] <http://archives.icom.museum/object-id/> [accessed 16 March 2019].

[747] Robin Thornes, Peter Dorrell, and Henry Lie, *Introduction to Object-ID,* p. 1.

information would be provided to internationally recognised authorities such as UNESCO, ICOM, FBI, Scotland Yard and Interpol.

Concluding remarks

This research topic grew as a result of the need for more in-depth analysis and consideration on the protection of highly significant objects at World Heritage Sites. The thesis has argued that the *1972 Convention* must be revised to recognise the significance of moveable heritage which maintains OUV at a site applying for the World Heritage List. Through undertaking this process, the *1972 Convention* will be in a stronger position to protect, at a World Heritage level, nominated cultural property and cultural heritage against manmade and environmental disasters. Furthermore, to complete this process the *1972 Operational Guidelines* must include the Object-ID Standard as part of its main text so that State Parties can include highly valued collections as part of a site's nomination application.

By not recognising artefacts with OUVs at a World Heritage Level, there is a major risk that an object's significance will go unnoticed and unprotected. Unless the sites in which these objects are kept are made aware of their significance, these collections stand a real chance of being misrepresented and their stories remaining untold. Furthermore, how and when nomination applications are completed by State Parties can also reflect the lack of international uniformity when it comes to the protection of both World Heritage Sites and their collections. This is evident in a nomination which is part of a transnational group such as the Hyde Park Barracks and Hadrian's Wall or an individual site such as the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum application, which has influenced the ways national heritage protective laws have been developed to guard sites and their collections. For objects which hold OUV and which are set in World Heritage Sites, it is vital that a standard inventory such as the Object-ID Standard be used during the nomination process. Not only will it encourage State Parties to add objects which have OUV within a site's nomination for WHL, but it will influence and guide how other countries protect their own movable heritage in the future. It will also encourage these nations to use the Object-ID Standard system in their own national protective heritage laws. As a result of this, a flow down affect will eventually occur in which greater recognition will be given to the connections which objects have with a site both at a national and international level.

This research has endeavoured to expose a greater need for UNESCO to recognise artefacts with OUV within a site's World Heritage nomination. It has also raised awareness of the possible use of the Object-ID Standard inventory and has suggested the inclusion of the object's significance to add further value to it when being recognised as part of a site. However, further research needs to be undertaken to identify how the association between UNESCO, the World Heritage Committee and ICOM can be strengthened in an effort to support the inclusion of movable heritage by State Parties when undertaking a World Heritage nomination. Further research also needs to be undertaken to investigate exactly where such objects should be included in the nomination process. Should the *1972 Convention* be adapted to recognise movable heritage which holds OUV? Or should reference to movable heritage and the use of the Object-ID Standard inventory system be recognised in the *1972 Operational Guidelines*? These questions are yet to be answered and it is hoped that through future research, progress can be made to further protect objects which hold OUV in World Heritage Sites and museums so that they are finally recognised and protected at a global level for the deep human significance they hold.

APPENDIX

Appendix I: Personal Correspondence

Email correspondence and questionnaire completed by Dr Fiona Starr, senior curator of the Hyde Park Barracks museum, between the 15 July 2014 and 16 September 2014. On-site visit to Hyde Park Barracks museum, September 2014.

Email correspondence and questionnaire completed by Ms Katya Stroud, senior curator Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum museum, between the 10 August, 9 September, and 22 December 2014, 19 January 2015, and 27 February 2017. On-site visit to museum and meeting with Ms Katya Stroud 9 January 2015.

Email correspondence and questionnaire completed by Ms Patricia Birley, director Vindolanda Trust, on the 11 February 2015. On-site visit to Vindolanda museum, December 2015.

Appendix II: Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to undertake the following research questions. The answers which you provide will greatly assist towards gaining a deeper understanding of the direct significance of collections and objects to a site and its' World Heritage Listing.

1. Do you believe that the collections within this museum are significant in highlighting the values and heritage of this building or site? If so please explain how?

2. What are some of the most significant objects within your museums' collection which you consider important in highlighting the history of this site? Please provide 3 examples of objects.

3. Do you believe that a World Heritage Site would lose part of its overall significance if separated from specific objects within the collection? Please explain which objects these are and why the site would lose value.

4. Do you feel specific collections or objects should be included within the nomination process for World Heritage Listing? If so what type of objects should be included and how should these objects be entered?

5. Do you believe that the 1972 Convention should be amended to recognise the significance of collections or should objects only be recognised during the nomination process or within the Management Plan? Please explain?

6. Do you believe collections or objects would become more secure or less secure (against theft or military damage) if they were more easily recognised once a site was accepted on the World Heritage List? Please explain

7. How does your museum highlight its' World Heritage status? Does your museum use its collection to highlight the connection to the site? If so how?

8. Does your museum currently have any educational programs which discuss the sites World Heritage Status? If so which programs are they and for which age group? If not how does your museum use its collections within education programmes?

Bibliography

Adam, Robert, (2008) 'Heritage', in Matthew Hardy (ed.), *The Venice Charter revisited: modernism, conservation and tradition in the 21st century* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), pp. 3-15. http://www.cambridgescholars.com/download/sample/61199

Adkins, Genevieve, and Nigel Mills, (2011) *Frontiers of the Roman Empire world heritage site, Hadrian's Wall interpretation framework primary theme: the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire*. https://hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/sites/default/files/2.%20%20HWIF_The%20north-west%20frontier%20of%20the%20Roman%20Empire.pdf

Al Aloul, Marah, (2007) 'The Destruction of Cultural Heritage by Warfare and Reconstruction Strategies: Lessons Learned from Case Studies of Rebuilt Cities'. (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Florida). http://ufdcimages.uflib.ufl.edu/UF/E0/02/16/05/00001/alaloul_m.pdf

Ames, Michael, (1994) 'Cannibal Tours, Glass Boxes and the Politics of Interpretation', in Susan. M. Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting objects and collections* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge), pp. 98-106.

Andreeva, Galina, and Afanasy Gnedovsky, (2015) 'Policy Brief: Role of Museums in Promoting the Principles of the UNESCO 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage'. http://icom-russia.com/upload/iblock/80e/80e87c471e0ca9510b65a95073d4b860.pdf

American Red Cross, [n.d.] 'International Humanitarian Law, (IHL) Survey: Key Findings and Teaching Resources – April 2011'. https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=http%3A%2F%2Fredcrosschat.org%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2011%2F04%2FIHL-survey-and-EHL-connections.doc

Ascherson, Neal, (2005) 'Cultural Destruction by War and Its Impact on Group Identities', in Nicholas Stanley-Price (ed.), *Cultural heritage in postwar recovery*: *papers from the ICCROM FORUM held 4-6 October 2005* (Rome: ICCROM), pp. 17-25. https://www.iccrom.org/sites/default/files/publications/2019-11/iccrom_ics06_culturalheritagepostwar_en_0_0.pdf

Asser Institute – Centre for International and European Law, [n.d.] *Research* https://www.asser.nl/research/

Assmann, Jan, (2008), 'Communication and Cultural Memory', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural memory studies. an international and interdisciplinary handbook,* (Frankfurt, Germany: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek), pp. 109-118. Available at: http://ieas.unideb.hu/admin/file_7419.pdf

Australia. Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, (2008) *Australian convict sites: world heritage nomination* (Canberra, Australia: Australian

Government). http://www.environment.gov.au/system/files/resources/c7cc80e5-1eb8-4cd0-9e50-dd13799b9c65/files/convict-sites.pdf

Australia. Department of the Environment and Heritage, [n.d.] 'Australian Heritage Database: Places for Decision'. http://www.environment.gov.au/system/files/pages/f2f96400-7bb3-46df-9d9b-a9d96fc31be1/files/hyde-park-barracks.pdf

Australia ICOMOS, (2013) *The Burra Charter: the charter for places of significance* (Melbourne, Australia: Deakin University). http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf

