

***The Politics of Selective Preservation: a Study of Causes and Consequences of
Cultural Heritage Destruction during Peace***

The Cases of Afghanistan, Egypt and Libya

By

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS
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This study seeks to analyze the causes and consequences of cultural heritage destruction during times of peace. Its purpose is to bring attention to causes of cultural heritage destruction that might be less evident but are nonetheless as destructive as violent conflicts.

I will attempt to illustrate the relevance of this research by considering the cases of three countries affected by cultural heritage destruction during peace: Afghanistan, Libya, and Egypt. These countries have been selected because of their similar socio-political history and their recent involvement in conflicts that led to the destruction of a portion of their heritage. These common characteristics facilitate the analysis by eliminating variables that might be created by cultural discrepancies, historic differences and the war/peace context. The presence of both destruction during war and destruction during peace illustrates the similarities and differences of the two phenomena.

In order to investigate the causes leading to destruction of heritage during peaceful times, I will consider the role played by governments in setting patterns of *selective preservation* and the way in which this process has come to affect the local's perception of cultural identity. Furthermore, I will look at the role of local populations, governments and international organization in guaranteeing the preservation of cultural heritage. Finally, I will recommend the implementation of programs fostering the preservation of a comprehensive cultural patrimony that is truly representative of each nation's cultural identity.

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INTRODUCTION

Recent conflicts in the Middle East have brought to the world's attention the detrimental effects of war on cultural heritage. Since the beginning of socio-political turmoil, looting and bombings have kept local and international communities gasping at the thought of losing their cultural patrimony. The consternation that accompanied acts of war threatening the immediate, grand scale destruction of cultural patrimony brought light upon the great amount of heritage loss that took place during peaceful times in the same settings. This series of events has evidenced communities' widespread failure to recognize that destruction does not necessarily have to be violent to be damaging.

This study seeks to evaluate the causes and consequences of heritage destruction during times of peace. It focuses on the role of governments in the preservation process by analyzing the effect of policy and ideologies on cultural heritage. At the heart of this research stands the principle that the lack of active destruction, such as episodes caused by wars, does not necessarily imply the preservation of a country's heritage. The research is relevant because the process of selective preservation that takes place during "safe" times has a major effect on the identity of nations, so profound that it can be compared to the damage caused by war destruction.

This thesis considers the cases of Afghanistan, Libya, and Egypt. The three countries share similar political characteristics and have been involved in violent revolutions that, as a result, led to a government coupé d'état. These common traits facilitate the analysis by eliminating variables that might be created by cultural discrepancies, historic differences and the war/peace context. The examples chosen fall within the same areas of the world because of the nature of recent socio-political

conflicts. Nevertheless, this analysis is not presented as evaluation of the Arabic history and politics, nor am I in any way assuming the position of an expert in the field of Middle Eastern studies. While the research considers the specific cases of three Middle Eastern countries, the concepts observed are applicable to other cases of cultural heritage destruction during peace regardless of their geographical location.

The premises of this analysis imply the demarcation of a period of peace within the time frame considered. However, the socio-political history of the countries analyzed makes a clear isolation of this period difficult. For the purpose of this analysis, “peace” will indicate the period preceding a full blown political conflict that led to a government coupe d’état.

a. Defining “Selective Preservation”

English architect Bernard M. Feilden author of *Conservation of Historic Buildings*, discerns two general types of cultural heritage destruction: intentional and unintentional. Intentional heritage destruction is guided by the will of people i.e. economic earning, ideologies, change in taste. Unintentional heritage destruction is led to by natural forces, such as deterioration due to neglect, earthquakes, flooding.¹ The following analysis elaborates on the type of events leading to both unintentional and intentional destruction of heritage during times of peace.

Governing authorities play a major role in determining a nation’s conservation of cultural heritage. Through the enforcement of policies and the reiteration of historic patterns, they choose the portion of cultural patrimony that is most representative of the country’s heritage and uphold its preservation. In the context of this analysis, the process

¹ Feilden, 2-3

leading to this end will be indicated by the term *selective preservation*. The term has been adopted for its literal meaning to represent practices leading to the conservation of a chosen portion of a nation's cultural patrimony, and the active destruction or the abandonment of the remaining share. Patterns of selective preservation adopted by governments sometimes are not representative of the nation's cultural identity. For example, in the instance of tyrannical and authoritarian governments the process is often dictated by the leader's ideas and may lead to the destruction of valuable heritage.

Destruction by way of selective preservation can occur by means of intentional or unintentional actions. This study defines the process of obliteration by non-violent action as *Soft destruction*. Soft destruction usually implies annihilation by way of indirect action (i.e. neglect), however it is considered to be a consequence of ideologies and therefore not fully unintentional. The term is an antonym of violent destruction; it refers to the contrast between the concepts of harsh vs. soft, associated respectively with war and peace. Destruction during peace can occur both in the form of soft and violent action, however it is most often characterized by soft destruction and, for this reason, goes unnoticed.

The cases presented in this study are representative of both soft and violent examples of destruction resulting from selective preservation practices. They exemplify instances of destruction that took place prior to social turmoil and during the ensuing conflict. The first case introduced is Afghanistan. This case differs from the other two because it is an example of selective preservation by way of violent destruction. In this case the destruction of cultural heritage was dictated by the ideology of the leading authority and was therefore intentional. The case study explicitly reveals patterns that are

less visible in instances of soft destruction. For this reason, causes and consequences of destruction during peace observed in Afghanistan have been applied to better understand the more subtle examples of Libya and Egypt. The cases of Libya and Egypt are both examples of soft destruction but are not identical. While destruction in Libya was mostly caused by neglect, in Egypt, decay was in some cases acknowledged by the government who opted for urbanization rather than rehabilitation. The three countries differ in the level in which they prioritize preservation at the time of destruction. While preservation was highly prioritized by Egypt, it played a moderately important role in Libya and was not explicitly considered by the Taliban government in Afghanistan.² In all these cases the nature of the government influenced the nation's approach to preservation.

This study has been conducted as a country-wide overview; nevertheless, within this broader scene, patterns of destruction have been highlighted by specific examples, such as sites or cities. Observations have been developed around causes and effects of the process, to illustrate the correlation between governments and cultural heritage destruction. An analysis of the nations' involvement in preservation at international level (i.e. UNESCO) contributed to underlining their priorities in the field of heritage conservation.

Emphasis has been placed on the connection existing between heritage preservation and the protection of a nation's cultural identity. As states decide what to preserve, people's perception of their cultural identity is altered to follow newly enforced standards of significance applied to heritage conservation. In this manner sites are forgotten, at times destroyed, and the cultural values associated with them are lost. A

² See Map 1 Afghanistan, Egypt and Libya

comparison of patterns of destruction of sites during peace and episodes of destruction during war reveals that, in the context of heritage, damage caused both before and during the war affects the nation's cultural identity in a similar, if not in equal way.

Lastly, the study proposes a reevaluation of the process of selective preservation that takes place in time of peace. Given the damaging potential of selective preservation, it is important for each nation to preserve sites and artifacts that comprehensively represent its people's cultural identity. The last section of this thesis (*Part III*) proposes the establishment of guidelines and the bolstering of regulations that support the protection of endangered heritage in times of peace.

PART I
CHAPTER I
AFGHANISTAN

In War and Peace: Grounds of Cultural Heritage Destruction in Taliban Afghanistan

The Bamyān Buddhas

“A nation stays alive when its culture stays alive”³

The case of Afghanistan is among the most explicit examples of compulsory selective preservation in recent history. The destruction that took place in this country differs from other recent episodes of selective preservation because of the sequence in which violent and non violent destruction took place.⁴

This analysis considers the Taliban regime’s preservation practices prior to the conflict that ended their rule in 2001. Following the September 11th attacks on the United States, the U.S. Special Forces invaded Afghanistan, with the support of northern rebel groups overthrew the Taliban government, giving start to the conflict that persists today.⁵ The Taliban formed during the 1980s as a religious movement aiming to restore the Islamic traditions of their country; however their ambition soon became political.⁶ City by city, town by town, under the pretenses of bringing order in the years after the Soviet invasion, Taliban militia groups gained control of the government of Afghanistan. In

³ Sign posted on the door of the Kabul Museum in 2002

⁴ Given the controlling nature of the Taliban government and the amount of tribal conflict resulting from impositions of the leading group, discerning a period of peace from one of conflict can be difficult. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this analysis, the terms “war” and “peace” are applied most practically to provide a better understanding of traits that distinguish incidents discussed.

⁵ *Afghanistan profile*. September 30, 2012 BBC News Asia
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-12024253>

Also see Knuth, 156

⁶ The word Taliban, from the Arabic word *talibo* means pupil or student of Islam. The initial members of this group were student of Religion in a University in Pakistan. Shay, 70

doing so, they began imposing laws that altered people's lifestyles in order to accommodate the government's interpretation of Islamic principles. These changes included restrictions to the public conduct of women, monitoring of media and the annihilation of art works that were judged to be in opposition to the Taliban ideology.⁷ The intentional destruction of cultural heritage conducted by the Taliban government was justified as a necessary step towards the cultural and religious purification of the nation.⁸

While the period of relative peace prior to 2001 was characterized by a violent systematic process of annihilation, cultural heritage obliteration during the war was mostly caused by looting. In the past eleven years of conflict, plundering has continued to damage the heritage of the country. Many have recognized the looting activity in Afghanistan to be like no other in history; among them was ICOMOS (*International Council on Monuments and Sites*) Secretary General John Zvereff who in 2007, years after the beginning of the conflict, reiterated the following: "Afghanistan is now at serious risk from organized destruction and plundering."⁹ Although different in their dynamics, both looting and violent destruction have caused irreparable damage to the heritage of Afghanistan.

a. Selective Preservation Pattern: Principles behind the Act of Destruction

In March 2001, the Taliban government of Afghanistan initiated the demolition of two colossal statues of Buddha, located in the heart of the Bamiyan Valley.¹⁰ The statues

⁷ Dupree, 9

⁸ The cultural cleansing was not limited to images of "idols" but was extended to literature, music and museums.

⁹ Casert, Raf. *Plundering of Afghanistan's Archaeological Sites and Museums Continues Ancient Sites and Monuments, Ranging from the Old Stone Age to the 20th Century, are Being Attacked and Systematically Looted.* via The Boston Globe, February 3, 2007
<http://www.rawa.org/temp/runews/2007/02/03/plundering-of-afghanistan-s-archaeological-sites-and-museums-continues.phtml>

¹⁰ See Map 3, The Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan.

had been created in the 3rd and 4th century and were part of a larger complex that is still considered to be among the most valuable representations of Ancient Buddhist art. Although to an outside viewer the demolition of the Buddhas might have appeared to be an isolated event, it was the apex of a plan of destruction that aimed to wipe out multiple cultural resources, such as libraries and museums. This episode became symbolic of the cultural cleansing affecting the nation largely because it was publicized by the government and because of its large scale.

The destruction of cultural heritage in Afghanistan resulted from the government's implementation of policies that reflected Taliban socio-political beliefs. On February 26, 2001 Mullah Mohammed Omar, at that time the head of the Taliban government, issued an edict for the destruction of the nation's non-Islamic cultural heritage.¹¹ The Edict, issued upon decision of the *Ulema*,¹² ruled that all statues representing non-Islamic symbols and idols were to be destroyed so that their worshipping might be prevented in the present and future. Additionally it claimed that these statues "remain[ed] shrines of unbelievers and these unbelievers continue to worship and respect them."¹³ The Bamiyan Buddhas, as well as numerous other artifacts, fell victim to the enforcement of this policy. Yet, it must be noted that at the moment of the destruction, the Buddhist population in Afghanistan was nearly non-existent.¹⁴

¹¹ Knuth, 146

¹² The Ulema (the Supreme Court of Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan) is a body of religious scholars that within the Taliban movement was in charge of consulting leaders in the making of decision so that they may fulfill rules claimed by Islam. The main role of Ulema is to interpret and apply the rules of Islam. Vogelsang, 329

¹³ This interpretation of the Edict resulted from analyzing an excerpt provided by Finnbar Berry Flood. (Flood, 655). There are no complete translations of the original text.

¹⁴ Flood, 651

The demolition of the Buddha statues was justified as an attempt to restore the heritage of the country, but instead contributed to its obliteration. An analysis of events leading to the destruction of the statues reveals the act not to be representative of the country's beliefs, but indeed motivated by the ideas of the leading group. The religious bases of the Taliban's cultural regulations were commented upon by members of the Muslim community in the aftermath of the Edict's publication. Although some members of the Muslim community saw this as an understandable response to external repression, others distanced themselves from the defilement of heritage.¹⁵ An Iranian journalist stated: "Islam has never preached the destruction of objects that embody the belief and history of millions of people throughout the world"¹⁶. Author Ziauddin Sardar, supports this same principle in his book *Reading the Quar'an*. Sardar states that there are no references or restrictions to art and imagery mentioned in the Qur'an. The iconoclastic character of this religion derives from the impossibility of representing God in a human form, therefore making idolization implausible.¹⁷

Finbarr Berry Flood, a professor of Middle Eastern Studies, analyzes the destructive tendencies dictated by the Taliban government in his article *Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm, and the Museum*. Flood defines the destructive tendencies of the Taliban government not to be representative of Islamic practices of the

¹⁵ Knuth, 155

¹⁶ Yaqub, *Common Afghans to Pay the Price for Taliban's Defiance*. March 7, 2001

¹⁷ Sardar, 363. According to Z. Sardar, the Taliban based their iconoclastic policies on the Islamic book known as "Traditions of the Prophet" or the "Hadith". The Hadith is considered to be a fundamental part of Islamic laws for it regulates behaviors of everyday life. The book is a narration of the actions attributed to Muhammad that was created during 8th and 9th century, however unlike the Qua'ran, the Hadith is not an official scripture.

past. In fact, he comments that for long in the past, the Bamyin Buddhas were considered to be marvels of the world by non-Islamic and Islamic populations.¹⁸

b. Analyzing the Pattern: the Pursuit of Political Interests at the Cost of a Country's Cultural Identity

The destruction of the Buddhas was widely publicized on the national radio prior to being executed.¹⁹ Barry Bearak of the New York Times reported the testimony of Mawlawi Qudratullah Jamal, the Taliban's minister of information and culture, from the time of destruction; he stated: "The head and legs of the Buddha statues in Bamiyan were destroyed yesterday...Our soldiers are working hard to demolish the remaining parts. They will come down soon...It is easier to destroy than to build."²⁰ This statement along with the public coverage of the event illustrate that the Taliban wanted the destruction of the statues to be noticed.

The obvious involvement of the government in this premeditated action illustrates the degree of influence exerted by authorities in the destruction of cultural heritage. David Lowenthal, illustrates in his book *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* that "Decisions about what to conserve and what to jettison [...] all invoke heritage to explain how we feel and to validate how we act".²¹ The destruction of the Buddha statues served the interests of the leading political party. From the Taliban's point of view, the destruction of the Buddha statues affirmed their belief in the inefficacy of international law and also functioned as a mean to assert their political authority.

¹⁸ Flood, 650-651

¹⁹ Flood, 655

²⁰ Bearak, Barry. *World Protests, Taliban are Destroying Ancient Buddhas*. March 4, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/03/04/world/over-world-protests-taliban-are-destroying-ancient-buddhas.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>

²¹ Lowenthal, XIV

The destruction of the Buddhas was an act of cultural terrorism²² attempting to convey a political message while being justified with religious beliefs. Author Robert Bevan points out that terrorism is “...an act of violent propaganda”.²³ In the case of cultural heritage, the destroyed site serves as medium to communicate a message. The clarity of the message transmitted by an act of terror is defined by the specificity with which the target is chosen.²⁴ Bevan states, in regards to the political use of cultural destruction, “it is the reason for their presence behind the desire to obliterate them”, further affirming that cultural heritage is destroyed because of the meaning attributed to it.²⁵ These types of symbols are not damaged because they are in the way of an objective, but because their destruction is the objective itself.

