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Dennis Rodwell works internationally as a consultant architect-planner. He writes and publishes widely on the theme of conservation and sustainability in historic cities. He has also served in municipal government as conservation officer, urban designer and principal planner, and successfully promoted the rescue of a number of monuments at risk.

Conservazione e sostenibilità nelle città storiche
Conservation and sustainability in historic cities

Il presente contributo intende definire la conservazione e la sostenibilità nel contesto delle città storiche e stabilire delle relazioni con il concetto attuale di città sostenibile. Il contributo illustra come gli approcci tradizionali alla conservazione architettonica e urbana siano progressivamente evoluti a riconoscere più ampi valori culturali al patrimonio, introducendo una visione antropologica dell'identità geo-culturale e una continuità creativa guidata dal processo piuttosto che dall'oggetto.

Il contributo delinea diversi approcci culturali agli interventi di conservazione urbana, illustrando il caso di studio di Sibiu, Romania, caratterizzato dalla strategia incrociata dall'alto verso il basso e viceversa, e riassume l'iniziativa UNESCO sul paesaggio storico urbano. Si conclude proponendo le sfide e le opportunità della conservazione urbana al fine di configurarla come componente determinante nello sviluppo sostenibile del XXI secolo.

This paper defines conservation and sustainability in the context of historic cities, and establishes relationships with today's concept of the sustainable city. The paper then relates how traditional approaches to architectural and urban conservation have expanded to recognise broader cultural heritage values, and evolved into an anthropological vision of geo-cultural identity and creative continuity than is process rather than object driven.

The paper outlines differing approaches to urban conservation in practice, including a 'top-down meeting bottom-up' case study of Sibiu, Romania, and summarises the UNESCO initiative on historic urban landscapes. It concludes by summarising the challenge and opportunity for urban conservation to position itself as a determining component of sustainable development in the 21st century.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definitions: "conservation" and "sustainability"

This paper is about historic cities and the theory and practice of *conservation* and *sustainability* in relation to them.

In the wider, environmental sense, *conservation* and *sustainability* have parallel meanings and are frequently used interchangeably to express the need to manage the world's natural resources and the biosphere in order: firstly, to secure long-term harmony between man and nature; and secondly, to achieve continuous enhancement in the environment and in the conditions and quality of life for humans and other life forms. In the context of historic cities, it is in this broad sense that I employ and apply the word *sustainability*.

Conservation, on the other hand, has a much narrower meaning when applied to historic cities. The principal root is architectural conservation, whose starting points include archaeology and the geo-cultural diversity and historical evolution of architectural styles, building materials and techniques. The secondary root of urban conservation is townscape, and an aesthetic approach to the management of change in historic cities.

Neither architectural conservation nor townscape is founded upon a preoccupation with sustainability. Both, however, have the potential to make a significant contribution to it. Indeed, *conservation* and *sustainability* have the potential to work together in a partnership of profound strength for the achievement of common objectives; and *urban conservation*

to position itself as a determining component of *sustainable development*.[1]

1.2 Sustainable development

The classic definition of *sustainable development* appears in the 1987 *Brundtland Report*: «Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs».[2] At the time, the concept was considered to have three "pillars": environmental protection; economic growth; and social equity. This interpretation has since been strengthened to embrace quality of life, geo-cultural identity and diversity. Hence, sustainable development is now recognised to comprise a fourth "pillar": namely, cultural continuity.

1.3 Catchphrases of sustainability

In recent years the concept of *sustainability* has spawned a number of well-known catchphrases. Firstly, «think global, act local»: this urges people to consider and act in their communities and cities in accordance with the needs of the health of the planet. Secondly, the «3 Rs», «reduce, reuse and recycle»: this implies maximising what exists, recognising the *environmental capital* (embodied energy) of resources that have already been invested (for example in existing buildings and urban infrastructure, thus supporting adaptive reuse over redevelopment), and generally adopting an approach of *minimum intervention*. Thirdly, «stay close to source»: this prioritises proximity, whether of sources of materials, energy and food to place of consumption,

place of work to residence, or education to leisure. And fourthly, "top-down meeting bottom-up": this favours local knowledge over received theories from outside – whilst recognising that continuity of community practices often depends on support from regional or national strategies.

In the context of cities, the outcomes include that the built environment is increasingly recognised and valued today as a material and socio-economic resource at least as much as an architectural and historical one. As such, conservation has a more central role to play in safeguarding and sustaining the continuity of the world's immensely diverse tangible, intangible and natural heritage than if pigeonholed as a scientific specialism, focused on the preservation of immovable objects. Additionally, conservation

Figure 1. Dubrovnik, Croatia. The mercantile republic hosted a mélange of ethnic and religious communities. Its strong sense of place continues to be reinforced by strict urban planning regulations that date from 1272. (© Dennis Rodwell)

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of the built environment has a central role to play in responding positively to today's challenge of climate change. The *embodied energy* that the historic environment exemplifies opens the way to establishing coherent policies that reduce the need to exploit non-renewable material and energy resources.

1.4 "Localisation" to "globalisation"

In addition to the catchphrases, the concept of sustainability has encouraged wider usage of the term *localisation* as the converse of the more familiar *globalisation*. Within Europe, *localisation* can still be found in parts of rural Romania (for example), where certain villages retain their traditional, balanced, ecological relationship to their local hinterlands, a strong sense of physical and cultural identity specific to each community, and where the catchphrases of 'stay close to source' and 'reduce, reuse and recycle' are a fundamental part of life.[3] The prospects for the survival of such largely self-sufficient communities in today's world are, however, highly precarious .

The concept of *globalisation* is not, as such, a twentieth century invention; nor is it necessarily negative. The 1,000 year-old maritime mercantile republics of Venice and Dubrovnik, for example, enjoyed a quasi-globalised as well as balanced trading, cultural and ecological relationship to their extended hinterlands, and hosted a mélange of ethnic and religious communities from the full length and breadth of the Mediterranean and beyond.

The strong sense of place in these cities was reinforced by strict urban planning regulations. Those of Dubrovnik, for example, date from 1272 and continue to guide building heights and materials (but not architectural style), colours and advertising in that city (Figure 1).[4]

The protection of sense of place in the context of multiple influences is not, therefore, a new phenomenon. It is the geo-cultural spread, the diversity and rapidity of communication sources, and the widespread lack of effective regulatory frameworks that is more recent.