Avrami, Erica., Randall Mason, and Marta de la Torre (eds), (2000) 'Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report' (Los Angeles, Calif: The Getty Conservation Institute), p. 54. http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/pdf/assessing.pdf

Baghli, Sid Ahmed, Patrick Boylan, and Yani Herreman (eds), (1998) 'History of ICOM (1946-1996)' (Paris: ICOM). http://archives.icom.museum/history.html

Bandarin, Francesco, (21 May 2019). 'Notre Dame Unstable: The Current Approach to Its Restoration Fails to Take Account of the Interconnected Structural "Engineering" of Gothic Architecture', *The Art Newspaper*. https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/notre-dame-is-unstable

Bandarin, Francesco, (2 August 2019) 'Cathedral of Notre Dame: New Law Regarding Notre Dame Says Restoration Must Preserve Its "Historic, Artistic And Architectural Interest"'. *The Arts Newspaper*. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/cathedral-notre-dame-new-law-regarding-says-must-its-bandarin?trk=d_public_post_promoted_post

Benjamin, Walter, (1932) 'Excavation and Memory', in Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (eds), *Walter Benjamin: selected writings, vol. 2, part 2 (1931-1934,* Rodney Livingstone (trans.) (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 576.

Benjamin, Walter, (1940) 'On the Concept of History', in Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (eds), in *Walter Benjamin: selected writings, 4, 1938-1940,* Edmund Jephcott (trans.) (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 389-400.

Bennett, Taylor, (2019) 'Processing Grief and Loss in the Wake of Destruction at the Notre Dame Cathedral'. https://thriveworks.com/blog/processing-grief-and-loss-notre-dame/

Berger, James, (2007) 'Which prosthetic? Mass Media, Narrative, Empathy, and Progressive Politics', *Rethinking History: the Journal of Theory and Practice*, 11, no. 44, pp. 597-612. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642520701652152

Bevan, Robert, (2016) *The destruction of memory: architecture at war,* 2nd expanded edn (London: Reaktion Books Ltd).

Bilsel, Can, (2017) 'Architecture and the Social Frameworks of Memory: A Postscript to Maurice Halbwachs' "Collective Memory"', *International Journal of Architecture & Planning,* 5, no. 1, pp. 1-9. http://dx.doi.org/10.15320/ICONARP.2017.14

Bing.com, [n.d.] *Site of Vindolanda,* https://www.bing.com/images/search?q=site+of+vindolanda&FORM=HDRSC26A7F45AD3D30D4478&selectedIndex=10&ccid=bRuiDCe1&simid=608038533761598988&thid=OIP.M6d1ba20c27b5219746ea37031478d9b7o0&ajaxhist=0

Birley, Robin, (1995) *The making of modern Vindolanda with the life and work of Anthony Hedley 1777-1835* (Greenhead, UK: Roman Army Museum Publications).

Birley, Robin, (2000) *Chesterholm 1830-2000: Vindolanda's museum* (Greenhead, UK: Roman Army Museum Publications).

Birley, Robin, (2008) *Vindolanda's treasures: an extraordinary record of life on Rome's northern frontier* (Greenhead, UK: Roman Army Museum Publications).

Blake, Janet E., (2005) *International cultural heritage law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Board of Cultural Heritage of Pompeii, (2015) *A guide to the Pompeii excavations* http://pompeiisites.org/wp-content/uploads/A-Guide-to-the-Pompeii-Excavations-2.pdf

Bonanno, Anthony, Caroline Malone, David Trump, Simon Stoddart, and Tancred Gouder, (2005) 'The Death Cults of Prehistoric Malta', *Scientific American*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248828460_The_Death_Cults_of_Prehistoric_Malta

Borchi, Alessandra, (2012) 'Status and Process of Approval of Retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value'. http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/documents/event-925-5.pdf

Boukouvalas, Alexandra, (2013) 'A "Metamorphosis of Perspectives on the Past": A Study of the Hyde Park Barracks, 1975-2012'. (Unpublished BA Honours Thesis, University of Sydney). https://core.ac.uk/display/41237899

Boyer, Christine M., (1996) *The city of collective memory: its historical imagery and architectural entertainments* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press).

Boylan, Patrick J., (2005) 'Lecture Series on Issues in Cultural Property'. http://slideplayer.com/slide/1481167/

Brennan, Bridget, (21 April 2019) 'Notre Dame Repairs See Paris Split Over Whether to Redesign or Replicate Cathedral Spire and Ceiling'. *ABC News.* https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-21/notre-dame-paris-cathedral-rebuild-controversy/11033824

British 1 Search, 'Hadrian's Wall map' [n.d.].
http://www.british1.co.uk/maps/Hadrians_Wall_map.html

British Museum, (2018) 'The Parthenon Sculptures'.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/parthenon-sculptures-british-museum

Brown, Steven, and David Middleton, (2005) *The social psychology of experience: studies in remembering and forgetting* (London: Sage Publications).

Buckley, Kristal, Steven Cooke, and Susan Fayad, (2015) 'Using the Historic Urban Landscape to Re-Imagine Ballarat: The Local Context', in Sophia Labadi and William Logan (eds), *Urban heritage, development and sustainability: international frameworks, national and local governance* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge), pp. 93-113.

Buxton, Leonard H. D., (1922) The Ethnology of Malta and Gozo', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 52, pp. 164-221,
https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/7809?show=full

Cameron, Christina, (2006) 'The Intrinsic Values of Heritage: Value and Integrity in Cultural and Natural Heritage from Parks Canada to World Heritage', in Kate Clark (ed.), *Capturing the public value of heritage: the proceedings of the London Conference 25–26 January 2006.* (London: English Heritage), p. 71-78.

Cerulo, Karen A., (2002) 'Appendix: Mapping the Field', in Karen A. Cerulo (ed.), *Culture in mind: toward a sociology of culture and cognition* (New York: Routledge), pp. 283-293. https://epdf.pub/culture-in-mind-toward-a-sociology-of-culture-and-cognition.html

Cerulo, Karen A., (2002) 'Storage and Retrieval: An Introduction', in Karen A. Cerulo (ed.), *Culture in mind: toward a sociology of culture and cognition* (New York: Routledge), pp. 201-208. https://epdf.pub/culture-in-mind-toward-a-sociology-of-culture-and-cognition.html

Christian, Patrick J., (2012) *History, memory & conflict: the collective memory of Maurice Halbwachs*. Paper Presentation.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265379898_History_Memory_Conflict_the_collective_memory_of_Maurice_Halbwachs

Cohen, Louis, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison, (2207) *Research methods in education,* 6th edn (Abingdon, UK: Routledge).
https://islmblogblog.files.wordpress.com/2016/05/rme-edu-helpline-blogspot-com.pdf

Cookson, Clive C., and Tyler Shendruk (2014) 'Archaeology: What Roman Shoes Tell Us'. *Financial Times.* https://www.ft.com/content/5e0eac56-3dea-11e4-b175-00144feabdc0

Confino, Alon, (1997) 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *The American Historical Review*, 102, no. 5, pp. 1386-1403.
https://gpmproject.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/8-confino.pdf

Connolly, Sean, (2008) *The United Nations* (London: Franklin Watts).

Cornelius, Bradley, (11June 2013), 'Dr Elizabeth Greene, Western University – Roman Shoes' [Podcast], *WAMC Northeast Public Radio*. http://wamc.org/post/dr-elizabeth-greene-western-university-roman-shoes#stream/0

Crook, Penny, Laila Ellmoos, and Tim Murray, (2003) *Assessment of historical and archaeological resources of the Hyde Park Barracks*, 2nd (revised) edn (Sydney, Australia: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales). http://www.latrobe.edu.au/humanities/huss-documents/Hyde-Park-Barracks-Assessment-Report.pdf

Crump, Thomas, (2010) *A brief history of how the industrial revolution changed the world* (London: Little, Brown Book Group).