The Bamiyan valley, located in north-east Afghanistan, was chosen as the objective of cultural terrorism because of its artistic and cultural value. Article 7 of the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Nara Convention, 1994)* states “A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs”.²⁶ When cultural heritage obliteration is deliberate, both the object and the act become representative of the idea behind its destruction. The erasure of buildings or statues symbolic of a previous culture implies a figurative obliteration of the past group’s legitimacy, which ultimately contributes to strengthening the authority of the government in charge.

²² Meskell, 561

²³ Bevan, 62

²⁴ Bevan, 62

²⁵ Bevan, 12

²⁶ World Heritage Convention. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: The Nara Document on Authenticity* (November, 1-6, 1994), Article 7 <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/nara94.htm>

The Buddhas were chosen by the Taliban regime because they were still considered to be culturally relevant by a portion of the Afghan population. In 2001, the population of northern Afghanistan was mainly composed of the ethnic group known as Hazaras, which gave the name to the area where Bamiyan is located, Hazarajat.²⁷ The Hazaras, predominantly Shiites, had strongly fought the philosophy supported by the Taliban since the militant group had first appeared. They kept up their opposition until 1998 when the Bamiyan valley was conquered, and continued to show their hostility even after they submitted to the Taliban regime.²⁸ Although fully converted to Islam, the Hazara people traced their identity back to the Buddhist population that once resided in the area. Proud of their ancestral roots, they valued the Buddhas as a symbol of their cultural identity.²⁹

The destruction of the Buddhas also represented a political statement directed to international communities, who perceived the statues to be part of the cultural patrimony of the humankind.³⁰ In December 2000, the United Nations decided to place an embargo on the assets being shipped to Afghanistan as a consequence of the unreasonable regulations imposed by the Taliban government on local people.³¹ The United Nations' Resolution 1333 demanded an immediate change of policies, warning Afghanistan of

²⁷ Agent-France-Presse. *Afghan Opposition Scores Gains around Bamiyan*. Independent Sources.

<http://www.afp.com/afpcom/en/taglibrary/activity/press/46013>

²⁸ Shay, 119

²⁹ Agent-France-Presse. *Afghan Opposition Scores Gains around Bamiyan*. Independent sources.

<http://www.afp.com/afpcom/en/taglibrary/activity/press/46013>

³⁰ World Heritage Committee. Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural Heritage World heritage Committee, 21st session, Naples Italy, December 1-6, 1997, VII.58

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001129/112902e.pdf>

³¹ *United Nations Resolution 1333*, December 19, 2000

Adopted on December 20, 2000

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3b00f51e14.html>

consequences that would take place should they not comply with the requests of the international community.³² The Taliban government did not address the resolution and continued enforcing their laws while demanding the cessation of the embargo.

The destruction of the Buddhas was a way to communicate resentment for being isolated from the international community. Prior to the destruction of the Buddhas, countries made monetary offers to the Taliban for the preservation of the statues. Sayed Rahmatullah Hashemi, Taliban ambassador, responded to these offers stating: “When the Afghan head council asked them [the international community] to provide the money to feed the children instead of fixing the statues, they refused and said, ‘No, the money is just for the statues, not for the children’.”³³ The Taliban refused the idea of receiving money for the preservation of art while people in their country were starving due to the embargo.

Preservation of cultural heritage was not among the main priorities of the Taliban government. The selective preservation pattern of Afghanistan was dictated by choosing sites and statues to be destroyed rather than differentiating them from those to be preserved. Afghanistan’s preservation efforts at an international level are an indication of the government’s lack of involvement in the conservation of heritage during the Taliban regime. Although this nation ratified the UNESCO *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972) in 1979, sites were not inscribed on the World Heritage Sites List until 2002, a year after the Taliban regime was overthrown. As of today, two sites have been nominated to the World Heritage List, the Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley (2003) and the

³² Vogelsang, 333

³³ Kassaimah, Sahar. “Afghani Ambassador Speaks At USC”. Transcribed Speech, January 12, 2011.

Minaret and Archaeological Remains of Jam (2002); in addition several sites have been added to the country's tentative list for future nomination.³⁴

The lack of government's involvement in preservation could have derived from the Taliban's rejection of western influence. Afghanistan's contact with western countries began in the 1970s. With the Soviet invasion, and the beginning of American involvement, the traditional culture of Afghanistan was inevitably affected.³⁵ Rebecca Knuth, professor of library sciences, analyzes the hostility created by the establishment of secular institutions in Afghanistan in her book *Burning Book and Leveling Libraries*. She states, "By creating libraries and museums and preserving cultural artifacts and sites, earlier regimes of Afghanistan had created an institutional base for the modern state."³⁶ Knuth goes on to say that, "the preservation, use, and display of Afghan cultural items signaled national pride and also membership in an international community in which each nation made a unique contribution to the common heritage of the world."³⁷ Educational institutions such as museums and libraries, as well as the concept of cultural preservation, are western ideas that were introduced to Afghanistan recently. Their connection to global civilizations implied veneration of cultural objects, a concept that was antithetical to the Taliban beliefs. Knuth explains that, libraries "used modern classification, systems, operated conservation centers, maintained a union catalog for the city of Kabul's public libraries, and served as a collection point for U.N. material."³⁸ These institutions

³⁴ World Heritage List, Afghanistan

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/af>

The sites currently on Afghanistan Tentative list are: Bagh-e Babur (02/11/2009), Band-E-Amir (08/09/2004), City of Balkh (antique Bactria) (17/08/2004), City of Herat (17/08/2004)

³⁵ Dupree, 9

³⁶ Knuth, 153. Rebecca Knuth is a professor of Library and Information Sciences at University of Hawaii.

³⁷ Knuth, 152

³⁸ Knuth, 151

were a direct connection to outside countries, a link to western culture and its perception of heritage of the past. The attack on secular institution and art was, among the other things, a metaphorical way of eradicating the cultural influence of outsiders. It was indeed this western foundation that the Taliban aimed to destroy in order to bring the country back to its traditional lifestyle, which was mainly rural and founded on radical Islamic principles.

c. Cultural Identity Embedded in Rocks: the Dangers of a Crumbling Heritage

The Taliban government destroyed symbols that had been recognized to be part of a broader Afghan identity. Upon hearing of the destruction of the Buddha statues, an Afghan opposition group's spokesman stated, "It is a destruction of our national heritage".³⁹ Afghanistan has been a culturally opulent country for centuries, mostly because of its central location that in ancient times corresponded to a main commercial and cultural crossroad, the *silk road*.⁴⁰ The Taliban government's failure to preserve culture relevant to other groups deprived the Afghan people of their material heritage, consequently damaging the identity of the nation.

In his essay *Cultural Warfare*, John Yarwood explains that people tend to fight in order to maintain their sense of identity which is essential to the functioning of a community.⁴¹ The loss of familiar objects or familiar surroundings constitutes a loss of what Robert Bevan defines as "collective identity".⁴² Collective identities are memories built by the individual and put together through communal exchange.⁴³ The sight of familiar objects is a reminder of the individual identity within the larger group and at

³⁹ Emadi, 25-26

⁴⁰ Emadi, 26

⁴¹ Yarwood, 3

⁴² Bevan, 12

⁴³ Bevan, 15

times becomes central to identifying a location as one's "home". In this context, buildings and monuments become a reflection of a community's shared identity. When cultural heritage is destroyed the individual self is endangered by the loss of a shared symbol.

Cultural heritage sites are relevant because of the meaning attributed to them by people who recognize their significance. As the 1994 UNESCO *Nara Convention* states that "[the] conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage."⁴⁴ The significance of cultural heritage in Afghanistan was exemplified by the public reaction that followed its destruction. Article 13 of the *Nara Convention*, emphasizes the importance of the emotional meaning invested in the sites stating:

Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage and the cultural context, authenticity judgments may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of the source may include...spirit and feeling and other internal and external factors.⁴⁵

Years after the destruction of the Buddhas, the frustration of the local Afghan population was expressed in articles published by a local newspaper, the Hazara Times, in a sequence of articles titled *the Bamiyan Series*. The Hazara people were among the most emotionally affected groups in this tragedy. Their reaction to the destruction of the Buddhas emphasizes the damage caused to their identity. On the day the Buddhas were destroyed the *Bamiyan Series No. 4* reported: "This day is observed as Black Day by the

⁴⁴ World Heritage Convention. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: The Nara Document on Authenticity* (November, 1-6, 1994), Article 9 <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/nara94.htm>

⁴⁵ World Heritage Convention. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: The Nara Document on Authenticity* (November, 1-6, 1994), Article 13 <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/nara94.htm>

Hazaras, who once followed Buddhism before the rise of Islam in this region”.⁴⁶ The article goes on to explain that on that day, local Hazara people were arrested and were ordered to participate in a symbolic repudiation of their heritage by being forced to place bombs on the statues. Many of the locals were killed when they refused to cooperate. Along with killing and destruction, the demolition of Bamiyan caused a metaphorical devastation of people’s hope for restoring a peaceful government and validated the oppressive power of the Taliban regime. By destroying the statues, the Taliban removed part of the Hazara’s patrimony and significantly weakened the community.

While the destruction of the Buddhas was particularly devastating to the Hazara people, the act also affected the rest of the Afghan population. At the time of the destruction of Bamiyan, Afghanistan was inhabited by seven major ethnic groups and a small percentage of unidentified minorities.⁴⁷ The peaceful coexistence of all ethnicities was based upon their viewing the past as a collective heritage. The Buddhas were much more significant to some ethnic groups than others, but they were still an important part of the overall cultural heritage of Afghanistan. Prior to their destruction, Hamid Karzai, former deputy Foreign Minister in the ousted of the Rabbani Government, commented on the announcement of demolition as follows:

They are part of our heritage. Afghanistan had been a staunch Muslim country for 1,200 years and the mullahs have never tried to destroy these statues. Why wasn’t the issue of these statues being raised against Islam in 1,200 years? They are trying

⁴⁶ *Bamyan Series 4*. Hazaristan Times: News, Analysis, Reports about every nook & corner of the great Hazaristan. June 15, 2009.

⁴⁷ Emadi, 25-26

Afghanistan is inhabited by the following ethnic groups:

Pashtun 42%, Tajik 27%, Hazara 9%, Uzbek 9%, Aimak 4%, Turkmen 3%, Baloch 2%, other 4%

The following languages are spoken:

Afghan Persian or Dari (official) 50%, Pashto (official) 35%, Turkic languages (primarily Uzbek and Turkmen) 11%, 30 minor languages (primarily Balochi and Pashai) 4%, much bilingualism

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>

to destroy Afghanistan's history, Afghanistan's memory.⁴⁸

The loss of cultural heritage in Afghanistan was comparable to the loss of a beloved relative for the local populations. As Nancy Dupree analyzes in her report *Cultural Heritage and National Identity*, the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas led to a loss of hope. In this regards, she mentions, "Afghans had endured with fortitude the traumas of war, drought, displacement, a collapsed economy, inept governments and disrupted society. Now they felt the meaning of their sacrifices had been taken from them. They felt betrayed."⁴⁹ An interview of Masudi, director of the Kabul Museum during and in post destruction years, further revealed the impact of cultural loss on local people. On that occasion, Masudi spoke about the destruction of statues in the Kabul museum which had taken place only a few weeks prior to the Bamiyan incident. He explained that 75% of the collection originally housed in the Kabul museum was destroyed. He stated "We told the Taliban that these objects are part of our history, that nobody was worshipping these statues and that those of us working in the museum were responsible for keeping these statues safe",⁵⁰ yet they were not able to stop the Taliban government from destroying them. Masudi further compared the loss of culture to a personal loss by saying "First you heard people burying their children; then they buried their history".⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Destructive Frenzy in Afghanistan*. Archaeological Institute of America. March 2, 2011.

<http://www.archaeology.org/online/news/afghanistan/index.html>

⁴⁹ Dupree, 9

⁵⁰ Lawler, 1203

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

In 2002 a sign was posted outside of the Kabul museum; the sign read “A nation stays alive when its culture stays alive.”⁵² Written in English, this might have been understood only by a few, yet it expressed a principle shared by the national and international populations. The sign also acknowledged the damage that was caused by the Taliban regime.

The destruction of the Buddhas was the result of an active and forceful imposition of their ideas and as such it was an example of the government’s power to determine a country’s identity through the selective preservation process. Although the succession of events in Afghanistan was unlike other cases analyzed in this study, the difference between destruction during peace and destruction during war is still evident. While violent destruction during peace shares many traits with destruction caused by war, it seems to be caused and developed following patterns similar to those observed in soft destruction. Violent destruction during peace is as evident as wartime destruction, and as such causes the immediate reaction of local and international communities. Given these characteristics, the patterns observed in the process of cultural destruction in Afghanistan can help understand the cases of Libya and Egypt where causes leading to destruction were more subtle but also damaging to the nations cultural patrimony.

⁵² Sign posted on the door of the Kabul Museum in 2002. The sign was in English

PART II

CHAPTER II

LIBYA

Peace, Politics and Decaying Cities: the Role of Governments in the Shaping of Libya's National Identity

Tripoli and Benghazi

“Buildings are not political but are politicized by why and how they are built, regarded and destroyed”

*- R. Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory**⁵³

In February 2011 local Libyan groups rebelled against the government of Muahmar Gaddafi, giving start to a revolution.⁵⁴ For eight months the world turned its eyes to this country, a resource for oil, art, history and culture. During this time, local and international organizations rushed to emergency meetings in an attempt to prevent the damage of some of the most important heritage sites in the world. The war raised awareness for the need to preserve heritage from the dangers associated to the revolutionary action. Nevertheless, some historic sites located in Libya had been subject to destruction due to neglect prior to the armed conflict.⁵⁵

The recent conflict in Libya brought to light an erroneous image that has come to represent the cultural heritage of this nation. For almost a century, Libya has been known for its wealth of well preserved Roman sites, ancient artifacts, and prehistoric caves which in reality constitute only a portion of the country's heritage. This imprecise image of what constitutes the cultural heritage of Libya contributed to the decay of sites that did

⁵³ Bevan, 12

⁵⁴ CNN Wire. *After 42 Years, Libya's Controversial Ruler Faces New Threats*, February 20, 2011 <http://www.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/africa/02/19/libya.gadhafi.unrest/index.html>

⁵⁵ Libya is home to five World Heritage sites : Archaeological Site of Cyrene, Old Town of Ghadamès, Rock-Art Sites of Tadrart Acacus, Leptis Magna and Sabratha

not fall within established parameters. Patterns of selective preservation visible today can be traced back to the 20th century colonial era. Principles originated in those years were reinforced by the policies established by the Gaddafi regime (1969-2011).

Today the effects of time and political negligence are clearly reflected in the crumbling buildings located in the historic neighborhoods of Libyan cities. The medinas of Tripoli and Benghazi are examples of areas where a large portion of historic sites have silently succumbed to the process of *soft destruction*. The two cities house a wealth of buildings and sites that range from early Islamic to the colonial era. The medina of Tripoli is an example of a traditional Islamic neighborhood with its courtyards houses, mosques and market. Benghazi on the other hand, lived its golden age during the 20th century colonial era. Both areas are representative of the history and culture of Libya.

The poor conditions of historic cities are evidence of the correlation between preservation, politics and a country's cultural identity. In this particular case, the lack of a comprehensive plan for cultural heritage preservation on the part of the governing body led to the shaping of a cultural heritage image that today reflects the political history rather than the cultural wealth of this country.

In order to provide evidence for the process of destruction that has affected Libya's cities, this study considers socio-political trends and historic events that have contributed to the current preservation conditions of cultural heritage in the nation.

a. "Perception is Reality": Libya's Cultural Identity Revealed by the War Threat

"The heritage of a nation is essential to the ability of its citizens to preserve their identity and self-esteem, to profit from their diversity and their history and build

themselves a better future.”⁵⁶ This statement made on August 25, 2011 by Irina Bokova, director of UNESCO was part of a speech directed to awaken communities to the impending threat of war in Libya; however it evidences a principle applicable to all instances of destruction of cultural patrimony of Libya.