2. THE CITY

2.1 The historic city

The archetypal, pre-industrial European historic city shared many characteristics in common (Figure 2). It was a centre of power and of social and cultural interaction. It was clearly defined and compact, had few major buildings, a central market place, and was diffused with shopkeepers and artisan workshops. Its community was mixed – always socially, sometimes also by ethnic origin and religion; and it enjoyed a balanced relationship to its locality – both physically and ecologically. The historic city possessed strong identity, harmony and sense of place. It functioned to a human scale, with mixed uses in close proximity, and its architectural homogeneity was underscored by the use of constructional materials and craft skills that were predominantly sourced locally – whilst subject to periodic external cultural influences.

2.2 The city as an ecosystem

Patrick Geddes (1854–1932), biologist, botanist, sociologist, town planner, based in Scotland (Edinburgh) and France (Montpellier), defined the city as an ecosystem, with its cycles of birth, growth, blossoming, decline, decay and rebirth. He pioneered a sociological approach to urban planning and focused his attention on the means to control the degenerative tendencies in cities, to the objective of achieving continuous enhancement in their environment and quality of life. He highlighted the inter-disciplinary nature of town planning: concerned with people, place and culture. He identified – before either term had acquired today's currency – that managing the step-change from *localisation* to *globalisation* depends on the global relationship between cities and the world's natural resources coupled with maintaining the overall balance between the manmade

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and natural environments. The principles are the same; the scale is the variable.

In the context of his work in Edinburgh as a property developer, principally in the 1890s, he devised the term "conservative surgery", by which he meant the combination of restoration, rehabilitation and new insertions in harmony. These initiatives reflected his interpretation of the concept of *minimum intervention*, and represented an important tangible contribution to his theoretical work on quality of life, sense of place and cultural continuity in cities.

The concept of the city as an ecosystem has been taken forward in the literature on sustainable cities from the early-1990s onwards: notably in the 1994 *Aalborg Charter* and other seminal publications.[5]

2.3 The sustainable city

There are certain key issues that arise from this literature that help to define the characteristics of the sustainable city: efficiency in the use of land; renewable sources for materials and energy; limitation of wastes and a focus on recycling; and environmental quality.

From this, there is a general consensus that the sustainable city is compact, dense and mixed in use; daily journeys are limited through the proximity of functions; walking and cycling are prioritised; and it is polycentric in its expansion as well as in its relationship to other cities. Also – as noted already in relation to the catchphrases of sustainability – historic cities are considered as a material and socio-economic resource as well as a cultural one, thereby

considerably enhancing the reasons for their conservation and adaptive reuse.

The key issues and general consensus suggest that the historic city is a model for the sustainable city.

2.4 The "Western model" for post-industrial cities

In response to the negative imagery of the nineteenth century industrial city portrayed in literature (including the novels of Charles Dickens and Emile Zola) and the visual arts (notably the engravings of Gustav Doré), two inter-related models have acted as the drivers for urban planning across much of the Western world. Firstly, the Garden City: the simplistic two-dimensional quasi-sociological concept of land use separation for new towns and cities according to housing, recreation, industry and circulation, that was devised by Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928).[6] Secondly, the Modern Movement's interpretation of and promotion of this concept as the basis for the reconstruction of historic cities according to the same formula of living, recreation, working and transportation, as famously taken up by Le Corbusier (1887–1965).[7] His 1925 *Plan Voisin*, for example, illustrated the rebuilding of Paris according to the Western model, including the replacement of the Marais quarter by 18 office-use skyscrapers.[8]

The legacy of the "Western model" is urban dispersal and transport dependence; the concentration of volatile redevelopment pressures in historic city centres – their most sensitive parts; the loss of material fabric and socio-economic identity; and inner city neighbourhoods that have frequently become

Figure 3. Place des Vosges, Paris, France.
The centre-piece of the Marais, a vibrant and distinctive historic quarter of the French capital.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

the focus for degradation and socio-economic problems. This model represents the antithesis of the sustainable city and places the historic and modern city in fundamental conflict.

2.5 Alternative vision of complementary development

Gustavo Giovannoni (1873–1947), architect-planner, restorer and teacher, based in Italy (Rome), focused his prolific published output on the inter-relationship between the historic and the modern city at all levels, from the strategic to the detail of practice.[9] He pioneered the idea of mutually supportive harmonious coexistence, arguing that the correct response was to understand and work with the respective, complementary qualities and opportunities of each.

Giovannoni characterised the historic city by its compactness; the pedestrian pace and rhythm of life; the small scale of its urban grain and public spaces; the close proximity of its many different activities; its distinctive socio-economic role and vibrancy; and its contextual homogeneity (Figure 3). He characterised the modern city by its possibilities of limitless expansion; its faster pace and dynamism related to non-pedestrian forms of movement; the openness and larger scale of its urban layout, buildings and spaces; and its lack of contextuality – hence its freedom from design constraint (Figure 4).

Giovannoni opposed Le Corbusier's espousal of the Garden City as the response to the challenge of the historic city as simplistic and out-dated. He was equally opposed to the "embalming" of historic cities for historical, aesthetic or tourist objectives. Thus, whereas Howard and Le Corbusier reinforced a negative image of historic cities, urbanity and (urban) citizenship, and ignored the concept of the sustainable city, Geddes and Giovannoni anticipated it. Giovannoni exercised a seminal influence upon the course of urban planning and the adaptation of historic cities in Italy following the First and Second World Wars.

3. THE CONTEXT FOR URBAN CONSERVATION
3.1 Broadening perceptions, 1970s to date

Changing perceptions in the field of architectural and urban conservation can be observed by comparing two publications, one in celebration of European Architectural Heritage Year 1975, the other at the early dawn of the third millennium.

Firstly, in 1975: «... the starting point in a historic town must be its historic quality and visual character" – not secondary social, economic or even ecological arguments».[10]

Secondly, in 1999: by questioning «... if the conservation movement, as it evolved from the eighteenth century, cannot be considered as concluded, and whether modern conservation should not be redefined in reference to the environmental sustainability of social and economic development within the overall cultural and ecological situation on earth».[11]

In 2003, Sylvio Mutal, international consultant, expressed the latter sentiment more clearly and concisely: «conservation is not sustainable if it is only carried out for cultural reasons».[12]

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Figure 4. La Grande Arche, La Défense, Paris, France.
Situated just outside just the boulevarde périphérique, this modern business quarter epitomises the model of harmonious coexistence and freedom from design constraint that was espoused by Gustavo Giovannoni.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

This progression related in a theoretical as well as practical sense to a shift in perceptions at international level from a primarily monumental and aesthetic interpretation of "monuments" and "groups of buildings" – the terminology used in the 1972 *World Heritage Convention*[13] – as physical objects to be protected and conserved in isolation, to "inhabited historic towns" – as defined in the UNESCO *Operational Guidelines*.[14]

This epitomised a broader understanding of historic cities as places of habitation and socio-economic activity, in which individual cultural objects are recognised as components within their wider settings and human context.