Cultural Policy Research Institute, [n.d.], *The Lieber Code of 1863: correspondence, orders, reports, and returns of the union authorities from 1 January to 31 December 31 1863*. Series III – Volume III General Orders No. 100. https://www.cemml.colostate.edu/cultural/09476/pdf/liebercode1863.pdf

Daifuku, Hiroshi, (1998) 'Museums and Monuments: UNESCO Pioneering Role', *Museum International*, 50, no. 1, pp. 9-19. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001105/110513e.pdf

Davies, Peter, (2013) 'Clothing and Textiles at the Hyde Park Barracks Destitute Asylum, Sydney, Australia', *Post-Medieval Archaeology,* 47, no. 1, pp. 1-17. https://www.academia.edu/16583535/Clothing_and_textiles_at_the_Hyde_Park_Barracks_Destitute_Asylum_Sydney_Australia

Davies, Peter, Penny Crook, and Tim Murray, (2013) *An archaeology of institutional confinement: the Hyde Park Barracks, 1848–1886.* Studies in Australasian Historical Archaeology Volume 4 (Sydney, Australia: Sydney University Press). http://www.asha.org.au/pdf/publications/9781920899790_COVER.pdf

Davies, Sue M., Rob Paton, and Terry J. O'Sullivan, (2013). 'The Museum Values Framework: A Framework for Understanding Organisational Culture in Museums', *Journal Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28, no. 4, pp. 345-361. https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2013.831247

Debertolis, Paolo, and Niccolò Bisconti, (2013) 'Archaeoacoustics Analysis and Ceremonial Customs in an Ancient Hypogeum', *Sociology Study*, 3, no. 10, pp. 803-814. https://www.scribd.com/document/212813027/Archaeoacoustics-Analysis-and-Ceremonial-Customs-in-an-Ancient-Hypogeum

Delia, Romina, (2011) 'National Museums in Malta', in Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (eds), *EuNaMus Report No 1: conference proceedings from the European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, 28-30 April 2011* (Linköping, Sweden: Linköping University), pp. 567-593. http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/064/024/ecp64024.pdf

Demrovsky, Chloe, (2019) 'Notre Dame in Flames: Protecting Our Cultural Treasures'
https://www.forbes.com/sites/chloedemrovsky/2019/04/15/notre-dame-in-flames-protecting-our-cultural-treasures/#26650dda5f10

Den Boer, Pim, (2208) 'Loci Memoriae – Lieux de Mémoire', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural memory studies: an international and interdisciplinary handbook* (Frankfurt, Germany: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek), pp. 8-11.
http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/pdf/geschiedenis/cultural%20memory.pdf

Dendooven, Dominiek, (2013) 'The Journey Back: On the Nature of Donations to the "In Flanders Fields Museum"' in Nicholas J. Saunders and Paul Cornish, (eds*), Contested objects: material memories of the Great War* (London and New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis), pp. 60-72.

Domingo, Raphael, (2011) 'Gaius, Vattel, and the New Global Law Paradigm', *The European Journal of International Law*, 22, no. 3, pp. 627-647.
http://www.ejil.org/pdfs/22/3/2172.pdf

Douglas, Mary, (1980) 'Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945)' in Maurice Halbwachs (ed.)*, The collective memory* (New York: Harper & Row), pp. 1-21.

Dudley, Sandra H., (2010) 'Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling', in Sandra H. Dudley (ed.), *Museum materialities: objects, engagements, interpretations* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge), pp. 1-18.

Edsel, Robert M., (2010) *Monuments men: allied heroes, Nazi thieves and the greatest treasure hunt in history* (Boston, Mass: Hachette).

Encyclopaedia Britannica, [n.d.] 'Treaty of Tordesillas: Spain-Portugal 1494'.
https://www.britannica.com/event/Treaty-of-Tordesillas
Encyclopaedia Britannica, [n.d.], 'Peace of Westphalia: European History'
https://www.britannica.com/event/Peace-of-Westphalia

Eriksen, Anne, (2014) *From antiquities to heritage: transformations of cultural memory* (New York: Berghahn Books, Incorporated)

Erll ,Astrid, (2008) 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction'*,* in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural memory studies. an international and interdisciplinary handbook* (Frankfurt, Germany: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek), pp. 1-18.
https://www.academia.edu/19139801/Astrid_Erll_Ansgar_Nunning_Cultural_Memory_Studies_An_International_and_Interdisciplinary_Handbook

Farahani, Leila M., Marzieh Setayesh, and Leila Shokrollahi, (2015) 'Contextualising Palimpsest of Collective Memory in an Urban Heritage Site: Case Study of Chahar Bagh, Shiraz – Iran', *International Journal of Architectural Research,* 9, no. 1, pp. 218-231.

Feliciano, Hector, (1997) *Lost museum: the Nazi conspiracy to steal the world's greatest works of art* (New York: Basic Books).

Fenech, N Natalino, (7 July 2007) 'Vandalism: A Record of Shame'. *Times of Malta.* https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20070707/local/vandalism-a-record-of-shame.12117

Field, Frank, (1907) 'Famous Foreign Cathedrals', in (no editor), *The English Illustrated Magazine*, volume xxxviii (October 1907 to March 1908) (London: The Central Publishing Company, 1908), pp. 27-28.

First World War, [n.d.]. 'The War of Attrition'. https://www.johndclare.net/wwi1.htm

Fold3 by Ancestry, (2015) 'Ardelia Hall Collection: Wiesbaden Property Cards'. https://www.fold3.com/page/94438336_ardelia_hall_collection_wiesbaden/

Foliant, Yvette, Major, (2015) *Cultural property protection makes sense: a way to improve your mission* (The Hague, Netherlands: Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence). https://www.cimic-coe.org/resources/make-sense-series/cpp-makes-sense-final-version-29-10-15.pdf

Foundation for Advancement in Conservation, [n.d.] 'Roerich Pact: Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments'. http://cool.conservation-us.org/bytopic/intern/roerich.html

Francioni, Francesco, (2012) 'The Evolving Framework for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in International Law', in Silvia Borelli and Federico Lenzerini (eds), *Cultural heritage, cultural rights, cultural diversity: new developments in international law* (Boston, Mass: Martinus Publishers), pp. 1-25.

Freud Museum London, *Analysis of a Passion 1.* Available at: https://www.freud.org.uk/education/topic/40037/subtopic/40044/

Gelinas, Nicole, (11 August 2019) 'Notre Dame's Reconstruction Already Stalled'. *New York Post.* https://nypost.com/2019/08/11/notre-dames-reconstruction-has-already-stalled/

Gensburger, Sarah, (2016) 'Halbwachs' studies in collective memory: A founding text for contemporary "memory studies"?', *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 16, no. 4, pp. 397-405.

Giacomelli, Lisetta, Annamaria Perrotta, Roberto Scandone, and Claudio Scarpati, (2003) 'The Eruption of Vesuvius of 79 AD and Its Impact on Human Environment in Pompeii', *Journal of International Geoscience*, 26, no. 3, pp. 235-238. https://doi.org/10.18814/epiiugs/2003/v26i3/014

Gibson, Lisanne, and John Pendlebury, (2009) 'Introduction: Valuing Historic Environment', in Lisanne Gibson and John Pendlebury (eds), *Valuing historic environments* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge), pp. 1-18.