As illustrated by the case of Afghanistan, the significance of cultural heritage sites resides within the meaning attributed to them. Their relevance is not intrinsic to the structure itself, but is attributed by a collectivity that looks upon these objects with a sense of familiarity and belonging. When insurgencies arose in 2011, local Libyan groups rushed to protect sites that were considered to be most important to them. Those sites were, for the most part, famous locations that have been a focus of Libyan tourism and economy for the past century.

The choice of sites protected by locals was an illustration of their perception of what comprised relevant heritage. Robert Bevan discussed the effects of cultural heritage destruction on local populations in his book *The Destruction of Memory*. Bevan states: “External threats can rally...groups together in defense of a national cause and the architectural representation of statehood”.⁵⁷ The perceived threat of war led locals to attempt preserving sites such as Leptis Magna, a renowned World Heritage site originally found in the 1st millennium BC. In the case of Leptis Magna, locals took turns patrolling archaeological sites twenty-four hours a day, every day and went as far as distributing informational pamphlets about the site, so that if it was truly destroyed they would have a remembrance of its significance.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ UNESCO, *Director-General Urges Measures to Protect Libya's Cultural Heritage through Period of Transition*. August 25, 2011

⁵⁷ Bevan, 13

⁵⁸ Robertson, Nic. *Libyans Battle to Protect Ancient Treasures from Looting*.

The behavior of locals during the revolution illustrates the existence of a selective preservation pattern that with time led them to value the conservation one portion of the cultural heritage more than others. The emphasis placed on a selected portion of Libya's heritage has caused a shift in cultural focus and has led to the decay of sites that used to be defining to the nation's cultural identity. The Old City of Tripoli and Benghazi suffered from both warfare damages and neglect; however they were not among the sites immediately assisted by locals at the dawn of the revolution. The lack of active interest in the protection of the Old City of Tripoli and Benghazi shows that these sites were not considered particularly relevant to the endurance of the nation's identity.⁵⁹

This analysis proposes Libya's historic cities as elements important to the preservation of the county's cultural identity. In 1966 Aldo Rossi, an Italian architect and author of the book *Architecture of the City* stated the following: "the city... is to be understood as architecture...the sum of its different architecture, architecture as construction, the construction of the city overtime", furthermore he defines architecture as a term "inseparable from civilized life and society in which it manifested".⁶⁰ Buildings in a city are more than shelters and infrastructures; they reflect the culture and traditions of the people that inhabited them throughout history.

The relevance of Islamic cities' architecture is exemplified by *medinas*, Islamic walled areas that were originally built as self enclosed hubs in the Arab world and were

CNN News, October 13, 2011

http://www.cultureindevelopment.nl/index.php?id=125&sub_id=1345

⁵⁹ Libya's Department of Antiquity and International organization did not sponsor the safeguarding of the Old city of Tripoli or the Historic buildings of Benghazi throughout the years of their abandonment. During those years more interest was shown by urban planners rather than by historic organization. An example is given by the "*Code to Ensure the Preservation of the Old City of Tripoli*" a survey led by MEDURB, urban designers and architects from Paris and Beirut commissioned by the Government to prepare a new code for Tripoli (1994). The plan was not implemented due to lack of funds.

⁶⁰ Rossi, 21-22

later at the heart of colonial Tripoli in the early decades of the 20th century.⁶¹ In a 2010 report sponsoring the revitalization of Arab cities, the medina was defined as “the physical representation of social and cultural identities that are at the origin of the Arab world”.⁶² The architecture of the medina is representative of the country’s culture and reflects the changes that have affected the local population across time. Several Islamic walled cities (Medina), much like those in Libya, have been nominated to the World Heritage List because of their cultural value. The Medina of Fez, in Morocco is one example. Among the criteria of relevance considered in this area’s UNESCO nomination was the following: “The Medina of Fez bears a living witness to a flourishing city of the eastern Mediterranean”.⁶³ The concept of the city as a “living witness” applies to both the medinas of Tripoli and Benghazi because the passage of numerous populations that have contributed to their multicultural and culturally opulent character is embedded in their architecture. Although relevant in a similar way as the Medina of Fez, these two cities are not listed on the World Heritage List.

One of the major factors that contributed to determining the different conditions of the Medina of Fez and that of Libya’s medinas has been the willingness of governments to preserve these areas. Preservation cannot be achieved without the government realizing the value embedded in the site. The lack of interest of Libya’s government in the past decades has passively contributed to the decay of these areas and the inevitable loss of cultural patrimony.

⁶¹ The World Bank. *Urban rehabilitation of Medinas Middle East and North Africa: The World Bank Experience in the Middle East and North Africa Urban Development & Local Government*. The World Bank. May 2010, no. 9, 10

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Medina of Fez, Criteria II. UNESCO WORLD HERITGE LIST
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/170>

b. Urbanization and Archeological Framing of Libya

Governments, like people, tend to preserve what is most relevant to their interests. As Bevan states “That which is valued by a dominant culture or cultures in society is preserved and cared for: the rest can be mindlessly or purposefully destroyed or just left to rot”.⁶⁴ A totalitarian government is characterized by its ability to hold exclusive authority over the country, including its national heritage. When a country is ruled by a totalitarian leader, his ideas directly influence the policies enforced by the regime. The leader is therefore able to preserve, destroy and manipulate heritage to fit the regime’s ideology. In the case of Libya, preservation policies were mostly shaped by two regimes: early 20th century Italian colonial leaders and Muammar Gaddafi (1969-2011).

While a large amount of the soft destruction process that led to the present conditions of cities took place under the Gaddafi regime, the framing of selective preservation practices was set in place during the Italian colonial era, first in 1911, and later before World War II (*la Riconquista*).⁶⁵ The lack of preservation policies of subsequent authorities allowed the continuation of past trends reinforcing an image of Libya’s heritage that had been developed around the principle of *Romanitá*.⁶⁶ The idea of *Romanitá* was central to colonial philosophy in North Africa; however, it was fully developed only during the later phase of colonization, when Italy was ruled by Benito Mussolini. The principle placed emphasis on the direct connection existing between the

⁶⁴ Bevan 11-12

⁶⁵ Vanderwalle 25

⁶⁶ The concept of *Romanitá* refers to ideas that have been identified as to have inspired the Roman state and have been later proclaimed by other groups to establish their connection to the Romans (i.e. Italian colonial forces in Libya). Roman archeological findings were used by Italian colonial leaders to trace back their connection to the ancient population. Archeology was in a sense the material proof of *Romanitá*. Munzi, 83-84

Roman presence in ancient Libya and the Italian presence during the 20th century; this link served to legitimize colonial impositions.⁶⁷

The development of archeology in Libya played an important role in the propaganda of colonial ideas.⁶⁸ Mia Fuller states in her article *Building Power: Italy's Colonial Architecture and Urbanism, 1923-1940*, "the fact that traces of influence were still visible in 1923 was made to signify that Libya's only 'culture' had always been Italian, and the recent colonization was merely a return to the past, and hence legitimate condition."⁶⁹ Due to the relevance of this rationale, preservation of cultural heritage was initially limited to ancient Roman artifacts and sites, so much so that during the early phase of colonization, artifacts from other periods and cultures were carelessly discarded to facilitate a faster uncovering of ancient treasures.⁷⁰ Around the 1920s the use of archeology was extended to a money-making opportunity. During this time Italian leaders devised plans to develop touristic activities revolving around newly discovered archaeological sites in Libya, the majority of which were not located in urban areas.⁷¹

Colonial leaders sponsored the construction of routes that strategically led tourists from one site to the other fostering the discovery of Libya's ancient past. Among the most famous ones was the Tripoli to Ghadamès route which was traveled by Governor Volpi and his family in the late 1920s.⁷² In 1924 a museum was opened to supplement interest in the excavation of Leptis Magna and Sabratha along with the restoration of Tripoli, which was located in between the two above mentioned sites. This Roman

⁶⁷ Munzi, 84

⁶⁸ Munzi, 78

⁶⁹ Fuller, 459

⁷⁰ Munzi, 80

⁷¹ McLaren (2004), 80

⁷² McLaren (2004), 81, 77 The touristic trends of colonial Italy are illustrated by vacation brochure published by ETAL the Hotel association in Libya developed under Italo Balbo's administration.

museum served not only as an attraction for tourists but its strategic location in Tripoli reinforced the exotic and classical cultural experience that came to be associated with Libya.⁷³

As part of the colonial experience, Italian forces stressed the contrast between their “civilized” culture and the “indigenous” local populations.⁷⁴ While Roman artifacts were praised for their superior value, the local culture was utilized to attract tourists towards an exotic experience. When the colonial presence in Libya increased, cities became westernized to provide comfort to tourists and colonists living there. In this context, the presence of local people began to serve the purpose of creating an exotic atmosphere to attract vacationers. These roles associated with local and ancient cultures contributed to shaping the current approach to heritage and local’s perception of valuable heritage.

The contrast between indigenous populations and the civilized western world in the colonial era was reflected in everyday life as in their approach to archeological sites. These principles were emphasized in touristic advertizing that aimed to lure tourism to this classic yet exotic land. The images below illustrate ads that were produced respectively in 1937/1938. The first image, a baggage sticker from a hotel in Leptis Magna (1937), emphasizes the comfort of a first class hotel and the vicinity to a Roman site. The second image is the cover of a magazine dealing with colonial matters published in Italy in the 1930s. The title, *Esotica* (Exotic) is in itself a clue to the Italian perception of Libya. The last image is a drawing from *Itinerari Tripoli-Gadames*, a touristic guide

⁷³ McLaren (2004), 81

⁷⁴ Potestá, 113, 123

illustrating itinerary options. This picture illustrates a car driving through the dunes and ruins of Libya, symbolizing the juxtaposition of culture and adventure.

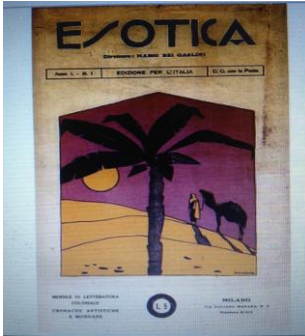


Figure 1. Baggage sticker from a hotel in Leptis Magna (1937)⁷⁶

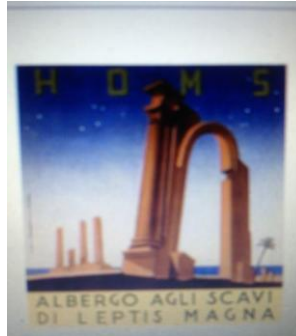


Figure 2. Cover of magazine Esotica –Mensile di Letteratura Coloniale⁷⁷

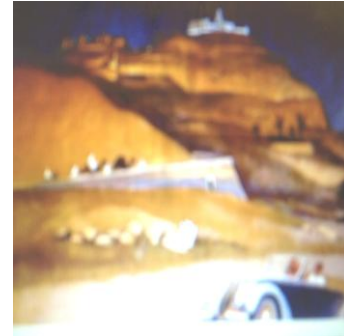


Figure 3. Drawing from Itinerari Tripoli-Gadames (1938)⁷⁵

The connection between the colonial idea of Libya's cultural heritage and today's perception can be visualized by comparing touristic ads from the colonial period to recent ones. The images below were shown as part of article titled *Introducing Libya* published on March 29, 2012 by Lonely Planet.⁷⁸ The article states the following:

Libya is a crossroads of history, continents and ancient empires. Home to the Mediterranean's richest store of Roman and Greek cities – Sabratha, Cyrene and, above all, Leptis Magna – each of which is overlaid by remnants of Byzantine splendor, it's a place where history comes alive through the extraordinary monuments on its shores.⁷⁹

The article was proposed as a highlight of Libya's attractions which are portrayed to be ancient sites and wild adventure settings. The first picture is an illustration of Sabratha, a Roman site and the second one shows the adventurous nature of Libya's landscapes illustrating one of the activities offered on site.

⁷⁵ McLaren, Brian. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: an Ambivalent Modernism*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. (2006)

⁷⁶ McLaren, Brian. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: an Ambivalent Modernism*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. (2006)

⁷⁷ McLaren, Brian. *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: an Ambivalent Modernism*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. (2006)

⁷⁸ Lonely Planet is among the largest travel guide book and digital media publishers in the world

⁷⁹ *Introducing Libya* (2012)

<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/libya>



Figure 4. Columns and sculptures, Roman ruins, Sabratha⁸¹



Figure 5. "Drive on Awinet sand dunes, Fezzan"⁸⁰

As the Italian forces left after World War II, Libya was an independent but impoverished country. In these difficult times, Libyans focused on perpetuating the archeological sites that had been predisposed for preservation by Italian archeologists. These sites, mostly ancient and Roman, were maintained because they were touristic attractions with earning potential. The majority of the sites preserved were located in isolated areas, away from the cities. Cities that at the time had only been indirectly involved in touristic activities did not fall in the category of sites to be protected and were ultimately left to a state of neglect.

Post colonial Libya embraced the central role that archeology had played during the colonial period, attempting to reconcile the Roman heritage with the Arabic roots of this land to foster economic development.⁸² This process began in 1951, during the monarchy of King Idris Al-Sanusi and continued under the regime of Gaddafi. Gaddafi came to power as a revolutionary leader, but soon after he assumed the role of a dictator.⁸³ He ruled for forty-two years and during this time he led the country with mercurial political

⁸⁰ *Introducing Libya* (2012)
<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/libya>

⁸¹ *Introducing Libya* (2012)
<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/libya>

⁸² Munzi, 103

⁸³ Ruedy, 189

stands influencing Libya's definition of cultural identity, as well as its socio-economic conditions.

c. Cities of the Past, Cities of the Present: Current Conditions of Tripoli and Benghazi's Historic Areas

The current conditions of Tripoli's medina and Benghazi are the byproducts of years of political neglect. Once upon a time, Tripoli's Old City held strong traditional values and cultural traits. It was the heart of the city and the materialization of Libya's identity in its wealth of monuments and a population that proudly lived following centuries old traditions.⁸⁴ This same city is today a slum, the poorest quarter of the now highly urbanized Tripoli; a forgotten, decaying section of a modern city, where Roman sites, colonial buildings, and traditional houses have been overshadowed by tall modern structures.⁸⁵

Medinas like the one in Tripoli characterize the townscape of most Islamic cities because of their symbolic representation of Islamic lifestyle and history. The medina of Tripoli covers about forty-six hectares, with its courtyard houses, mosques and markets; this location portrays the Islamic way of living.⁸⁶ The modernization of Libya in the past century has led to inevitable socio-economic changes in the structure of the medina. The innovation process in the colonial period led to the transformation of Tripoli into an economic center modeled after European cities. As urbanization increased, the gap between the medina and the outside city grew and contributed to the isolation of the Old

⁸⁴ The World Bank. *Urban Rehabilitation of Medinas Middle East and North Africa: The World Bank Experience in the Middle East and North Africa Urban Development & Local Government*. The World Bank. May 2010, no. 9, 10

⁸⁵ The Old City of Tripoli occupies a site that was originally built by Phoenicians populations who inhabited the area known as Oea. Oea was one of the original African cities that contributed to the development of the region of Tripoli along with Leptis Magna and Sabratha. This area was later colonized by the Romans in 46 BC. Subsequently it was inhabited by Islamic populations. (Rghei, 144)
See Map 3- Tripoli, Old City, Libya.

⁸⁶ Rghei, 150

City.⁸⁷ This trend subsequently led to the abandonment of the area by local wealthy families original to the area, leaving only poor families.⁸⁸

The poverty affecting the medina worsened as the county's economy collapsed due to policies enacted by the regime.⁸⁹ During the early stages of his government, Gaddafi supported pseudo-socialist ideas. He rejected capitalism and private property and replaced it with the concept of personal property, the property needed to satisfy people's basic needs, and socialist property, property owned by society as a whole.⁹⁰ This political change led to the elimination of social mobility and induced poverty.⁹¹ Gaddafi's rejection of capitalism did not affect Tripoli's economic development which followed the fast growth of the oil market.⁹² The development of the oil market beginning in the late 1950s and provided economic growth to the nation in general but worsened issues of overpopulation and poverty in the Old City. The increase in economic activity led to a demographic shift to the city from more remote locations in Libya, as well as from other nations.⁹³ As locals moved out due to the deteriorating living conditions in the medina, poor immigrants began moving into empty structures, in search for opportunities in the modern city outside the walls.⁹⁴ This process led to an increase in population consequently affecting the preservation of historic structures.