This progression runs parallel to the accumulation of complementary concepts and values and the re-interpretation of established ones, including:

- 1992: *cultural landscapes*, as defined in UNESCO *Operational Guidelines* as the "combined works of nature and man";

- 1994: the *Nara Document on Authenticity*, which reinterpreted *authenticity* – which had previously been defined as «materially *original* or *genuine* as it was constructed and as it has aged and weathered in time»[15] – to acknowledge historical layering and embrace non-Western societies and vernacular traditions;[16]

- 2003: the UNESCO Convention for *intangible cultural heritage*, which gave voice to the need to safeguard and maintain creative continuity of community-based expressions and skills, such as oral traditions and language, performing arts, rituals and festive events, social practices and traditional craftsmanship;[17]

- 2005: the UNESCO Convention on *cultural diversity*, which sought to raise awareness of the value of cultural diversity at all levels from the local to the international and highlighted the challenges to cultural diversity posed by today's processes of globalisation;[18] effectively from

- 2005: the UNESCO initiative on *historic urban landscapes* (see below); and

- 2008: at the ICOMOS General Assembly in Quebec City, the articulation of *spirit of place* as a key factor in today's interpretation of *heritage*.[19]

This progression also runs parallel to the emerging global agendas of sustainable development – as above: the inter-relationship of environmental, social, economic and cultural issues, in which heritage is recognised as a cumulative material, functional, financial and cultural resource – and of climate change, and a heightened awareness of the spectrum of conservation issues as they affect both the natural and manmade worlds.

3.2 The anthropological vision

This broadening perception and accumulation of parallel agendas is encouraging a move from traditional scientific approaches to the conservation of manifestations of tangible cultural heritage as monuments, towards a complex world that engages with today's societies and demands holistic approaches.

It involves a re-interpretation of the concept of *heritage* from something that relates only to the past and is preserved as historical evidence and packaged for tourism (often characterised as the *heritage con-*

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Figure 5. Gdansk, Poland. Following extensive destruction in the Second World War, the historic centre was reconstructed in strict accordance with pre-War photographic and other documentary records.
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struct), through the UNESCO definition of heritage as «our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations»,[20] to an *anthropological vision* of geo-cultural identity and creative continuity that, to be effective and sustainable as an ongoing expression of cultural diversity, needs to be related to the dynamics of social and cultural processes and the evolving aspirations of peoples and communities.

This represents a step-change from a focus on objects that require to be preserved to processes that need to be revived or sustained: human driven rather than artefact driven. Critically, it embraces intangible cultural heritage traditions, spirit of place, and relationships at all levels between the human and natural worlds.

4. INITIATIVES BY UNESCO

4.1 UNESCO World Heritage Cities

Following the 2009 meeting of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, there are 890 cultural and natural sites on the World Heritage List, of which 689 are cultural, 176 natural and 25 mixed, spread across 148 state parties around the world. Of these approximately 300 relate to cities: whole cities; historic quarters within cities; and monuments within cities.

Examples of whole cities include the Historic Centre of Saint Petersburg and Related Group of Monuments in the Russian Federation (namely, the entire pre-1917 Tsarist capital and surrounding country palaces); the city of Bath in the United Kingdom; Venice and its lagoon; and the city of Verona.

Examples of historic quarters within cities include the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh in the United Kingdom; and Le Strada Nuova and the system of the Palazzi dei Rolli in Genoa.

Examples of monuments within cities include the Cathedral (but not the city) of Chartres in France; the Piazza del Duomo in Pisa; and La Zona di Comando in the centre of Turin.

4.2 Key challenges

The World Heritage Centre has identified a number of key challenges facing historic cities around the world. These include:

- the pace of change and dynamics of development in cities;
- the concentration of these forces in their most sensitive, historic parts;
- high-rise and other out-of-scale buildings within and neighbouring historic city centres;
- iconic contemporary architecture;
- pressures for large-scale floor-space for public administration, commerce, retail and services;
- the forecast doubling of international tourist numbers by 2020; and
- the threats these all pose to the fabric, grain, functionality, distinctiveness and urban landscapes of historic cities.

4.3 Cases referred to UNESCO World Heritage Committee

In recent years a number of cases that highlight threats to cities, quarters and urban monuments on the World Heritage List have been the subject of investigation (missions) and referral to the World Heritage Committee. Amongst these, across continental Europe and beyond, are: Vienna, Austria (Wien-Mitte high-rise development on the opposite bank of the river Danube facing the historic centre); Cologne, Germany (a proposed cluster of office towers within the panorama of the cathedral); Esfahan, Iran (a partially constructed high-rise development within sight of the historic area); and Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (a major extension to the Marinsky Theatre and the proposed 396-metre high Gazprom headquarters building).

The United Kingdom has been a special focus of attention, and successive missions have addressed issues relating to the design, scale and height of proposed developments affecting World Heritage Sites in Bath, Edinburgh, Liverpool and London (both

Figure 6. Nuremberg, Germany. Post-War reconstruction of the historic city addressed recovery of the urban panorama, the restoration of major monuments, and the harmonious integration of new buildings in harmony with their urban context.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

Westminster and the Tower) – a catalogue of concerns that does little credit to the United Kingdom planning and protective systems. Photo montages of the City of London viewed across the Thames from Westminster Bridge with St Paul's Cathedral as a backdrop, for example, illustrate existing tall buildings together with projects for which planning consents have been granted. These include such bizarrely named skyscrapers as the "gherkin", "walkie-talkie", "cheese-grater", "helter-skelter", and "shard of glass". Can one imagine projects such as these being promoted for the surroundings of St Peter's in Rome?

To date, only one cultural heritage site in the world has been deleted from the World Heritage List: the *cultural landscape* of Dresden; deleted in 2009 following a longstanding debate over the construction of a new bridge over the river Elbe.

4.4 UNESCO criteria for World Heritage Sites

The criteria for sites to be inscribed on to the World Heritage List are set out in the *Operational Guidelines* and depend on their meeting three conditions: firstly, *outstanding universal value*; secondly, *authenticity* and *integrity*; and thirdly, satisfactory mechanisms of management.[21]

4.5 The conditions of "authenticity" and "integrity"?

Clarity in the definition of the terms *authenticity* and *integrity* in the context of living cities is, currently, absent. Furthermore, there are few World Heritage Cities (if any) which have baseline audits of authenticity and integrity in place, or effective mechanisms to monitor them. Without this clarity, how can we manage the *outstanding universal value* of a World Heritage Site; and, indeed, define *outstanding universal value* in a meaningful way as a tool for the management of historic cities?