Gibson, Margaret, (2010) 'Death and the Transformation of Objects and Their Value', *Thesis Eleven*, 103, no. 1, pp. 54-64. https://doi.org/10.1177/0725513610388988

Gilliland, Anne, and Sue Mckemmish, (2004) 'Building an Infrastructure for Archival Research', *Archival Science*, 4, pp. 149-197. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-006-6742-6

Gojak, Denis, (2001) 'Convict Archaeology in New South Wales: An Overview of the Investigation, Analysis and Conservation of Convict Heritage Sites', *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, 19, pp. 73-83. https://www.jstor.org/stable/29544469?seq=1

Gombault, Anne, (2019) 'Notre-Dame de Paris: From Searing Emotion to the Future Rebirth of a World Heritage Site. *The Conversation*. https://theconversation.com/notre-dame-de-paris-from-searing-emotion-to-the-future-rebirth-of-a-world-heritage-site-115612

Graham, Brian, and Peter Howard, (2008) 'Introduction: Heritage and Identity' in Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds), *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing), pp. 1-18.

Griffiths, William A., (1920) 'Malta: The halting place of nations. First account of remarkable prehistory tombs and temples recently unearthed on the island', *National Geographic Magazine,* 37, no. 5, pp. 445-478. https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/8054

Grochowina, Sylwia, (2017) *Cultural policy of the Nazi occupying forces in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia, the District Wartheland and the Reich District of Katowice in the Years 1939–1945*, Agnieszka Chabros (trans.) (Toruń, Poland: Museum of the Home Army and the Military Service of Women. https://zawacka.pl/uploads/dokumenty/Grochowina_KulturalPolicy1939_19.pdf

Grochowina, Sylwia, and Katarzyna Kacka, (2014) 'Foundation of Nazi Cultural Policy and Institutions Responsible for Its Implementation in the Period 1933-1939', *Kultura I Edukacja*, 6, no. 106, pp. 173-192. https://repozytorium.unk.pl/bitstream/handle/item/3014/Grochowing_kacka.pdf?sequence=1

Halbwachs, Maurice, (1950) *The collective memory*, Francis J. Ditter (trans.) (New York: Harper & Row). pp. 128-157. http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/hawlbachsspace.pdf

Harrison, Rodney, (2013) *Heritage critical approaches* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge).

Henkin, Yagil, [n.d.] *A cauldron of blood and fire: 100 years since the Battle of Verdun*, Avi Woolf (trans.). https://www.academia.edu/29106239/A_Cauldron_of_Blood_and_Fire_100_Years_Since_the_Battle_of_Verdun

Heritage Lottery Fund, [n.d.] 'About Us'. https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us

Heritage Lottery Fund, [n.d.] *Global search,* https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/search?keys=vindolanda

Heritage Malta. (2012) "*Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum management plan consultation document* (Kalkara, Makta: Heritage Malta). http://heritagemalta.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Consultation-document-hypogeum.pdf

Heritage Malta, (2017) 'Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum'. http://heritagemalta.org/museums-sites/hal-saflieni-hypogeum/

Historic Houses Trust of NSW, (1990) *Hyde Park Barracks museum plan: incorporating analysis and guidelines on conservation, interpretation and management* (Sydney, Australia: Historic Houses Trust of NSW).

Historic Houses Trust of NSW, (2010) *Hyde Park Barracks Sydney: management plan February 2010.* (Sydney, Australia: Sydney Living Museums). https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/sites/default/files/2010-Feb-HPBM-Management-Plan.pdf

History.com, (2010) '1940, December 29: Worst Air Raid on London'. http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/worst-air-raid-on-london

History.com, (2019) 'Bombing of Dresden'. http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/battle-of-dresden

History.com, [n.d.] '1970, July 21: Aswan High Dam Completed'. http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/aswan-high-dam-completed

HistoryNet.com, [n.d.] 'World War II: Facts, Information and Articles about World War II, 1939–1945'. https://www.historynet.com/world-war-ii

Hitler, Adolf, (1924) *Mein kampf* (The Noontide Press: Books On-line). http://www.angelfire.com/folk/bigbaldbob88/MeinKampf.pdf

Holquist, Peter, (2004), *The Russian Empire as a "civilized state": international law as principle and practice in Imperial Russia, 1874-1878* (Washington, DC: The National Council for Eurasian and East European Research). http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceeer/2004_818-06g_Holquist.pdf

Holy See Press Office, (2019) 'Message of His Holiness Pope Francis to the Archbishop of Paris, France, for the Fire in the Cathedral of Notre Dame'. http://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2019/04/16/190416c.html

Ho Tai, Hue-Tam, (2001) 'Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory', *The American Historical Review*, 106, no. 3, pp. 906-922. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2692331?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

Hughes, Joy N., (2004) 'Hyde Park Asylum for Infirm and Destitute Women 1862-1886: An Historical Study of Government Welfare for Women in Need of Residential Care in New South Wales' (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Western Sydney). http://researchdirect.westernsydney.edu.au/islandora/object/uws:3618

Hugo, Victor, (1825) *Oeuvres complète de Victor Hugo*, Lyn Thompson-Lemaire (trans., 1864) (Paris: Alexandre Houssiaux). https://courseworks2.columbia.edu/courses/10532/files/579150/preview?verifier...

Hutton, Patrick H., (2018) 'Physiological Reflections on the Ways of Memory and History', *History and Theory: Studies in Philosophy and History*, 57, no. 2, pp. 292-305. https://doi.org/10.1111/hith.12063

Huxley, Julian, (1946) *UNESCO: Its purpose and philosophy – preparatory commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation*. https://kritisches-netzwerk.de/sites/default/files/julian_huxley_-_unesco_-_its_purpose_and_its_philosophy_-_1946_-_60_pages.pdf

Huxley, Julian, (1976) 'UNESCO's Early Years', in Sandy Koffler (ed.), *UNESCO's first 30 years* (Paris, UNESCO), pp. 4-7. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0007/000748/074820eo.pdf

ICCROM [International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property], [n.d.] 'Home Page'. http://www.iccrom.org/about/history/

ICCROM, [n.d.] *ICCROM and world heritage*. http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1996/whc-96-conf202-inf8e.pdf

Iceland Liechtensein Norway Grants, (2016) 'Ensuring Continued Access to World Heritage in Malta'. https://eeagrants.org/News/2016/Ensuring-continued-access-to-world-heritage-in-Malta

ICOM, (2019) 'ICOM Calls for Increased Public Investment in Cultural Property Protection Following Notre Dame Fire'. https://icom.museum/en/news/icom-calls-for-increased-public-investment-in-cultural-property-protection-following-notre-dame-fire/

ICOM, (2011) 'Museums and World Heritage Areas'. Pgs. 1-10. Printed Maison de l'UNESCO 1, rue Miollis 75732. Paris Cedex 15 France.

ICOM, [n.d.] 'Object ID: Who Is Using It'? http://archives.icom.museum/objectid/who.html

ICOM, [n.d.] 'Object-ID: Checklist'. http://archives.icom.museum/object-id/

ICOM, [n.d.] 'Object-ID: Introduction'. http://archives.icom.museum/objectid/heritage/intro.html

ICOM, [n.d.] 'Object-ID: What Is An Object-ID'? http://archives.icom.museum/objectid/guide/guide_intro.html

ICOMOS, (1965) *The first general assembly of ICOMOS: regulations, by-laws and national committees*. http://www.international.icomos.org/publications/JS5_1.pdf

ICOMOS, ICCROM, IUCN, UNESCO, World Heritage Centre, (2010) 'Guidance on the Preparation of Retrospective Statements of OUV for World Heritage Properties'.

https://www.iucn.org/content/guidance-preparation-retrospective-statements-outstanding-universal-value-world-heritage-properties

IUCN, (2018) 'About'. https://www.iucn.org/about

IUCN, (2012.) *A future for world heritage: challenges and responses to assure the credibility of the World Heritage Convention International Union for Conservation of Nature, September 2012*. https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/content/documents/a_future_for_world_heritage_iucn_non_paper_september_2012.pdf

Jakubowski, Andrzej, (2015) *State succession in cultural property* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). p. 147.