⁸⁷ Rghei, 144

⁸⁸ Rghei, 152

⁸⁹ MacFarquhar, Neil. *Tripoli Journal; Behind Thick Walls, a Defiant Past*. New York Times. February 20, 2001

<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/02/20/world/tripoli-journal-behind-thick-walls-a-defiant-past.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>

⁹⁰ Ruedy, 189

⁹¹ Ruedy, 190

⁹² Ruedy, 64-67

⁹³ Elbendak, 63

⁹⁴ Rghei, 154

The fate of the medina has been in some ways influenced by its structure. The walls surrounding the city that in the past aided its preservation by limiting the effects of urbanization, have also served as isolating barriers. In modern day Tripoli, the wealthy quarters of the downtown are contrasted by the poverty that pervades the Old City. The medina of Tripoli is almost fully occupied by houses and historic monuments, most of which are in poor condition. According to a study led by Omar Emhamed Elbendak in 2008, only 52% of the structures in the medina are in decent conditions the rest has crumbled or is in danger of falling apart.⁹⁵ The city is overcrowded by multiple level homes on streets that are often too small for cars to navigate around. The Old City also lacks proper infrastructure as its obsolete sewage and drainage systems have not been replaced since colonial times due to government neglect.⁹⁶ As of 2008, Tripoli has been found to have the Islamic medina with the highest number of buildings in disrepair.⁹⁷ Today, the population of Old Tripoli belongs largely to the low socio-economic class and is not able to guarantee the upkeep of the city.

The preservation of the medina has been made more difficult by policies that both directly and indirectly affected the area. Negligence in preservation, lack of monetary allotment from the state and Libya's economic downturn were among the principal causes of deterioration of historic Tripoli during the regime.⁹⁸ The ruinous conditions of the medina were recognized by private groups who demanded the government's help. Attempts to rehabilitate the Old City were made in 1986 when a restoration project was initiated. This project involved the restoration of about 3,000 buildings and was estimated

⁹⁵ Elbendak, 169

⁹⁶ Rghei, 153

⁹⁷ Rghei, 153

⁹⁸ Rghei, 143

to last about ten years, yet buildings were never secured as the program was stalled by a lack of funds caused by the 1992 United Nations sanctions.⁹⁹ This episode represented the beginning of Libya's tumultuous international relations and local unrest which eventually led to economic stagnation.¹⁰⁰ The isolation of Libya from the international economic scene caused a lack of resources and made the pursue of archeological studies difficult.

The effects of decay in Old Tripoli are most visible in the deteriorating courtyard houses that make up a large portion of the walled city. Courtyard houses reflect the history and social organization of the people that inhabited the Old City for centuries. The structures revolve around a yard located at the center, connecting the different sections of the house. Originally the courtyard served as a common area and a safe environment for children to play.¹⁰¹ These houses are rather large because they accommodated extended families that included the head of the family, wife, married and unmarried sons, elderly parents and one or two elderly relatives. The decorative patterns of the houses are also symbolic of cultural beliefs. The simple façade is contrasted by a highly decorated interior. This contrast represented the Quranic revelations that evaluated the faith of a believer by his inward spiritual path (*Iman*, faith).¹⁰² Today, courtyard houses are inhabited by people of different nationalities that oftentimes fail to

⁹⁹ Ronen, 126

The UN sanctions of 1992 were imposed upon Libya after the Lockerbie incident took place, causing the death of over 200 people in an airplane explosion.

¹⁰⁰ Ronen, 202

¹⁰¹ Rghei, 149

¹⁰² Rghei, 150

acknowledge the cultural relevance of these historic structures. As a result, houses are not well kept due to the lack of resources and the temporary nature of their tenants' stay.¹⁰³

Tripoli and Benghazi were Libya's major economic and cultural centers for most of the country's history. Walking between Italian cafes, cinemas, mosques and ancient ruins, one can easily realize that the architecture of these cities bears the passage of many populations.¹⁰⁴ As Libya's political scenario changed, the relevance of these cities changed as well. While Tripoli remained the most important city and the capital of Libya, Benghazi's relevance waned. During the Gaddafi regime, the nation's administrative offices were moved west to Tripoli, leaving Benghazi, a city historically known for its movements against oppressors, abandoned.

The remnants of colonial patrimony in Benghazi are more numerous than those in Tripoli. Construction work in this city began in 1911, during the early years of colonization, when numerous administrative structures were built. The fully developed urbanization plan in Benghazi was completed in 1930 and like the *Diagramma del Piano Regolatore dei Dintorni di Tripoli*¹⁰⁵, this too included the restoration of some structures in the old portion of the city.¹⁰⁶ Although the colonial preservation of Benghazi was in some ways similar to that of Tripoli, the treatment of this city under the Gaddafi administration was extremely different. The government's negligence in the preservation of Benghazi was due to the political insurgency of the local population that began within two years after Gaddafi came to power.¹⁰⁷ Prior to and during the recent revolution,

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Butters, A. Lee. *Dispatch from Libya: Why Benghazi Rebelled*, March 3, 2011, Time Magazine http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2045328_2045338_2056521,00.html

¹⁰⁵ Santoianni, 55

¹⁰⁶ Santoianni, 60

¹⁰⁷ Youssef, Nancy. *Abandoned Cathedral a Reminder of Gadhafi's Neglect*. April 20, 2011

Benghazi was considered to be a symbol of rebellion and freedom. During the regime, the city became a symbol of Gaddafi's harshest socio-economic policies. The effects of these policies are visible in the decaying historic buildings all around the city.¹⁰⁸ Freedom square is among the portions of the city most representative of the destructive action caused by lack of care. This square was the heart of the revolution; nevertheless its architectural wealth was not so much destroyed by bombs or attacks, but rather was already in the process of decay when the revolution took place. Today colonial buildings located in this neighborhood barely stand and are filled with garbage and dirt.¹⁰⁹

In 2011, Andrew Butters, reporter for the Times magazine, revealed the preservation conditions of historic Benghazi in an interview to Rafiq Marrakis, a professor of architecture and urban planning at Benghazi's Garyounis University. Describing the conditions of Benghazi and the malcontent of its people, Marrakis stated "There's no planning, no infrastructure, no society. Gaddafi has billions and billions in banks all over the world. But he's left us here with nothing." Local populations blamed the decay of the city on Gaddafi who abandoned them after rising to power.¹¹⁰ The neglect of the city was critical enough to become one of the reasons for recent rebellions against the regime.¹¹¹ In the same interview Marrakis affirmed, "Outside of downtown, the pavement stops just off the highway, and dirt streets fill with rotting garbage". The

http://www.dailyhelmsman.com/news/abandoned-cathedral-a-reminder-of-gadhafi-s-neglect-1.2184561#.T3cVk_BSQRU

¹⁰⁸ Butters, Andrew Lee. *Dispatch from Libya: Why Benghazi Rebelled*, March 3, 2011

http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2045328_2045338_2056521,00.html

¹⁰⁹ Abbas, Mohammed. *Libya's Benghazi Laments City's Decay under Gaddafi*, May 16, 2011

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/05/16/us-libya-benghazi-idUSTRE74F3ZP20110516>

¹¹⁰ Abbas, Mohammed. *Libya's Benghazi laments city's decay under Gaddafi*, May 16, 2011

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/05/16/us-libya-benghazi-idUSTRE74F3ZP20110516>

¹¹¹ Butters, Andrew Lee. *Dispatch from Libya: Why Benghazi Rebelled*, March 3, 2011

http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2045328_2045338_2056521,00.html

interruption of infrastructure outside the boundaries of Benghazi exemplifies the government's willing disregard in fostering the welfare of this portion of the country.

Benghazi's condition of decay is epitomized by the current state of the city's cathedral, the Benghazi Cathedral. This church was built during the Italian colonization (1929-1939) and at the time was the largest church in North Africa.¹¹² Today it is inhabited by pigeons. Windows are not in place, the door has no lock, the interior is dirty and floors are covered by dust, feathers and bird droppings. The lack of financial resources provided by the state have left the few locals interested in reviving the church unable to do so. "No one has ever talked about tearing it down. It is a part of our history," said Ramadan Jarbou, a Benghazi political analyst and historian, "I personally think it should be a small museum to Italian occupation so our children will know what happened."¹¹³ The church has been acknowledged to be part of the city's history but without the help of the government it will not be restored.

Throughout the past decades there were several attempts from locals to adaptively reuse the church but none of them was achieved successfully. In the 1970s, locals attempted to convert the church into a mosque. The cross atop the dome was replaced by a crescent, yet the location and the structure of the building made it impossible for the *imams* to face Mecca, a requirement for a functioning mosque. The cathedral later became the headquarters of the Arab Socialist Union for a very brief period of time. There was an effort to turn the cathedral into the nation's stock market headquarters. Yet

¹¹² Youssef, Nancy. *Abandoned Cathedral a Reminder of Gsdhafi's Neglect*. April 20, 2011 http://www.dailyhelmsman.com/news/abandoned-cathedral-a-reminder-of-gadhafi-s-neglect-1.2184561#.T3cVkB_SQrU

¹¹³ Youssef, Nancy. *Abandoned Cathedral a Reminder of Gsdhafi's Neglect*. April 20, 2011 http://www.dailyhelmsman.com/news/abandoned-cathedral-a-reminder-of-gadhafi-s-neglect-1.2184561#.T3cVkB_SQrU

doing so would have conferred economic power to Benghazi and since Gaddafi was not willing to allow such empowerment, the economic headquarters were established in Tripoli.¹¹⁴

The preservation of colonial structures was not prioritized by the Gaddafi regime; organizations devoted to these projects were poorly supported and scarce budgets were allotted to the conservation of heritage.¹¹⁵ In 2010, younger members of the Gaddafi government pushed for the revitalization of Libya's heritage to increase income by attracting more tourists and to revive the country's history. As a result of these programs, Wali Saleh was appointed as the head of the Benghazi council for the preservation of historic buildings. Since then, a survey of buildings has begun and scaffolding was set up in different locations but the restoration process was stopped soon after its beginning due to lack of funding and bureaucratic issues.¹¹⁶

d. "At Night Muammar Dreams, by Day, He Implements"¹¹⁷: Preservation of Cities in Gaddafi's Libya

The soft destruction of Libya's historic neighborhoods can be further explained by analyzing Gaddafi's legislations and political theory. The government body in charge of the protection of cultural heritage in Libya is the Department of Antiquities. This office was created during the colonial period as the *Soprintendenza delle Antiquità*, an authority instituted by Mussolini in 1939 to protect the numerous archeological discoveries of the period. Like colonial leaders, regulations established by the *soprintendenza* prioritized the protection of ancient sites over archeological remains

¹¹⁴ Bennett, 8

¹¹⁵ Bennett, 8

¹¹⁶ Abbass, 2

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/05/16/us-libya-benghazi-idUSTRE74F3ZP20110516>

¹¹⁷ Mirza, Hassan. *Gaddafi's Fear Explains his Weird Leadership*. In *World, Middle East Issues*. October, 2011, <http://www.policymic.com/articles/2083/gaddafi-s-phobias-explain-his-weird-leadership>

from other eras.¹¹⁸ Since then, the objectives of this department have not been greatly altered.

Regulations established by the Gaddafi administration tended to promote the protection of a portion of cultural heritage fostering selective preservation practices. In the 1980s Law No. 2 and Law No.3 were passed. Law no. 2 was passed to protect artifacts, museums and documents, assigning responsibility for their preservation to the Department of Antiquities. Law no. 3 allowed the department to study and protect ancient monuments, preventing their decay. Law No. 3 states “anything that has been made or manufactured by man and which relates to the human heritage and can be dated back to 100 or more years”.¹¹⁹ Because of the decreed 100 year limitation, Law No. 3 fails to guarantee the protection of certain historic sites, such as colonial buildings (i.e. the Benghazi Cathedral). The law goes on to state that “it is against the law to destroy or disturb any cultural property” (Article 8, Law No. 3). This statement appears to be a contradiction considering the current decaying state of buildings in Tripoli and Benghazi. It could also imply that colonial buildings were not necessarily perceived to be part of the cultural patrimony when the law was passed. These legislations, followed by the department of Antiquities, illustrate how cultural heritage perception influenced national preservation practices and most importantly exemplify the role played by the government in identifying sites worth preserving.

The limited focus on ancient heritage revealed by Libya’s preservation regulation is further exemplified by the country’s international involvement in conservation. Libya signed the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World*

¹¹⁸ St. Johns (1987), 14

¹¹⁹ St. Johns (1987), 14-16

Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) in 1978. In the subsequent decade the government inscribed five sites to the World Heritage List: Archaeological Site of Cyrene (1982), Archaeological Site of Leptis Magna (1982), Archaeological Site of Sabratha (1982), Old Town of Ghadamès (1986), Rock-Art Sites of Tadrart Acacus (1985). Three of these five sites were excavated during the 20th century colonization period and range between Greco-roman, Phoenician and pre-Saharan cultural origins. Unlike the case of Afghanistan, where preservation was not prioritized, conservation of cultural heritage in Libya was endorsed even though at times not primarily acknowledged. The selection of sites to be preserved was influenced by economic and political interests. While Libya was actively involvement with UNESCO in the 1980s, the country does not have any sites that were recently registered, or a tentative list of sites for future preservation.¹²⁰ The early years of Gaddafi's government suggest an interest in preservation; nevertheless this attention to preservation seems to have been replaced by higher economic and political priorities in later stages of his regime. The type of the sites listed on the World Heritage List supports the existence of selective preservation parameters that precludes the preservation of colonial and traditional impoverished areas.

The rejection of colonial buildings as part of the country's heritage can be explained by the regime's dislike of colonial practices. Cities were the most outward sign of the former colonial presence and as such they might have been ignored by local government due to conflicting political ideologies. After the post colonial period, Libya was left in a state of poverty. The economic development that characterized Italian colonization had left as colonists did. By 1950s, a large majority of the Libyan

¹²⁰ World Heritage List, Libya
Old Town of Gadhames
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/ly>

population was living in rural areas and villages.¹²¹ During this time, cities remained almost abandoned. In the 1960s Libya joined the Pan-Arab movement, a nationalist group that aimed to bring together countries of Arab origins in order for them to collaborate in their revitalization. Among other things, the movement held colonialism responsible for the economic stagnation of Arabic countries.¹²²

Gaddafi ruled according to historic trends; his political ideas were continually changing and highly influenced by contemporary socio- political movements, so much that the saying “At night Muammar dreams, by day, he implements” became a common Libyan saying representative of his ruling methods.¹²³ While attempting to capture the essence of Gaddafi’s ideas on cultural heritage preservation from his policies can be difficult, analyzing his writings might be helpful to understand his position in regards to the cities and the possible reasons that led to their neglect.