My own researches suggest that the 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity*,[22] when taken together with the less well known 2004 *INTACH Charter*,[23] render consideration of the conditions of both authenticity and integrity easier within historic cities: from monument to vernacular and from city centre ensembles to inner city residential quarters, each within its own terms of reference. The *Nara Document* – as noted above – allows for the traditional, rigid concept of *authenticity* to be interpreted to embrace cultural di-

Figure 7. Plovdiv, Bulgaria. Town mansions in the *Ancient Reserve* have been restored for a limited number of cultural and educational uses.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

versity; whereas the *INTACH Charter* highlights the importance of sustaining traditional, local knowledge systems and skills.

4.6 The aim of management plans for World Heritage Cities

The over-arching objective for urban World Heritage Sites should be holistic management that links and informs all actions, programmes, policies and strategies for a historic city, whatever its scale or individual characteristics. Moreover, they should insinuate cultural heritage (and, where also applicable, natural heritage) values into all aspects of the city's management and everyday life. Full stakeholder understanding and participation is essential: to create a sense of common ownership and involvement in the protection and creative continuity of the processes of conservation and the management of change. Of the United Kingdom World Heritage Cities, only the city of Bath management plan seeks to achieve this.[24]

5. A TIME FOR REFLECTION
5.1 1972–2012: the 40th Anniversary of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention

Celebrations are already being planned for the 40th Anniversary of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 2012.

It is a time to reflect on the many achievements: the immense value of the Convention in identifying sites of outstanding importance and engaging with the international community to safeguard them and debate key priorities.

It is also a time to consider the directions and priorities for the future, for example:

 - Given that there are now 890 World Heritage Sites, is it not time to consider whether there is an optimum number or upper limit?

 - Is the concept of cultural selectivity appropriate in an age of sustainability and climate change where other, arguably over-riding, considerations come into play that suggest that values additional to purely cultural ones should dictate a generally more conservative approach to our historic environment?

 - Does a traditional "top down" approach to selectivity facilitate common-ownership of the conservation ethic among local populations – who are, after all, the key stakeholders?

 - What status is attached to Article 5 of the 1972 *World Heritage Convention*? This commits state parties to establishing effective measures for the protection, conservation, and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage throughout their territories – not just World Heritage Sites. Should not this commitment be given greater priority in the years ahead?

 - To what extent should World Heritage Sites be accepted as the arbiters and sole examples of good practice in the management of historic cities? Alternatively, to what extent should examples of good practice in historic cities generally, including those that are not on the World Heritage List, inform those that are and what is the mechanism for this to happen?

Figure 8. Marais quarter, Paris, France.
The integrated approach to the regeneration of this historic quarter has included the harmonious insertion of contemporary architecture.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

Figure 9. Quebec City, Canada. Tourism has become the dominant activity in Old Quebec to the prejudice of a viable local community.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

- Do not the concepts of *cultural landscapes* and *historic urban landscapes* (see below) have general meaning? In the United Kingdom the term *historic environment* is defined as being "all around us": it is not a restrictive term. Are we not at risk of applying too selective an interpretation to it?

- Finally, given the 1994 UNESCO Global Strategy which – in theory at least – discriminates against new nominations from European nations in certain established categories such as cathedrals and cities, should we not consider creative approaches to new nomination categories? For example, ancient European university cities – which might include Bologna, Cambridge, Heidelberg, and Salamanca?

6. DIFFERENT URBAN CONSERVATION APPROACHES IN PRACTICE

6.1 Post-Second World War reconstructions

Two distinct patterns of conservative reconstruction can be discerned in the immediate post-War period. Firstly, replica reconstructions: the most well-known examples being the historic centres of the Polish cities of Gdansk and Warsaw, both of which were reconstructed in strict accordance with pre-War photographic and other documentary records (Figure 5). Secondly, harmonious reconstructions: German cities such as Nuremberg and Breisach, where post-War rebuilding sought to recover key aspects of their socio-cultural identity through their urban landscape, the restoration of monuments, and their traditional urban grain and mix of uses,

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Figure 10. Market Square, Warsaw, Poland.
Cultural tourism and Disneyland compete in the historic core.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

but where vernacular buildings were replaced with an eye to contextual continuity rather than historical replication (Figure 6).

6.2 Museological approach: "Ancient Reserve", Plovdiv, Bulgaria, 1950s onwards

With a history that dates back over 6,000 years, Plovdiv is one of Europe's oldest cities. Today, the upper layering of the historic core boasts over 200 town mansions dating from the mid-nineteenth century and built in the national revival style – also known as the Bulgarian Renaissance. As the starting point for the city's urban conservation programme in the 1950s, the inhabitants were relocated to post-war suburban housing estates and the area was designated a cultural, higher education and tourist zone – the *Ancient Reserve* – and detached from the everyday life of the community. There was a limited perception of appropriate uses for the 200 mansion houses, and today around half remain underused, in poor condition or derelict (Figure 7).

There are only so many art galleries, museums, libraries, and institutes that any city can support. The *Ancient Reserve* has taken on the aspect of an open-air museum, with its associated complement of souvenir shops and stalls, and the city is struggling to find either investment or uses for the many derelict houses.

6.3 Museological to integrated approach: Marais quarter, Paris, 1960s onwards

Prepared under the provisions of the 1962 *Loi Malraux*, the first *plan de sauvegarde et mise en valeur*

(conservation plan) anticipated that "the only solution for the revitalization of the 300 large residences in the Marais is to use them for embassies or head offices of large companies"[25] – to which were added art galleries, museums and governmental offices. However, as with the *Ancient Reserve* at Plovdiv, there were too many. The plan was substantially revised to incorporate other uses, notably housing, through a combination of adaptive reuse and new construction. In short, holistic, heritage-led regeneration including the integration of contemporary architecture, echoing the philosophy and practice of Geddes and Giovannoni (Figure 8).

6.4 Cultural tourism and "Disneyland"

The impact of mass tourism on cultural heritage sites can be severe. Take Quebec City, Canada, for example. The population of Old Quebec, the twelfth most visited city in the world, counting eight million visitors a year, has now reduced to five thousand inhabitants. The city welcomes cruise ships from all round the world, and the historic city is host to a concentration of bars, restaurants, souvenir shops, art and sculpture galleries (Figure 9). But how viable is a local community that is no longer served by a bread shop?