Jalla, Daniele, (2015.) *International conference on "museums and world cultural heritage": some considerations by ICOM Italy.* http://network.icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/minisites/Milan2016/Galleria/Consideration_by_ICOM_Italy_on_Catania_Conference_Theme.pdf

Jokilehto, Jukka, (1990/2005) *Definition of cultural heritage: references to documents in history*. http://cif.icomos.org/pdf_docs/Documents%20on%20line/Heritage%20definitions.pdf

Jokilehto, Jukka, (2008) *What is OUV? Defining the outstanding universal value of cultural world heritage properties* (Paris: UNESCO). https://www.icomos.org/publications/monuments_and_sites/16/pdf/Monuments_and_Sites_16_What_is_OUV.pdf

Jokilehto, Jukka, (July 2017). 'Living in World Heritage and Community Involvement', *Nordic World Heritage Conference in Rauma 11–14.September 2017*. http://www.lettere.uniroma2.it/sites/default/files/JJokilehto_paper_on%20five%20Cs%20of%20the%20WHC%2C%20communities%20and%20synergies%20with%20ICH.pdf

Jones, Andrew, (2007) *Memory and material culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Kansteiner, Wulf, (2002) 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, 41, no. 2, pp.179-197. https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00198

Karlsgodt, Elizabeth C. (2011) *Defending the national treasures: French art and heritage under Vichy* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press).

Katz, Brigit, (16 April 2019) 'What Happened to Notre-Dame's Precious Art and Artifacts?' *Smithsonian Magazine.* https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/what-happened-notre-dames-precious-art-and-artifacts-180971977/

Kidd, Jenny, and Joanne Sayner, (2018) 'Unthinking Remembrance? *Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red* and the Significance of Centenaries', *Cultural Trends*, 27, no. 2, pp. 68-82. https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2018.1453448

Kuzmich, Andrea, (2014) *Comprehensive exam: collective memory embodied in music*. http://www.academia.edu/8824369/Collective_Memory_Embodied_in_Music

Labadi, Sophia (ed.), (2007) *World heritage: challenges for the millennium* (Paris: UNESCO Heritage World Centre). http://whc.unesco.org/sustainabletourismtoolkit/sites/default/files/3.%20UNESCO%20%282007%29%20World%20Heritage%20Challenges%20for%20the%20Millennium.pdf

Leichter, David J., (2012) 'Collective Identity and Collective Memory in the Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur', *Études Ricoeuriennes / Ricoeur Studies,* 3, no. 1, pp. 114-131. https://www.academia.edu/2762958/Collective_Identity_and_Collective_Memory_in_Paul_Ricoeur

Lixinski, Lucas, (2019) *International heritage law for communities: exclusion and re-imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Lowenthal, David, (1998) *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).

Mack, Natasha, Cynthia Woodsong, Kathleen M. MacQueen, Greg Guest, and Emily Namey, (2005) *Qualitative research methods: a data collector's field guide* (Research Triangle Park, North Carolina: Family Health International). https://www.fhi360.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/Qualitative%20Research%20Methods%20-%20A%20Data%20Collector's%20Field%20Guide.pdf

MacLeod, Suzanne, Richard Sandell, Jocelyn Dodd, Tom Duncan, Ceri Jones, Alexandra Gaffikin, (2014) *Prisoners, punishment and torture: developing new approaches to interpreting the Tower of London* (Leicester: University of Leicester). http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/museumstudies/rcmg/publications/prisoners-punishment-and-torture

Maiorov, Alexander V., (2017) 'The Emperor Manuel's Cross in Notre Dame: On Its Origin and Path', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 57, no. 3, pp. 771-791. https://grbs.library.duke.edu/article/viewFile/15940/7036

Mangas, Rachel S., LCDR, Maj. Mathew Festa, and Maj. Laura O'Donnell, (eds). (2016) *Law of armed conflict deskbook*, 16th edn (Charlottesville, VA: International and Operational Law Department: The United States Army Judge Advocate General's Legal Center and School). https://www.jagcnet.army.mil/Sites%5C%5Cio.nsf/0/EEF9422EB2C293B68525805A0063ABED/%24File/LOAC%20Deskbook%20final%20with%202016%20index%20(20%20Sep).pdf

Manning Elliott Partnership, [n.d.] 'Grand Opening of Exhibition'. http://manning-elliott.co.uk/grand-opening-of-new-exhibition/

Marcel, Jean-Christophe, and Laurent Mucchielli, (2008) 'Maurice Halbwachs's Mémoire Collective', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds), *Cultural memory studies. an international and interdisciplinary handbook,* (Frankfurt, Germany: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek), pp. 141-150.

https://www.academia.edu/19139801/Astrid_Erll_Ansgar_Nunning_Cultural_Memory_Studies_An_International_and_Interdisciplinary_Handbook

Marcus, Erica. B., (2010) 'Nazi Looted Art: Setting Precedence for Museum Decisions' (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Seton Hall University), p. 12. https://scholarship.shu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1251&context=theses

Mason, Jennifer, (2002) *Qualitative researching*, 2nd edn (London: Sage Publications Ltd). http://www.sxf.uevora.pt/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Mason_2002.pdf

Mason, Randall, Margaret G. H. MacLean, and Marta de la Torre, (2003) *Hadrian's Wall world heritage site: English heritage* (Los Angeles, Calif: The Getty Conservation Institute. http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/pdf/hadrians_wall.pdf

McDowell, Sara, (2008) 'Heritage, Memory and Identity', in Brian Graham and Peter Howard (eds), *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing), pp. 37-53. http://www.campusincamps.ps/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/McDowell-Heritage-08.pdf

Memorial Worlds, (2016) 'What is Collective Memory?', http://memorialworlds.com/what-is-collective-memory/

Meskell, Lynn, (2013) 'UNESCO's World Heritage Convention at 40: Challenging the Economic and Political Order of International Heritage Conservation', *Current Anthropology*, 54, no. 4, pp. 483-494. https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdfplus/10.1086/671136

Miceli-Farrugia, Mark, [n.d.] 'Europe's Oldest Civilization: Malta's Temple-Builders'. https://www.scribd.com/document/23936694/Europes-Oldest-Civilization-MALTA

Mifsud, Anton, and Simon Mifsud, (1999) 'The Subterranean Sanctuary at Ħal Saflieni', in Anton Mifsud and Charles S. Ventura (eds), *Facets of Maltese history*, (Malta:, Prehistoric Society of Malta), pp. 149-168. https://www.academia.edu/3251076/THE_SUBTERRANEAN_SANCTUARY_AT_ĦAL_SAFLIENI_-_MALTA

Military History Now, (2014) 'Culture Wars – Meet Nazi Germany's "Monuments Men" '. http://militaryhistorynow.com/2014/01/31/culture-wars-meet-nazi-germanys-monuments-men/

Morrison, Alexander, (2018) ' "A Crime Against World Heritage": Experts Mourn Brazil's National Museum'. https://www.sothebys.com/en/articles/a-crime-against-world-heritage-experts-mourn-brazils-national-museum

Műller, Marcus. M., (1998) 'Cultural Heritage Protection: Legitimacy, Property, and Functionalism', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 7, no. 2, pp. 395-409. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739198770407

Museum Mutterings, (2016) 'Archaeology: Vindolanda Fort and Museum, Northumberland'. https://museummutterings.wordpress.com/2016/05/08/vindolanda-fort-and-museum-northumberland/

Myerowitz, Elissa S., (1996) 'Protecting Cultural Property During a Time of War: Why Russia Should Return Nazi-Looted Art', *Fordham International Law Journal*, 20, no. 5, pp. 1961-2002. https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/ilj/vol20/iss5/14/

National Museum of Archaeology, Malta, [n.d.] 'Incredible Treasures from the Collection of the National Museum of Archaeology'. https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/iAIid2K9uWT4KQ

National Trust, The, [n.d.] 'Our History: 1884–1945'. www.nationaltrust.org.uk/lists/our-history-1884-1945

Neiger, Motti, Oren Meyers, and Eyal Zandberg, (2011) 'On Media Memory: Editor's Introduction', in Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers, and Eyal Zandberg (eds), *On media memory: collective memory on new media age* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 1-24. https://www.academia.edu/662507/On_Media_Memory_Collective_Memory_in_a_New_Media_Age?auto=download

Nemeth, Erik, (2007) *Cultural security: evaluating the power of culture in international affairs,* Insurgency and terrorism series volume 5 (London: Imperial College Press), pp. 1-27. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228121038_Cultural_Security_The_Evolving_Role_of_Art_in_International_Security

Newcastle University, (2015) 'Newcastle University to Establish UNESCO Chair for Cultural Protection' [Press Release]. https://www.ncl.ac.uk/press/articles/archive/2015/10/peterstoneunescochair/

Nicholas, Lynn H., (1994) *The rape of Europa: The fate of Europe's treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (London: Macmillan Limited).