Gaddafi was a relatively prolific writer. He narrated on principles of politics and lifestyle. In the 1990s, Gaddafi wrote a series of short stories among which was one titled *the City*. The essay, defined by some as a “bizarre streams of consciousness”, analyzed the nature of the city as an institution.¹²⁴ The following is an excerpt from the piece:

The city was long ago, let alone nowadays, life's nightmare and not its pleasure as is thought. If it had been a pleasure, it would have been so planned... Rather, the city is a scavenging multitude in which people find themselves by necessity, as no one ever comes to live in the city for pleasure so much as for a living, greed, toil, want ...and employment, which forces him to live in the city... The Koran says "And among the Medina (i.e. city) folk there are ones obstinate in hypocrisy"¹²⁵

¹²¹ Ruedy 189

¹²² St. John (1987), 26

¹²³ Mirza, Hassan. *Gaddafi's Fear Explains his Weird Leadership*. In World, Middle East Issues. October, 2011 <http://www.policymic.com/articles/2083/gaddafi-s-phobias-explain-his-weird-leadership>

¹²⁴ MacFarquhar, Neil. *Moammar Gaddafi: An Erratic Leader, Brutal and Defiant to the End*. The New York Times. October 20, 2011. <http://www.ndtv.com/article/world/moammar-gaddafi-an-erratic-leader-brutal-and-defiant-to-the-end-142907>

¹²⁵ Gaddafi, *The City*

The last portion of this excerpt clarifies that by city Gaddafi is referring to the historic neighborhoods of cities, rather than speaking exclusively of the westernized areas. Although Gaddafi seemed to foster the economic development of Tripoli, he rejected the cultural value of the city. Gaddafi did not see the city as a symbol of the country's heritage hence its preservation must not have been deemed beneficial to the protection of Libya's cultural identity.¹²⁶

Gaddafi's negative view of the city can be further understood by considering political influences to which he was exposed. Cities are at the heart of economic development and as such might be viewed as symbols of capitalism. The rejection of capitalism during the early phase of his regime could have led to a rejection of the institution that embodied the phenomenon itself.¹²⁷ This attitude derived from the socialist nature of Gaddafi's political ideas which were explicated in his *Third Universal Theory*. This theory, which was among the few stable elements in the Gaddafi's political philosophy, was formulated to enlighten people with ideas supported by the regime. The theory was influenced by leaders of the time, some of whom were: the Egyptian president Nasser, Mao Zedong, and Karl Marx. The *Third Universal Theory* was formulated as a midpoint between capitalism and communism which ultimately resulted in a proto-socialist movement. It reflected ideas featured in *the Green Book*, Gaddafi's counterpart to influential writing such as Nasser's *Philosophy of the Revolution* (1954) and Mao Zedong's *Little Red Book* (1964-1967). The Green Book was published in the

¹²⁶ "That which is valued by a dominant culture or cultures in society is preserved and cared for: the rest can be mindlessly or purposefully destroyed or just left to rot".
Bevan 11-12

¹²⁷ St. John (1983), 483

1970s as a compendium of opinions and ideas that exemplifies the theoretical principles at the heart of Gaddafi's policy making.¹²⁸

Although Gaddafi's views were not communist in nature, a comparison between his definition of the city and Marx's *Communist Manifesto* reveals similarities in their perception of the urban scene. Whereas Marx stated "The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation into a mere money relation"¹²⁹, Gaddafi stated "The city is a cemetery for social ties... one's purpose becomes self-interest and opportunism, and one's norm of behavior becomes hypocrisy."¹³⁰ Both regarded the city as a negative environment, portraying the lifestyle led by people living there as self-interested and dictated by monetary interests.

Further aversion towards the city can be noticed by comparing the previously mentioned essay on the city with Gaddafi's short story on the village. He narrates:

Run away, leave the City quickly... The Koran says, "By the Sun and his glorious splendour; by the Moon as she follows him; by the Day as it shows off the Sun's glory; by the Night as it conceals it; by the Firmament and its wide expanse" That is a wonderful picture of the world in the village and the countryside... What contemplation can there be among the throngs of the city!? There is hardly any time worth mentioning in the city, nor is there a day or night; let alone sunset; dusk; dawn, or twilight!!¹³¹

The positive depiction of the village associated to religious principles provides further support to the negative values attributed to the city. This passage attempted to inspire

¹²⁸ Ruedy, 193

The book was presented in its first volume as "the final solution to the problem of the instrument of governing" The ideas are known as the Third Universal Theory. The book is arranged in three volumes that were published between 1976 and 1978 and implemented from 1977 to 1980. It discusses a wide range of topics, from religion, to politics to women and it was regarded as fundamental to the national education until recent development.

¹²⁹ Engels F., Karl Marx. *The Communist Manifesto. With an introduction by David Harvey* London : Pluto Press (2008), Part I

¹³⁰ Bevan 11-12

¹³¹ Gaddafi, *The Village* , 1990

people to return to a more traditional rural lifestyle, away from the city and more in connection with the country's roots.

Gaddafi's ideas were influenced by his personal experience in addition to being inspired by political thinkers. The following excerpt is from the essay titled *the Tribe* featured in the Green Book.

A tribe is a family which has grown as a result of procreation. It follows that a tribe is a big family. Equally a nation is a tribe which has grown through procreation. The nation, then, is a big tribe. So the world is a nation which has been ramified into various nations. The world, then, is a big nation. The relationship which binds the family is that which binds the tribe, the nation and the world. However, it weakens with the increase in number. The concept of man is that of the nation, the concept of nation is that of the tribe, and the concept of the tribe is that of the family.¹³²

Gaddafi portrayed the tribe as the single most important element in the state and attributed the economic status of Arab nations to the disintegration of the tribal system caused by colonial powers.¹³³ In this excerpt he emphasizes the bonding that characterizes the relationship among people in a tribe, while in the description of the city he stressed the egotistical lifestyle of its inhabitants. A comparison between the conception of the tribe and the city further highlights the city as an element extraneous to Libyan tradition while emphasizing the tribal roots of Libya. Gaddafi's positive view of tribes might have been influenced by his family's origins. Gaddafi was born and raised in a Bedouin tent near the town of Sirte. He grew up in the desert until the age of nine, when he began attending school.¹³⁴ Gaddafi's connection to his origins was emphasized by his

¹³² Gaddafi, *The Tribe*, Vol. 3. The Green Book

¹³³ St. John (1983), 481

¹³⁴ "Muammar al-Qaddafi," . <http://www.biography.com/people/muammar-al-qaddafi-39014>

habit of traveling across nations with a Bedouin tent. This tent was usually set up outside his residence for him to receive people.¹³⁵

Gaddafi's ideas could have played a role in the selection of national landmarks currently listed on the World Heritage List. While the inscription of ancient Roman sites to the world heritage list can be seen as a consequence of decades of colonial domination which had established the sites as touristic centers, the inscription of Gadhames can be related to the leader's nostalgia for a traditional lifestyle. The Old Village of Gadhames, listed in 1986, is in fact an example of traditional pre-Saharan village.¹³⁶

Libya's archeology and history have been at the center of the nation's politics for centuries. Sites went from representing political ideals in the colonial period to being neglected due to their political significance. The centrality of Libyan cities as both cultural and economic resources is evident. Their decay was not sudden, but the result of years of political decisions and historic events that led to a gradual loss of cultural patrimony. Today, their rehabilitation and preservation would facilitate the economic and cultural revitalization of a country that has been politically oppressed for far too long.

¹³⁵ In 2009, Gaddafi traveled to America in order to attend a UN meeting, he brought along with him a tent that he pitched in the suburbs of New York (Bedford) after a request to establish the Ceremonial tent was rejected by the New Jersey town of Englewood. Notice Gaddafi chose suburban locations for his establishment.

Sheridan, Mary Beth. *Possible Gaddafi Visit Stirs N.J. Town*. The Washington Post, August 26, 2009
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/08/25/AR2009082503253.html>

¹³⁶ World Heritage List, Libya
 Old Town of Gadhames
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/362>

CHAPTER III

EGYPT

Between Pyramids and Mud Brick Houses: the Politics of Preservation in the Mubarak Era

The Boulaq and the Village of New Gournia

“The way heritage is presented and represented is integral to the way heritage is conceived and perceived, and is the means by which heritage assumes its value and motivational power”¹³⁷

- Hassan, F. *Heritage for Development: Concepts and Strategic Approaches*

Decaying buildings carry away with them the traditions of numerous generations, often to create space for sleek new constructions that hardly represent the rich history of the nation where they are located. In a country where heritage is embedded in the fabric of the land, decaying buildings become much more than rusting iron and rotten wood. They represent the end of an era; the destruction of both tangible and intangible heritage, and above all, a gradual loss of cultural identity. The case of Egypt contributes to furthering the discussion on the damaging effects of selective preservation by way of soft destruction and the role played by the government in the implementation of preservation policies. In order to understand the causes of soft destruction in Egypt, this analysis considers policies enacted by the government in power prior to the revolution of 2011, which led to the removal of the leading figure, Hosni Mubarak (1981- 2011).

Selective preservation practices endorsed during the Mubarak era were guided by economic interest. Policies enacted during the period had a propensity to focus on

¹³⁷ Hassan, 39

preserving known sites, a large portion of which was dated to ancient Egypt.¹³⁸ As in Libya, preservation principles applied in recent years in Egypt were an extension of practices that originated during the colonial period (1798-1952), and as a result, prioritized the preservation of sites that were established as landmarks by colonizing forces.

Unlike Libya and Afghanistan, damage created by selective preservation in Egypt was not caused by a lack of interest in conservation, but by the government's failure to preserve neighborhoods that although not particularly rich in landmarks or appealing to tourists, are still representative of the nation's tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Examples of such neglected areas include the Boulaq, in Cairo and the Village of New Gournia, located near Luxor.¹³⁹

a. In the Midst of Revolution: the Significance of Cultural Heritage Destruction

On January 25, 2011 the Egyptian population gave start to a revolution due to socio-political malcontent. Cultural heritage was among the casualties of the conflict as sites became endangered by bombs and looting. One of the first sites damaged as a result of the turmoil, was Egypt's Scientific Institute in Cairo. The institute was founded by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1789, a short time after his arrival in Egypt. Along with numerous other collections, this site housed one of the first works completed by the French scholars who arrived in the country during colonization, the *Description de l'Egypte*.¹⁴⁰ This work was considered to be part of the country's cultural patrimony.

¹³⁸ The principle of Egyptology as the study of Ancient Egyptian artifacts and sites, as it was defined during colonization.

¹³⁹ See Map 2, Site Overview, Afghanistan, Libya and Egypt

¹⁴⁰ *Description de l'Egypte*

Soon after the Scientific Institute was burned, Adel Abdel Ghafar, a Ph.D. student at the Australian National University, published an article stating,

As Molotov cocktails and bullets flew around the cabinet building, where the clashes were concentrated, the nearby Egyptian Scientific Institute, a decrepit and neglected old building full of rare books and valuable manuscripts, had caught fire. I cried in disbelief. What had brought me — and Egypt — to this point?¹⁴¹

The damage to Scientific Institute caused locals to realize the severity of the turmoil affecting the country. In the aftermath of this disastrous event, volunteers spent days attempting to salvage what remained of the burned treasure. In an interview following the incident, Zein Abdel-Hady, who managed the country's main library, stated "I haven't slept for two days, and I cried a lot yesterday. I do not like to see a book burned," he said. "The whole of Egypt is crying."¹⁴²

Given the plethora of historic sites in Egypt, authorities were unable to guarantee complete protection. For this reason, people decided to take the matter in their hands by organizing protests. Declan Butler states in his article *Egyptians Rally to Defend Cultural Heritage*, "[people] formed a human chain around the Egyptian Museum on the first night of rioting in the vicinity, for example, and so prevented any serious damage or thefts."¹⁴³ As seen in Afghanistan and Libya, the reaction of local people to heritage destruction is a manifestation of what the site destroyed represented to them. Once again, while the local community showed immediate initiative against the violent threat of the

<http://descegy.bibalex.org/>

¹⁴¹ Ghafar, Abdel Adel. *Foreign Policy: Egypt, Our Burning Heritage. Why is the Egyptian Military Letting our History Go up in Smoke?*. January 11, 2012. NPR news

<http://www.npr.org/2012/01/11/145026393/foreign-policy-egypt-burning-heritage>

¹⁴² Batrawy, Aya. *Thousands Of Rare Books, Journals, Writings Burned At Institute of Egypt in Cairo*. December 19, 2011. Huffington Post

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/12/19/books-burned_n_1158535.html

¹⁴³ Butler, Declan. *Egyptians Rally to Defend Cultural Heritage As Petrol Bombs fly Near the Egyptian Museum, Citizens and Army Mobilize Against Looters*. February 3, 2011. Scientific American.

<http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=egyptians-rally-to-defend-culture>

revolution, they failed to show the same concern for sites that had been slowly succumbing to neglect. Their reaction was influenced by the violence of the event and also by the perceived relevance of the endangered site.

b. Soft destruction in a Soft State: Economic Interest in Mubarak's Egypt

The relevance of cultural heritage sites is determined by local governments who are responsible for establishing the selective preservation patterns of nations through policy making. The nature of the government in charge defines the types of policies enforced, and consequently the heritage preserved. Cultural heritage policies adopted in Egypt during the Mubarak era (1981-2011) were indicative of the priorities of the government. Unlike the case of Libya, policies implemented by the Mubarak government were not the result of one leader's ideas. The semi-democratic nature of the Egyptian government allowed ministries to participate in the policy making process.

Galal Amin, author of *Egypt in the Era of Hosni Mubarak*, defines the Egypt of the past twenty years as a *soft state*. He states, "a soft state is a state that passes laws but does not enforce them...the rules are made to be broken and it enriches those who break them"; he goes on to say that "people clamor for positions of influence so that they may turn them into personal gain".¹⁴⁴ Following the adoption of an open door policy (*Infitah*) in the last years of Sadat's government (1970-1981), Egypt's economic resources began to change.¹⁴⁵ The market's expansion ultimately led to the adoption of a pseudo-capitalistic system, and the political scene became dominated by economic interest.¹⁴⁶ Amin describes the political élite of those years when stating that, "it was notable that

¹⁴⁴ Amin, 8. The definition of Soft State mentioned by Amin is based on the theories developed by Myrdal in his book *The Asian Drama: an Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations* published in 1968 and later publications by this author

¹⁴⁵ Amin, 11, 40

¹⁴⁶ Springborg, 28

many of those who assumed prominent positions over the last twenty years had attained a conspicuously lower level of education than those who held the same posts during the 1960s and 1970s".¹⁴⁷ The lack of experience among political personalities not only led to a weakening of the country but also to an increase in corruption.¹⁴⁸ The strong ideals that had characterized the Nasser (1956-1970) and Sadat governments were replaced by easily manipulated stands in the Egypt of Mubarak. In a country directed by economic interest, regulations were readily re-directed to benefit the monetary income of a selected few. In this process, patterns of cultural heritage preservation were also reevaluated to follow the newly established priorities.

Although policies and approaches have varied, Egypt's commitment to preservation of cultural heritage has been unwavering throughout the years. The nation's interest in heritage conservation is illustrated by at the number of sites registered on UNESCO's World Heritage List. Egypt's list currently includes seven sites¹⁴⁹; in addition, the nation has listed numerous areas on a tentative list for future consideration. Following the country's ratification UNESCO's *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972) in 1974, sites have been continuously registered to the World Heritage List.¹⁵⁰ While many of the sites date to ancient Egypt, the list features a variety of landmarks from other historic periods (i.e. Saint Catherine area, monastery).

¹⁴⁷ Amin, 17

¹⁴⁸ Amin, 17

¹⁴⁹ Abu Mena (1979), Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis (1979), Historic Cairo (1979), Memphis and its Necropolis – the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur (1979), Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae (1979), Saint Catherine Area (2002)

World Heritage List, Egypt

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/eg>

¹⁵⁰ World Heritage List, Egypt

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/eg>

Cultural heritage tourism is among Egypt's most important sources of income. The beginning of international tourism in this country can be traced back to the early 19th century, when after discovering ancient Egyptian sites educated elites in Europe began to travel for leisure. In 1850, 20,000 tourists were estimated to have visited the country; in 2002 they were estimated to be 5,192,000.¹⁵¹ Tourism increased continued across history, and was only interrupted by wars. During each of these wars, the economy of the country suffered greatly, proving the importance of the industry.¹⁵² An example of decrease in touristic fluss due to war was visible in the recent revolution of 2011 which caused a decreased of 30% in tourists.¹⁵³ Additionally, in 1991, during the Golf War, there was a drastic decrease in tourists visiting the country; in this occasion stability was easily recovered the following year.¹⁵⁴

Understanding the relevance of this industry, government policies of the last thirty years have attempted to maximize income from tourism. In doing so they prioritized the maintenance of profitable sites and the construction of facilities to accommodate tourists.

c. The Selective Pattern: Looking at the Roots of the Current Preservation Approach

Egypt's current preservation practices are an extension of the colonial philosophy that has been furthered during the Mubarak era to fulfill the government's economic priorities. France invaded Egypt between the late 18th and early 19th century, after the Mamluks had ruled the country for more than 500 years.