Where is the difference between cultural tourism and "Disneyland"? A common feature in historic cities is the "hurdy-gurdy": examples entertain visitors in such important cultural sites as the piazza in front of the royal palace in Turin and the market square in Warsaw (Figure 10); and a fake "galleon" is to be found in the historic port of Genoa. It is as

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Figure 11. Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation.
One of the key characteristics of the city's urban landscape is its horizontality, and the relationship this reinforces between people and the city's streets, public spaces and parks, canals and riverbanks. The 2007 Saint Petersburg Regional Conference was unanimous that the embracing term of *historic urban landscapes* is an essential working concept that enables historic cities to be managed effectively in the age of globalisation and at a time of increasing development pressures. (© Dennis Rodwell)

well to reflect that «Tourism is a great modern industry [...] We had lots of those during the Industrial Revolution and we have been cleaning up the mess ever since».[26]

7. FRAMEWORK FOR A HOLISTIC APPROACH
7.1 UNESCO "historic urban landscapes" initiative

The ongoing UNESCO *historic urban landscapes* initiative seeks to convey our holistic understanding of inhabited historic cities as an amalgam of their tangible and intangible cultural heritage aspects, related natural elements (both within cities and in their settings and surroundings), thus constituting "the combined works of nature and man" in the fullest sense.[27] It embraces the four components of *sustainable development*: the social, economic, environmental and cultural. Importantly, it seeks to articulate the city as a continuously evolving process rather than an object fixed in time. The stages of the initiative to date comprise:

- 2005: the Vienna Conference on "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Environment", which resulted in the publication of the *Vienna Memorandum*;[28] this was conceived both as a transitional document to inform ongoing debate and "as a key statement for an integrated approach linking contemporary architecture, sustainable urban development and landscape integrity based on existing historic patterns, building stock and context";

- 2006: a regional conference held in Jerusalem, which highlighted the importance of authenticity and integrity, emphasised the importance of natural elements, and recommended elaborating existing and creating new tools such as cultural mapping to promote and better serve the concept of *historic urban landscapes* through identification, understanding, environmental, visual, social and economic impact assessments, management and monitoring;[29]

- 2007: regional conferences held in Saint Petersburg and Olinda which, *inter alia*, highlighted the need for a new approach to urban planning that repositions it as part of a continuous cultural process that embraces intangible as well as tangible values, reinforces *spirit of place*, and engages with ecological issues (Figure 11);[30]

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Figure 12. Liverpool, United Kingdom.
A defining characteristic of this port city is the historical relationship between the horizontality of the waterfront and the vertical punctuation at the higher ground of the commercial and residential city behind. Currently, in the absence a coherent approach that identifies and prioritises the tangible and intangible components of the city's unique identity, developments in the city are proceeding piece-meal, and historical relationships especially at the waterfront have been jeopardised.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

Figure 13. Paris, France.
View westwards from the tower of Notre Dame. The only significant alteration to this panorama since the Second World War is on the far horizon: the high-rise buildings of La Défense.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

- 2008 (October): a workshop held during the ICOMOS General Assembly in Quebec City, which supported the need for policies and indicators that would guide acceptable, balanced change and development in historic cities;[31]

- 2008 (November): a planning workshop held at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris; and, as direct follow-up,

- 2011 (provisionally): a new UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes (covering historic cities worldwide) and revisions to the UNESCO Operational Guidelines (applicable to World Heritage Sites).

Historic urban landscapes is envisaged as an over-arching framework that establishes principles and guidelines across a sphere that has, to date, lacked consensus at the international level. It is not, of itself, a tool-kit.

In an academic sense, the definition of the term is in a state of advanced evolution. The term *landscape*, for example, is not intended to convey a physical reality that can simply be observed; rather, something that must be experienced within the cultural framework of those who have created, sustained and are responsible for transmitting it to future generations.

In February 2008, ICOMOS sought to define the concept as referring to «…the sensory perception of the urban system and its setting. A system of material components (urban layout, plot system, buildings, open spaces, trees, urban furniture, etc.) and the relationships among them, which are the result of a process, conditioned by social, economical, political and cultural constraints over time. The concept of [*historic urban landscapes*] contributes to link tangible and intangible heritage components and to assess and understand the town or urban area as a process rather than as an object».[32] This ICOMOS definition did not, however, mention natural elements.

The premiss for this UNESCO initiative is that previous Charters and Recommendations, such as the 1964 *Venice Charter*, the 1975 *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage*, the 1976 UNESCO *Nairobi Recommendation*, and the 1987 ICOMOS *Washington Charter* have not proved robust enough to deal with today's key challenges (Figure 12).[33]

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8. TOOLS FOR A HOLISTIC APPROACH

8.1 Strategic approaches: "A Tale of Two Cities" – Paris and London, 1950s onwards

Comparison of photographs of the historic urban landscape of the French capital, viewed westwards from the tower of the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris and taken at different dates, illustrates a strategic approach to the planning of a major European city that is at substantial variance with Paris's United Kingdom counterpart, London. The only significant difference in Paris since the Second World War is the appearance on the horizon of the administrative and business quarter of La Défense (Figure 13). Paris conforms to the model of a polycentric metropolitan city, one that permits freedom of layout and architectural expression outside the city centre whilst protecting the urban grain and integrity of mixed use quarters at the historic core – quarters that function seven days a week and support continuity of small-scale artisan businesses and traditions. Paris conforms to the model of harmonious coexistence anticipated by Gustavo Giovannoni.

London, on the other hand, has developed over the same period as an increasingly monocentric metropolitan city, in which the key functions are separated – especially work and residence – and where the physical heart, the City, only functions on weekdays and small-scale artisan businesses have been driven out. London conforms to the Western model for post-industrial cities, as promoted by Howard and Le Corbusier. The skyline of the City of London today, with its plethora of high-rise office buildings, is witness to this (Figure 14).

Thus, in Paris the historic urban landscape and continuity of cultural identity have been protected; whereas in London, both have been seriously undermined.

The strategic approach that is manifest in Paris depends on a number of key tools that date back to the middle of the nineteenth century. The polycentric regional plan of which *La Défense* forms a part dates from the 1950s, building height protection dates from the 1930s, and protection of the small-scale mixed-use urban grain – through a combination of urban planning regulations and protectionist policies towards artisan businesses – dates from the time of Baron Haussmann in the 1850s. It may be argued that if artisan businesses can survive in the heart of metropolitan Paris, so can they survive in any historic city. The beneficial results include a sense of place in the physical sense as well as socio-economic and cultural continuity.