Nicholas Roerich Estate Museum in Izvara, [n.d.] 'The Roerich Pact: Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments Treaty between the United States of America and the other American Republics'. http://www.roerich-izvara.ru/eng/roerich-pact.htm

Nicholas Roerich Museum New York, [n.d.] 'Home Page'. http://www.roerich.org/roerich-pact.php

Nora, Pierre, (1989), 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory*, no. 26, pp. 7-24. http://ieas.unideb.hu/admin/file-7422pdf

Nora. Pierre, [n.d.] *From lieux de memoire to realms of memory.* http://faculty.smu.edu/bwheeler/Joan_of_Arc/OLR/03_PierreNora_LieuxdeMemoire.pdf

Nossiter, Adam, (25 April 2019) 'Notre-Dame Fire Investigators Focus on Short-Circuit and Cigarettes'. *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/25/world/europe/notre-dame-fire-investigation.html?searchResultPosition=4

Office of Environment and Heritage (NSW), (n.d) 'St. James' Anglican Church', http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5054947

Official Website of The Royal Monarchy, [n.d.] 'The Crown Jewels'. https://www.royal.uk/crown-jewels

Olick, Jeffrey K., and Joyce Robbins, (1998) 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of* Sociology, 24, pp. 105-140 (p. 106). https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.105

Olick, Jeffrey K., Vered Vinitzky Seroussi, Daniel Levy, (2011) *The collective memory reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Oosterlinck, Kim, (2011) *The price of degenerate art*, working paper no.9/031. file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/wp09031%20(1).pdf

Opecensky, Jan, (1950) *The beginnings of Unesco: 1942-1948*. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000855/085521eb.pdf

Pace, Anthony, (2004) *The Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, Paola* (Malta, Midsea Books).

Papaioannou, Katerina, (2017) 'The International Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage', *International E-Journal of Advances in Social* Sciences, 3, no. 7, pp. 257-262. http://static.dergipark.org.tr/article-download/497b/4a2f/2beb/59036c00edd9a.pdf?

PBS.org, [n.d.] ' PBS: The Great War – World War I Casualty and Death Tables'. https://www.uwosh.edu/faculty_staff/henson/188/WWI_Casualties%20and%20Deaths%20%20PBS.html

Pearce, Susan M., (2012) 'Museum Objects', in Sandra H. Dudley (ed.), *Museum objects: experiencing the properties of things* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 23-25.

Pop, Valentina, Drew Hindshaw, and Nick Kostov, (2019) 'Decades of Neglect Threatened Notre Dame Well Before It Burned: Its Flying Buttresses Were Weakening, and the Spire Was Rotting from the Inside Out'. *The Wall Street Journal.* https://web.archive.org/web/20190418234833/https://www.wsj.com/articles/decades-of-neglect-threatened-notre-dame-well-before-it-burned-11555624252

Phillips, Dom, (4 September 2018). 'Brazil National Museum: As Much as 90% of Collection Destroyed in Fire'. *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/04/brazil-national-museum-fire-collection-destroyed-not-insured

Phys-Org, (9 May 2019) *Officials warn of lead pollution risks after Notre-Dame blaze.* https://phys.org/pdf476603172.pdf

Prown, Jules D., (1982) 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture*, 17, no. 1, pp. 1-19. http://ciuhct.fc.ul.pt/textos/Prown_1982.pdf

Reference, (2019) 'What countries are in the CIS?'. https://www.reference.com/geography/countries-cis-6da54e62f08c380e

Richardson, Roger. C., (2004) "Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society." *William Camden and the rediscovery of England*, Vol 78. s. 108-123. p. 108. http://www.le.ac.uk/lahs/downloads/05Vol78-Richardson.pdf

Ringmar, Erik, (2009) 'Perspective on Terrorism', *Francis Lieber, Terrorism, and the American Way of* War, 3, no. 4, pp.52-60 (p. 52). http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/82

Roberts, Molly, (17 April 2019) 'Why Did the World Stop for Notre Dame?' [Opinions]. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/04/17/why-did-world-stop-notre-dame/

Ross, Stewart, (2002) *The United Nations: 20th century perspectives* (London: Reed Educational and Professional Publishing Ltd).

Rothberg, Michael, (2010) 'Introduction: Between Memory and Memory – From Lieux de Mémoire to Noeuds de Mémoire', *Yale French Studies*, 118, no. 119, pp. 2-12. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41337077?origin=JSTOR-pdf&seq=1

Rush, Laurie W., (2012) 'Cultural Property Protection as a Force Multiplier in Stability Operations: World War II Monuments Officers Lessons Learned', *Military Review*, March-April 2012, pp. 36-43. https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20120430_art008.pdf

Ruskin, John, (1889) *The seven lamps of architecture*, sixth edn (Orpington, UK: George Allen). https://ia801403.us.archive.org/19/items/lampsofarchseven00ruskrich/lampsofarchseven00ruskrich.pdf

Russell, Nicolas, (2006) 'Collective Memory Before and After Halbwachs', *The French Review*, 79, no. 4, pp. 792-804. https://www.academia.edu/2085991/Collective_Memory_before_and_after_Halbwachs

Saikawa, Takashi, (2009) 'From Intellectual Cooperation to International Cultural Exchange: Japan and China in the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation', in Tsuneo Akaha (ed.), *Asian regional integration review* (Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University Global COE Program, Global Institute for Asian Regional Integration), pp. 83-91. https://www.academia.edu/204413/From_Intellectual_Cooperation_to_International_Cultural_Exchange_Japan_and_China_in_the_International_Committee_on_Intellectual_Cooperation

Savelsberg, Joachim J., and Ryan D. King, (2007) 'Law and Collective Memory', *The Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 3, pp. 189-211. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.3.081806.112757

Schwabach, Aaron, and Arthur J. Cockfield, [n.d.] *The role of international law and institutions* (Paris: UNESCO Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems). https://www.eolss.net/Sample-Chapters/C14/E1-36.pdf
Sennott, R. Stephen, (ed.), (2004) *Encyclopaedia of 20th-century architecture*, Vol 1 A-F.
https://books.google.co.in/books?id=opvy1zGI2EcC&pg=PA87&dq=Le+Corbusier+and+the+athens+charter&hl=en&sa=X&ei=RGIFVbPtNdH48QWYp4Ew&ved=0CDUQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=Le%20Corbusier%20and%20the%20athens%20charter&f=false

Shaw, Anny, (16 April 2019) 'Precious Works Rescued from Notre Dame to Be Transferred to the Louvre'. *The Art Newspaper.* https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/louvre-plans-to-take-precious-works-rescued-from-notre-dame?utm_source=daily_april16_2019&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=email_daily

Sheldon, Karilyn, (Fall 2013) 'Presenting Pompeii: Reconciling Relationships between Configuration and Conversation, *Spectrum*, 3, no. 1, pp. 68-78. https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/0c5e/c0e94988a60062352d40188c3613ebccb531.pdf

Shrine of Remembrance Melbourne, [n.d.] 'History'. https://www.shrine.org.au/About-Us/History

Smith, Kate, (17 Apr 2019) 'International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works [IIC]: Statement about the Fire at Notre Dame'. https://www.iiconservation.org/content/iic-statement-about-fire-notre-dame

Sorman, Guy, (18 July 2019) 'After the Fire: In the Pending Reconstruction of Notre-Dame, the French National Character Endures'. *City Journal*. https://www.city-journal.org/reconstruction-notre-dame

SPAB [The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings], (2009) 'Manifesto'. https://www.spab.org.uk/about-us/spab-manifesto

Spagnol, Anthony, (2009) *The conservation of the artist patrimony in Malta during World War II* (Kalkara, Malta: Heritage Malta).