¹⁵¹ Ibrahim, 176

¹⁵² Ibrahim, 177-178

¹⁵³ *Tourist Flow to Egypt Falls over 30 pct in 2011 Due to Political Crisis says Minister*. RiaNovisti, World. January 15, 2012

<http://en.rian.ru/world/20120115/170767839.html>

¹⁵⁴ Ibrahim, 177-178

France and England, the two major colonizing powers at the time, introduced the concept of cultural heritage preservation to Egypt. Motivated by the impetus of Romanticism, 19th century Europeans took it upon themselves to discover and safeguard humanity's most precious and at times hidden treasures.¹⁵⁵ The heritage of ancient Egypt was among them. While pursuing what to them was a mission to safeguard heritage, Europeans took back to their motherland the findings of this ancient land. Among the most famous artifacts that were imported to Europe was the Rosetta Stone which was transported to London in 1802. This practice continued until 1859 when the Egyptian museum was founded by stipulation of Auguste Mariette.¹⁵⁶

Colonialists recognized the cultural relevance of Arabic art, however their interest in the remains of one of the oldest civilization in world was much greater. They prioritized the preservation of ancient Egyptian art to establish a plausible connection to Egypt in order to justify their presence.¹⁵⁷ The colonization of Egypt, as in other countries subjugated by European powers, led to the demarcation between civilizations, considered to be the Europeans, and exotic, that was associated with locals. In this context Ancient Egyptian artifacts were associated to the civilized world unlike other artifacts.

The French mission in Egypt led to the development of a new movement and a new science, respectively: Egyptology and archeology. Egyptology started out as an interest in Egyptian artifacts but branched into a science specific to the study of the ancient sites. Egyptology, as the study of Egypt's history existed prior to colonization, however the term took upon a new meaning in those years. Donald M. Reid, author of *Indigenous Egyptology: The Decolonization of a Profession?* explored the effect of

¹⁵⁵ Reid (1992), 56

¹⁵⁶ Reid (1992), 57

¹⁵⁷ Burleigh, xii

colonialism on Egypt's cultural heritage by defining the meaning of two types of Egyptology: Egyptology of the west and indigenous Egyptology. Indigenous Egyptology was the study of Egyptian cultural heritage comprehensive of all periods of the country's history. Prior to the 19th century, the Islamic identity of locals surpassed their interest in Ancient Egypt's culture. Cultural differences, such as religion, represented a barrier between interest in the ancient pagan culture and their Islamic heritage.¹⁵⁸ When the French and British colonial powers left Egypt their culture became integrated with local traditions.¹⁵⁹ The change brought by this cultural assimilation is evident in today's policies of preservation which uphold the relevance of ancient sites at the expenses of indigenous or more recent heritage sites.¹⁶⁰ When Egypt was declared independent in 1922, European forces attempted to take treasures from this land one last time. In this occasion, cultural heritage sites that were protected from looting came to represent the pride and freedom of the newly liberated nation to locals.¹⁶¹ At this point in time, the new perception of ancient Egyptian sites surpassed the cultural differences that had precluded pride in the ancient past prior to the colonial era.

Preservation of Arabic art and ancient artifacts took on a different path in post colonial Egypt. The living character conferred upon Arabic buildings and sites surpassed the idea of exotic and unusual that had led Europeans to preserve them. This new perception was emphasized in the 1970s and 1980s by Islamists who recognized the centrality of mosques in their everyday life activities but were not concerned with their

¹⁵⁸ Reid (1985), 233

¹⁵⁹ Reid (1985), 239

¹⁶⁰ Reid (1985), 234

¹⁶¹ Reid (1985), 239-240

historic preservation.¹⁶² The relevance that had been conferred to ancient sites during colonization, along with income profited by tourism, placed them at the center of Egypt's economy.¹⁶³

After the end of colonization and the revolution of 1952, the economic welfare of Egypt came to revolve around the income produced by tourism. In those years, cultural heritage regulations were set in place and preservation standards began to be implemented.¹⁶⁴ In 1958, the Ministry of Culture was created to preserve the country's cultural patrimony. The duty of this ministry was described as follows, "creating conditions for the nationwide enjoyment of this heritage in its various manifestations: the written word, national archives, antiquities, museum, folklore and the traditions of artistic and literary creation".¹⁶⁵ The purpose of cultural policy in Egypt was further defined by a statement made by Dr. Sarwat Okasha, Minister of Culture, to the commission for services in the national assembly on June 16, 1969. On this occasion he mentioned that the duty of the Ministry of Culture was to ensure the widest access to culture and the widest possible participation. Furthermore, he evidenced the necessity of a plan of preservation that took into consideration the overall history of the country.¹⁶⁶ In 1971 the Ministry of Culture was reorganized by presidential decree to be more pliable in its approach to preservation.¹⁶⁷

In 1972, Magdi Wahaba conducted a study for UNESCO titled the *Cultural Policy in Egypt*. The report was proposed as an overview of the state of preservation and

¹⁶² Reid (1992), 72

¹⁶³ Reid (1992), 57

¹⁶⁴ Wahaba, 16

¹⁶⁵ Wahaba, 17

¹⁶⁶ Wahaba, 36

¹⁶⁷ Wahaba, 29

future goals of cultural heritage in Egypt. Wahaba opened the document with a statement recognizing the importance of a cultural heritage approach when attempting to define what is to be preserved. The report defined the objective of the newly reorganized Department of Antiquity stating, “the restoration and preservation of Islamic antiquities constitutes a large part of the department’s work”.¹⁶⁸ The author recognized the different dimensions of Egypt’s cultural heritage and emphasized their preservation as part of the government’s duty. Mubarak came to power only a decade after the UNESCO report was concluded, yet looking at work and ideas supported by the Department of Antiquity today, one can easily notice discrepancies in the preservation approach supported before and after he came to power.

Although he was the leading figure in the state, Mubarak was not directly at the center of the cultural heritage scene. The spotlight in the field was occupied by Zahi Hawass who was appointed to the only legal office in the Council, Minister of Culture from 2002 to 2011.¹⁶⁹ He was briefly removed from office during the revolution, re-appointed after a month and subsequently forced to resign in March 2011. Hawass is an archeologist specializing in Egyptology. As he states on his official website, “I have dedicated my entire life to Egyptology. So far I have enjoyed forty years of adventures, discoveries, tombs and mummies.”¹⁷⁰ Among other things, as a government official Hawass was involved in the restitution movement dedicated to retrieving objects of Ancient Egyptian origins. His commitment to preservation was expressed in a 2003 statement following his demand for the restitution of the Rosetta stone. He mentioned: "If

¹⁶⁸ Wahaba, 39

¹⁶⁹ Supreme Council for Antiquities (SCA), Sites

<http://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/main.htm>

¹⁷⁰ Hawass, Zahi. *The Zahi Hawass Chair of Egyptology*
<http://www.drhawass.com/zahi-hawass-chair-egyptology>

the British want to be remembered, if they want to restore their reputation, they should volunteer to return the Rosetta Stone because it is the icon of our Egyptian identity".¹⁷¹

Osama Diab defines Hawass's role in the article *Sacking Zahi Hawass is a Sign of Egypt's Ongoing Revolution*, states "If Egyptian archaeology was a country, then certainly Hawass would be its Mubarak".¹⁷² This eccentric character was among the most active personalities in the fight for the protection of cultural heritage in Egypt; although his efforts were centered on ancient Egyptian artifacts, he was also involved in the preservation of sites from other eras.

Given the importance of cultural heritage in Egypt, the relevance of Hawass in the political scene is not surprising. His attitude in the context of preservation reflected the political ideas of the Mubarak government and influenced the selective preservation patterns adopted in Egypt. Victor A. Shnirelman author of the article *From International to National: Forgotten Pages of Soviet Archeology in 1930s and 1940s* discusses the connection between personal interests and preservation stating:

Consciously or unconsciously, a historian performs a political task of expressing his interests and inclinations in his choice of a particular topic, in his methodological tools, and his representation of historical data.¹⁷³

The Minister of Culture oversees the Supreme Council of Antiquities (hereon referred to as SCA) which is the governing body in charge of every aspect of cultural heritage

¹⁷¹ Edwardes, C. and Milner, C. *Egypt Demands Return of the Rosetta Stone*.

The Telegraph. July 20, 2003

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/egypt/1436606/Egypt-demands-return-of-the-Rosetta-Stone.html>

¹⁷² Diab, Osama. *Sacking Zahi Hawass is a Sign of Egypt's Ongoing Revolution*.

The Guardian. July 22, 2011

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/jul/22/sacking-zahi-hawass-egypt-revolution>

¹⁷³ Shnirelman., 125 in Kohl P. & Fawcett C. *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archeology*

preservation in Egypt. As Minister of Culture, Hawass might have been influential to the preservation practices of the SCA.

The list of sites protected by the SCA during the Mubarak Era illustrates that the department's priorities have shifted from those described in Wahaba's report. The official website of the SCA features a list of the sites protected by the council. Of the over 80 sites listed to be under protection of the SCA, less than 10% are Islamic sites. A great majority of them are Pharaonic and Greco-Roman.¹⁷⁴

While there were efforts made to preserve monuments from other cultural periods such as Islamic or Jewish, there was a tendency to prioritize the preservation ancient Egyptian monuments. In *Islamic Architecture: Cultural Heritage and Future Challenge*, author Mostafa Ibrahim Eldemery illustrates that numerous Islamic landmarks were lost to neglect in the past decades. He states, "more than two hundred Islamic monuments, covering less than two square hectares, still stand today in Cairo. This impressive proportion is dwarfed, however by the number cited in the 1951 survey of Islamic architecture".¹⁷⁵

d. Out with the Old in with the New: Fostering Economic Rebirth at the Cost Cultural Identity

Attempting to preserve everything is impossible; however preserving a comprehensive set of sites representative of the nation's identity is feasible and is, in fact, the objectives of cultural heritage preservation. The process of cultural heritage destruction during peace in Egypt was defined both by a lack of preservation attempts and by the active implementations of policies that favored economic development at the

¹⁷⁴ Supreme Council for Antiquities (SCA), Sites
<http://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/main.htm>

¹⁷⁵ Eldemery, 3

expenses of the protection of cultural identity. The current conditions of the Boulaq, a neighborhood located at the heart of Cairo, are an example of the damage caused by both these practices.¹⁷⁶

As part of a revitalization program known as Cairo 2050, the Egyptian government decided to resolve issues of urban deterioration by demolishing Cairo's poorest neighborhoods, relocating millions of people to new dwellings in the desert, and redeveloping the area. The Boulaq was among the areas affected by this program. Cairo 2050 is the most detailed vision of modern Cairo produced in recent years. The plan was put together during the Mubarak government with the objective of modernizing the city by reinvesting the economic profit earned from commerce. Nevertheless, this visionary idea failed to recognize the historic and cultural relevance hidden beneath poor neighborhoods that were planned on being destroyed to make space to the new buildings.

To create a modern city is to destroy existing buildings and the history associated with them. In his book *Living with Heritage in Cairo*, Sedky defines issues that lead to urban deterioration and ultimately to the destruction of historic fabric. Among the major problems leading to deterioration are lack of public awareness of the area's relevance, lack of active preservation legislation, and political and economic problems. These issues lead to a lack of aesthetic quality, loss of distinctive character, housing crises, lack of hygiene, and conservation problems.¹⁷⁷ All of these problems contributed to the decay of the Boulaq.

The decision to demolish the Boulaq represented a conscious act of selective preservation that reflected the preservation priorities of the leading government. Much

¹⁷⁶ See Map 6, The Boulaq, Cairo

¹⁷⁷ Sedky (2009), 6

like Libya's Medinas, the Boulaq is not primarily a touristic destination, but rather a run-down neighborhood, given its present conditions. The Boulaq neighborhood was founded in the 14th century as the main harbor in Cairo¹⁷⁸, the name of the neighborhood is an Arabic adaptation of French "beaux Lac", the beautiful lake. In the 15th century this part of the city was home to merchant activities. The neighborhood was also home to the first museum in Cairo, opened in 1863.¹⁷⁹ As centuries went by, the Boulaq became a materialization of cultural development and juxtaposed traditions. Today this organically developed community is dismissed as reminiscent of pre-modern urban planning, with narrow streets and run down buildings that prevent a good navigation of the area. Nevertheless, the same streets and buildings that make this area unfit for modern living are what make it relevant culturally and historically.¹⁸⁰

Mahbub ul Haq, author of *Islamic Architecture and the Poor People of Islam*, defines the relevance of Islamic architecture. He states "Islamic architecture cannot be just a geometric form, a poetic mosaic, a marvel of symphony, it must also respond to the aspiration of people. It must embody traditions they can touch and feel and with which they can identify".¹⁸¹ The interactive character of Islamic heritage confers relevance to neighborhoods that, although no longer remarkable examples of architecture, are still culturally valuable. The deterioration of Cairo's historic neighborhoods is not only gradually leading to the loss of significant urban fabric, but also to the loss of traditions.

¹⁷⁸ Sedky (2009),5

¹⁷⁹ Supreme Council for Antiquities (SCA)
<http://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/main.htm>

¹⁸⁰ Elshahed, Mohamed. *Struggles that Fueled the Revolution*. Jadaliyya. February 17, 2012
<http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/4401/struggles-that-fueled-a-revolution>

¹⁸¹ Ul Haq, 128

The Cairo 2050 project mentions preservation, however, the plan seeks only the preservation monuments and unique historical buildings within the cemetery area of the Boulaq. It also illustrates a plan for establishing a center for reviving traditional crafts. The project fails to consider that the removal of monuments from their original context would lead to losing part of their significance. Article 1 of the Venice Charter emphasizes the relevance of maintaining a context to prevent the destruction of a site's significance. The article states:

The concept of a historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time ¹⁸²

Areas like the Boulaq should be preserved because they are examples of living urbanism and contribute to preserving local traditions.¹⁸³ Although the material relevance of the neighborhood has been obfuscated by decay, the Boulaq is still a rich historic site representative of local people's cultural identity.

The Boulaq is a materialization of culture that emphasizes the connection between the fabric and intangible traditions of the neighborhood's inhabitants. The relevance of the Boulaq derives not only from tangible buildings but from the intangible traditions that developed within. The *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994) acknowledges the relevance of intangible heritage when stating that:

All cultures and societies are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression which constitute their heritage, and these should be respected. ¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² International Council On Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) International Charter for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites (the Venice Charter 1964). Article 1 http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf

¹⁸³ Sedky (2009), 33

¹⁸⁴ World Heritage Convention. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World*

Egypt was among the first nations to ratify UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003). The implementation of the convention allowed for “the safeguard and promotion of traditional Egyptian festivals”.¹⁸⁵ The efforts taken by the government, are commendable, however, they do not provide protection for the dynamic traditions of everyday living such as those that characterize the Boulaq.

Article 2(1) of the *Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* states:

...intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity...¹⁸⁶

This article emphasizes the importance of maintaining traditions within their original context. Culture is created on a daily basis through routines and traditional methods of carrying on with life. Mahbub Ul Haq discusses the tangible and intangible relevance of Islamic cities and neighborhoods such as Boulaq. He states:

[the] Muslim city was not the result of any grandiose vision of individual architects, rather it represented a multitude of decisions made by the members of the community, through a subtle social interaction that struck a balance between the rights of individuals, their neighbors and the larger community.¹⁸⁷

It is neither the tangible nor the intangible that determine the relevance of a site, but rather, their interaction. For this reason one cannot always be preserved without the other, and the destruction of a building at times signifies the destruction of cultural identity.