8.2 Urban morphology

The discipline of urban morphology – which, at least in the United Kingdom, is a largely unrecognised discipline – has a key role to play in supporting an understanding of historic cities as a process rather than an object: not according to established notions of historical or stylistic "period"; instead, recognising the evolving relationship between the urban grain, built form, and land and building uses. Thus, the unique socio-economic and cultural identity of cities, their multiple layering, and *spirit of place*. The urban morphology discipline avoids

the *heritage* and *contemporary* constructs and is an important tool for the management of change in historic cities.[34]

8.3 Statements of Significance

As an essential aid to the definition and monitoring of *authenticity* and *integrity*, both for tangible and intangible cultural heritage, assessments of value should encompass the full range: from those that are recognised academically to those that are recognised by their communities; hence, from *outstanding universal value* (in the case of World Heritage Sites), through national values, to local values and those that are embraced at community level.

This is the key to the broad "landscape" approach

Figure 14. City of London, United Kingdom.
The skyline today epitomises a monocentric metropolitan city that accords with the Western model of urban planning.
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Figure 15.
Piața Mica, Sibiu, Romania. Illustrating the characteristic mélange of architectural styles in the historic centre.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

that is encapsulated in the concept of *historic urban landscapes*. It reinforces the *anthropological vision*: the dynamic approach that is centred around humankind and focused on processes that safeguard geo-cultural identity and secure its creative continuity.

Statements of significance should also provide the basis for establishing the "tolerance for change": the limits up to which change can be accommodated; and beyond which it needs to be resisted.

9. CASE STUDY: A COMMUNITY-ORIENTATED APPROACH TO URBAN CONSERVATION
9.1 Central and Eastern Europe: background
Visitors to countries of the former Soviet Bloc, both before and in the aftermath of the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1991, were struck by the extent of survival of historic monuments, villages and entire cities.[35] There were notable exceptions, but the generality was determined by the absence of economic pressures for redevelopment and the value of the historic environment as a material resource that satisfied human needs for shelter and functionality. Thus, compared to many cities in Western Europe over the same period, Eastern Bloc counterparts retained their historic urban layouts and grain, architectural homogeneity by morphological and stylistic period, and their traditional small-scale, mixed-use characteristics with a bias towards residential uses. The buildings may not have been well maintained, commerce may have been limited, but historic city centres were lived in, unaffected by market pressures on property values or fashion.

During the communist period there were few proactive examples of what came to be known across Western Europe from the 1960s onwards as urban conservation. Certain historic centres, famously Gdansk and Warsaw, were – as we have seen – reconstructed in strict accordance with pre-War photographic and other documentary records. Across the region generally, however the focus was on selected individual monuments.

The immensity and distinctive nature of the task facing urban leaders across the region called for innovative approaches and solutions. Such may be found in the case of Sibiu in Romania.

9.2 Top-down meeting bottom-up: Sibiu, Romania, 2000 onwards

Sibiu is situated near the geographical centre of today's Romania, towards the southern edge of the historical region of Transylvania and close to the Făgăraş mountains – part of the Carpathian chain. The city was founded in the second half of the twelfth century by Germanic settlers who originated from lands in the region of the Mosel and Lower Rhine.[36]

Sibiu is also known by the historical name of Hermannstadt and retains strong cultural and other links with present-day Germany and Luxembourg. These links have proved invaluable to the city, especially over the past decade. First elected in 2000 and re-elected twice since, the mayor of the city is Mr Klaus Johannis, a member of the minority Germanic community.

In urban planning terms the city developed organically throughout the medieval, renaissance and baroque periods, and is notable for the multiple layers of its development from its first manifestation as a citadel through to the fourth and outermost fortified ring (Figure 15). The topography of the site divides the historic city into an upper and lower town.

The city centre fell into decline and neglect during the communist period. Unlike historic quarters in certain other Romanian cities such as Bucharest, however, it survived largely untouched until the fall of the Ceauşescu regime in December 1989.

The city's historic core is one of the largest in Romania: the extent of its outer fortifications covers 86.50 hectares, and today it houses a population of 14,000. In 1998 an international conference was held in Sibiu under the auspices of UNESCO and the Council of Europe. This identified threats to the cultural heritage of the city, especially in relation to the vernacular heritage. It was specifically noted that: "The socio-economic importance of the minor architectural heritage lies in its capacity of housing a large number of the inhabitants of the historic quarters and its being, therefore, a main feature of the social life of the historic centre."[37]

This 1998 conference focused local, national, and international attention on Sibiu and established the need to define and promote an integrated vision and sustainable plan of action for the city. It led to the initiation of an urban rehabilitation programme led and part-financed by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation, GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit), on behalf of the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, as part of its international programme of support to city administrations in partner countries to conserve and develop the values and socio-economic potential of the architectural heritage and cultural diversity of their historic centres.[38]

From the outset, this programme has been based on a place-specific, bottom-up approach to the rehabilitation of the historic core. There was early recognition that an approach founded on costly restoration coupled with resettlement of the inhabitants was not feasible. Gentrification was not an option: at the time there was no "gentry" in the city, and those with money today seek the comforts and convenience of a house with garden and garaging in the suburbs or outside the city, not the confines of the historic centre.

As an alternative, in what constituted a pioneering initiative across the Central and East European region, it was decided to attempt a programme involving gentle, step-by-step approaches to rehabilitation and incorporating the potential for active involvement by the inhabitants. In this, it was recognised that the most important stakeholders in the rehabilitation process were the people living and working in the area, and that a stable population was essential to maintain the viability of local commerce and services.

Thus, at an early stage of this Romanian-German Cooperation project a comprehensive study was undertaken of the housing conditions, the social composition, and the views of the inhabitants.[39] This established that 60% of the housing in the historic centre was owner-occupied, only 9% was fully renovated, and over 50% lacked basic amenities or was in a poor state of repair – with a significant proportion of residents sharing toilets, bathrooms and kitchens. Space standards were low by Western European standards, a high proportion of residents were in the low or very low income brackets, and there was a bias towards the elderly and the retired compared to the overall city population – all of which reflects experience elsewhere.

Significantly, 85% of the residents stated a clear preference that their dwelling be improved rather than be obliged to relocate to more modern accommodation elsewhere in the city. Another important finding was of a strong self-help ethic amongst owners and tenants, who had both the experience and the willingness to participate in carrying out repair and renovation works themselves and to share their skills with neighbours and relatives.

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The conclusions of this and other wide-ranging studies were consolidated into the *Charter for the Rehabilitation of the Historic Center of Sibiu/Hermannstadt*, published as a consultative draft in March 2000 and finalised in October 2000.[40] This Charter argued that conserving both the tangible heritage and the living character of historic Sibiu were fundamental to preserving its identity for future generations and to securing a sustainable future for it.

The Charter's objectives and priorities covered a full range of topics and issues: from service infrastructure and housing; through cultural tourism and retail; to townscape, public spaces and traffic management. The key mechanisms for achieving this were a strategy and action plan prepared by GTZ on behalf of the City Hall, the latest being for the period 2005 to 2009.[41] This defined and established roles, tasks and the funding to be provided from the local community; local, regional, and national funds; statutory undertakers; and international contributions.