Stainforth, Elizabeth, (2016) 'From Museum to Memory Institution: the Politics of European Culture Online', *Museum & Society*, 14, no. 2, pp. 323-337. https://journals.le.ac.uk/ojs1/index.php/mas/article/view/646/604

Statement of Outstanding Universal Value for the Frontiers of the Roman Empire and its component parts (WHS FRE) (C430), (2012).https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/89293/Frontiers_of_the_Roman_Empire_-_Hadrian_s_Wall.pdf

Steiner, Andreas M. (ed.), (n.d), *Megalithic Malta: an extraordinary prehistoric culture at the heart of the Mediterranean* (Kalkara, Malta: Malta Tourism Authority). https://www.visitmalta.com/en/archaeological-sites

Sultana, Sharon, (2010) *The National Museum of Archaeology: the Neolithic period* (Malta, Midsea Books).

Superintendence of Cultural Heritage, [n.d.], *National inventory of the cultural property of the Maltese islands.* https://culture.gov.mt/en/culturalheritage/Pages/Default.aspx

Sydney Living Museums, (2017) 'Hyde Park Barracks Renewal' [Media Release]. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/2017/10/10/local-projects-lead-hyde-park-barracks-renewal

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Absolute Pardon: John Onion 1830', *Hyde Park Barracks Museum Collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107771

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Absolute Pardon: Michael Gorman 1832', *Hyde Park Barracks museum collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107676

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Australian Dress Register: Hyde Park Barracks Convict Shirt'. http://www.australiandressregister.org/garment/259/

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Bible and Prayer Book: Thomas Bagnall, 1830s', *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107706

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Convict Braces and Belts:1819–1848', *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107691

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Convict Coins: 1813 and 1817', *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection.* https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107646

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Convict Gaming Tokens: 1819–1848', *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107711

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Convict Hats Sennets & Leaf Shredder', *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107701

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Convict Pipe: Jonathan Leak, 1826–1838', *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-109221,

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Convict Shirt: 1819–1848', *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107716

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Convict Shoe: 1819–1848', *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107686

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Ginger Beer Bottles: William Foster & Philip Whelan, 1830s', *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107671

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'How were convicts rewarded for good behaviour? Ticket of Leave – Thomas Beaton, 1840'. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/rewards-freedom

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Immerse Yourself at Hyde Park Barracks'. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/hyde-park-barracks-museum

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Leg Iron Guard: 1819–1848' *Hyde Park Barracks archaeology collection*. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/convict-sydney/objects#object-107636

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Off Convicts' Backs'. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/off-convicts-backs

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] 'Who Were the Hyde Park Barracks' Convicts?' https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/who-were-hyde-park-barracks-convicts

Sydney Living Museums, [n.d.] *Strategic Plan 2017–2022* (Sydney, Australia: Sydney Living Museums). https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/sites/default/files/Strategic_Plan_2017_2022_FA3.pdf

Tagliaferro, John S., (2000) *Malta: Its archaeology and history* (Italy, Plurigraf).

Talbot, Adela, (2013) 'Family Footwear Find Shows New Side to Roman Military'. https://phys.org/news/2013-01-family-footwear-side-roman-military.html

Tarr, R. J., [n.d.] *The Battle of the Somme: success or failure*? http://beechencliffhumanities.weebly.com/uploads/1/5/2/3/15231336/somme_sources1.pdf

Teijgeler, René, (2206) 'Preserving Cultural Heritage in Times of Conflict', in G. E. Gorman and Sydney J. Shep (eds), *Preservation Management for Libraries, Archives and Museums*, (London: Facet Publishing), pp. 133-165. file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/Preservingcultheritageintimesofconflictgepubliceerdeversie.pdf

The New Daily, (17 April 2019) 'Human Chain Rescues Priceless Artefacts from Burning Notre Dame Cathedral. https://thenewdaily.com.au/news/world/2019/04/17/notre-dame-cathedral-human-chain/

The Sydney Morning Herald, (17 April 2019) 'Crews Assess Damage at Notre Dame as Investigation Begins'. https://www.smh.com.au/world/europe/notre-dame-fire-crews-assess-damage-as-investigation-begins-20190417-p51eun.html

Thiemeyer, Thomas, (2015) 'How Different Perspectives on Museum Objects Alter the Way They Are Perceived, and the Values Attributed to Them', *Museum and Society*, 13, no. 3, pp. 396-412. https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.v13i3.338

Thornes, Robin, Peter Dorrell, and Henry Lie, (1999) *Introduction to OBJECT-ID: guidelines for making records that describe art, antiques, and antiquities* (Los Angeles, Calif: The J. Paul Getty Trust).
http://www.getty.edu/publications/virtuallibrary/0892365722.html

Throsby, David, (2001) *Economics and culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Throsby, David, (2007). *The value of heritage: abstract*, paper presented at 'Heritage Economics Workshop', Austtrlaian National University'.
https://environment.gov.au/system/files/resources/da10a766-2ef7-4989-b202-edac0f5d6f3e/files/economics-value.pdf

Toman, Jiri, (2009) *Cultural property in war: improvement in protection commentary on the 1999 Second Protocol to the Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing)
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001864/186496e.pdf

Uchiyama, Chris, (2014) *Cultural heritage values: some historical background*.
https://betweennatureandculture.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/values1.pdf

UNESCO World Heritage Committee, (1980) *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,* WHC/2 Revised, October 1980 (Paris: UNESCO). http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf

UNESCO World Heritage Committee, (1987) *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, WHC/2 Revised, January 1987 (Paris: UNESCO). http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide87.pdf

UNESCO World Heritage Committee, (2008) *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, WHC. 08/01, January 2008 (Paris: UNESCO). http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf

UNESCO World Heritage Committee, (2010) *Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage* (WHC-09/34.COM/5E), Thirty-fourth session, Brasilia, Brazil (Paris: UNESCO). http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-5Ee.pdf

UNESCO World Heritage Committee, (2014) *Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and national heritage* (38 COM, WHC-14/ 38.COM/8E), Thirty-eighth session, Doha, Qatar (Paris: UNESCO).
http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2014/whc14-38com-8E-en.pdf

UNESCO, (16 April 2019) 'Fire at Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris: "UNESCO Stands by France to Safeguard and Rehabilitate This Historic Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value". https://en.unesco.org/news/fire-notre-dame-cathedral-paris-unesco-stands-france-safeguard-and-rehabilitate-historic

UNESCO, (1954) 'Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention 1954'. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO, (1954) *Final act of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, The Hague 1954*. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000824/082464mb.pdf

UNESCO, (1970) *Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property* (Paris, UNESCO). http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001333/133378mo.pdf

UNESCO, (1972) *Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage* (Paris, UNESCO). http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf

UNESCO, (1973) *Records of the General Conference 17th Session, Paris, 17 October to 21 November 1972, vol. 1: resolutions, recommendations* (Paris: UNESCO). http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001140/114044e.pdf#page=145

UNESCO, (1980) *Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS)*. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/130/documents/