Cultural and Natural Heritage: The Nara Document on Authenticity (November, 1-6, 1994). Article 7
<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/nara94.htm>

¹⁸⁵ Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO Office in Cairo

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/intangible-cultural-heritage/>

¹⁸⁶ Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>

¹⁸⁷ Ul Haq, 128

The tangible and intangible relevance of Boulaq was illustrated by two recent documentaries that came to be at the heart of opposition for the construction of new structures in this area of Cairo.¹⁸⁸ The documentaries *Boulaq: Among the Ruins of an Unfinished Revolution*, directed by Davide Morandini and Fabio Lucchini, and *On the Road to ... Downtown*, directed by Sherif al-Bendary, although very different in their approach, aim to highlight the importance of this forgotten neighborhood. While Sherif al-Bendary focuses on the bond existing between people and buildings, Morandini highlights the consequences of deterioration and the forced eviction of the local population.¹⁸⁹ Sayed Korany, a Bulaq resident since birth and one of the lead characters in Morandini's film states the following in regards to the significance of a neighborhood and its residents: "Bulaq is a neighborhood where everyone knows each other, like in one big family. The area means a lot to the people, who have shared memories connected to the place. But it deserves to be looked after better".¹⁹⁰

Since 2010 Egypt's local government agencies have been collaborating with international organizations on the *Urban Regeneration Project of Historic Cairo*. The program seeks the restoration of historic neighborhoods that are in active urban decay. It is based on the principle that "the tangible heritage of the World Heritage Site can only be preserved if life is kept in it."¹⁹¹ While the project was initiated in 2010, it was approved by the government in 2012. Historic Cairo has been inscribed on the World

¹⁸⁸ Stuhr-Rommereim, Helen. "'Boulaq' and 'Downtown': Two neighborhood portraits", March 27, 2012

<http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/boulaq-and-downtown-two-neighborhood-portraits>

¹⁸⁹ Elshahed, Mohamed. *Struggles that Fueled the Revolution*. Jadaliyya. February 17, 2012

<http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/4401/struggles-that-fueled-a-revolution>

¹⁹⁰ Gustafsson, Jenny. *Cairo's Beautiful Lake*. Marshall News March 23, 2012

<http://mashallahnews.com/?p=7657>

¹⁹¹ Unesco World Heritage Center- Management of World Heritage Sites in Egypt. Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo- First Report of Activities, July 2010-June 2012, 27

<http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-663-3.pdf>

Heritage list since 1976; nevertheless, the ambiguity of the area's boundaries has made the enforcement of preservation regulations difficult. In 2010 the SCA submitted a map of Historic Cairo for this project that included areas rich with monuments but omitted significant cultural resources.¹⁹² As stated in the report: "the pre-modern urban fabric that developed west of the former al-Khalij canal, the historical urban area that developed north of the city walls in the Ottoman period, the pre-modern settlements on the Nile banks Bulaq and al-Fustat"¹⁹³ The Bulaq was not included in the map, however it was deemed relevant by URHC. The unrecognized cultural wealth of the Bulaq exposes a discrepancy between the values dictating selective preservation patterns in Egypt, those of Egypt's people and the international community.¹⁹⁴ The perimeter submitted by the SCA varied from the subsequent version proposed by the URHC in 2012 which listed the Bulaq as part of Historic Cairo.

e. The Westernization of the Egyptian Identity: the Forgotten Village of New Gournia

"A nation must be aware of, must appreciate and value (not to say be proud of) its culture and its various forms, in order to believe that it's worth preserving and actually take a step to preserve it".¹⁹⁵ This statement by Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah, author of *Cultural Heritage Development in the Arab World: Moving Forward* illustrates one of the major issues that have led to the perpetuation of current patterns of selective preservation in Egypt. The advent of colonialism and the westernization of living style

¹⁹² Unesco World Heritage Center- Management of World Heritage Sites in Egypt. Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo- First Report of Activities, July 2010-June 2012, 27
<http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-663-3.pdf>

¹⁹³ Unesco World Heritage Center- Management of World Heritage Sites in Egypt. Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo- First Report of Activities, July 2010-June 2012, 30
<http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-663-3.pdf>

¹⁹⁴ Sedky (2005) , 113

¹⁹⁵ Al Sahbab, 282

have led local people to perceive European culture to be better than their own. The prioritization of ancient sites' preservation is both an effect and a cause of this perception.

The case study of New Gournā illustrates how local's perception led to sites' decay because of lack of interest in safeguarding certain areas of the nation. The village of New Gournā, located near Luxor on the west bank of the Nile river, was created in 1946 when the population of Gournā was asked to relocate from their original village to allow the archeological excavations of a ancient tomb in the cemetery of Thebes.¹⁹⁶ The construction of the new village, located in the vicinity of the old site, served to preserve the cultural dynamics developed among the inhabitants of Gournā.¹⁹⁷ The design of the new village was planned by Hassan Fathy, who attempted to build an environment sensitive to the Nubian local tradition while remaining true to traditional Islamic values.¹⁹⁸ New Gournā illustrates Egyptian past trends of prioritizing ancient discoveries over the preservation of local villages; it represents an attempt to foster preservation of traditions and demonstrates the presence of soft destruction of cultural heritage in Egypt.

Although buildings in the village were built only in the twentieth century, their cultural significance can be considered traditional to the Islamic culture.¹⁹⁹ Fathy attempted to preserve and reevaluate cultural traditions of Egypt in an age where social perception tended to value western traditions more than their own. He created an

¹⁹⁶ See Map 7 The Village of New Gournā

¹⁹⁷ UNESCO. Safeguarding project Hassan Fathy's New Gournā Village. Preliminary Phase Document. April 2011, 4

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001925/192524e.pdf>

¹⁹⁸ Taragon, 170

¹⁹⁹ Taragon, 177

architecture that allowed the type of interaction traditional to the original Gournia Village and therefore fostered the continuation of arts and craftsmanship.²⁰⁰

Years after post-colonial era of the 19th-20th century, Fahty witnessed locals believing in the superiority of foreign arts compared to local craftsmanship. In a personal anecdote Fathy narrates a visualization of cultural perception. He describes the reaction of a peasant at the vision of a westernized building in the city, he states:

The peasant, his eyes opened to the opulence of city life, takes as his arbiter the urban civil servant and the police captain, for whom anything European is good. There is no God but God; there is no civilization but Western civilization. The millions of peasants. Just as the rest of Egypt's living history is in full retreat up the Nile, so her craftsmanship is disappearing before the attack of shiny tiny and goudy cloth.²⁰¹

Further, he states,

the ever more shiny products of Europe and America, the lustrous metal cups and gold-spangled glasses...have conquered the defenseless markets of villages, and forced into ignominious hiding the beautiful sober handiwork of local craftsman.²⁰²

This belief seems to be still reflected in the current preservation standards which prioritize the preservation of famous sites over the conservation of quaint neighborhoods where traditions are still alive.

Given the increasingly fast pace of architectural decay occurring in the village, New Gournia was placed on the 2010 monument watch by the World Monument Foundation. Following this decision, UNESCO (2011) initiated an assessment of the area.²⁰³ The evaluation revealed that many of the buildings originally designed by Fathy have been destroyed and replaced by new structures that are not compatible with the

²⁰⁰ Fathy, 14

²⁰¹ Fathy, 27

²⁰² Fathy, 27

²⁰³ World Monument Fund. New Gournia Village, Luxor, West Bank, Egypt.
<http://www.wmf.org/project/new-gournia-village>

original style of the area. Aside from the village's mosque which was found to be in better conditions, the remaining buildings were found to be in a serious state of degradation.²⁰⁴ The replacement and destruction of original buildings is gradually damaging the material significance of the site, while also threatening the principles at the foundation of the creation of this village.

New Gournia is an illustration of the connection between culture, architecture, government and economics. As Fathy observed,

there is much more to this approach than the purely technical matters that concern the architect. There are social and cultural questions of great complexity and delicacy, there is the economic question, there is the question of the project's relations with the government, and so on. None of these questions can be left out of consideration, for each has a bearing on the others, and the total picture would be distorted by any omission.²⁰⁵

The failure to recognize the necessity for balance between culture and economics was among the causes that led to the decay of the village of New Gournia, as well as other areas across the country, during the Mubarak era.

The project of New Gournia attempted to preserve the cultural heritage of the poor, while decreasing the discrepancy between the residual ideas of colonialism and ideas of cultural heritage of Egypt prior to colonialism. Mostafa Ibrahim Eldemery, author of *Islamic Architecture: Cultural Heritage and Future Challenge*, states "cultural identity represents the sum of our past creativity, and the results of creativity are what keep society going and moving forward".²⁰⁶ As Fathy observed in his essay *Architecture*

²⁰⁴ UNESCO. Safeguarding project Hassan Fathy's New Gournia Village. Preliminary Phase Document. April 2011, 15

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001925/192524e.pdf>

²⁰⁵ Fathy, xv

²⁰⁶ Eldemerry, 2

of the Poor a large portion of Egypt's population is in fact poor.²⁰⁷ The case study of the Boulaq has shown that cultural heritage among the poor is embedded in traditions carried on in their everyday life. Therefore, in order to preserve the identity of local populations, patterns that allow social interaction and the practice of traditional crafts must be conserved.²⁰⁸ The preservation of buildings located in the New Gournia village, as well as those in the Boulaq represents an attempt to maintain local people's cultural identity alive.

²⁰⁷ Ul Haq, 126

²⁰⁸ Fathy, 13

PART III

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

a. Post-Revolution Preservation Programs

Preservation in Libya, Afghanistan and Egypt took steps forward in the years following their respective revolutions. Progress was made both at the state level and by UNESCO to further the conservation of cultural heritage. An example of such advancement took place in Libya when the *Agreement for Protection of Cultural Heritage Sites* was signed on August 2, 2012. According to the agreement, Libya is now committed to launch programs supporting the preservation of museums and archeological sites. These programs not only will allow the conservation of the nation's heritage but will also foster economic development.²⁰⁹

A further example of cultural heritage preservation efforts in the post-revolutionary period is given by Egypt. As previously mentioned in *Chapter III*, on June 11, 2012 an agreement was signed for the preservation of Historic Cairo. The project originated in 2010 and aspired to preserve the area by allowing locals to continue living there. Among the major difficulties encountered by this project was defining the boundaries of Historic Cairo which has been inscribed on the World Heritage List since 1979. While not previously included within the area of significance, the Boulaq was listed as part of Historic Cairo in a map recently proposed by URPHC of the World Heritage Property.²¹⁰ A first report of activities for this project states:

²⁰⁹ Unesco, Libya Sign Agreement for Protection of Cultural Heritage Sites August 13, 2012. Global Heritage Found, Heritage on the Wire.

http://globalheritagefund.org/onthewire/blog/unesco_libya_agreement

²¹⁰ Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/663/>

The urban area that has persisted since 1807, including focal points, street patterns, and built-up and undeveloped areas. This includes the historical suburbs north of the city gates of Bab al-Futuh and Bab al-Nasr, as well as the historical harbours of Bulaq and Fustat.²¹¹

The program proposed by URPHC considers numerous factors important to the rehabilitation of the historic areas, such as tourism, and the interaction among communities involved in preservation. This program touches upon many factors that will contribute to advancement in the field of preservation.

Post-revolutionary involvement of countries analyzed in this study is proof of renewed interest in the preservation of their respective cultural patrimony. Although programs recently implemented demonstrate a wider spectrum of interest in the field, only some address the dangers of decay and cultural heritage destruction during peace. The following discussion will provide recommendations for the implementation of programs directed to the preservation of heritage in times of peace.

Recommendations:

I. Encouraging Collaboration between Government, People and the International Community

The rehabilitation of areas considered in this analysis begins with the collaborative efforts of local and international communities. Amhed Sedky discusses the relevance of collaboration among interested parties in *The Politics of Area Conservation in Cairo*. The concepts illustrated by this author refer to Egypt, however they can be generally applied to countries experiencing cultural heritage destruction in times of peace. Sedky describes three main actors relevant to the preservation of cultural heritage;

²¹¹ Unesco World Heritage Center- Management of World Heritage Sites in Egypt. Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo- First Report of Activities, July 2010-June 2012, 30
<http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-663-3.pdf>

these groups are “Nations” (the state), “Users” (local people) and the international community. Each stakeholder has interests and demands.²¹² A successful preservation of national identity comes from a balance created between the demands and needs of these three parts. Similarly, decay and destruction of cultural heritage result from the prioritization of one party’s demand over others. As this study has shown, selective preservation leading to destruction of heritage is often caused by the prioritization of the state’s needs.

In order to mitigate some of the negative effects of political leadership on the national patrimony, the selection of sites representative of a country’s identity should be handled in conjunction with the nation’s people. International organizations should facilitate the process by promulgating guidelines that specifically consider the dangers of selective preservation and intentional destruction. The promulgation of guidelines educating the public to the importance of cultural heritage will facilitate the protection of a comprehensive set of sites that is truly representative of a nation’s identity, regardless of the political ideologies of leading authorities at any given time.

The interests of the international community in the preservation of individual countries’ heritage are illustrated in the *1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO)*. The declaration states that “deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world”.²¹³ Although the stakes are high, international organization are limited in their ability to help. Hardships in conserving endangered heritage during peace result from the lack of legally

²¹²Sedky (2005), 114

²¹³ UNESCO, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext>

enforceable regulations. While the protection of cultural heritage during war is regulated by the *Hague 1954, Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, the phenomenon of cultural loss in times of peace is not specifically framed by international regulations, nor criminally enforceable. Article 4 of The Hague 1954 states,

The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect cultural property situated within their own territory as well as within the territory of other High Contracting Parties by refraining from any use of the property and its immediate surroundings or of the appliances in use for its protection for purposes which are likely to expose it to destruction or damage in the event of armed conflict; and by refraining from any act of hostility directed against such property.²¹⁴

Though the article illustrates principles generally applicable to all instances of preservation, the last sentence exemplifies the limits of its applicability to threats not resulting from armed conflict. If an international organization such as UNESCO was to intervene in instances of destruction such as those presented in this study, its actions would be considered to be overstepping the jurisdiction of the local government.

The episode leading to the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan exposes the limits of the international community in cases of intentional cultural heritage destruction. Because the destruction of the Buddhas was announced prior to the statues' destruction, communities had the opportunity to voice their opinion, and attempted to stop the Taliban government. The international community first expressed concern for the preservation of Bamiyan in 1997 at the 21st session of the World Heritage Committee; in this occasion, members recognized that the protection of this site was necessary because of "its inestimable value, not only as part of the heritage of Afghanistan but as part of the

²¹⁴ Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. The Hague, 14 May 1954. Article 4 (1)

heritage of humankind.”²¹⁵ The reaction of the international community to the announcement of the Buddhas’ destruction evidenced the significance that had been attributed to the statues. After the Taliban government announced the destruction of the Buddhas, representatives from countries all over the world began to plead the Taliban government to reconsider their actions. In 2001, Philippe de Montebello, director of the Metropolitan Museum of art, offered to buy the statues and transport them out of the country to prevent their destruction.²¹⁶ He stated “Let us remove them, so they are in the context of an art museum, where they are cultural objects, works of art and not cult images”.²¹⁷ The Japanese government, a major participant in archeological study of the Bamiyan Valley in 1970s, proposed several solutions to avoid the destruction of the site as well. They proposed removing the statues piece by piece and reassembling them outside the country or covering them completely so to allow their preservation underneath the protecting surface.²¹⁸ Eventually, while the disaster was occurring, UNESCO admitted their inability to intervene. Christian Manhart, head of the Asian Division in the Cultural Heritage Department stated, "We cannot do a lot because we do not have international police forces to intervene. UNESCO considers this to be a crisis. We are scandalized, but there is always hope."²¹⁹

²¹⁵ World Heritage Committee. Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural Heritage World heritage Committee, 21st session, Naples Italy, December 1-6, 1997, VII.58
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001129/112902e.pdf>

²¹⁶ Shay, 118

Also see Flood, 652

²¹⁷ Montebello, quoted by Flood, 651

²¹⁸ *Japan made Bamiyan Buddhas offer: Taliban memoir*. Bangkok Post, February 26, 2010

For more information in regards to Japanese archeological research at Bamiyan:

Higuchi, T. & Barnes G. “Bamyān: Buddhist Cave Temples in Afghanistan”. *World Archaeologist*. Vol. 27 No. 2., Buddhist Archeology, (Oct.1995), pp. 282-302

²¹⁹ Destructive Frenzy in Afghanistan. Archaeological Institute of America. March 2, 2011.