Within this over-arching framework, a primary goal of the project has been to improve the living conditions of the historic centre by building local awareness and capacity for sustainable urban rehabilitation: the ethic, the people, the institutions, the tools, and the finance. Attracting a significant level of outside private sector investment was not a component of this strategy. Activating and making best use of available resources within the local community through micro- rather than macro-financial support was, thereby supporting socio-economic continuity. Through its local office in the heart of the historic centre, GTZ funded and managed the provision of in-itial, free professional counselling to the inhabitants through a specially trained group of local architects and allied disciplines, and published an extensive range of information leaflets and guidance manuals that promote best conservation practice. An initial series of seven information leaflets, delivered to every address in the historic centre, covered: facades (materials and colours); windows and shutters; wooden doors, gates and their ironmongery; service installations (electricity, gas and satellite dishes); public lighting (to facades and passages); and inner courtyards (use, landscaping and maintenance). Follow-up leaflets have focused on: damp-proofing; lime mortars; secondary glazing; and energy efficiency in heating systems, electrical appliances and lighting. Additionally, a comprehensive series of technical guidance manuals have been published for the construction professions and artisans.

Priority was attached to a holistic understanding of the cultural significance, historical evolution and environmental performance of buildings. Awareness of these together with appropriate traditional materials and craftsmanship has been widely publicised in the community through the media, a conservation award scheme, a training exhibition held periodically to display and communicate best practice, and various campaigns – including one targeted against the use of plastic for doors, windows and shutters in substitution for historical joinery patterns.

This campaign included a competition for school children, which was won by an eight year olds art-work. The celebratory barbecue in the Piaţa Mare was hosted by Mayor Johannis, an inspirational fig-ure in the local community. Treated as passive consumers, young people's interest in their heritage is not awakened. When, on the other hand, they are treated as participants they are amongst its most valuable ambassadors.

Additionally, GTZ managed a modest but pivotal grant-aid budget for local residents to undertake demonstration projects of incremental investment: targeted firstly on structural and damp defects; and secondly on the installation of modern bathrooms and kitchens. Grant-aid calculations, based in principle on a ceiling of 50%, took into account contributions in kind by owners and tenants who undertook works themselves, and have frequently been much higher – essential in an area of predominantly low-income households who would not otherwise be able to afford to have works carried out. Importantly also in a historic core where the vernacular predominates, no distinctions were drawn between whether individual buildings are listed as monuments or not.

In the period of the GTZ rehabilitation component, 2000–2007, a third of the 1,100 residential buildings (comprising a total of 5,700 apartments) benefited from the free consultancy, and a total of 1.4 million euros of seed funding was expended on 70 demonstration projects.[42] By the end of this period, the late-1990s" threat of catastrophic decline and decay had been all but eliminated and only 10 residential properties were assessed to be in a dangerous condition. The demonstration projects, by focusing on the most critical defects and basic housing conditions, served to rekindle citizens" confidence in the historic cen-

Figure 16. Avram Iancu Street, Sibiu, Romania.
Vernacular architecture predominates in the historic centre, where community engagement in the urban conservation programme has benefited from the policy of step-by-step repair and rehabilitation under the Romanian–German Cooperation Project.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

cial services and higher education. Sibiu benefits from a municipal government that is committed to establishing strong civic partnerships.[45]

Sibiu is now one of the most prosperous cities in Romania with an increasingly international profile. The historical connections with Germany and Luxembourg have encouraged substantial foreign investment in the automotive, electronics, textile and food industries on sites on the periphery of the city, and in the period 2000–2006 unemployment across the city dropped from 20% to 5%.

In 2007 Sibiu partnered Luxembourg as European Capital of Culture. The city hosted a thousand events and attracted over a million visitors from home and abroad. Inspired by this recognition, significant investments in townscape improvements have been completed in the main squares and principal streets, the provision of guest accommodation and restaurants has accelerated, the local airport has been upgraded, and Sibiu is now established as an international cultural heritage destination. This potential is greatly enhanced by the cultural, natural and recreational offer in the surrounding region, with its towns and villages, fortresses and churches, mountains, forests and open landscapes, all rich in folklore and traditions, all now benefiting from exposure to a wider audience through the success of Sibiu and allied initiatives in the sub-region. The leverage effect of recognising and fostering the socio-economic as well as the cultural resource value of Sibiu's historic centre is immense.

The historic centre of Sibiu is not inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List. It was placed on the

tre and to showcase the minimum intervention approach to rehabilitation as an alternative to prohibitively expensive total restoration. They have also had a multiplier effect across the sector: 360 artisans have received vocational training in traditional materials and craft skills, opening up new opportunities for employment and apprenticeships and stimulating the revival of a self-sustaining market (Figure 16).[43]

Since 2007, in accordance with its capacity-building and handover plan, GTZ"s role in the rehabilitation process has been succeeded by the Sibiu Foundation for Urban Rehabilitation – a foundation under Romanian law in which the city has a majority stake.

At the cutting edge of finding new solutions for today's urban conservation challenge in the region, the Sibiu experience has attracted considerable interest from

historic cities across Romania. GTZ has designed and is supporting a capacity-building programme for the city of Timişoara, interest has been expressed by a number of other cities, and in November 2008 a conference was hosted in Sibiu aimed at insinuating a national strategy for urban rehabilitation into governmental policy and into the core training of the construction professions and artisans.[44]

In Sibiu itself, the strategic involvement of GTZ and its detailed focus on city centre housing conditions has formed part of a broad programme of economic and cultural renaissance that has been supported at all levels from the national government downwards. As a result, the city has metamorphosed from a run-down provincial town into an important regional centre for administration, industry, finan-

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Tentative List for Romania in 2004, but the nomination was deferred when considered at the 2007 meeting of the World Heritage Committee. The ICOMOS advisory report was negative: it misinterpreted both the singular historical importance of Sibiu and the merits of a management plan that treated the historic area as an inhabited historic town rather than a monumental ensemble.[46] This is an ongoing conflict of underlying ethos that has yet to be resolved. Paradoxically, an ICOMOS newsletter published in 2009 used words such as "outstanding" and "faultless" to characterise the coherence of the integrated conservation efforts in the city and the resultant "strong sense of integrity".[47]

10. BY WAY OF A CONCLUSION
10.1 Urban conservation and sustainability: the challenge for the 21st century

The conservation movement in Europe expanded exponentially throughout the twentieth century from a focus on individual monuments of great architectural and artistic value to embrace industrial heritage, domestic architecture and the vernacular, and the historic areas of cities. This rapid expansion was triggered by the accelerating pace of societal change and underlined by the extent of destruction to numerous historic cities both in wartime and peacetime – the latter often in the well-intentioned but short-sighted name of progress.