UNESCO, (1983) *Problems of culture and cultural values in the contemporary world* (Paris: UNESCO). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000054681/PDF/054681engo.pdf.multi

UNESCO, (1987) *World Heritage Convention cultural properties: UK nomination – Hadrian's Wall military zone* (London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England). http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/430ter.pdf

UNESCO, (2002) United Nations Year for Cultural Heritage: information kit (Paris: UNESCO). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000127155/PDF/127155engo.pdf.multi

UNESCO, (2011) 'Building Peace in the Minds of Men and Women: The Organization's History'. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/about-us/who-we-are/history/

UNESCO, (2013) *Culture & development: stop the illicit traffic of cultural property* (Havana, Cuba: UNESCO). http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/publications/culture-development-stop-the-illicit-traffic-of-cultural-property/

UNESCO, (2013) *Managing cultural world heritage: world heritage resource manual* (Paris: UNESCO). https://www.iccrom.org/sites/default/files/activity-827-1.pdf

UNESCO, (2014) *Periodic Report – Second Cycle Section II-Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum*. http://whc.unesco.org/archive/periodicreporting/EUR/cycle02/section2/groupb/130.pdf

UNESCO, (2015) 'The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the 1970 Convention'. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/operational-guidelines/

UNESCO, (2015) *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property* (UNESCO, Paris, 1970). http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/OPERATIONAL_GUIDELINES_EN_FINAL.pdf

UNESCO, (2015) *Recommendation concerning the protection and promotion of museums and collections, their diversity and their role in society* (Paris: UNESCO) http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/images/FINAL_RECOMMENDATION_ENG_website_03.pdf

UNESCO, (2017) 'Memory of the World: The Convict Records of Australia'. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/the-convict-records-of-australia/#c186408

UNESCO, (2017), *Basic texts of the 1972 World Heritage Convention: operational guidelines for the implementation of the world heritage convention* (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre). http://whc.unesco.org/en/basictexts/

UNESCO, (2018) *Interpretation of sites of memory* (Paris: UNESCO). file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/activity-933-3%20(1).pdf

UNESCO, [n.d.] 'Archives AToM Catalogue: National Commissions for Intellectual Cooperation'. http://atom.archives.unesco.org/commissions-nationales-de-cooperation-intellectuelle

UNESCO, [n.d.] 'Hadrian's Wall Country'. https://hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/

UNESCO, [n.d.] Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum: Criteria III. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/130/

UNESCO, [n.d.] 'Protocol to the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict 1954'. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15391&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO, [n.d.] 'Publications'. http://whc.unesco.org/en/publications/

UNESCO, [n.d.] 'Reducing Disaster Risk at World Heritage Properties'. https://whc.unesco.org/en/disaster-risk-reduction/

UNESCO, [n.d.] 'The Criteria for Selection'. https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/

UNESCO, [n.d.] 'Tower of London'. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/488

UNESCO, [n.d.] 'World Heritage Sites and Museum'. http://whc.unesco.org/en/world-heritage-and-museums

UNESCO, [n.d.] 'World Heritage Sites and Museums – International Conference, 2-3 November 2016'. https://en.unesco.org/news/world-heritage-sites-and-museums-international-conference-2-3-november-2016

UNESCO, [n.d.] *Frontiers of the Roman Empire world heritage site: Hadrian's Wall management plan 2008-2014* (Carlisle, UK: The Hadrian's Wall Trust). https://hadrianswallcountry.co.uk/sites/default/files/3__Hadrian%27s_Wall_2008-2014_-_Greyscale_text_%26_appendices%5B1%5D.pdf

UNESCO, [n.d.] *Information kit: protect cultural property in the event of armed conflict* (Paris: UNESCO). http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/1954Convention-InfoKit-EN-Fina-webl_03.pdf

UNESCO, (n.d) *The impacts of climate change on world heritage properties* (WHC-06/30.COM/7.1) (Paris:UNESCO). https://www.uncclearn.org/sites/default/files/inventory/unesco32.pdf

UNESCO: Intergovernmental Conference on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, (21 April-12 May, 1954). p. 2. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001427/142765eb.pdf

United Nations [n.d.] 'Research Guides: League of Nations.' https://libraryresources.unog.ch/leagueofnationsarchives

United Nations Security Council, [n.d.] 'Current Members: Permanent and Non-Permanent Members'. https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/current-members#:~:text=PERMANENT%20AND%20NON%2DPERMANENT%20MEMBERS,end%20of%20term%20year)%3A

United States. Department of State – Office of the Historian [n.d.] 'Milestones: 1914-1920: The League of Nations 1920'. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/league

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, [n.d.] 'Culture in the Third Reich: Overview', in *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/culture-in-the-third-reich-overview

University Museums and Collections (UMAC) (2018) *UMAC (ICOM) statement on protection of museum infrastructure*. http://umac.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/UMAC-Statement-on-Museum-Infrastructure.pdf

University of Manchester, [n.d.] 'Destruction of the University of Leuven Library, http://www.ww1.manchester.ac.uk/destruction-of-the-university-of-leuven-library/

Van der Auwera, Sigrid, (2013) 'International Law and the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict: Actual Problems and Challenges', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 43, no. 4, pp. 175-190. https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2013.841114

Veres, Zsuzsanna, (2014) 'The Fight Against Illicit Trafficking of Cultural Property: The 1970 UNESCO Convention and the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention', *Santa Clara Journal of International Law*, 12, no. 2, pp. 91-114. http://digitalcommons.law.scu.edu/scujil/vol12/iss2/4)

Vindolanda Charitable Trust, (2019) 'Roman Vindolanda Fort & Museum'.
https://www.vindolanda.com/roman-vindolanda-fort-museum

Vrdoljak, Ana F., (2007) *Intentional destruction of cultural heritage and international law* (Berkekey, Calif: Bepress).
file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/fulltext_stamped%20(2).pdf

Vrdoljak, Ana F., (2009) *History and evolution of international cultural heritage law: through the question of the removal and return of cultural objects.* Paper presented to the 30th Anniversary of the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in case of Illicit Appropriation (Berkekey, Calif: Bepress).
file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/fulltext_stamped%20(6).pdf

Warren, Christopher N., (2013) 'John Milton and the Epochs of International Law', *The European Journal of International Law*, 24, no. 2, pp. 557-581.
https://www.academia.edu/2922270/John_Milton_and_the_Epochs_of_International_Law

Wegener, Corine, and Marjan Otter, [n.d.] 'Cultural Property at War: Protecting Heritage During Armed Conflict'.
http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/23_1/feature.html

Wertheim, Stephen, (2012) 'The League of Nations: A Retreat from International Law?' *Journal of Global History*,7, no. 2, pp. 210–232.

Whewell, Tim, and Jessica Cruz, (11 May 2019) 'Brazil National Museum Fire: "Little Surprises" Salvaged from the Ashes'. *BBC News.* https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-48023691?intlink_location=live-reporting-story

Wood, Elizabeth, and Kiersten F. Latham, (2013) *The objects of experience: transforming visitor-object encounters in museums* (Walnut Creek, Calif: Left Coast Press, Inc).

Yale Law School, (2008) 'General Orders No. 100: The Lieber Code'.
https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/lieber.asp#sec2

Yale Law School, (2008) 'Laws of War: Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague IV); October 18, 1907. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hague04.asp

Yin, Robert K., (2003) *Case study research: design and methods*, 3rd edn (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publication, Inc).

Zammit, Terri., Eric T. Peet, and R. N. Bradley (1912), 'the Sleeping Lady', in *The small objects and the human skulls found in the Ħal-Saflieni Prehistoric Hypogeum at Casal Paula*, *Malta* (Malta)
https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/lhandle/123456789/9125

Zapotoczny, Walter. S., (2005) *The Treaty of Versailles and the impact on Germany*. http://www.wzaponline.com/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/TreatyofVersaillesandtheImpactonGermany.292130907.pdf