Afghanistan ratified UNESCO 1972, the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, in 1979. As a state party, this country was responsible for the preservation of its cultural heritage. Therefore, the destruction of the Buddhas constituted a breach of convention of 1972 pursuant to Article 4.²²⁰ Nevertheless, regulations and principles dictated by UNESCO are not self enforced. It is the responsibility of individual states to designate regulations that guarantee the implementation of principles dictated by conventions.²²¹

The destruction of the Buddhas was ordered by the government, and was not a consequence of violent conflict. Had the destruction been the result of a conflict, the damage to cultural property could have been condemned at international level by *The Hague Convention of 1954*. However, even in these circumstances a resolution could not have been pursued because Afghanistan was not a state party to the convention at the time of the incident, and therefore was not liable for breaching principles dictated by it.

Following the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan, UNESCO published the *Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage* (2003) which reiterated principles established by *The Hague Convention of 1954*, framing states' responsibilities in the case of endangerment of cultural heritage. The declaration defines intentional destruction as:

²²⁰ World Heritage Committee (1972). Convention Concerning the protecting of the world Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris, November 16, 1972)

<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>. Unesco 1972. Article 4: "the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources"

²²¹ World Heritage Committee (1970). Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (Paris, November 14, 1970)

http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13039&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html Article 5 "The States Parties to this Convention undertake, as appropriate for each country, to set up within their territories one or more national services, where such services do not already exist, for the protection of the cultural heritage"

an act intended to destroy in whole or in part cultural heritage, thus compromising its integrity, in a manner which constitutes a violation of international law or an unjustifiable offence to the principles of humanity and dictates of public conscience, in the latter case in so far as such acts are not already governed by fundamental principles of international law.²²²

The concept of selective preservation, as defined in this analysis, falls within the parameters of intentional destruction described by the declaration. Nevertheless, the often subtle character of selective preservation by way of soft destruction complicates the applicability of this declaration and deters the pursuit of action against such acts.

The publication of guidelines defining a method to approach the preservation of cultural heritage would be of aid to states specifically to address the dangers of selective preservation. By following established guidelines requiring collaboration among the different parties, the government's monopoly of cultural heritage could be prevented. Said document would help prevent episodes of both passive and active destruction of cultural heritage during peace time and would increase locals' awareness of the preservation process.

II. Increasing the Involvement of Local Communities

While international communities hold limited power over the heritage of individual countries, local governments are most influential. Article 4 of *UNESCO 1972* bestows upon the state the duty to protect and transmit the heritage of the nation to future generations. It states “[the state] will do all it can to this end, the outmost of its resources.”²²³ The power of local governments to determine patterns of selective

²²² World Heritage Committee (2003). UNESCO Declaration concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage (17 October 2003)

http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17718&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

²²³ World Heritage Committee (1972). Convention Concerning the protecting of the world Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris, November 16, 1972)

preservation is equivalent to its responsibility to guarantee the conservation of the country's cultural identity. In this regards *Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage* (2003) states:

A State that intentionally destroys or intentionally fails to take appropriate measures to prohibit, prevent, stop, and punish any intentional destruction of cultural heritage of great importance for humanity, whether or not it is inscribed on a list maintained by UNESCO or another international organization, bears the responsibility for such destruction, to the extent provided for by international law.²²⁴

In order to balance the lack of power of international communities and the overwhelming power held by the state, one must consider the third element considered by Sedky: the people.

The imbalance created among the state, local and the international community results from the underrepresentation of smaller groups and/or groups that are economically disadvantaged. In *Cultural Heritage Development in the Arab World: Moving Forward*, Al Sabath states “In a largely illiterate society just emerging from centuries long of cultural hibernation, where wealth is unevenly distributed, and unemployment is widespread, the state has greater responsibilities than usually assumes in developed society”.²²⁵ When locals are not aware of the relevance of sites, or the negative effects of their destruction, they are easily persuaded by government policy. The correlation between economically disadvantaged groups and preservation is illustrated by the examples such as the Boulaq, New Gourn and Libya's medinas.

<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf> Unesco 1972. Article 4: “the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources”

²²⁴ World Heritage Committee (2003). UNESCO Declaration concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage (17 October 2003)

http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17718&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

²²⁵ Al Sabath, 284

Examples in this study have shown that economically disadvantaged groups are prone to believe that their culture is less valuable than the one paraded by more powerful groups in societies dominated by wealthy elite. This perception tends to lead to a reevaluation of relevant heritage and the underrepresentation of sites and traditions not considered important by the dominant group.

The case of the Boulaq illustrates instances in which locals are underrepresented. In 2005, Hamza Hendawi published an article titled *Apathy, Frustration Simmer in Cairo Slums. In Boulaq al Dakrour, Corruption, Urban Decay and Economic Imbalances Taint Mubarak's Promises of Help for the Poor* to bring to light the living conditions and malcontent of people from the area. The article mentions, “here Mubarak is seen as a leader who has pampered the rich and put little into Boulaq, while denying Egyptians a genuine say that might change the country.”²²⁶ This quote emphasizes the lack of involvement of locals in political decisions. Listening to the needs and demands of local people could prevent the decay of relevant sites, the loss of traditions and craft, and most importantly could prevent a shift in the perception of the country’s national identity.

III. Fostering a balance between Preservation and Development

Small communities and low-income neighborhoods are often home to craftsmen and those living more traditional lifestyles. These areas are threatened by the increasing advancement of urbanization. The ones that are left are in decaying conditions and at risk of complete destruction, like in the case of the Boulaq or Libya’s medinas. Hendawi’s article on the Boulaq describes the current conditions of the area stating that “garbage

²²⁶ Hendawi, Hamza. *Apathy, Frustration Simmer in Cairo Slums. In Boulaq al Dakrour, Corruption, Urban Decay and Economic Imbalances Taint Mubarak's Promises of Help for the Poor*. Associated Press Writer. August 28, 2005
<http://articles.latimes.com/2005/aug/28/news/adfg-walls28>

collection is erratic, and much of Boulaq remains outside city's sewage system...public transport for the neighborhood's 1 million people consists of unlicensed taxis- battered minibuses, pick up trucks fitted with wooden benches some driven by teenage boys".²²⁷

Preservation is a continuously developing process. Bernard M. Feilden supports this characteristic when he describes conservation as "the action taken to prevent decay and manage change dynamically".²²⁸ Issues of preservation versus development become more pressing as societies evolve. While there is no general formula applicable to seek a solution to this problem, each country should attempt to find a balance between preservation and development based on its needs and goals. The application of general guidelines, established at international level, would simplify the development of a balance between these two factors by guiding individual nations to considering the needs and demands of each group interested in preserving the nation's cultural identity.

The preservation and rehabilitation of old neighborhoods discussed in this analysis might benefit the country socially and economically. Upgrading of infrastructure, helping local businesses, and restoring housing facilities are among the most pressing needs in locations such as Tripoli, Benghazi or Cairo.²²⁹ The rehabilitation and possibly the re-adaptation of historic buildings as public structures (i.e. libraries, shops) would prevent their destruction and would benefit local communities.²³⁰

²²⁷ Hendawi, Hamza. *Apathy, Frustration Simmer in Cairo Slums. In Boulaq al Dakrou, Corruption, Urban Decay and Economic Imbalances Taint Mubarak's Promises of Help for the Poor.* Associated Press Writer. August 28, 2005
<http://articles.latimes.com/2005/aug/28/news/adfg-walls28>

²²⁸ Feilden, 4

²²⁹ The World Bank. *Urban rehabilitation of Medinas Middle East and North Africa: The World Bank Experience in the Middle East and North Africa Urban Development & Local Government*. The World Bank. May 2010, no. 9, p. 25

²³⁰ Al- Senussi, Alia. *Despite Libya's scars, It's Rich History Provides Hope for the Future.* Special CNN. March 3, 2012.
<http://www.cnn.com/2012/03/02/opinion/senussi-libya-art/index.html>

The economic development of the area could be enhanced by attracting tourists. Restoring infrastructure in the medina and promoting their reuse as touristic facilities would increase foreigner's interest in the area.²³¹ Furthermore, the restoration of old quarters by the government will not only renew the image of the city and favor the preservation of cultural heritage, but would also allow an increase in revenue, locally and nationally. Improving the sewage system, garbage collection and transportation will enhance the lifestyle of locals and the stay of tourists. Allowing local craftsmen and businesses to stay in the area will allow the preservation of the unique character of the area. In addition, by restoring local neighborhoods as cultural landmarks, the conditions of poverty in the nation's neighborhood could be remediated. Implementing these strategies and others would allow for economic revitalization, subsequently turning economically disadvantaged neighborhoods from forgotten slums to the historically significant gems they used to be.

Conclusion

This study recognizes the importance of political authorities in determining the preservation patterns of a nation in times of peace. Furthermore, it points out the correlation existing between destruction of cultural heritage during peace and during war. Although cultural heritage destruction during peace times is not necessarily related to war, it is often revealed by it. War destruction and peaceful destruction of cultural heritage are connected by the type of damage that they lead to and, at times, by their causes. For example, issues of poverty that led to the decay of some of Egypt's

²³¹ The World Bank. *Urban rehabilitation of Medinas Middle East and North Africa: The World Bank Experience in the Middle East and North Africa Urban Development & Local Government*. The World Bank. May 2010, no. 9, pp. 13, 28

neighborhoods were also one of the causes at the heart of the social malcontent that led to local's rebellion against the government.

Analyzing the causes and effects of cultural heritage destruction during peace is important to understand whether the heritage being preserved is truly representative of the nation's cultural identity. In the cases presented, selective preservation patterns motivated by economic and political interest led to the monopolization of cultural heritage by the government in power. This process consequently led to the preservation of sites that could provide income and political advantage to leading authorities, and the neglect of sites that, even if unknown, were truly representative of the country's national identity.

In the cases of Libya and Egypt, a comparison between local people's reaction to heritage destruction during war and its decay in times of peace illustrated how people's perception can be influenced by governments' preservation strategies. The damage caused by destruction during peace to the country's cultural identity has demonstrated the necessity for preventing regulations.

The recent changes in the political scene of Middle Eastern countries led to by the revolutions, have created an opportunity for local governments and people to reevaluate the countries' preservation strategies. While there was progress made in the field, there is still need for improvement. In order to facilitate this process, guidelines should be set in place to guarantee a balance of power among the state, people and international organizations in the field of preservation. The achievement of this balance would create conditions that truly adhere to the principles established by international conventions,

while reducing the danger of destruction of cultural heritage during peace and contributing to the general welfare of each nation.

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS: MAPS

Map 1: Overview of Afghanistan, Libya, Egypt



Citation: Overview of Afghanistan, Libya and Egypt. Retrieved on 29 November 2012 from website www.maps.google.com

Map 2: Site Overview



- A- Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan
- B- Tripoli, Old City, Libya
- C- Benghazi, Libya
- D- Boulaq, Cairo, Egypt
- E- New Gurna Village, Egypt

Citation: Site Overview, Retrieved on 29 November 2012 from website www.maps.google.com

Map 3: Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan



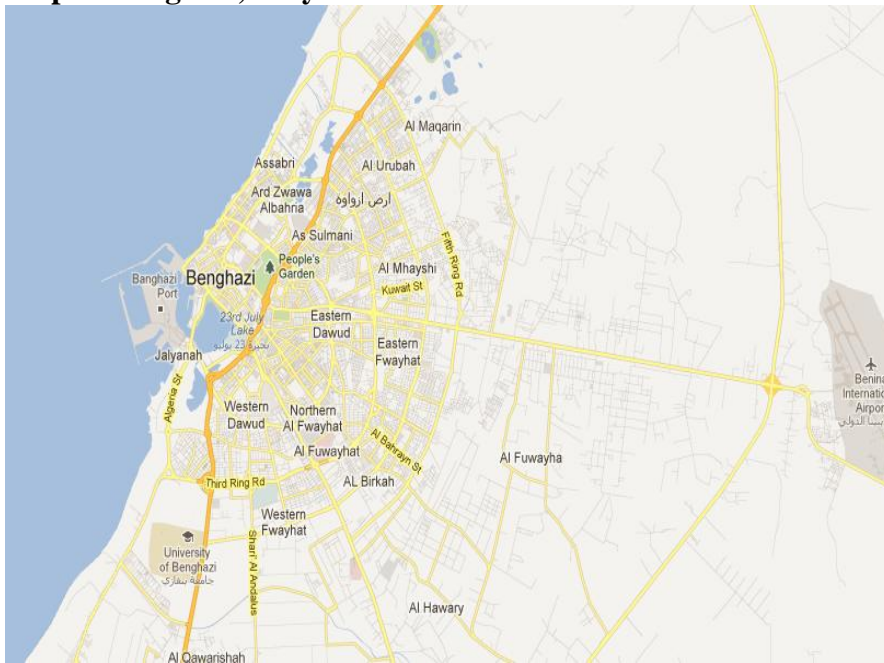
Citation: Bamiyan Map, Retrieved on 29 November 2012 from website www.maps.google.com

Map 4: Tripoli, Old City, Libya



Citation: Tripoli Medina, Retrieved on 29 November 2012 from website www.maps.google.com

Map 5: Benghazi, Libya



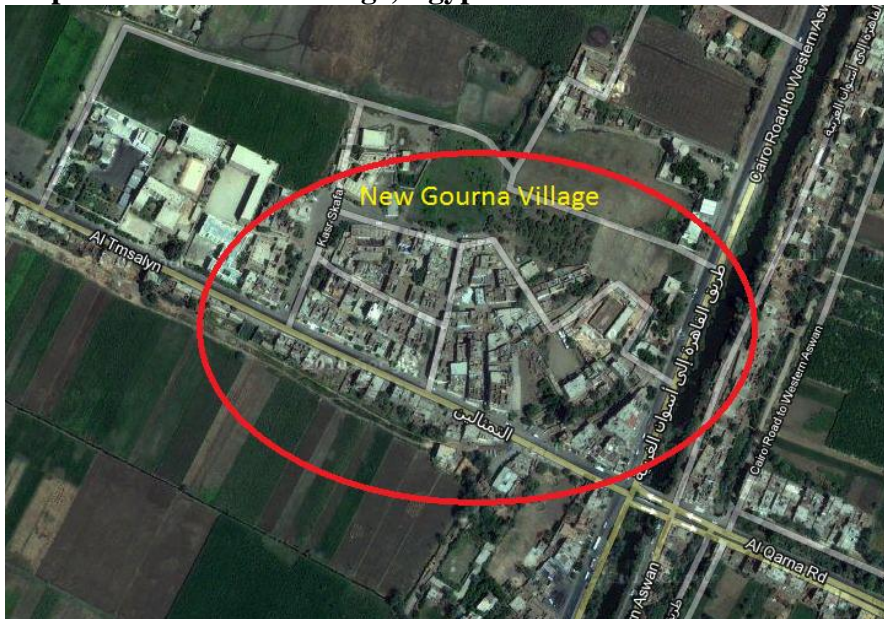
Citation: Benghazi Map, Retrieved on 29 November 2012 from website www.maps.google.com

Map 6: The Boulaq, Cairo, Egypt



Citation: Boulaq Map, Retrieved on 29 November 2012 from website www.maps.google.com

Map 7: New Gournia Village, Egypt



Citation: New Gournia Map, Retrieved on 29 November 2012 from website www.maps.google.com

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