Additionally, the established convention that the heritage movement is in a constant state of chronological expansion encouraged a valorization of the Modern Movement. Thus, one of its major urban manifestations, the garden city plan and 1930s flowering of Italian-inspired architectural expression in Asmara, capital of the African state of Eritrea, is defined by its 400 hectare "historic perimeter" – despite being less than a hundred years old.

This expansion in conscientious of what is valuable in the built environment has run parallel with an expanding sense of ownership. Firstly, the revival and promotion of traditional materials, constructional techniques and craft skills has made them more accessible: not just for the preservation of monuments in curatorial care but also in the conservation of vernacular architecture in domestic use. Secondly, the values attributed to the historic environment by communities have often become at least as important as those ascribed by academics and historians. This sense of shared ownership, one that adopts an inclusive approach and engages directly with the values that citizens attribute to their own environment, has become one of strongest safeguards for individual buildings and inhabited areas alike. The strength of NGOs and the successful campaigns they have mounted, notably across Western Europe, and the modesty of many of the buildings and quarters they have saved from destruction, bears witness to this.

The conservation world has also moved forward from its initial focus on the preservation of buildings and historic areas as primarily physical objects. This is seen by some specialists working in the field as an unacceptable threat to established practices; by others, as the opportunity for conservation to shed its elitist, marginalized, position and contribute a more proactive, central role in today's societies: at all levels from the protection of locally distinctive architectural detail to resource planning at the global scale.

The world's demographic profile has now surpassed a defining threshold. For the first time, fifty per cent of the world's population lives in cities; this proportion (as well as the overall world population) is forecast to increase steadily in the decades ahead. Moreover, in a world increasingly in search of ways to address the key agendas of our time – sustainability and climate change – this urban half of the human population accounts for three quarters of the world's annual consumption of resources and discharge of wastes. In short, cities constitute an important starting point for a sustainable world. Their continuously accumulating heritage, ancient and modern, has a vital role to play in meeting this challenge.

Historic buildings and urban areas constitute not merely a non-renewable cultural resource: they also represent a non-renewable capital resource – of materials, embodied energy, and financial investment. Further, they constitute an essential functional resource, one that has been demonstrated time and time again to be highly adaptable to creative reuse.

By combining our concerns for the heritage value of historic buildings, urban areas and their infrastructure, with the wider environmental imperatives of respecting the finite material resources of our planet and the threats posed by global warm-

Figures 17 and 18. Bologna, Italy. With its protected urban landscape and vibrant life-style, Bologna is a potential model for a sustainable city.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

ing and climate change, the rationale behind the protection and conservation of our heritage is reinforced and magnified many times over. Adopting a preservationist approach based on academically derived concepts such as "architectural or historic interest"[48] offers only a very limited justification for conservation in a world in which so many other factors can also be brought into play – factors that demand a far more responsible approach than has hitherto been the norm in the developed world.

Two further influences contribute to this reinforcement of the value of protection and conservation: firstly, increasing emphasis in our globalizing world on cultural diversity; and secondly, recognition not simply of tangible heritage values but also of the intangible values that attach to hu-

man traditions and practices. These support the expression of cultural diversity through the use of locally and regionally distinctive building materials, architectural details and urban patterns; and, in parallel, an approach to cultural continuity that is focused at least as much on processes that require to be sustained (or revived where in jeopardy) as on museum-like artefacts from the past that are subject to curatorial care. This human approach, characterized as the anthropological vision of geo-cultural identity and cultural continuity, has much to commend it. At one and the same time it bolsters the safeguarding of historic objects by reinforcing the processes for conserving them, and integrates this with the creative dynamics of evolving social and cultural processes. Thus, the concept of *heritage* is not seen as being limited to a past that is fixed in time, but as something to which each generation in turn is encouraged to contribute in a positive, additive sense. The *anthropological vision* focuses on people as both the custodians and creative vectors of cultural diversity and identity.

In the urban conservation field, Gustavo Giovannoni was one of the most important theoreticians and practitioners in the first half of the twentieth century. His response to the challenge of how to interrelate the historic areas of cities with their expanding modern counterparts was simple: mutually supportive, harmonious coexistence: avoiding conflict and allowing the distinctive characteristics of both to be respected and given the freedom to evolve creatively. His most successful legacies

today, both directly and indirectly, include in the strategic planning and detailed programmes of conservation in cities across Italy and France.

11. FOOTNOTE

11.1 A reflection on the historic city of Bologna

Although I have read and seen presentations about Bologna since the time of its pioneer socially-orientated urban conservation programmes starting in the 1960s, this has been my first visit to the city. It would be a presumption for me to attempt to offer suggestions for Bologna, but it seems opportune to set down certain issues which, from the perspective of an informed outsider, raise questions or concerns in my mind. To some of these there may be simple answers. To others, the answers may be more intractable.

Issues which appear to demand responses include:

- The standard of maintenance of buildings, streets and public spaces.

- The nature and extent of graffiti, fly-posting and refuse collection containers throughout the historic centre. This, a form of vandalism, appears to suggest antagonism – indeed a form of "violence" – against the historic city on the part of a section or sections of the local community. Such vandalism is typical of soulless modern housing estates of the post-Second World War period, and there is an entire literature that seeks to explain this. It is rare, however, to experience this in historic cities.

- An apparent lack of "top-down meeting bottom-up" engagement and sense of common-ownership between the specialists, academics and professionals who recognise and laud the architectural and historical values of the historic city, and the broad spectrum of stakeholders who occupy, use and share responsibility for the daily care and long-term maintenance of all aspects of the historic environment. Stakeholders in this sense include the local population and businesses as well as visitors and transient populations including students of the university and others.

- What appears to be a comparatively low level of tourist activity in the city – compared, for example, to the "hot-spots" represented by certain other Italian cities. This may be deliberate. Indeed, it has the potential to be beneficial if an enhanced sense of common-ownership can be achieved within the local population.

- The absence of (new) public art.

- An apparently unresolved debate concerning modern architecture in the historic centre. In what way should it be *contemporary*: harmonious, conflictual or "iconic"?

To counterbalance the above, the most impressive aspect for a first time visitor – especially one who is more accustomed to the land use separations and essentially unsustainable post-Second World War urban planning in historic cities in England – is the extent to which the historic centre of Bologna is lived in, served by a seemingly unlimited range of local and specialist shops and other services, and conforms in a generally advanced sense to the model of a sustainable city (Figures 17 and 18).

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